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**Emerging Planning Practices of Civil Society Groups  
in Iloilo City, Philippines and  
their Implications for Planning Theory**

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A thesis  
submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in Environmental Management

at  
Lincoln University

by  
Rhodella A. Ibabao

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Lincoln University  
2013

Abstract of a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Ph.D. in Environmental Management

**Emerging Planning Practices of Civil Society Groups in Iloilo City, Philippines and their Implications for Planning Theory**

by

Rhodella A. Ibabao

The aim of the thesis is to provide a better understanding of the emerging planning practices of urban civil society groups in the Philippines informed by a critique of the current debates in the post-colonial urban planning literature. This thesis is an exploration of urban planning theory in a post-colonial setting that is sufficiently normative to provide guidance to improve planning effectiveness but at the same time, such a theory should also be sufficiently pragmatic to capture the diversity of planning practices in countries such as the Philippines.

The modernist planning model has been strongly criticised for being ineffective in responding to challenges in post-colonial cities. This model is seen as incompatible with the changing role of local governments which have become more inclusive of a wide variety of stakeholders in decision-making so as to facilitate collaborative initiatives in order to respond to the needs of the urban poor.

In response to these concerns, alternative approaches have emerged that challenge both substantive and procedural planning orthodoxies. One of these is the insurgent planning model which is encountered most often outside the formal structures of the state and may take the form of resistance against the state. While the insurgent planning model highlights the importance of civil society groups in transforming society, it arguably fails to recognise the increasing collaborative engagement between the groups and the state. For this reason, the co-production model has been proposed to provide another alternative understanding of planning practices within civil society groups.

However, current planning theory literature tends to view insurgent planning and co-production models as not only mutually exclusive, but antithetical. Scholarship tends to focus on one or the other and only a limited number of writers have suggested that civil society groups might engage in both planning practices. Conceptually informed by insurgent

planning and co-production planning frameworks, this study was designed to interrogate collective practices of three civil society groups in Iloilo City in the Philippines. I draw on the experiences of these three case study groups, using qualitative data predominantly obtained from semi-structured interviews and participant observations.

This thesis addresses three important points as theoretical contributions to the post-colonial city planning literature. The first point is the need for greater nuance between the terms 'collaboration', 'co-production', 'insurgent planning' and 'insurgency' which encapsulates the categories of civil society -- state relationships. At one extreme 'co-production' is analogous to 'collaboration' or delivery of services through formal arrangements (such as contracts, tenders, or Memorandum of Agreements). A more ambivalent relationship is evident in acts requiring the co-production of knowledge or information generated by civil society groups – such as a census of the homeless – through informal means to secure rights and recognition. This co-productive stance is not exactly collaborative in a formal sense, nor is it oppositional; it occupies a complex middle ground that can help make groups more 'visible' to the state and to set precedence to negotiate for changes in policies and procedures.

This study also makes a distinction between 'insurgency' as meaning engagement in armed struggle *against the state* itself, and 'insurgent planning' as involving opposition to *selected* state practices through formal and/or informal means that are within state-recognised or state-endorsed framework. On this basis, questions also arise around the appropriateness of the label 'insurgent' given the recent revolutionary history of the Philippines. The second point of the study, then, is that the term 'insurgent' is not useful and should be replaced by 'transgressive' which better captures this type of active, engaged and partially oppositional activities of civil society.

The third contribution of this thesis centres on the notion of hybrid planning which signals the proposition that, in practice, groups rarely engage in either insurgent planning *or* co-production planning model. Rather, they adopt and engage in a combination of collective practices simultaneously: collaborative-ad-hoc, collaborative-strategic, oppositional-ad-hoc, and oppositional-strategic hoc with a somewhat murkier middle ground comprising those acts that co-produce knowledge or deliver services in the absence of the state.

**Keywords: insurgent planning, co-production, civil society, development studies, hybridity, Philippines, post-colonial studies, urban governance, urban planning**

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## Acronyms

ACHR	Asian Coalition for Housing Rights
ADB	Asian Development Bank
BAYAN	Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (New Patriotic Alliance)
BEC	Basic Ecclesial Communities
CA	Cities Allies
CBCP	Catholic Bishop Conference of the Philippines
CLIFF	Community-Led Infrastructure Finance Facility
CMP	Community Mortgage Program
CRC	Children Rehabilitation Centre
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
DFID	Department for International Development
DOH	Department of Health
DSWD	Department of Social Welfare and Development
GABRIELA	General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Equality, Leadership, and Action
GK	Gawad Kalinga (Give Care)
GWP	Gabriela Women's Party list
HOA	Homeowner's Association
HPFP	Homeless People's Federation of the Philippines
HUDCC	Housing and Urban Development Coordinating Council
ICUPFI	Iloilo City Urban Poor Federation Inc.
ICUPN	Iloilo City Urban Poor Network
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IFCA	Iloilo Federation of Community Associations
ILO	International Labour Organisations
LGC	Local Government Code
JFPR	Japan Fund for Poverty Reduction
JICA	Japan International Cooperative Agency
LGU	Local Government Unit
JASAC	Jaro Archdiocesan Social Action Centre
ODA	Official Development Assistance
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSO	National Statistics Office
PACSII	Philippine Action for Community-led Shelter Initiatives, Inc.
RA	Republic Act
SDI	Shack/Slum Dwellers International
SPARC	Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres
TDH	Terre des Homme
TESDA	Technical Education and Skills Development Authority
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
VAW/C	Violence Against Women/Children

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Overview of the Study

In many parts of the world, rapid urbanisation has presented urban settlements with a variety of acute problems including growing poverty and inequality, political conflicts, crime and violence. Forty eight per cent of the world's population live below USD \$2 a day (Population Reference Bureau, 2011). Nearly one billion live in slums - or one in every six persons - and the number is likely to double in the next 30 years<sup>1</sup> (UN-Habitat, 2003). In the Philippines, forty five per cent of the Filipinos live below USD \$2 per day and the urban poor who reside in informal settlements are estimated at 550, 771 households (Cruz, 2010; UN-Habitat, 2003; UN-Habitat, 2009; World Bank, 2011). Informal settlements, or slums, are generally characterised by poor quality housing, insecure land tenure, limited access to services, and high densities (UN-Habitat, 2003). These challenges require governments, planning professionals, and planning scholars to reconsider their management of urban environments (UN-Habitat, 2008, 2009). Though these challenges also exist in rural areas, they tend to be amplified and intensified in urban areas; thus “there is no doubt that the ‘urban agenda’ will increasingly become a priority for governments everywhere.” (UN-Habitat, 2009, p. 3).

Against this sobering backdrop is the recognition of the positive contribution made by civil society groups in post-colonial cities towards urban development programmes. This awareness is due in part to the growing unwillingness of the groups to accept passively the top-down planning decisions that affect their lives (UN-Habitat, 2009). In some instances, civil society groups have formed themselves into representative organisations which allow them to utilise their collective resources and knowledge to develop their capacity to negotiate, plan, and implement alternatives to conventional state policies and practices through a number of strategies (UN-Habitat, 2008).

The potential contribution of civil society groups to urban governance has been reinforced by increasing support from governments, professional planners, and international development agencies. They have realised that an effective response to urban problems involves working together with these groups (Henderson, 2002; Meth, 2010; Mitlin, 2001, 2008; Winkler,

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<sup>1</sup> See UN-Habitat The Challenge of Slums: The Global Reports on Human Settlements 2003 for the first global assessments of slums, emphasising their problems and prospects.

2009). The increasing support from conventional institutions, such as the church and business organisations, is influenced by several related factors. First, there is the growing awareness of the importance of social capital or 'linkages' in economic and political development (Putnam, 1993). Second, social movements to introduce democratic changes have been effective in countries in Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia, and more recently, the Middle East (Mitlin, 2001). Finally, there is a growing level of scepticism that either the state or the market can effectively address urban problems (e.g. poverty, environmental pollution, income inequality, rapid urbanisation, urban informality, climate change) without civil society organisations (Mitlin, 2001). For example, economic development is a major concern that governments try to address through regulations and fiscal initiatives; however, successful economic development often depends upon private capital for asset mobilization and on local communities for effective investment and use of the assets. Thus, by joining together, a new range of outcomes arise that would have been impossible for the sectors working independently (Waddell & Brown, 1997).

My interest in the role of civil society groups was inspired by activities I have witnessed in my hometown of Iloilo City, Philippines. Civil society groups in the Philippines have undertaken various initiatives in response to a variety of urban problems and challenges, many of which disproportionately affect the lives of the urban poor. Some of the groups have been able to gain considerable agency as a result of post-Marcos constitutional changes and associated policies that have empowered local government and communities through devolution reforms<sup>2</sup>. Civil society groups now have significant potential to reshape cities in the Philippines and Asia by responding to the needs of the urban poor in innovative ways. My motivation for undertaking this study is to gain a better understanding of the collective planning practices of civil society groups using the insurgent planning and co-production models.

My research involved undertaking an exploratory study of three civil society groups in Iloilo City, Philippines so as to identify, document and interpret the planning practices adopted by these groups in a context where constitutional rights have recently been restored. This

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<sup>2</sup> Pres. Marcos declared Martial Law in the Philippines in 1972; this lasted until 1981. During this time, he abolished Congress, curtailed press freedom and other civil liberties (e.g. the right to privacy and to a fair trial, freedom of assembly and the right of a person to be released from unlawful detention). Marcos also ordered the arrest of opposition leaders and militant activists. However, violence and injustices persisted even after Martial Law was lifted which increased the incidence of political demonstrations throughout the country. The civil unrest led to the 1986 non-violent revolution that ousted President Marcos. Since then, constitutional democracy has been restored in the country.

required a qualitative approach to data collection and interpretation. Primary data was predominantly obtained via semi-structured interviews and participant observations which were then complemented by secondary data, photographs and indigenous Filipino research methods. The data collected were inductively sorted and coded thematically to identify key themes and meanings.

## **1.2 Research Problem Definition and Justification**

In the wider international urban planning literature, the modernist planning model has been strongly criticised because of its top-down approach and adherence to rational planning principles (Allmendinger, 2009; Friedmann, 1987; Campbell & Fainstein, 1996; Sandercock, 1998). It has also been found to be ineffective in alleviating many urban ills, especially in post-colonial cities experiencing rapid growth, poverty, and environmental pollution (UN-Habitat, 2009; Watson, 2002). It has also been argued that this approach to planning is no longer compatible with the changing role of local governments who must now include a wider range of civil society groups in decision-making in order to facilitate collaborative state-led initiatives (Beauregard, 1991; Friedmann, 1987; Harper & Stein, 1996; Sandercock, 1998). Given this context, this study adopts a definition of planning which is “more open, sensitive to the needs of the many, radically challenges existing notions and actively seeks to encourage wider participation from those previously excluded in an continuously open discourse” (Allmendinger, 2001, p. 257). This broader definition of planning acknowledges differences among the actors who may not necessarily be professional planners and their actions seek to challenge dominant practices. An implicit understanding in the planning description is that challenging dominant practices require working outside the formal system but still within the wider state apparatus.

In response to these changes, alternative urban planning approaches have emerged that both reinterpret planning as a phenomenon and challenge how it should be undertaken. Insurgent planning theory is one such approach; it holds that civil society is the primary agent of social transformation (Friedmann, 1987; Sandercock, 1998). An insurgent planning approach is encountered most often outside the formal structures of the state and takes the form of resistance against some state practices but without being anti-state. Arguably, insurgent planning theory does not account for those groups who collaborate with rather than resist some state practices. Such arrangement is, however, dealt with by the co-production framework, which is able to provide an understanding of the planning practices of civil society groups that may not primarily involve confrontations or formal participation (Mitlin,

2008). This is a paradox for it validates the wider state apparatus even though particular state sponsored policies, programmes or plans are being challenged. The first area of debate, therefore, centres on whether insurgent planning includes all types of opposition or whether it targets a more selective ‘anti-state’ position. This is particularly important in the context of countries like the Philippines that have experienced revolutions.

The second area of debate concerns distinctions over “everyday and mundane acts” (insurgency) and “structured and planned” activities (insurgent planning) (Watson, 2011). Watson (2011) has argued that some acts are perhaps better described as ‘insurgency’ because these are ‘ad-hoc and reactive’ (Watson, 2011, p. 14) and other acts as ‘insurgent planning’ which are ‘structured and planned’. In effect, an important related issue pertains to the appropriateness of the labels ‘insurgent’ and ‘insurgency’ which have a certain academic appeal but there has been no deeper examination yet of the implications of the terms when used in the context of countries which have a long history of armed struggle.

Finally, whereas some scholars have focused their studies on either insurgent planning (Friedmann, 1987; Meth, 2010; Miraftab, 2009; Miraftab & Wills, 2005; Sandercock, 1998) or co-production (Joshi & Moore, 2004; Marschall, 2004; Mitlin, 2008), only a few authors have suggested that civil society groups<sup>3</sup> might engage in hybrid planning practices which combine elements of both approaches (see Beard, 2003; Mitlin, 2008; Watson, 2011). To date, only a limited number of scholars suggested that civil society groups may adopt a blend of insurgent planning and co-production planning approaches and important gaps remain in our understanding of the rationales and ways in which they adopt and combine the multiple approaches.

The main aim of this research is to have a better understanding of the collective practices of civil society groups in post-colonial cities, thereby contributing to both the theoretical and empirical literature on this topic.

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<sup>3</sup> For brevity, the term “group” is interchangeably used with “organisation” to mean the same in this study.



### 1.3 Research Problem and Questions

To recapitulate, the research problem this study addresses is as follows: How do civil society groups conduct their collective planning practices, programmes and activities in the context of post-colonial cities such as Iloilo City, Philippines?

The above research problem responds to a number of concerns within these three areas:

1. Are there meaningful distinctions in the planning practices of civil society groups in terms of insurgency, insurgent planning, co-production and collaboration?
  - 1.1 What are the collective practices of the groups?
  - 1.2 Is there a meaningful distinction between insurgency and insurgent planning?
  - 1.3 Are there distinct attributes between insurgent planning and co-production?
  - 1.4 Is there a meaningful distinction between co-production and collaboration?
  - 1.5 Is there a category (or typology) of relationships between the state and civil society groups?
  
2. What is the extent of usefulness of the terms insurgency and insurgent planning in the context of post-colonial cities?
  - 2.1 How do civil society groups perceive the terms 'insurgency' and 'insurgent' as descriptions of their acts?
  - 2.2 How appropriate are the terms 'progressive', 'radical' and 'transgressive' as alternative descriptors to insurgent planning?
  
3. Are the planning practices of civil society groups mutually exclusive or do they use a hybrid of planning practices?
  - 3.1 What is hybrid planning?
  - 3.2 What are the rationales for civil society groups to engage in hybrid planning practices?
  - 3.3 What are the challenges experienced by civil society groups that adopt hybrid planning practices?

## 1.4 Outline of the Study

This thesis is organised into eight chapters.

Chapter 1 defines the research problem, aim, and objectives of the study. Chapter 2 provides a literature review of key themes in the recent debates about insurgent and co-production as urban planning approaches. This will help to inform the empirical examination of the planning approaches adopted by three selected case study groups in Iloilo City, the Philippines. Chapter 3 describes my research methods and includes the rationale for using qualitative case studies, the ethical issues considered in doing the study, the criteria for site selection and group selection, the techniques used for data collection and concerns related to their use, the data analysis, and the strategies used to increase validity and reliability of the study. Chapter 4 provides background information about the study area and a comparative description of the case study groups.

Chapter 5 presents detailed descriptions of the programmes, projects and activities of each case study group. Chapter 6 critically examines the collective practices of the groups in the context of the debates in insurgent planning and co-production literatures. Chapter 7 presents the views of groups on 'insurgency'. The chapter also elaborates on the concept of the hybrid nature of planning practices of the three groups by describing the rationalities for engagement in such practices and the challenges resulting in hybridisation of collective practices. The discussion section in this chapter focusses on the issues of usefulness of the terms 'insurgency' and 'insurgent' and the perceived mutual exclusivity of collective practices in the planning literature.

Chapter 8 is the conclusion chapter which highlights the wider implications of the research findings for the theory and practice of planning and concludes with suggestions for future research.

## Chapter 2

# Insurgent Planning and Co-production as Planning Frameworks

### 2.1 Introduction

The objective of this study, as outlined in Chapter 1, is to identify and analyse organised civil society planning practices in Iloilo City, Philippines from the perspective of insurgent and co-production planning models. This study is based on a critical examination of recent experiences of three civil society groups' attempts to secure access to services and meet people's needs. As a conceptual anchor for this thesis, the key objective of this chapter is to review some central themes in recent debates about insurgent planning and co-production as Third World urban planning strategies.

Over the years, organised civil society groups in Third World countries have demonstrated their ability to seek strategies that effectively address urban poverty (Devas, 2004; Mitlin, 2006; 2008; Salamon, Sokolowsky & List, 2004; UN-Habitat, 2008; 2009). These groups have formed themselves together and use their collective resources and knowledge to be more responsive to urban-related problems such as access to basic services (e.g. land, shelter and water), limited educational attainment and skills and vulnerability to disasters, violence and exploitation. Civil society groups have used a variety of planning approaches to address these problems which include challenging the state or forming an engagement with them, although, a combination of the two are also possible (see Beard, 2003; Mitlin, 2006; 2008; Watson, 2011).

The ability of civil society groups to adopt a variety of planning approaches is evident amongst urban civil society groups in the Philippines. Some of them seek to improve their condition by challenging state policies and practices that are perceived to be inappropriate to address urban poverty. Others built relations with the government and corporate business institutions whose functions and interests are different from those of civil society. The relationship of civil society groups with the state may not primarily involve formal participation, partnerships, or confrontations (Mitlin, 2008).

While some planning scholars discuss civil society responses that primarily challenge the state (Friedmann, 1987; Meth, 2010; Miraftab, 2009; Miraftab & Wills, 2005; Sandercock, 1998) or involve engagement with the government (Joshi & Moore, 2004; Marschall, 2004; Mitlin, 2008), only a limited number of authors (see Beard, 2003; Mitlin, 2006; 2008) contend that insurgent and co-production planning approaches may be combined in various ways. This possibility of a combined or ‘hybridised’ approach has yet to be tested rigorously in different settings, and many questions remain about such practices.

In addressing these questions, I begin the chapter with a brief critique of the modernist planning paradigm. Second, I will give an overview of the concepts of civil society and related terms and discuss the rise of civil society, its changing roles, and socio-political influence in urban areas. Third, I will review the literature on alternative approaches to urban planning in the Third World that have emerged over the last few decades. I focus on the insurgent planning approach and its attributes as conceptualised by different authors. Following this, I discuss key the concept of co-production as an alternative planning approach. Fourth, I propose and discuss a third way of doing planning by civil society groups, characterised by hybrid approaches involving the adoption of both insurgent and co-production planning models. Finally, the chapter concludes by pointing out gaps within the literature and builds on the proposition that civil society groups adopt hybrid planning approaches to address their various needs.

## **2.2 The Modernist Planning Paradigm**

The emergence of insurgent and co-production planning paradigms that form the key focus of this thesis are arguably responses to the inability of the modernist planning paradigm to effectively respond to urban challenges in post-colonial cities. The modernist planning paradigm developed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century in Western Europe in response to the rapidly growing and polluted cities brought about by the industrial revolution (Hall, 1988). While there are many variations of modernist planning (UN-Habitat, 2009), they share a number of common characteristics (Taylor, 1998). First, planning was seen as an exercise in physical preparation conducted by trained experts and by the government with little involvement of communities (Taylor, 1998); thus, it is a very “top-down” approach. Second, the scope of designing human settlements prioritises physical aspects and fails to take into account social, economic, or political matters. Third, the top-down process involves the production of master plans, underpinned by a land use regulatory system and the promotion of a particular urban

form: this is characterised by mono-functional use of areas; low built densities; movement systems based on private cars; and quantities of green open space (UN-Habitat, 2009).

### 2.2.1 Spread and persistence of modernist planning approaches

The spread of modernist planning ideas from the industrialised “West” to developing countries has been attributed to colonial governments, educational and scientific institutions, professional associations and journals, and international development agencies (UN-Habitat, 2009). In Southeast Asia, the diffusion of Western urban planning models during the colonial period came through influential nations such as the United States, Canada, Russia, and Japan; countries that have historically maintained ties with territories and countries in Asia and the Pacific region. As one example, in the Philippines, Baguio City<sup>4</sup> was the first major human settlement established in Asia with design roots in the United States. It was designed by Daniel Burnham who was the founder of the City Beautiful movement, and it is stated that “[T]he city’s axial orientations and panoramic vistas stand in stark contrast to the Hispanic-American designs characteristic of the surrounding Filipino lowlands” (UN-Habitat, 2009, p. 53). For the most part, they made their influence felt in terms of architecture, culture, and economy rather than in colonial government as experienced by, for example, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam.

The early 20<sup>th</sup> century planning models emphasised master plans and land use zoning (UN-Habitat, 2009) and reflected political systems with little experience of participatory planning processes. This is particularly applicable in Asia where political systems tend to be centralised and there is little tradition of citizen involvement in public decision-making. Local governments in these countries have historically been weak and the country’s development programmes have been influenced by national economic development policies and market forces. National governments have invested in large infrastructure projects but often overlooked social needs or environmental issues (UN-Habitat, 2009).

### 2.2.2 A critique of modernist planning approaches

A number of features of the modernist planning paradigm have been the subject of major criticisms in the planning literature, particularly by scholars who align themselves with post-modernism. One particularly troublesome feature of modernist planning is reliance on rationality (Friedmann, 1987; Harper & Stein, 1995; Sandercock, 1998). Rationality involves the use of quantitative analysis and incorporating ideas from various scientific disciplines,

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<sup>4</sup> Baguio served as the summer capital of colonial Philippines between 1909 and 1913.

particularly economics and politics, in order to provide solutions applicable to any set of conditions in society (Banford, 1955 as cited in UN-Habitat, 2009, p. 187; Sandercock, 1998). Although the rational model can provide steps in collecting and analysing information (see Banford, 1955 as cited in UN-Habitat, 2009, p. 187), it cannot capture the complexity of social problems, and understanding the phenomena becomes abstract and superficial (Friedmann, 1987; Innes, 1997; Sandercock, 1998).

In a study of nine cities in Africa and Latin America it was found that most had planning and building standards that were unsuited to the poor (Devas, 2001). The official minimum lot size in many developing countries is higher than those plots that are regularly occupied in informal settlements; the lot size also costs more than what many households can afford. Similarly, there are health and safety regulations that are imposed by local government to ensure safety. However, majorities of the people in cities in developing countries live in informal settlements and do not have regular income. They are unlikely to comply with the regulations which have been originally designed for relatively wealthy European towns (Payne, 2005 as cited in UN-Habitat, 2009, p. 58). In circumstances when these regulations are enforced by the local government, the people who cannot afford to comply with the requirements transfer to areas where these are not enforced and avoid detection. It also happens that people ignore these ordinances because the local government simply does not have the capacity to implement and monitor the compliance to these ordinances (Fernandes, 2003 as cited in UN-Habitat, 2009, pp. 58-59). It could be argued, therefore, that the adoption of inappropriate regulations by local governments results in social and spatial exclusion (UN-Habitat, 2009).

Another feature of the modernist planning paradigm is its claim for comprehensive planning (Beauregard, 1991; Sandercock, 1998). Comprehensive planning involves integrated and coordinated actions of different sectors to arrive at common goals. However, coming up with a comprehensive plan is difficult to achieve in a society composed of diverse groups who express themselves in different ways (Sandercock, 1998). The reliance on quantitative modelling and analysis in modernist planning is not enough to capture the diverse nature of groups whose intuitive and/or indigenous knowledges may be manifested through songs, stories, and various visual forms (Innes & Booher, 2004; 2010; Sandercock, 1998). Master plans are usually drawn-up by experts with minimal public consultation, supported by regulatory systems and are applied inflexibly (UN-Habitat, 2009). These features have negative impacts especially in developing countries where consultants who formulate such

plans are either based in developed countries or have been trained there. Many have little understanding of the dynamics of urban poverty or of the nature of urbanization in developing cities. They formulate master plans usually with the concept that cities are composed of employed, car-owning, nuclear families living in formal houses and have access to all types of services with well-resourced local governments (UN-Habitat, 2009). In reality, most cities in developing countries are different. Local governments are constrained by limited resources, people commute to and from work using a variety of public modes of transportation, and there is a great disparity among the different social classes in terms of income, lifestyle and access to basic services (Devas, 2004, 2001; Mitlin, 2004; UN-Habitat, 2008). Post-modernist scholars argue that planning should not be concerned with comprehensive actions alone, but should reflect the negotiations that take place within an increasingly diverse society (Beauregard, 1991; Innes, 1997; Sandercock, 1998). People of different backgrounds have different perspectives which may be difficult to reconcile but should be recognised nonetheless. Hence, more focus is necessary on the negotiated and political nature of planning that reflects the complexity of society. Consequently, this makes planning “less document-oriented and more people-oriented” (Sandercock, 1998, p. 30).

The modernist planning paradigm relies on the knowledge of planners, which makes planning expert-driven and state-directed (Friedmann, 1987; Holston, 1998; Sandercock, 1998). Civil society groups play a passive role in planning as they are recipients of the decisions and actions of planning experts, who are expected to manage and provide solutions to societal problems through rational decision-making. Discussions and solutions of issues and conflicts are initiated by the state with limited participation of the people. In many cities, modernisation projects involve the demolition of mixed use and older areas that are well suited to the accommodation of a largely poor and relatively immobile population (UN-Habitat, 2009). These projects are carried on without much regard to the effects on small traders and working class households who are displaced to usually unfavourable locations in the city’s periphery. Where attempts to reoccupy these desirable areas by informal traders and settlers have occurred, these are sometimes met with forced evictions that at times lead to the use of official force by the police (UN-Habitat, 2009). The negative impacts of modernisation projects, such as persistent encroachments by settlers and traders, demolition of structures, forced evictions and the use of official force, could have been prevented when the public’s input on matters affecting them is sought and more importantly, is incorporated into the plans (Innes, 2004; Taux, 1995; van Horen, 2000). Thus, critiques of the modernist planning paradigm argue that planning should adopt a people-driven approach which enables

citizens to offer their alternative views of how to plan and manage their communities (Friedmann, 1987; Holston, 1998; Sandercock, 1998; Verba & Nie, 1972). In turn, government can respond in ways that are more attuned to people's needs (Verba & Nie, 1972).

Finally, a feature of modernist planning that has been criticised by post-modern scholars is the attempt by planners to present a public image of neutrality; this model assumes that planners make unbiased decisions because they are not influenced by social processes (Friedmann, 1987; Innes & Booher, 2004; Sandercock, 1998). It also assumes unlimited time and budget to gather sufficient evidence to make informed and rational decision. In fact, both are usually unlimited. However, planners who disengage themselves from the people disregard the diverse nature of the public and the different ways they learn and express themselves (Friedmann, 1987; Holston, 1998; Sandercock, 1998). In this context, Sandercock (1998; 1999) suggests that planners should have access to these different ways of knowing by:

- learning through dialogue;
- learning from experience-based knowledge;
- learning to read symbolic and non-verbal evidence (e.g. storytelling, music, painting, poetry, theatre and film<sup>5</sup>); and
- learning from local knowledge and learning by doing in the tradition of social learning.

The weaknesses of the modernist planning paradigm as well as the contextual factors discussed above have resulted in the creation of alternative approaches to urban planning that are arguably more appropriate to address issues in post-colonial cities.

The growing disillusionment with modernist thinking described above has persuaded some scholars (e.g. Friedmann, 1987; Sandercock, 1998) that civil society (rather than the state) holds the key to social transformation (Watson, 2002). These alternative approaches recognise civil society as having a prominent role to play in society. For the purpose of this study, the next section discusses the features of civil society sector and its increasing role in planning and development.

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<sup>5</sup> Sandercock & Attili (2010) use film as a primary mode of inquiry to provoke public dialogue around planning and policy issues in the social integration of immigrants in a culturally diverse neighbourhood in Vancouver, Canada.



## 2.3 The Rise and Changing Roles of Post-Colonial Urban Civil Society Groups

One of the key recent changes in the institutional landscape for urban planning in post-colonial cities has been the shift from government to governance. For the past three decades, civil society in post-colonial cities has had a growing and better recognised role in delegated state powers, in urban development service delivery, and securing and mobilising marginalised groups in self-help projects (Clark, 1991; Clarke, 1998; Cheema, 2010; Eaton, 2003; Edwards & Hulme, 1995; 1996; Korten, 1987; Mitlin, 2004; Salamon et al., 2004; UN-Habitat, 2009; UN-Habitat & Cities Alliance, 2006).

At present, civil society is widely seen to make an essential contribution to good governance, participatory development, and inclusive and poverty-focussed programmes (Clark, 1998; Eaton, 2003; Cheema, 2010; Korten, 1987; Mitlin, 2004; Salamon et al., 2004). It was in the 1980s when civil society's contribution to the development of practice and policy was recognised by authors such as Gorman and Hirschman (Mitlin, 2004). The following two decades have seen the increasing support of bilateral organisations to create or extend co-financing programmes, and multi-lateral agencies (e.g. World Bank and UNDP) have established consultation arrangements in addition to direct funding and programme collaboration (Mitlin, 2004). As the international development assistance continues to grow for civil society organisations, there have been corresponding changes in the roles that they play in society.

### 2.3.1 Civil society and its related terms

Civil society is also known as the “nonprofit,” the “voluntary,” the “third,” the “social economy,” the “NGO,” or the “charitable” sector (Salamon, et al., 2004, p. 3). As such, the definition encompasses “non-government organizations [NGOs], non-profit associations, informal organizations addressing public interest issues, and self-help groups and associations” (Mitlin, 2004, p. 124). Under this umbrella term there are two categories that are of particular interest to this study. One is community-based organisations (CBOs), also known as grassroots organisations (GROs), which are membership organisations that are independent of the state. Their features include: shared risks, costs and benefits among the members; mostly non-profit; and operation is as a loose network<sup>6</sup> rather than as a regulated organisation (Mitlin, 2004). CBOs include trade unions and self-employed workers and

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<sup>6</sup> A loose network means that the membership is voluntary and there is no formalised organizational structure (de Dios & de los Reyes, 2005).

residents' associations. The second category comprises NGOs, which are defined as professional (or paid staff), non-profit, non-membership, intermediary organisations that are independent of the state (Mitlin, 2004). Charitable institutions providing welfare services fall in this category. In general, NGOs perform a variety of activities to achieve their development goals (Mitlin, 2004).

### 2.3.2 The diverse roles of civil society groups

Over the years, socio-political, economic and environmental conditions have resulted in changes in the roles that civil society groups play in society. The Brundtland Commission's report has placed the issue of sustainable development at the centre of urban policy and planning concerns and has recognised the crucial role of civil society organisations as partners of the state and the market sector in responding responsibly to urgent concerns (UN-Habitat, 2009; Hyogo Framework for Action, 2005; Devas, 2004; Mitlin, 2004, 2006, 2008). One of the most pressing environmental concerns is climate change which has already affected the basic aspects of life such as access to food, water, production, health and the environment (UN-Habitat, 2009). Moreover, people from poor countries have higher vulnerabilities to threats resulting in climate change. Cities are inherently at risk to natural disasters such as flashfloods and landslides due to the concentration of human settlements, the overexploitation of natural resources lower levels of economic development and non-compliance of and obsolete land-use planning regulations (UN-Habitat, 2009). Climate change and disasters have arguably worsened people's lives. It is in this context that civil society groups have responded through a variety of programmes and projects in order to mitigate, redress, and or enhance the impacts of environmental disasters and poverty (Devas, 2004; Mitlin, 2002, 2004, 2006; Edwards and Hulme, 1996; Salamon et al., 2004; UN-Habitat, 2009; UN-Habitat & Cities Alliance, 2006).

The United Nation Development Programme (UNDP, 2005) has identified a number of critical functions of civil society groups and categorised their types of work as follows: advocacy, funding, legal assistance, networking, policy-making, community-based research, technical assistance, and training. The potential of civil society groups to perform these multiple roles is partly due to their unique combination of private structure and public purpose, their generally smaller scale, their flexibility, their capacity to tap private initiative in support of public purposes, and their skill in reaching out to marginalised populations (Carroll, 1992; Edwards & Hulme, 1995).

The multiple roles of civil society groups are also attributed to “political opportunity structure<sup>7</sup>” (Hasenfeld & Gidron, 2005, p. 103). This is defined as institutional reforms that allow checks and balances in the state’s powers and having access to “elite allies” (Hasenfeld & Gidron, 2005, p. 104). These allies could be individuals, groups, or institutions that can influence decision-making and policies. Moreover, they can provide financial, technical, and infrastructure support to civil society groups’ programmes and projects through bilateral<sup>8</sup> and multi-lateral aids (Clark, 1998; Cheema, 2010; Eaton, 2003; Edwards & Hulme, 1996; Korten, 1987; Mitlin, 2004; Salamon et al., 2004; UN-Habitat, 2009; UN-Habitat & Cities Alliance, 2006). The multiple roles that civil society groups perform prompted some authors to call them hybrid organisations (Austin & Eder, 2007 as cited in Novellino & Dressler, 2010, p. 167; Hasenfeld & Gidron, 2005; Minkoff, 2002), that combine the goals of service provision, mutual aid, and value change (Hasenfeld & Gidron, 2005).

### 2.3.3 Civil society groups and service provision

An important role of civil society groups relates to the way they address gaps in state service delivery. They do this either through collective acts that challenge prevailing planning practices or in collaboration with the state. The impact of civil society’s engagement on service provision has been met with mixed reviews by some scholars.

In urban areas as well as the more widely studied rural areas, civil society groups have made an increasing impact, although it is still fragmented and on a small scale (Henderson, 2002). Those who appear to have benefited were the direct beneficiaries and the impacts were seldom felt outside their communities. Mitlin (2004) evaluated community-based organisations existing post-colonial ten cities<sup>9</sup> that address the development needs of their members; she found that while some have achieved success, they are often immersed in relationships of dependency, clientelism, and patronage (Etemadi, 2000; 2004; Mitlin, 2004; van Kampen & van Naerssen, 2008; Watson, 2002). This means that many of the gains by civil society groups have been secured through the process of elections and/or support from political candidates. Moreover, the success of these groups in influencing government

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<sup>7</sup> Political opportunity refers to “consistent—but not necessarily formal or permanent—dimensions of the political struggle that influence people to engage in contentious politics” (Tarrow, 1994, pp. 19-20).

<sup>8</sup> According to Wikipedia (2011) “bilateral aid is given by one country directly to another”. Multilateral aid is given through another international organisation, such as the World Bank, that acts as an intermediary, “which pools donations from several countries’ governments and then distributes them to the recipients.”

<sup>9</sup> The ten cities evaluated by Mitlin (2004, p. 128) on civil society’s contribution to reduction of poverty through service delivery are the following: Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Cebu, Colombo, Johannesburg, Kumasi, Mombasa, Recife, Santiago, and Visakhapatnam.

practices has been through more practical engagement in social issues of common concern rather than at higher-level municipal policy-making (Mitlin, 2004). In South Africa, three Johannesburg-based civic associations that employ different strategies for democracy and development have been found to contribute to pluralism and democratic values, but they fail to make significant inroads into public decision-making processes (Winkler, 2009).

While the assessment of civil society groups' impact in service provision has been generally pessimistic, the Philippines has been found to be doing well compared to other Asian countries (Carino, 1999; Mitlin, 2004). Several factors influence the relative effectiveness of civil society groups in the Philippines on service provision. First, their activities are rooted in communities and thus have a greater potential to be responsive to their needs. Second, they have committed staff and volunteers who view the organisation's programmes as their outlet for missionary zeal and idealistic agency of change. Third, the groups can be less tied to the government; they therefore have fewer reservations, not only in making technical innovations, but also in being critical of current social and political situations (Carino, 1999). A fourth factor is the institutionalised participation of civil society in local government within the country (Etemadi, 2000; Mitlin, 2004). Although there may be limited influence of civil society groups in policy-making at the national level, it is the partnerships between civil society groups and the local government at the project level that has created spaces for innovation in terms of relationships among actors (Mitlin, 2004).

#### 2.3.4 Civil society and public participation

The concept of public participation has come a long way since the 1960s, with planners recognising that planning implementation is more effective if it can secure the support of the community, or at least their passive agreement. Thus, many methods and techniques have been developed by planners to get a consensus from civil society groups (UN-Habitat, 2009). The conduct of public participation, however, has been met by much criticism. One problem lies in the selective composition of participants who are more inclined to engage in intellectual debates on planning issues (UN-Habitat, 2009). Another concern is the idea of "public" and the deceptive notion of participation (Friedmann, 1987; Sandercock, 1998). Planners may possibly invite only certain community-based groups that are licensed for inclusion in the participatory process. Other civil society groups are not included because they are perceived as "ultra-left" and are excluded from decision-making processes (Miraftab & Wills, 2005). There is also a problem with public participation that is framed around

formal requests for planning inputs; these include fora, surveys, public consultations, and public hearings (Campbell & Fainstein, 1996; Friedmann, 1987; Peterman, 2000).

In response to public participation that appears to be framed around physical layout and the rules for speaking, some planning scholars have promoted informal ways of public participation that give importance to local knowledge over “expert” knowledge (Healey, 1999; Innes, Connick & Booher, 2007; Sandercock, 1998). These verbal and non-verbal knowledges come from stories, proverbs and metaphors, practical skills, and artworks. Even ways of communicating ideas such as protest marches and petition-signing that are beyond the formal planning process should also be considered as forms of public participation (Friedmann, 1987).

Although there is a wealth of research that considers the various methods of public participation, de Leon (2005) observes that an undue emphasis is placed on political participation. She encourages planners and scholars to highlight other forms of participation, such as social and economic participation, which are potentially important avenues by which citizens can achieve public outcomes that meet their needs.

This section highlighted the changing roles of civil society groups and the factors that have encouraged them to engage in multiple roles. It also discussed civil society’s impact on service provision and the groups’ predominant forms of public participation. The next two sections (Section 2.4 and 2.5) discuss alternative planning approaches to modernist planning paradigm that demonstrates the capability of civil society groups to actively participate in urban planning and development as they engage in insurgent and co-production planning practices.

## 2.4 Alternative Approaches to Urban Planning in Post-Colonial Cities: The Insurgent Planning Model

A reaction to the perceived failings of modernist planning that explicitly recognises the role of civil society groups has been the development of the insurgent planning model. This model is a variant of the communicative planning theory<sup>10</sup> and both share similarities on their emphasis, not on planning outcomes, but rather on the substantive process and on grassroots participation to make the state act more responsively (Watson, 2002; Beard, 2003). Both models also propose that “society can be transformed from the ‘bottom up’ and just local processes can change the broader distribution of resources and power” (Watson, 2002, p.31). A major point of departure of insurgent planning from the communicative model is that it proposes consensus-building could take the form of resistance to the state, unlike in the communicative planning model which sees negotiations and arriving at a collective agenda being accommodated by the state (Beauregard, 1998). Another point of departure is that insurgent planning highlights the notion that differences in groups go beyond “speech-level differences in meaning” (Watson, 2002, p. 42) and more rooted on cultural differences. Moreover, while communicative planning regards the state as still the prime mover of change and engages planners to mediate among diverse interests of groups, the insurgent planning model sees grassroots organisations initiating reforms in society and mediating directly with the state (Fainstein, 2000; Watson, 2002).

The communicative planning model has often been contested with regards to how it is conducted in the real world. Some authors cite that planning processes may not be carried out in conjunction with the state but could be outside of government structures and that deliberations among actors do not necessarily lead to a general understanding of a complex policy at play because of uneven power sharing between actors (Watson, 2002; Sandercock, 1998; Friedmann, 1987; Yiftachel & Huxley, 2000; Mannberg & Wihlborg, 2008). Moreover, deliberative communication is regarded as composed of civil society groups that are strong-willed and who can engage in intellectual debates in planning issues (Watson, 2009). However, this activity is only possible in certain countries where there is distinct

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<sup>10</sup> The model has a number of different strands particularly J. Forester (1989, 1993) and P. Healey (1997, 2003) They all drew their interpretations from Jurgen Habermas (1984) who posed communication as the most important element of planning practice (Watson, 2002; Allmendinger, 2009). In brief, Habermas proposed the concept of the life-world where it is possible to reach consensus and coordinate actions through the process of communication in the context of an inclusive, open and democratic environment (Watson, 2002). This theory highlights that the primary activity of planners is communicating ideas, forming arguments, debating differences & reaching consensus in taking courses of action (Watson, 2002).

separation between civil society and the state and where open dialogues are encouraged. Lastly, in the participatory process, planners may possibly engage only certain state-recognised and “celebrated” civil society representatives. Other civil society groups are not included because they are perceived as “ultra left” and are excluded from decision-making processes (Miraftab & Wills, 2005; Sandercock, 1998; Friedmann, 1992).

The insurgent planning model is this viewed as more suitable in capturing collective actions that involve opposition and take outside formal state structures. It builds on the concept of insurgent citizenship first articulated by James Holston (1998) who carried out ethnographic anthropological research in the city of Brasilia, Brazil in the 1980s. The notion of insurgent citizenship was later incorporated into planning discourse by scholars such as Friedmann (1987; 2002), Sandercock (1998; 1999), Meir (2005), Meth (2010), Miraftab (2009), and Sweet and Chakars (2010) and is sometimes used interchangeably with radical planning (Sager, 2011). Both terms denote counter-hegemonic practices that are often performed by civil society groups, although radical planning tends to be associated more closely with left-wing political ideas (Sager, 2011, p. 9).

A review of insurgent planning literature shows that there is a variety of attributes highlighted by different scholars about insurgent planning practices (see Table 2.1)

**Table 2.1 Descriptions of insurgent planning**

Authors	Descriptions of Insurgent Planning
James Holston	Uses the term “insurgent” to refer to the tactics and strategies used by non-state actors as they modify their environment to address their needs (1998; 2009).
John Friedmann	<p>Defines insurgent planning as “a form of active participation in social movements... that aim at either, or both, the defence of existing democratic principles and rights and the claiming of new rights that, if enacted would lead to an expansion of the spaces of democracy, regardless of where these struggles take place... It is these non-territorial movements of resistance and claiming that represents the dialectical other to the formal citizenship “from above” (2002, p.77).</p> <p>Friedmann’s emphasis is on structured, organised and grand collective acts (1987; 2002). Examples of insurgent practices include engaging in protest marches, political uprisings, and setting up oppositional political parties that can lead to “chang[ing] underlying structural causes to injustice” (2002, p. 84).</p>
Leonie Sandercock	Insurgent planning is insurgent by virtue of challenging existing relations of power in some form. Thus, it goes beyond “participation” in a project defined by the state. It operates in some configuration of political power, and must formulate strategies of action. Insurgent planning practices may be stories of resistances,

	<p>and not always successful... of resilience... or of reconstruction” (1999, p. 41).</p> <p>She believes transformative social and political actions begin with “a thousand tiny empowerment[s]”, rather than with grand gestures.</p> <p>Emphasis is on overt everyday forms of resistance and avoidance protests that cumulatively lead to significant changes in existing power relations.</p>
Victoria Beard	<p>Introduces the related concept of covert planning which offers an explanation of how local people within restrictive political environments engage in planning for the purpose of bringing “significant social and political change” (2003, p. 13).</p> <p>Covert planning “refers to incipient, and incremental forms of planning” (2003, p. 16) by local people “toward altering larger power relations” (2003, p. 18). Covert planning differs from radical or insurgent planning in that it does not overtly challenge power relations.</p> <p>Engagement in insurgent planning follows a linear process: from participating in state-directed planning programmes, to covert planning, and, finally to planning for structural and political reform.</p>
Faranak Miraftab	<p>It is “counter-hegemonic, transgressive and imaginative...counter hegemonic in that [it] destabilizes the normalized order of things...transgress[ing] time and place by locating historical memory and transnational consciousness...” (2009, p. 33), and imaginative for it “offer[s] hope from which to work towards alternatives” (2009, p. 46).</p>
Elizabeth Sweet & Melissa Chakars	<p>It “refers to grassroots planning that often challenges state directed planning and policy-making.” (2010, p. 198).</p> <p>The authors suggest that, unlike Beard’s view that the process of insurgent planning is linear, it is a mix and match of different collective activities that happen simultaneously and not sequentially.</p>
Nihal Perera	<p>Uses the term familiarization rather than insurgency.</p> <p>Familiarization refers to acts that are “clandestine forms of space-making taken by the dispersed, tactical, and makeshift creativity of groups and groups already caught in the nets of power” (2009, p. 56).</p>
Paula Meth	<p>Argues that insurgency can both be transformative and repressive; they are mutually constitutive and can be enacted by one and the same group or community (2010).</p>
Vanessa Watson	<p>Proposed that a distinction be made between insurgency and insurgent planning. Insurgency refers to everyday and mundane acts.</p> <p>Insurgent planning refers to the more structured and organised collective activities. Insurgent planning can take place outside formal planning structures and may be oppositional in different ways. Other distinct characteristics of insurgent planning include: “collective, intentional, justifiable, aimed at some kind of longer-lasting impact or advantage and has to do with securing or changing factors related to space and place (built or natural, physical, regulatory, financial, institutional or organisational)” (Watson, 2011, pp. 13-14).</p>



Holston (1998) criticises the modernist project for ignoring alternative visions of non-state actors in planning the city of Brasilia, Brazil. He suggests that, although these visions are ignored, they still exist in the everyday practices of the people. Holston uses the term “insurgent” to refer to the tactics and strategies used by people as they modify their environment to address their needs. These everyday practices may sometimes generate conflict with the state and the state’s concept of how the city should look based on its plans. Still, people assert their own alternative visions of the city through, for example, invasion of land settlements and their modification of space according to their needs.

His more recent work on insurgent planning (2009) illustrates the different collective acts of criminal gangs in Sao Paolo, Brazil as they seek recognition of their organisations and intentions. These criminal commandos were formed in 1990s as gangs within the state prisons of Rio and Sao Paulo in Brazil to defend prisoners from the abuses inside the prison. This justification was central to their recruitment and organisation of members. Over time, they have engaged in operations in drug trafficking, extortion and other criminal enterprises both inside and outside prisons. They launch well-coordinated attacks inside and outside the prisons against people in the government, the police, and the justice system who they believed committed crimes against the prisoners. Along with engagement in criminal acts, they also distribute food, medications and sanitary diapers, and provide employment and public work services to the poorest neighbourhoods in urban peripheries which they consider as their territories. The gangs justify and rationalise their acts based on the state’s (particularly the police) perceived failure to protect the rights of and provide justice and security to poor people.

Holston does not romanticise the acts and statements of democratic rights given by the commandos. While he views these as perverse kinds of insurgent citizenship, he gives credits to the gangs for introducing some kind of protection within the prisons and educating the prisoners about their rights. He recognises the importance of criminal gang cartels to contemporary peripheral urbanization in cities worldwide for they control the territory in urban peripheries through a combination of violence and administration. They are also important when they combine the rationalities of crime with those of democratic rights, rule of law, social justice and revolution. Yet, he argues that there is nothing democratic about their illegal and criminal acts such as narco-trafficking, racketeering outside of prisons and fixed monthly dues levied on the urban poor for protection.

Holston's concept of insurgent citizenship was later modified by Friedmann (2002). Friedmann recognised how globalisation has increased and diversified the number of stakeholders in urban governance and how power has transferred from the nation-state to international organisations, multinational companies, and financial markets. In the process, "formal power relations have become blurred" (Friedmann, 2002, p. 70). Consequently, he proposed a type of citizenship that widens and strengthens spaces of deliberative democracy coming from below. Within this context, Friedmann (2002) saw insurgent citizenship as:

A form of active participation in social movements... that aim at either, or both, the defence of existing democratic principles and rights and the claiming of new rights that, if enacted would lead to an expansion of the spaces of democracy, regardless of where these struggles take place... It is these non-territorial movements of resistance and claiming that represents the dialectical other to the formal citizenship "from above" (p.77).

Friedmann argued that the intent for engaging in insurgent planning is to "change underlying structural causes to injustice" (2002, p. 84). He stated that social oppression is generated mostly by the state and inequality is generated by the market through policies and practices that are not responsive to the needs of marginalised sectors. For him, coming up with appropriate strategies must start with understanding the present situation followed by finding practical solutions to their problems. This whole process involves social learning that allows different actors to exchange information and experiences with each other (Friedmann, 1987). He recognised that the struggle against structural injustice through insurgent practice involves scaling up from micro- to macro-level so as to increase the spaces of political participation. The pressure to engage in insurgent citizenship is intensified when, in the course of a system-wide crisis, the legitimate authority of the state declines, and the state itself is weakened so that it can no longer successfully repress the radical practices of the community (Beard, 2003). Examples of Friedmann's insurgent practices would include engaging in protest marches, political uprisings, and setting up oppositional political parties; all of these are grand overt acts to address structural injustice. Like Holston, Friedmann believes that the strategies and tactics in response to structural injustices can take many forms. For him, it could be "non-violent and violent, reforms and revolution, and political and extra-political" (Friedmann, 1987, p. 287). The main distinction in their definitions is that while Holston focusses more on everyday practices, Friedmann's emphasis is on structured, organised, and grand collective acts.

Given the variety of conditions in which insurgent planning takes place, Friedmann suggests the role of professional planners might shift to ‘mediator’ rather than ‘expert’. He provides a list of principles about how planning should be conducted: “offer critical analysis and understanding of the structural forces that marginalize and oppress people; understand that a problem must be attacked simultaneously at multiple scales; aim for both material and political rights; and engage state and state-like formations” (Friedmann, 2002 as cited in Miraftab, 2009, p.46).

Friedmann's concept of insurgent planning is distinct from other modes of bottom-up planning in terms of its ultimate aims: the role of the planning practitioner and the forms of insurgent practices civil society may engage in. Beard (2003), however, points out that there are significant gaps in his model of insurgent planning. According to Beard, Friedmann fails to explain how a repressed community or group will gain the skills, experience, and power to initiate an insurgent planning process. He also does not explain how insurgent planning might work in “socio-political contexts that admonish political activism as ‘subversive’ or destabilizing, nor where there exists a pervasive sense of fear of violent retribution” (Beard, 2003, p.18). A similar claim can be directed at Holston (1998; 1999) because he does not explain how groups gain the experience to engage in everyday gestures that can lead to grander acts.

Beard (2003) contends that there is a gap in understanding how local people in an extremely restrictive socio-political environment learn to engage in planning that brings about significant social and political change. She proposed that the concept of *covert planning* bridges this gap. It describes a form of planning that does not overtly challenge current power relations yet is a first step leading toward more ambitious social change. After experiencing modest success, the tangible improvements of their organisational skills and the increased confidence allowed people to begin to get a sense of their own agency and become politically conscious. This becomes the antecedent to “overt radical action” (Beard, 2003, p. 30).

Beard (2002; 2003) demonstrated covert planning through observing the experiences of urban inhabitants in Indonesia who learned how to move from participating in state-directed planning (implementing the Mother and Child Health Care programme), to community-based planning in response to self-identified needs (providing a health care clinic for the elderly), to covert planning (establishing a library), and finally, to radical planning for structural and

political reform (publicly demonstrating against the Suharto regime). Throughout this process, residents were becoming savvy in their interactions with state institutions and actors. They learned about their power and limitations, and they used this knowledge to plan a library that eventually became a venue for openly challenging the repressive Suharto regime and demanding political reform. According to Beard (2002), covert planning is similar to Friedmann's (1987; 2002) concept of insurgent planning in that they both acknowledge that local residents' planning involves planning for themselves outside of and in opposition to formal and regulatory frameworks. However, covert planning differs from insurgent planning in that it does not overtly challenge power relations. Importantly, she suggested that insurgent planning follows a linear process which implies that people sequentially learn starting with engagement in state-directed programmes, to undertaking covert planning that provides the precursor for insurgent planning that bring about political and social changes (Sweet & Chakars, 2010).

Sandercock offers a partial counter to Beard's concerns and provides empirical examples of how repressed groups gain the experience to engage in insurgent planning processes. She defined "insurgent" as:

something oppositional, a mobilizing against one of the many faces of the state, the market or both. Insurgent planning becomes insurgent by virtue of challenging existing relations of power in some form. Thus, it goes beyond "participation" in a project defined by the state. It operates in some configuration of political power, and must formulate strategies of action. Insurgent planning practices may be stories of resistances, and not always successful... of resilience... or of reconstruction (1999, p. 41).

Sandercock argues that transformation in society does not happen in grand, overt acts, a view different from that of Friedmann's. She believes transformative social and political actions begin with "a thousand tiny empowerment[s]", rather than with grand gestures. She provides micro-studies of insurgent practices whose collective activities consequently led to changes in society. Through social learning, local actors are able to acquire the necessary political skills in adapting to changes in society.

Furthermore, Sandercock emphasises that social networks are crucial for groups when they engage in collective acts that eventually introduce reforms in society. In the book *Towards Cosmopolis* (1998) she provides cases of groups and communities forming alliances to undertake collective activities to attain common goals. While Sandercock's cases of

insurgent planning highlighted mostly overt avoidance protests and everyday forms of resistance, Beard focussed on covert collective acts that do not purposely confront the state. Miraftab's concept of insurgent planning is somewhat different from those of Holston (1998), Friedmann (2002) and Sandercock (1998). While the earlier scholars conceptualised insurgent planning as a reaction against the modernist planning paradigm, Miraftab defines it in the context of governments adopting neoliberal policies in their countries. She conceptualises insurgent planning as:

...those radical planning practices that respond to neoliberal specifics of dominance through inclusion... as practices which are... counter-hegemonic, transgressive and imaginative (Miraftab, 2009, p. 32).

Miraftab (2009) also emphasises that insurgent planning can be against any dominant structure (e.g. the media and international development agencies) and not just the state unlike with Holston (1998), Friedmann (1987) and Sandercock (1998; 1999) who were focussed on the government. Miraftab (2009) uses the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign (AEC) in South Africa to illustrate insurgent planning. She states that different actors such as community activists, mothers, professional planners, and the unemployed can engage in insurgent activities. She illustrates how these actors combine formal and legal strategies with informal survival livelihood practices and oppositional practices in order to resist evictions and maintain their access to services in their communities. They use formal, legal procedures such as courts and legal claims. When formal channels fail, they use alternative channels to assert their citizenship rights. Their informal, illegal strategies vary from informal negotiations with the agents of forced eviction, to ignoring or postponing its implementation, to capacity building and creating their own data about the evicted or threatened families, to operating weekly soup kitchens to feed children, to defiant collective actions such as reconnection of disconnected services by unauthorized individuals and relocation of evicted families back into their housing units, to mass mobilisations and protests, sit-ins and land invasions. Thus, AEC's insurgent practices are fluid, moving across formal and legal collective acts when they are perceived advantageous to the group and towards informal and illegal acts when the former proves unjust and limiting (Miraftab, 2009).

Sweet and Chakars (2010) presented the historical and contemporary insurgent planning practices of the Buryats in Russia as they struggle to maintain and regain the rights to land, cultures and recognition of their identity. Their work documents the ways their form of resistance has changed over the years. In the early 1990s, citizens staged protest marches and petitions to congress calling for the reversal of land legislation, local language education, and

political autonomy. More recent actions of resistance to centralisation policies include research, conferences, book translations, and showing films on Buryat history (Watson, 2011). The authors observed the following features of insurgent planning in the context of pre-Soviet (pre-1917) and Soviet (1917-1991) and post-Soviet (1991-present) colonialism and imperialism:

- indigenous insurgent planning is not completely oppositional; that is there is selective acceptance of non-indigenous identity, language and cultural traditions in the process;
- cultural identity, language, and land were/are important motivations and tools of insurgent planning;
- insurgent planning has had starts and stops, periods of intense multilayered activity and periods of relative inactivity; and,
- it does not follow a linear process as Beard suggested (2002) but a mix and match of insurgent planning approaches that occur simultaneously, not sequentially.

Perera's (2009) focus of study is on the new (hybrid) physical spaces produced by ordinary people through daily practices against colonial authorities in Colombo, Sri Lanka. They redefined and appropriated colonial structures, spaces and symbols that resulted in a very different city than what the authorities had conceived.

“Familiarization” (Perera, 2009, p. 56) involves space-making activities by adapting positions and spaces to suit their own point of view. For the most part, their processes were neither oppositional to the authorities' provision of space nor were they aimed at overthrowing the dominant social and spatial arrangements. Yet taken together, their responses transformed the colonial city.

Familiarization is different from direct confrontations such as anti-colonial struggles or proletariat revolutions which are organised to overthrow the regime in power (Perera, 2009). Although these small transformations may not solve all of their problems or issues of injustices, being legitimate subjects within the formal city affords them more bargaining power. The transformative process, sometimes with external influences, can extend into more direct confrontations. The familiarisation of Colombo directly and indirectly helped the rise of more direct challenges to colonialism and capitalism evident in labour movements and anti-colonial struggles that sprang up in the 1920s and 1930s.

The forms of resistance in familiarization is comparable to the resistance that most subordinate classes engage in, as described by James Scott (1985 as cited in Perera, 2009, p. 55). These classes are far less concerned about changing larger structures of the state and society. Rather than directly challenging the system or the power, they largely practice apathy or reluctant compliance at the same time seeking to improve their livelihood within the context through the use of ordinary acts. Examples of these are piecemeal squatting rather than large-scale land invasion and pilfering in place of attacks on public or private grain stores. As Scott (1990 as cited in Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1996, p. 373) points out, oppressed groups and individuals often express their dissent through rumours, gossip, folktales, songs, gestures, jokes and theatre. These acts of resistance “require practical judgement” and allow oppressed groups to "insinuate a critique of power while hiding behind anonymity..."(Scott, 1990, p. xiii as cited in Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1996, p. 373).

While the above cases have focussed on celebrating insurgent practices in response to injustices in society, Meth (2010) provides a critical examination of the paradox presented by such activities. She draws on the everyday experiences of marginalised African women living in the areas in Durban city, South Africa. The women contributed in different ways to address problems of housing and unemployment through self-help housing, entrepreneurial practices, and resistance to particular state interventions (particularly the threat of eviction). Their insurgent practices, however, also encompassed vigilantism against suspected criminals in order to manage and resist high levels of crime and violence that are often committed by men. Her study demonstrates how certain insurgent practices benefit one group (in this case, females) whilst repressing another group (males). She further argues that vigilantism, despite its pejorative meaning, should be considered as an insurgent practice because of the tolerance it receives from the public, the government, and police officials as the country fights against criminal activities. Meth argues for an examination of the moralities, values, and rights of any given situation in order to appreciate the seemingly contradictory features of insurgent practices.

Most of the literature on insurgent planning has centred on the struggles of people and communities to further their claims for recognition and basic rights. Yet, as Beard (2003, p. 16) points out, other sectors are also capable of engaging in insurgent planning:

planning as social transformation is possible at higher operational scales; for example, when a bureaucrat (Needleman and Needleman, 1974), political party (Abers, 2000) and/or state (Rangan, 1999) deliberately sets out to

transform the character of social and political life within their sphere of influence.

In the Philippines, the Catholic Church has been a major institution in the proliferation of grassroots organisations since it shifted its focus in the 1960s from purely spiritual aspects of Christianity to an emphasis on social justice in society (Carroll, 1998). For decades now, and not just in the Philippines, the church has engaged in social transformation through grassroots organising and urban revitalisation (see Cadge & Wuthnow, 2006; Ramsay, 1998; Roberts-Degennaro & Foley, 2007). The Roman Catholic Church in Brazil has successfully shown that it can take a leading role in urban revitalisation and grassroots organising in response to urban restructuring that has changed strategies of investment and policies on welfare and public housing. Ramsay (1998) attributes the capacity of the Church to mobilise poor communities and influence political action to several factors. First are the Church's religious teachings and values that compel people to act on their faith. Second are the vast resources available to the Church in terms of highly skilled clergies, laypersons, and volunteers. The Church also has organisational advantages in its formal memberships and networks that have local and international reach. Third, the Church has the subculture of discussing and understanding issues with its members from a religious point of view. It encourages members to participate actively in addressing societal issues by providing them with the necessary social skills that promote the success of their political activities.

The insurgent planning literature summarised above was most recently reviewed by Watson (2011), who concluded that the terms insurgency and insurgent planning are "entangled" (p. 9) and there is a wide variety of activities compressed into the term "insurgent planning". She proposes that a distinction should be made between "insurgency" (everyday struggles) and "insurgent planning" (more organised and structured activities). She uses the term insurgency to refer to everyday and mundane activities, which can include informal and illegal practices. These acts are "ad-hoc and reactive" (Watson, 2011, p. 14) and are less concerned about changing the structural causes of injustices. For her, majority of the activities described by Sweet and Chakar (2010) and by Meth (2010) represent insurgency or everyday struggles. Likewise, Perera's (2009) "familiarization" activities by ordinary people of Colombo to resist colonial authorities are examples of insurgency. More concrete examples of insurgency based on Watson's definition are as follows:

- construction of a library that became a vehicle for raising the consciousness of the community (Meir, 2005);



- language promotion through translation of books into native languages; public political debates; demonstrations and petitions; spiritual ceremonies; revival of previously taboo historical figures and topics; conferences that bring insurgent planning practices together to share common experiences (Sweet & Chakars, 2005);
- illegal electrical connections, non-payment of fees and small-scale refusal to evacuate an area (Miraftab, 2009); and,
- vigilante actions against criminals; invasions of land settlements and their modification of space according to their needs and informal employment (Perera, 2009).

Watson (2011, pp. 13-14) defines distinct characteristics of insurgent planning as “collective, intentional, justifiable, aimed at some kind of longer-lasting impact or advantage and has to do with securing or changing factors related to space and place (built or natural, physical, regulatory, financial, institutional or organisational)”. Insurgent planning can take place outside formal planning structures (or beyond professional or state planning laws and regulations); it may be oppositional in different ways. She illustrates insurgent planning through the experiences of Negev Bedouins (as described in Meir, 2005) to secure political and physical recognition for their settlements in Israel. Their activities involve engaging in formal modes of governance and planning practices by the state. The Bedouins use this engagement to introduce an alternative planning discourse based on their social, cultural, and spatial traditional practices. Other empirical examples observed in insurgent planning literature include:

- political uprisings and setting up of political parties (Friedmann, 1987);
- informal traders and shack dwellers collectively and intentionally executing land invasions and securing trading places (Meth, 2010);
- countering large-scale land clearances (Miraftab, 2009);
- establishing a voluntary organisation that prepares social and political plans for Bedouin people (Meir, 2005); and,
- large scale setting- up of settlements and asking for formal recognition of unrecognised settlements and erected name signs; conduct of municipal elections and setting up of village councils.

Watson (2011), nevertheless, acknowledges that a group can engage in a variety of activities that appear to fall between insurgent responses and insurgent planning. She classifies Miraftab’s (2009) anti-eviction campaign activities (which involve unlawful activities such

as illegal electrical connections and refusal to leave an area by a group of informal settlers) as insurgent responses; on the other hand, she considers activities that involve countering large-scale land clearances largely through legal means as insurgent planning (Watson, 2011). Watson proposes that insurgence and insurgent planning acts cannot be generalised across contexts, but instead require empirical analysis in order to understand the strategies within political and socio-economic contexts.

The above discussion about the insurgent planning literature has highlighted the following points about the concept of insurgent planning:

- a distinction should be made between the everyday and mundane activities (“insurgency”) and the more structured and organised collective activities (“insurgent planning”). This implies that the engagement in insurgent activities and insurgent planning is context-specific and cannot be generalised across different settings;
- the term “insurgent planning” is sometimes used interchangeably with “radical planning” in the planning literature;
- there is a wide variety of activities compressed into the term “insurgent planning”;
- civil society groups undertake actions in opposition to the state; and,
- although Beard (2002) suggested that groups learn to make the transition from social change to social transformation (insurgent planning) through engagement in covert planning, Sweet and Chakars (2010) countered that the process of transition does not have to be linear but a mix and match of insurgent planning approaches that occur simultaneously and not sequentially.

Importantly, however, civil society groups do not always act without state intervention. The co-production literature documents a type of planning approach adopted by civil society groups in response to other needs. I now turn to examine the concept of co-production that is used as a planning strategy by civil society groups.

## 2.5 Alternative Approaches to Urban Planning in Post-Colonial Cities: Co-production as a Planning Model

The complex and multi-faceted conditions of the urban poor are linked to state actions and inactions, including policies and programmes that are compounded by the discriminatory processes of other powerful groups (Mitlin, 2006; 2008). It is for these reasons that the state is given an essential role in establishing systems and structures to improve the conditions of the urban poor (Mitlin, 2008; UN-Habitat, 2009). This is a characteristic of the co-production stance on urban planning, and is what makes it different from the insurgent planning approaches discussed above.

While co-production has primarily been considered as a strategy to improve the delivery of services, its role has recently been recognised more widely as a way to strengthen the political position of civil society groups to further their claims (Mitlin, 2008; Watson, 2011). The following subsections provide a review of the literature on these two dimensions of co-production.

### 2.5.1 Co-production and service provision

The concept of co-production started to generate interest in the 1970s in the United States as a reaction to the problems of traditional “provider-centric” models of the welfare state and to address the failures of conventional development programmes (Bovaird, 2007; Ostrom, 1996; Whitaker, 1980). Typical examples of co-production found in the early literature in the US include public safety and security, education, fire protection, recreation, and solid waste collection and disposal (Percy, 1984). It was also introduced in Europe in the 1980s to refer to the growing involvement of citizens in the production of their own welfare services (Boyle, Clarke & Burns, 2006; Brandsen & Pestoff, 2006). The literature on co-production also shows that it has been practised in Third World countries between civil society groups and the state to improve delivery of services on irrigation, forest management, primary health care, urban sewerage, micro-credit, agricultural extension, land and housing provision and municipal participatory budgeting (Joshi & Moore, 2004; Mitlin, 2008).

The term co-production, according to Pestoff, Osbourne and Brandsen (2006, pp. 592-593), involves the following:

In the restricted use of the term, [co-production] refers to an arrangement where citizens produce their own services at least in part... it could also refer to an autonomous service delivery by citizens without direct state involvement, but with public financing and regulation.

Brandsen and Pestoff (2006) point out that the concept of co-production emphasises the shared character of the production process. The involvement of civil society groups can be in “service planning, design, commissioning, managing, delivering, monitoring, and evaluation activities” (Bovaird, 2007, p. 847). Their involvement can also be in policy development (McKenzie, Matahaere-Atariki and Goldsmith, 2008). The involvement of civil society groups in any of the production processes transforms the delivery of services and the groups are transformed as well by their involvement in public service provision (Brandsen & Pestoff, 2006). Moreover, the involvement of civil society groups in the production process allows them to deliver services differently from the conventional model, “but in doing so it [the civil society sector] is itself incorporated into the institutionalised system of provision (Brandsen & Pestoff, 2006, p. 496).”

In the context of studying co-production between the New Zealand government and *Iwi*<sup>11</sup> and Māori authorities, McKenzie et al. (2008, p.34) define co-production as:

a shared outcomes method premised on a long-term values-based relationship between organisations of sufficient capacity and capability with the ability to represent a Maori collective.

Co-production in this context involves each partner working together in order to “realise mutually agreed beneficial outcomes for the realisation of *whanau*<sup>12</sup>, *hapū* and *iwi* potential” (McKenzie et al., 2008, p. 34). For them, co-production does not only promote community planning and user-focussed services, but also involves a more active role for *Iwi* and Māori authorities in designing and delivering local services. Co-production also provides the opportunity for indigenous groups to influence the policy process by working with the government to invest in shared outcomes for Māori.

McKenzie et al. (2008) also point out that in the New Zealand context co-production may be compared to what is most often referred to as partnership or collaboration. Thus, the terms co-production and collaboration are often used interchangeably in the planning literature. The concept of collaboration, however, is broader in scope than co-production (Majumdar, 2006). According to Majumdar (2006), there are various definitions of collaboration but they share some basic features, including: interdependence; participative decision making;

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<sup>11</sup> The *Iwi* (or tribe) is the largest political grouping in pre-European Māori society in New Zealand society. The *iwi* usually consists of several related *hapū* (clans or descent groups) (Taonui, 2009).

<sup>12</sup> The *whānau* refers to an extended family group that spans three to four generations and forms the basic unit of Māori society (Taonui, 2009).

mutually agreed outcomes and a willingness to share resources (e.g. ideas, time, and technical support); partnership formation to bring about change; and effective tools to create something entirely new. Additionally, collaboration could occur between “public-public”, as in a partnership between two or more government agencies; or it could be “public-private”, as in a partnership between government agencies and private firms or non-profit organisations (Prefontaine et al., 2000 as cited in Majumdar, 2006, p. 185). Collaborative arrangements may exist as a formal written agreement for a definite term, or they can be voluntary and may not involve contractual agreements. Based on the Majumdar’s discussion of collaboration, it is implied that co-production is a form of collaboration. Thus, in this study, I use the term co-production to refer to the involvement of civil society groups with the government in the delivery of services. The term co-production has also been chosen to describe the specific involvement of civil society groups in the production process of public service provision.

### 2.5.2 Co-production and the strengthening of social and political position

Research on co-production has traditionally focussed on its contribution to service delivery, but rarely has it been considered as a strategy through which civil society groups can strengthen their social and political position to further their claims for basic needs and recognition (Marschall, 2004; Mitlin, 2008). The co-production literature has given less focus on the distribution of power between organised citizens and the state (Marschall, 2004). Moreover, co-production as a mechanism to further the claims of marginalised groups to urban space has been “narrowly explored in planning theory and rather tends to find a place in development studies journals” (Watson, 2011, p. 11). On the part of the government, it compromises its capacity to provide goods and services effectively without taking into consideration active citizen participation (Marschall, 2004).

Mitlin (2008) examines the co-production literature in the Third World setting and defines it as “the joint production of public services between citizen and state, with any one or more elements of the production process being shared” (p. 340). This joint production of public services has an institutionalised<sup>13</sup> feature referring to the “provision of public services

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<sup>13</sup> Joshi and Moore (2004) differentiate institutionalised co-production from temporary co-production, the latter is characterised as a way of coping with problems presented by strikes, political demonstrations, and similar events. An example of a temporary arrangement is when the police and protest organisers get into co-production arrangements in order to reduce the risks that come with activities where emotions can run high. These include prior agreement on routes, timings, numbers, and forms of demonstration; and the use of authorised stewards, provided by the organisations doing the demonstrating, to follow the agreements and remove troublemakers (Joshi & Moore, 2004).

through regular, long-term relationships between state agencies and organised groups where both make substantial resource contributions” (Joshi & Moore, 2004, p. 31).

Co-production in a Third World setting is conceptualised differently than it is in Western countries. Mitlin (2008, p. 346) suggests that the arrangements between civil society and the state “may not involve formal agreements, rather, potentially being undefined, informal and renegotiated continuously”. More importantly, state-civil society engagement involves “neither formal participation processes nor partnerships, nor organised confrontations” (UN-Habitat, 2009, p. 8).

Mitlin (2008) illustrates these important points by analysing co-production practices of grassroots communities and organisations in Pakistan, Namibia and India. In the Orangi Pilot project (OPP) in Pakistan (Hasan, 2006), community residents developed a new solution to sanitation to address the living conditions and health problems in a large informal settlement in Karachi. Before the project, representatives of communities followed patron-client relations to improve the services by lobbying with local politicians for water pipes and public standpoints in return for votes. The OPP staff proposed an alternative model whereby the residents of a lane or street paid for lane investment in sanitation, while the municipality took on responsibility for the sewer network and the waste treatment plants. Twenty years after the work begun, the city of Karachi encouraged similar strategies to be supported throughout the city (Mitlin, 2008). A number of reasons encouraged the people to engage in co-production. One was that the state lacked the resources to invest adequately in sanitation; local groups therefore had to provide some of the resources. Another reason was that corruption was endemic, and contractors were often in collusion with the state. The state alone did not have the capacity to ensure high standards for the project. More importantly, the involvement of the residents in the project made them stronger in terms of other development projects that required citizen action.

Another example of where co-production has been introduced to provide sanitation services is found in the work of Shack Dwellers Federation of Namibia (Muller & Mitlin, 2004). This federation is composed of grassroots organisations that consist of women-led savings schemes in very low income settlements. Their motivation for co-production with the national and local state was to find low-cost solutions so that their members can afford sanitation services. A broader objective of the federation is to demonstrate that they have the capacity to collaborate effectively with the state to address common problems. Thus,

together with the city government of Windhoek, the federation devised a policy whereby the organised groups were able to occupy land with communal services (i.e. toilet blocks and standpipes). Once the members were able to secure tenure, they saved or borrowed from their community savings in order to improve their individual plot services. In some instances, the municipal staff supported them with technical assistance. The federation also participates in state processes, including a review of housing policies in Namibia. The partnership has been so successful that the state has recognised these grassroots efforts by offering a grant to a community loan fund (Mitlin, 2008).

The Slum Dwellers International (SDI), a network of grassroots organisations of which the Namibian federation is a member, promotes the use of co-production to widen opportunities for people to get involved in areas in public service (e.g. design and formulation of policies) which are normally reserved only for the state within the conventional delivery models. The activities of SDI are primarily based on tenure security, basic services, and, in some contexts, housing and/ or income generation (Mitlin, 2008; SDI website, 2009). SDI engages with the state for their mapping and self-enumeration surveys, which they use to legitimise their claims for urban spaces (Patel, d' Cruz & Burra, 2002).

SDI seeks to influence policy by participating in service delivery and pragmatic engagement rather than “lobbying from the outside” (Mitlin, 2008, p. 349). Co-production works for their members for a number of reasons. Practical engagement with the state builds strong positive relations, creates additional opportunities for collaboration, and makes it easier for the members to lobby the state for improvements in service provision and state intervention in shelter markets. It also encourages a practical and non-confrontational stance in the local process, and encourages disadvantaged groups, particularly women, to play a central role. A deeper analysis of co-production shows that it provides groups the venue to challenge the systems and processes of the government (e.g. the concepts, techniques, and rationalities through which services are delivered) in various dimensions. By working together with the state, civil society gains the knowledge of processes of the state and occupies such spaces in its own right (Mitlin, 2008).

Precedent setting is a key strategy extensively used by the SPARC-Mahila Milan<sup>14</sup>-NSDF (National Slum Dwellers Federation) alliance with government agencies in India (d’Cruz & Satterwaite, 2005). Precedent setting entails urban poor groups claiming, defining, and refining their own way of doing things in spaces they already control. This strategy is best exemplified in the claim for space by member organisations of the alliance. The informal settlers take the initiative to design and build houses and other community-managed infrastructure facilities, and develop their own detailed community maps from enumeration surveys. Later, they use these experiences to show city officials and external agencies that these are “precedents” that are worth investing in. These collective acts give legitimacy to negotiations for changes in policies and strategies that the urban poor want to bring in a development project or city strategy (d’ Cruz & Satterwaite, 2005).

The above cases illustrate that the co-production practices of local groups and communities have helped them build strong relations with the state without totally compromising their transgressive orientation. More importantly, engagement in co-production with the state at multiple levels has advanced their political positions in order to attain their goals (Mitlin, 2008; Muller & Mitlin, 2007). Civil society’s direct engagement with the state has equipped them with the understanding and skills that are necessary to negotiate successfully with the state (Marschall, 2004; Mitlin, 2008).

### 2.5.3 Problems with co-production as a planning approach

As groups engage in co-production, problems may arise that have the potential to undermine the benefits of this process. Although these problems have been documented more in developed countries, they have also been observed in Third World settings.

The strongest concern regarding engagement in co-production is that it may dilute public accountability by blurring the boundaries between the public, private, and voluntary sectors (Bovaird, 2007). As Joshi and Moore (2004) suggest, when co-production occurs, power, authority, and control of resources can be divided in an ambiguous manner between the state and groups of citizens. However, the very act of participation in governance can clarify the lines of accountability and responsibility (Mayo & Moore, 2002 as cited in Bovaird, 2007, p. 856).

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<sup>14</sup> SPARC stands for the Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centers. *Mahila-Milan*, meaning women together, is a credit scheme that assists women pavement dwellers in Bombay. NSDF stands for the National Slum Dwellers Federation.



A second concern is that public participation in co-production may not be advantageous to other groups. Those who participate are only the well-off members of the community (Bovaird, 2007) who already have the connections and skills to negotiate with the state. However, these arguments can be countered by authors who promote co-production for widening spaces of citizen participation. Thus, co-production may not be appealing to some countries, but it provides for an improved quality of life in many poor communities in other countries (see Joshi & Moore, 2004; Mitlin, 2008).

The third concern is that initially there is professional resistance to co-production (Bovaird, 2007). Professional groups who lack trust with clients might assume that co-producing with them will come at their own expense. Professionals themselves may lack the necessary skills to work closely with users in communities. However, professional groups may eventually work together with other sectors accepting that their expertise is only one of the inputs in the decision-making process.

A fourth concern is that citizens normally lack the education and experience to perform services that require specialized training. Moreover, substituting paid personnel with voluntary efforts means that some of the costs are transferred to the co-producers themselves; the costs are not eliminated, they are merely transferred to the people (Pestoff, 2006).

Finally, engagement with the state can undermine the group's autonomy and ability to push boundaries. As civil society groups actively work with the state, it is possible that they take on the interests of the state and compromise their causes that have made the people accept them "as a countervailing power to the state" (Brillantes, 1998; Carino, 1999, p. 90; Mitlin, 2008).

Table 2.2 presents the key themes and attributes of co-production. In summary, there are two key themes and corresponding attributes that are emphasized in the literature on co-production. These are co-production as an approach to engage with the government on service provision and as a way to strengthen social and political position. One should also be cognizant of the problems that may potentially arise when civil society groups work together with the government in order to create a decision or a service which works for them all.

**Table 2.2 Key themes and attributes of co-production.**

Key Themes	Attributes of Co-production
Co-production as a tool for service provision	<p>Shared character of the production process with each partner working together to achieve a mutually agreed outcome (Brandsen &amp; Pestoff, 2006; McKenzie et al., 2008).</p> <p>Involvement of civil society groups can be in: service planning; design, commission; delivery; monitoring; evaluation activities and in policy development (Bovaird, 2007; McKenzie et al., 2008).</p> <p>The involvement of civil society groups in any of the production process transforms the delivery of services by incorporating the participation of civil society into the institutionalised system of provision (Bovaird, 2007; Brandsen &amp; Pestoff, 2006; McKenzie et al., 2008).</p>
Co-production as a tool to improve social and political position	<p>Strengthens civil society groups' social and political position to further their claims for basic needs and recognition (Marschall, 2004; Mitlin, 2008; Watson, 2011).</p> <p>Joint production of public services has an institutionalised feature which implies provision of public services is through regular, long-term relationships between state agencies and organised groups where both make substantial resource contributions (Joshi &amp; Moore, 2004).</p> <p>Co-production in a Third World setting suggests that the state-civil society engagement may not involve organised confrontations and formal agreements, rather, potentially being undefined, informal, renegotiated continuously (Mitlin, 2008; UN-Habitat, 2009).</p> <p>It provides groups the venue to challenge the systems and processes of the government in various dimensions (Mitlin, 2008).</p>

The next section proposes a third way of doing planning by civil society groups characterised by the combined use of alternative planning approaches involving the adoption of both insurgent and co-production planning models.

## 2.6 Is There a Third Way of Planning?

A limited number of authors in the field of urban planning theory are pragmatic, and acknowledge the potential benefits of multiple strategies to secure access to services and meet people's needs. The urban poor are faced with needs that require serious attention (e.g. security of tenure and housing and access to clean water), are vulnerable to abuses, violence and exploitation, and have very limited resources (Mitlin, 2008). In addition, the

governments have demonstrated their incapacity or unwillingness to address these needs at a required scale (Mitlin, 2008).

Given this context, it could be argued that organised civil society groups engage in a simultaneous use of a variety of practices to increase their opportunities to address their members' or clients' needs (Ibabao, Vallance, Memon, 2012). While there are some practices which involve some form of opposition from the groups against the state (or other dominant structure) in order to obtain appropriate responses, there are practices that require engagement with the state to address their problems. There are a number of areas in which people may work with the state, such as issues related to work and income, access to land, basic services (such as water) and housing, campaigns for greater inclusion (e.g. on groups of ethnicity, gender, and age), or when they face a threat of dispossession by other groups (e.g. struggles against evictions) (Mitlin & Bebbington, 2006). Moreover, it could be argued that although a few authors have proposed this insurgent planning/co-production typology, they do not offer much clarity about the relationship between the two forms of planning practices (Ibabao, Vallance, Memon, 2012).

People adopt, therefore, a variety of actions to increase their opportunities of responding effectively to their problems; some strategies fit within the framework of insurgent planning while others within a co-production framework. Another way of conceptualising the combined use of planning strategies by civil society groups is by their hybrid nature. Hybridity is defined differently by various authors. For example, Bhaba (1994) uses the concept in post-colonial studies to mean colonial subjects persistently displacing spaces that have been introduced by colonisers. In planning literature, Mitchell (1997) and AlSayyad (2001) suggest that hybrid spaces are produced by a combination of socio-economic and cultural forces. In this study, however, I suggest the term hybridity might be used to denote the use of both insurgent and co-production planning approaches by civil society groups as they conduct their collective practices in the planning space. The literature reviewed here suggests a need for a term that acknowledges the use of *multiple* approaches, such as when the elements of insurgent and co-production planning approaches come together and influence the relationships between actors and the scope of activities of the groups.

Mitlin (2008)<sup>15</sup> proposes categories of multiple strategies adopted by the urban poor that involve both elements of self-help actions and partnerships with the government. These strategies are:

- individualised (or household) market based strategies which focus on individual advancement secured from other family members;
- collective self-help which is undertaken by people facing common needs and services and in complete absence of any state involvement;
- dependency-based strategies characterised by the poor improving their condition by using the existing institutional framework without challenging the cause of their condition;
- exclusion strategies in which the poor accept the impossibility of advancement through socially acceptable means and adopt methods associated with criminality; and,
- social movement strategies in which there are some explicit political demands and social interaction that extends beyond the formal organisational processes and associated coalitions and alliances.

Mitlin (2008) recognises that many of these collective self-help strategies are common in low-income and informal settlements because there is no other way that individuals alone can manage their situation. More importantly, she emphasises that few of these strategies involve explicit political action. Mitlin (2008) acknowledges that there have been cases when communities consciously withdrew their engagement with the state but that this appears to be relatively rare.

Likewise, Beard (2003) concludes that the mode of planning practice in which communities engage in moves constantly in different directions along a continuum; this ranges from participation in state-led projects to initiating structured and organised activities for long-term changes. In a healthy socio-political environment, all these modes would exist simultaneously, and a community would engage in different modes at different times and under different circumstances. People who have learned the skills and developed the consciousness necessary for insurgent planning do not restrict themselves from using only one mode. Rather, a “savvy community” would continue to use various modes depending on the context and desired outcome (Beard, 2003, p 30).

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<sup>15</sup> Refer to Mitlin (2008, pp. 342-343) for the descriptions of strategies that were provided here.

Civil society groups who consistently take an oppositional stance against the government will have to redefine their relationship with the government if they engage in co-production practices. The notion of “critical engagement” can form a basis by which both the government and civil society groups pursue different political, economic, and social engagements (Bryant, 2001). It is defined as a “form of interaction between states and NGOs in which both cooperation and conflict prevail in the course of a common effort to pursue social or ecological goals” (Bryant, 2001, p. 17). Critical engagement illustrates that relationships between actors are characterised by complexity. As explained by Bryant (2001, p. 17),

While conflict or cooperation can predominate, the notion of critical engagement emphasises that the relationship is usually typified by the *simultaneity* of both scenarios, with behaviour linked to spatially and temporally-defined issues.

Thus, a civil society group may work closely with the state on one issue, while in conflict with it over a different issue (Bryant, 2001). It is suggested that only reform-minded NGOs are likely to pursue critical engagement under any circumstance. Radical NGOs calling for revolutionary change and government overthrow are not likely to take part in such interaction (Bryant, 2001).

Crucial to critical engagement is the mutual agreement that conflict needs to be kept within bounds (Bryant, 2001). This may be achieved, for instance, by “ring-fencing” (Bryant, 2001, p. 17) conflict to the issue in question, thereby avoiding the spread of conflict from one area to another. Thus, a group may criticise one set of state policies while still having the intention of working with the state in other matters. In turn, state leaders and officials may avoid reading NGO criticism as blanket condemnation, thereby reducing the likelihood of a heavy-handed official response. There are times when conflicts between the state and a NGO get out of control; however, these fundamentals of critical engagement are usually restored (Eccleston & Potter, 1996 as cited in Bryant, 2001, p. 17).

Both insurgent and co-production approaches to planning accord a key role to the agency of civil society groups in responding to the needs of the urban poor.

## 2.7 Concluding Comments

This chapter has reviewed alternative planning practices that have emerged in response to modernist planning orthodoxies. One alternative planning approach is the insurgent planning model, whose proponents maintain that it is imperative that civil society groups should work independently from the state, thus highlighting the oppositional element of planning. Another alternative planning model is co-production, which emphasises the collaboration of civil society groups with the state, particularly in service provision.

The argument in this thesis is that, depending on the context, civil society groups adopt hybrid planning approaches which blend both insurgent and co-production planning models to achieve different goals. While Mitlin (2008) and Watson (2011) indicate that civil society groups engage in multiple strategies to attain their collective goals, they have not explored the condition in which civil society groups adopt insurgent planning and co-production planning approaches. Equally important, although the authors have proposed the insurgent planning-co-production typology, there is not much clarity about the relationship between the alternative planning approaches. Presented as research questions, this study has identified a number of four broad research gaps which are as follows:

- Does insurgent planning include all opposition or does it target a more selective ‘anti-state’ position?
- Are there meaningful distinctions in the planning practices of civil society groups in terms of insurgency, insurgent planning, co-production and collaboration?
- What is the usefulness of the term ‘insurgency’ and ‘insurgent’ in the context of countries which have experienced revolutions?
- Are planning practices mutually exclusive or do groups use a hybrid of planning practices?

Informed by this literature review, I will interrogate the gaps highlighted above by drawing on the experiences of three civil society groups in Iloilo City, Philippines. The next chapter will discuss the methodology for this study which has enabled me to address my research questions.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Research Methodology**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

As urban planning practices are inherently embedded in context, this study is based on a social constructionist methodology that seeks to understand the world as “socially constructed” using multiple qualitative methods. This chapter provides an overview of the study methodology and has the following structure. The first section discusses the relevance of adopting a social constructionist methodology in conducting qualitative research in the context of “layered” and “multicultural” cities. The next section expounds on the main research methodology employed (ethnography) to study three cases of civil society groups. This is followed by a section that highlights some of the ethical considerations associated with doing research in non-Western settings. Next, the criteria for the selection of the study area and case study groups are discussed. There is then a discussion of different methods used to collect primary and secondary data, as well as the strengths and limitations of each method. In respect of doing field work in a non-Western setting, Filipino indigenous research methods were also used, as discussed in this section. The next section discusses the procedures for data processing and analysis using thematic coding as the main method. A summary concludes the chapter.

#### **3.2 Social Constructionism and Qualitative Research**

The contemporary city is becoming more multicultural and heterogeneous. Sandercock (1998; 2003) uses the term “multiple city” to describe 21<sup>st</sup> century cities as being made up of different sexual orientations, ethnicities, classes, and races. This implies that social disparities in cities can create multiple realities.

The social constructionist approach is based on the assumption that “the terms by which the world is understood are social artefacts, products of historically situated interchanges among people” (Gergen, 1985, p. 267 as cited in Schwandt, 1998, p. 240). Knowledge is created by the shared meanings among different actors and not just one person’s interpretation of a phenomenon. The emphasis of the constructionist position is not on the individual meaning-making activity, but on the collective generation of meaning as influenced by language and other social processes (Schwandt, 1998). The researcher has to recognise that these meanings are diverse and subjective so that one has to look for complexity of views rather than

narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas (Creswell, 2009). The researcher also has to pay attention to how different actors attribute meanings to an event or phenomenon. The adoption of a constructionist view has implications for the way research questions are formulated, such as the use of more open-ended questions so that the researcher can listen to what the participants say, or observe what they do in their life settings (Creswell, 2009).

In consideration of the points above, particularly those of Sandercock and others who stress the multiplicity of urban experience, my research adopts a social constructionist view to understand the context in which insurgent and co-production planning practices are undertaken by civil society groups in Iloilo City, Philippines.

Qualitative methodology provides researchers with the tools needed to appreciate divergent experiences and meanings, and can therefore be used to understand *the complexity* of urban processes (Manzi & Jacobs, 2008). I therefore used a combination of qualitative research methods in my study in order to understand the nature of insurgent and co-production planning practices and the circumstances in which these approaches are adopted by civil society groups. Patterns of practices have been generated from interviews and field observations and with reference to the literature review.

Qualitative research has been described as:

an inquiry process based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants and conducts the study in a natural setting (Creswell, 1998, p. 37).

Thus, the qualitative research model suits my analysis of planning practices where the focus is not only on formal arrangements per se, but also on informal relationships between actors within partnership and network structures.

The strength of applying qualitative methods within a social constructionist approach is that it “offers an informative and nuanced reading of the power struggles and machinations of urban policies because of its commitment to foregrounding the meanings generated by key actors in their day-to-day activities” (Manzi & Jacobs, 2008, p. 31). Using these methods in my own study allows for the possibility of exploring ways in which planning processes in Iloilo City are being modified by the interactions between the three case study civil society groups and other actors. This is important because the insurgent planning and co-production



literature suggest that the relationships between civil society groups and other actors are not necessarily smooth; misunderstandings and disagreements may arise as each actor seeks to protect their own interests.

### **3.3 The Ethnographic Case Study Approach**

The overall objective of this research is to provide a better understanding of the planning practices of civil society groups using the frameworks of insurgent planning and co-production. This research focuses on the “what, when, why and how” questions. This requires describing the planning practices undertaken by the groups and the context in which they take place. Furthermore, it requires exploring the contextual factors that have influenced civil society groups to blend insurgent and co-production planning practices. Thus, an ethnographic methodology has been employed as the main approach to data collection. This has entailed the use of mixed qualitative research techniques consisting of semi-structured interviews and participant observation, which has been further complemented by secondary data collection.

Ethnography has been defined as:

the study of people in naturally occurring settings or “fields” by means of methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally (Brewer, 2000, p. 10).

The focus of this research is on documenting and interpreting planning practices within a given context. This has required me to do intensive interviews and, at times, participate in and observe the collective activities of the groups. In this way I have been able to describe details of their planning practices and provide my own interpretations and conclusions of these practices.

An ethnographic case study approach was chosen because the research topic involved obtaining quite detailed knowledge of particular groups (Brewer, 2000). The approach was employed as the main means to gain the in-depth understanding that this study required in which data collection consists of documents, participant observation and interviewing (Creswell, 2007). Following Yin (2003), my study investigated a phenomenon within its context, in a situation where multiple sources of evidence were needed. Although case studies have been found to be weak in terms of producing findings that can be generalised to

a population, they nevertheless produce rich and deep data compared to the breadth offered by other methodologies (Brewer, 2000). Thus, the case study procedure is ideal in terms of allowing me to understand both the context and actions of civil society groups, making their practices more meaningful to an outsider.

### **3.3 Ethical Considerations**

Flexibility in codes of conduct is necessary in studies that are undertaken in contemporary cities which have been characterised as fragmented, ambiguous, diverse, and multilayered (Sandercock, 1998; 2003; Thompson, 2003). As a researcher, my actions were guided by codes of conduct that are sensitive to the local culture of the study area and the subculture of the three case study groups.

The following ethical concerns influenced the courses of action I undertook in the conduct of this research. What is emphasised here is the negotiated nature of research when doing studies in a Third World setting.

#### **3.4.1 Informed consent**

An important consideration in accessing information is getting the consent of the gatekeepers to that information. Gatekeepers are “people [that] can help or hinder research depending upon their personal thoughts on the validity of the research and its value, as well as their approach to the welfare of the people under their charge” (Reeves, 2010, p. 317).

The gatekeepers in my case study groups were the leaders of organisations and the staff and/or community workers. My introduction to these gatekeepers was made possible by a “bridge” that facilitated my access to each of the study groups<sup>16</sup>. In one of my case study groups, the gatekeepers were constantly nearby while I was conducting interviews with other members. There were times when they would clarify and add additional information to the responses of their members. Their presence may have affected the responses of the members; however, this is better than not getting any information at all, which may have been the case, had the gatekeepers not been present during the interviews. My experience with the gatekeepers implies that in the conduct of research in a Third World urban setting, informed consent from group members was not enough. There were times when gatekeepers would require being nearby when members of their communities were being interviewed.

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<sup>16</sup> The “bridge” is a person who introduced me to the groups. He or she has previously worked with or has an on-going engagement with the group.

As prescribed by Lincoln University's Human Ethics Committee, written consent must be obtained for every interview and for observing collective activities in the field (e.g. meetings, fora/consultations, and mass protests). In my case, however, most participants felt there was no need to sign the consent forms, although they were willing to do so. In conducting social research in the Philippines, verbal consent is more appropriate than a written consent form because the latter is associated with authority and is therefore treated with considerable scepticism by some participants. My strategy, therefore, was always to have a written informed consent form available, but use this as a guide to obtain verbal informed consent. In instances where verbal consent was given, I would check for consent both at the beginning and at the end of the interview.

### 3.4.2 Rapport and involvement

It is recognised that the success of field research requires rapport and a certain degree of involvement between the researcher and the participants (de Laine, 2000). In my case, I established rapport with the case study groups by visiting their communities and joining their organised activities. This behaviour of being "out there with them" is encouraged by the leaders and staff of the case study groups when they work with people who are not members of their organisations, particularly researchers and agency representatives. According to the leaders of the three groups, they find this method makes it easier for them to explain their activities, and it reduces the need to document their experiences through reports.

Related to building rapport is the concern that some field researchers share about their experience of being treated differently by their case study groups or communities. A researcher's age, skin colour, and gender can influence the treatment that they get from their participants (Fetterman, 2010; Kim, Yang & Hwang, 2006; N. Scheyvens, H. Scheyvens, & Murray, 2003). In my case, I was aware that being an outsider to the groups could create a gap between me and the group members. When I conducted initial visits with the three groups, I experienced different treatment by the leaders and staff. Two groups were more open, while the other group showed scepticism towards me. Moreover, my middle-class background was perceived by some participants as a hindrance to understanding their struggles against oppression. It took a lot of persuasion to get them to talk about their activities, especially in areas where they felt my ignorance. Eventually, however, I felt that this group dealt with me on equal terms.

Although building rapport is a key component of field work, problems may arise as a result of too close an association with research participants. One issue is over-identification with the participants, which could introduce bias in the data collection and analysis (Fontana & Frey, 2005; Muir, 2008). Another challenge is the power imbalance between the researcher and the participants, which could lead to exploitation of the latter (Finch, 1993). I expected to observe such problems during the six months I spent with the three civil society groups in this study. I tried to minimise over-identification with the participants by talking about my experiences with other people who were not members of the groups and by reading relevant materials such as articles and news reports written about them. By doing this, I was able to validate my observations and experiences in the field. To avoid exploitation of the case study groups, I only used quotes from official interviews. Moreover, their views on certain issues have been put in context in the case study description and results chapters of this thesis (see Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7).

### 3.4.3 Confidentiality

Confidentiality can be defined as an implicit guarantee by a researcher to participants that the “information about them is only used in a way which make impossible for other persons to identify the participants or for any institution to use it against the interest of the participants” (Flick, 2009, p. 40). In my research, participant confidentiality was ensured through the descriptions of their position and role within the group; their names were not used in this thesis. Each interview transcript was coded based on the position of the participant within the organisation (i.e. coordinator, director, community worker, staff, or member). These positions have been used to identify the source of each quote given in this thesis.

In Western countries, researchers often overemphasise the preservation of the confidentiality of participants. However, based on my field experience, these issues were raised infrequently and only casually by participants. No participant requested that our conversations should be “off the record”. This apparent lack of interest by most participants to conceal information or their identities has been observed by other researchers who have conducted fieldwork in Third World countries (N. Scheyvens, Nowak & H. Scheyvens, 2003; Wilson, 1993). Often, participants feel proud to have taken part in a research project and want recognition of their contribution by their names being mentioned in the report. Despite this lack of concern, however, there is a necessity to balance the need to be acknowledged and the future harm that may be caused by disclosure. Thus, my research findings were presented in a way that did not allow participants to be easily identified.

It is important to note that, early on in my research, I considered whether or not to change the names of the case study groups. However, I decided to preserve their original names because I did not want to distort the data by disguising the identities of the groups. Moreover, these are legitimate groups that deserve to be recognised at least by retaining their original names (See Beard, 2003; Holston, 2009; Joshi & Moore, 2004; Meth 2010; Mitlin, 2008; & Roy, 2009b for some studies that were relevant to my decision.).

#### 3.4.4 Reflexivity

At the heart of every ethical process is reflexivity; this refers to the capacity of a researcher to recognise that other factors (such as gender, stature, age, religion and cultural orientation) might influence one's judgement of a situation (Sandercock & Attali, 2010). While social science research is traditionally conducted as a value-free activity achieved by standardised procedures, other scholars have argued that such research is a contextualised activity in which values play a significant role (Sandercock & Attali, 2010). Thus, in doing research in a cross-cultural context where there are a number of ethical values, having a pre-established set of procedures will not work. Research is the result of an on-going negotiation between the researcher and the community, undertaken in the spirit of collaboration and mutual learning; the researcher and the participants should be seen as equals. However, it is important to recognise that there are unequal power relations between the researcher and the participants (Sandercock & Attali, 2010).

In conducting this research, I was aware that my position as a researcher may have influenced the construction of my interview schedules and the analyses of data. Admittedly, I had to deal with my own "baggage", for I often used my own notions of "exploitation" and "collaboration". For example, I realised that the three case study groups saw nothing wrong in being "used" by other groups if this would result in achieving the goals of their own group and benefit their members. I also realised that the term "collaboration" is constructed differently by the groups. For me, it implies being seen as allies of the state and having a smooth relationship with its representatives. For the groups, however, their notion of collaboration is influenced by their experience of interacting with the state, which involves roles that are frequently negotiated and flexible. Thus, collaboration for the groups meant working with the government at the same time maintaining their critical stance on policies and practices that they perceived as disadvantageous to the general public.

I tried to balance my personal biases by doing a pre-test of the interview schedules, by talking with other people who are knowledgeable about civil society groups, and by spending more time with the case study groups. It was also in the context of conducting research in a non-Western setting that I used indigenous research techniques in Filipino Psychology, specifically *pakapa-kapa* or (“feeling” my way into the groups’ activities), *pagdalaw* (“making visits”) and *pagtatanung-tanong* (“asking questions”). These techniques complemented my primary research methods of secondary data collection and semi-structured interviews which have a western orientation. The indigenous methods are further discussed in subsection 3.6.3 Indigenous Methods.

### 3.5 Site and Case Study Group Selection

Iloilo City was chosen as the study site because it is one of the biggest urban centres in the Philippines. The city has a variety of civil society groups that address many urban problems commonly observed in cities in the Philippines; these include poverty, lack of affordable housing, and ineffective service delivery. As a resident of this city, I had the advantage of understanding the local context of the study site. This was important given my research objectives and methodology.

My interest in the study of civil society groups was inspired by their collective activities in my hometown in Iloilo City, Philippines. There I witnessed various initiatives in response to problems that affect their lives and their environment. I selected three civil society groups that had varying degrees of ‘independence’ from the government as they engage in collective activities. Groups have the preference to either work closely with the government or maintain their independence by undertaking activities largely by themselves.

When I started my data collection, I was guided by the insurgent planning model, which assumes that civil society groups largely undertake collective activities by themselves with limited or no support from the government. However, as I became more familiar with the groups, I began to appreciate other activities which could not be explained sufficiently by the insurgent planning model; these undertakings involved groups engaging with the government, indicating collaboration between the state and civil society. This led me to the co-production framework, which I used as another model by which to understand group practices. Thus, as an outsider, I wondered to what extent their co-production and insurgent activities could be seen as mutually exclusive, or whether they were somehow

complementary. This question formed the basis of my research and led me to critically examine the planning practices of civil society groups.

The case study groups were selected based on the following criteria:

- demonstrate a willingness to share planning practices and experiences of their organisation;
- groups share similar concerns but use different strategies to address the needs of their members and/clients;
- have a legal identity with an accreditation from the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)<sup>17</sup>;
- have field operations in the city;
- have been in operation for at least 5 years; and,
- have members or clients that are based in urban areas.

The three groups represent the variety of civil society in the country in terms of membership, programmes, strategies they use to achieve their goals, and their degree of collaboration with the government. A brief description of these groups follows.

- General Assembly Binding Women for Reform, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action-Panay, or GABRIELA, is a left-leaning group espousing a political ideology (national democracy). They are commonly associated with collective protest actions (e.g. rallies, petition-signing, pickets) and are known for taking an oppositional stance against state policies and practices.
- Homeless People's Federation of the Philippines -Western Visayas, or HPFP, is represented by urban poor groups in Iloilo City that primarily addresses problems on housing and security of tenure. This community-based organisation is an affiliate of the Slum Dwellers International (SDI) which promotes a partnership framework with local government units.
- Jaro Archdiocesan Social Action Center, or JASAC, is a NGO that provides a wide range of programmes and services to parish members and other clients. This church-based group has a long tradition of close relationships with the government. Yet this

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<sup>17</sup> The SEC is a Philippine estate commission that supervises, monitors, investigates, and sanctions all registered business entities in the country. It also makes policies related to market securities (SEC, 2011). SEC also oversees all registered non-stock and non-profit organisations, such as the three case study groups in this study.

group also takes a critical stance against the government by initiating collective protests in the form of prayer rallies.

Purposive and snowball sampling were used to identify the participants from case study groups for interviews (See Appendix A for the letter to participate in the study). They were chosen based on information received from other interviewees, who recommended further participants with knowledge of the groups' planning practices. I interviewed as many participants as would consent to be interviewed, or until thematic saturation was reached.

Representatives from other sectors were also interviewed for the study. They came from the city planning office, environment and natural resources office, the academe, the military, the church, the business sector, and the media. They were asked about their involvement with civil society groups (but not necessarily with the case study groups) and of their views on planning-related issues in Iloilo City and in the Philippines. The interviews helped inform a broader perspective of the planning practices of the three case study groups. In all, 73 people were interviewed from the case study groups and 30 people were interviewed from other sectors that had some working relations with the groups. The 'other sectors' representatives were from the city planning and development office, environment and natural resources office, the academe, the military, the church, and the business sector (See Appendix B.1 for the consent form for interview).

**Table 3.1 A summary of the groups and number of people interviewed in the study.**

Category	Number of Participants
A. Civil Society Groups	
GABRIELA	20
JASAC	21
HPFP	32
B. Other Sectors	30
TOTAL	103



### 3.6 Data Gathering Procedures

A multiple case study approach has been used to interrogate insurgent and co-productive planning practices in the context of the Philippines where there is apparent social inequality and urban poverty. Given this environment, it is important that multiple perspectives are considered in order to understand the groups' formation and collective activities. A variety of qualitative methods have been used for checking the results of this study in order to enhance the validity of my research data (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

The types of data collected can be classified into two broad categories: secondary data and primary data. Secondary data from online sources (e.g. websites, news and blog sites), brochures, and reports substantiated information gathered from interviews, observations, and talk in action (Fetterman, 2010). While written information is invaluable, I am aware that such documents indicate the image that groups want to present to the outside world. To cross-reference data from secondary sources, I used information from interviews and personal observations of the groups' activities in the field.

Other than written documents, I also used photographs<sup>18</sup> to accompany text descriptions and to provide supplementary evidence (See Appendix B.2 for photo release form). Most of the photos used in my research were taken from digital and cell phone cameras of the case study groups. Discussions of photos with the participants helped verify my understanding of their practices and enhanced the research in terms of visual documentation of activities which were significant to both the groups and my research. These photos are spread throughout Chapter 3 to Chapter 7. Some of photo captions were written by the groups based on their interpretation of the images; other captions came from me to suit the idea of the main text.

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<sup>18</sup> In other researches, photo-documentation has been used as a visual image tool that can make people think critically about their personal and social reality (Wang & Redwood- Jones, 2001).



Figure 3.1 Photo exhibit at University of the Philippines Visayas Art Gallery held in December 2009. Photos were chosen by both the researcher and staff of the case study groups. A caption for each photo was provided by the groups (Photo and text: Author, 2009).



Figure 3.2 Photo exhibit at Lincoln University Library held in April 2010. This exhibit used the same photos and captions as the exhibit held in the Philippines (Photo and text: Author, 2010).

Primary data consists of first-hand information from participants obtained through semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and indigenous Filipino methods. It was appropriate to use indigenous methods sensitive to local culture in order to address the power imbalance between researcher and participants, as well as the negotiated nature of data

collection in the field. Such methods allowed me to engage in layers of reflexivity to contextualise data gathered from the field (Hellier, Newton & Gaona, 1999).

The sections that follow discuss the methods used for the collection of primary data.

### 3.6.1 Semi-structured interviews

Most of the data collected in this study were from semi-structured interviews conducted over a period of six months (See Appendix C for the interview guide). Participants were identified based on their association and familiarity with a group and its activities. In-depth interviews were conducted with at least 5 participants (the coordinator, director, documentor, community worker and staff) from each group. The interview lasted for at least an hour and was recorded using a standard cassette voice recorder (model Sony TCM-150). Other interviews were conducted with members of the groups and other staff member that lasted between 15 minutes to an hour. Thirty (30) representatives from other sectors who had some working relation with any of the case study groups were interviewed for corroboration purposes. They were from the city planning and development office, environment and natural resources office, the academe, the military, the church, and the business sector (See Appendix B.1 for the consent form for interview). All the interviews, except with the foreign representative from Misereor-Germany, were conducted in my local dialect and the data was subsequently translated into English.

The interview guide was divided into several sections. The first part asked about the group's collective activities; the second part talked about the strategies they employ to achieve their goals; the third part asked about the benefits of joining the group, and their issues and concerns as members of the group; and the last section asked for their opinions on certain issues. Towards the end of my data collection I modified these questions slightly in response to the data I had already collected. Thus, representatives of the case study groups were asked about their achievements in terms of influencing government policies and practices to their favour, challenges they experienced in achieving their goals, and strategies they used to hurdle those problems. These questions enabled me to achieve my research objectives and to answer the key research question.

The semi-structured interview schedule was chosen over a structured interview schedule because of its flexibility. According to Lindlof and Taylor (2002), this technique allows the researcher to tailor the questions to the situation and to the people being interviewed. There

were times when my participants would digress from the question; yet, due to the flexibility in my methods, I found their responses valuable in making connections and considering points that I had not thought of before the interview. These responses only became significant when I analysed the data.

An interview setting can create certain discomfort to participants. To reduce this uneasiness, I conducted all interviews in venues that were convenient and comfortable to the participants (e.g. their homes, offices, and community areas). The presence of a tape recorder made a few informants uneasy but they quickly got used to it.

It should also be noted that after I had technically completed my data collection (i.e. after the six-month field work period), I continued to communicate with the participants via email and whenever I had the chance to visit their offices. Consequently, I was able to ask for clarification on issues and questions that came up during my analysis of the interview transcripts.

### 3.6.2 Participant observation

Participant observation was also conducted over the six month period of field work. My purpose for using this method was three-fold: the first reason was to enhance my understanding of the groups' collective activities; the second was to establish rapport with and gain the trust of the groups by participating in their activities; finally, it was used to gather data.

This method provided a great deal of personal insight into the groups' events and activities that would not have been possible had I restricted my methods to interviews and secondary data collection. The workshops and meetings of HPFP, as well as the meetings and protest activities of GABRIELA, helped me understand their processes of "doing" planning activities. During the time I was in the communities of HPFP and GABRIELA, I observed and took notes on the groups' activities<sup>19</sup> (See Figures 3.3 to 3.6 for photos of some activities I participated in).

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<sup>19</sup> It was a disappointment that I was not able to join the activities of JASAC because most of my time in the field was consumed doing interviews and participant observations with GABRIELA and HPFP. Thus, my results are more reflective of the other two groups.



Figure 3.3 Western Visayas Housing Summit 2009. HPFP, together with the City government, national housing agencies, and the business sector, organised this regional event where different sectors shared their best practices on tenure and housing security (Photo and text: Author, 2009).



Figure 3.4 Participants of HPFP's housing workshops for the CLIFF<sup>5</sup> project, held at the relocation site (see Chapter 5 for further details) (Photo and text: Author, 2009).



Figure 3.5 A protest march against human rights violations in the country organised by GABRIELA and BAYAN-Panay (or New Patriotic Alliance) members (Photo and text: Author, 2009)



Figure 3.6 Launching and orientation of the VAW/C program. The event, held at GABRIELA's provincial office, was in celebration of the group's 25 years of fighting violence against women and children (VAW/C) (Photo and text: Author, 2009).

Although taking part in the activities of groups can be an advantage in gaining the trust of participants, it can also be a disadvantage in terms of “being identified” with them. Being seen with a left-wing group makes people assume that I support a “communist cause” and opened myself up to possible surveillance and harassment. There was a time when I thought about confining my methods to doing interviews in order to lessen my association with the groups. However, this would have posed an obstacle in building rapport with GABRIELA

and HPFP, who had negative experiences with some other researchers in the past: according to their leaders and staff, there were researchers who interviewed them and did not communicate with them after the study. Taking part in some of the groups' activities enabled me to gain their trust, and it also served as an opportunity to see the discrepancy between other people's perception of them and what the group actually does. It also placed an obligation upon me to help them in some of their activities and to present some of my research results.

In consideration of the study area, which is in a Third World setting, my data collection required the use of research methods that are sensitive to its social and cultural conditions. The Filipino indigenous methods that I utilised for data collection are discussed in the next section.

### 3.6.3 Indigenous methods

The use of indigenous methods in certain settings allows researchers to examine the content and context of study (Kim, Yang & Hwang, 2006). In my case, using some methods borrowed from Filipino social-psychology literature allowed me to establish good rapport with participants throughout the study. These methods complemented data from interviews, participant observations, and secondary sources as I gained better insights about the groups' activities. The methods of *pakapa-kapa*, *pagdalaw*, and *pagtatanung-tanong* are rooted on the experience, ideas, and cultural orientation of Filipinos (Pe-Pua, 1982).

*Pakapa-kapa* (or "feeling" my way into the groups' activities) is a method that was quite useful in the first month of data collection. This is characterised as "groping, searching and probing into an unsystematised mass of social and cultural data to be able to obtain order, meaning and directions for research" (Torres, 1982, p. 171). This unobtrusive method implies an exploration of the data without overriding theoretical frameworks or other methods. By using this method, I became familiar with the groups' activities and was able to refine my guide questions for the interviews.

I engaged in *pagdalaw* (or "making visits") throughout the six-month field work period. This is one of the quickest ways to become less of a stranger to the groups and to make them more open in sharing information with the researcher (Gepigon Jr. & Francisco, 1982). For this study, I regularly visited the staff and leaders of HPFP and GABRIELA in their offices; however, I noticed that having breaks in-between visits to their offices was just as important

as going there regularly. I observed that they were more forthcoming in answering my questions, and often voluntarily provided me with information without me asking for it. When I told them I needed to interview more members to substantiate my data, some of them became more cooperative in looking for more participants. Although I was not able to visit JASAC's office as frequently as the other case study groups, the staff accommodated me for interviews and conversations during their free time.

The method of *pagtatanung-tanong* (or "asking questions") is useful when clarifying, confirming, and verifying data (Gonzales, 1982). This is different from the semi-structured interview, which is done with a set of guided questions and is scheduled with the participant. This method is similar to having an informal conversation and I used it whenever I was in the offices or communities and people were not so busy to answer my queries.

### **3.7 Data Processing and Analysis**

Data were analysed in an inductive manner influenced by both primary and secondary data and by my involvement in translating meaning to information (Lofland, Snow, & Anderson, 2006). Thematic coding was the general approach in the analysis of my data. Developed by Flick, it increases the comparability of the collected data in terms of the specific ways of seeing and experiencing. The assumption of thematic coding is that various groups have different views on a phenomenon or process (Flick, 2009).

The next sections discuss the processing and analysis of data from multiple sources.

#### **3.7.1 Secondary data**

In order to analyse my secondary data, I used the technique of memoing, or making notes which are organised by having separate files for each group. The analytical files contained data from written documents and interviews. They were coded according to the relevance of the data to: the research aims; the themes; and other references that needed to be accessed for further understanding of the groups' planning practices.

A separate computer folder was created for the photos I collected; this was categorised according to the case study groups, and further divided by activities that corresponded to their programmes. Printed copies of the photos were stored in my office cabinet. Some of the photographs and captions that appear in this thesis come from the civil society groups; proper credit is provided where applicable.



### 3.7.2 Primary data

Multiple sources of primary data were processed and analysed by undertaking the following activities.

Data collected from interviews, observations, and indigenous methods were recorded on digital tape recorder or written down in notebooks. Personal thoughts about the data were frequently sorted and reviewed. These “memos” or field notes were most useful for making connections, identifying patterns, and identifying topics that needed to be probed further. The interviews were then transcribed using MS Word. For every transcription, I made notes about important points raised by the interviewee and my impressions about the interview. The notes helped me organise my data and make comparisons of people's views across the three groups when I came to do my analysis.

Each interview transcript was coded by referring to the participants according to the group they represented (e.g. HPFP, GABRIELA, JASAC) and their position in the group (e.g. president, member, secretary, community worker). The cassette tapes and notebooks used in this study are in my possession in the Philippines and will be destroyed after two years, as required under the consent given by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee.

Thematic coding was utilized for data analysis. Themes arising from the data analysis are as follows:

- collective planning practices of civil society groups;
- oppositional and collaborative acts in relation to the state;
- views on ‘insurgency’
- rationales for the engagement in hybrid planning practices;
- challenges in groups’ engagement from hybrid planning practices;

Key themes were identified by following these steps. First, each transcript was read carefully and the words, phrases, and sentences that were potentially significant and interesting were highlighted. Potential themes were identified by writing comments at the end of each transcript. Next was the process of coming up with a list of themes which were modified by expanding and narrowing ideas. Finally, these themes were compared with what was written in the literatures on insurgent planning and co-production in order to develop new understanding about planning practices.

Thematic coding has its drawbacks. The steps in coming up with themes include repeatedly reading transcripts and other materials and developing tentative codes (Flick, 2009). These steps proved to be time-consuming and tedious. In spite of these limitations, I chose to use this method because it allowed me to simultaneously describe, organise, and interpret my data.

### **3.8 Chapter Summary**

This chapter has demonstrated that the constructionist view is suitable for doing research in an urban setting due to its “multi-layered” character. Study in this context requires the use of multiple qualitative research methods, particularly in exploring the planning practices of three civil society groups. Since the study was conducted in the Philippines, the codes of conduct were modified to suit the research context, which demonstrated the “flexible” and “negotiated” nature of ethical behaviours. The selection of the site and case study groups was directed by the research aim which was to have a better understanding of the collective practices of civil society groups in post-colonial setting. Multiple research methods were used, with secondary data collection and semi-structured interviews as the main methods of collection. Indigenous Filipino methods were utilised to complement these methods, resulting in a richer data set. Information collected was processed and analysed using thematic coding, a method that has limitations, but was nevertheless the most suitable for generating research themes and contributing to the development of my conceptual framework. Throughout this chapter, the challenges experienced during the different stages of doing the research have been highlighted and discussed.

The next chapter provides descriptions of the study area and the three civil society groups.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Context of the Study Area and a Description of the Case Study Groups**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter introduces the study area in the Philippines, with a particular focus on Iloilo City. The urban socio-economic and political structure creates a unique set of relationships that influence how civil society groups engage in planning and collective actions. Information about this structure is important in order to understand the institutional possibilities and constraints faced by civil society groups as they engage in insurgent and co-production planning practices. Data for this chapter were compiled using a review of secondary sources and, in some instances, personal observations and interviews.

The chapter is divided into three major sections. The first section provides a brief introduction to the Philippines followed by a description of Iloilo City. Highlighted in this section are the informality of the urban sector and the pervasiveness of urban poverty in urban Philippines. It also underscores the significance of forming linkages and partnerships between the government and civil society groups. The next section describes the attributes of the three case study groups according to their history, functions, basic strategies, organisational structure, and funding sources. Finally, the chapter ends with a summary of the groups' attributes. The matrix-summary emphasises that, although the groups are different from each other in many ways, they share similarities as they intersect in some areas of concern.

#### **4.2 Context of the Study Area**

This section outlines the socio-economic and political urban environment in the Philippines and in Iloilo City. These conditions shape the kind of planning actions that civil society groups can undertake as they achieve their collective goals.

##### **4.2.1 The Philippines: Socio- political and economic characteristics**

The Philippines is an archipelago in Southeast Asia (see Figure 4.1) with a population of 94 million in 2010 (National Statistics Office [NSO], n.d.) dispersed across 7,107 islands. It has three main geographical divisions, namely: Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao divisions; its capital is Manila (Figure 4.1). The Philippines' archipelagic nature contributed "to the

formation of at least 156 languages” (Zorc, 1984 as cited in Thompson, 2003, p. 28) making it one of the most ethnolinguistically diverse nations in Asia. It has a long history of colonial rule, particularly under Spain, Japan and the USA, interspersed with visits from merchants and traders; all this has resulted in a multicultural blend of people.



Figure 4.1 The Philippines and its three geographic divisions: Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao (Embassy of the Philippines, 2012).

Following Marcos' authoritarian rule (1972-1981), democracy was restored to the Philippines through the People Power Revolution in 1986, and a unitary form of government with a multi-tiered structure was created. The country is now a presidential republic with a bicameral legislature (24 Senate members and 250 members of the House of Representatives). The country's President and Vice-President are elected through direct voting; they spend six years in office. The President is not eligible for re-election<sup>20</sup>, but the Vice-President can serve up to three consecutive terms (Article 7, Section 4 of the 1987 Philippine Constitution). The members of the House of Representatives and the bottom 12 Senate members are all elected every three years through direct voting in the national elections and are eligible to serve for up to three consecutive terms. The top 12 Senate members get to serve a full six years, after which national elections are held for their positions.

Below the central government is the three-level local government units (LGUs) hierarchy: provinces are divided into municipalities and component cities, which are further subdivided into *barangays* (or "villages"); these are the smallest political units. Each level of local government has councils as their own legislative bodies. Local executives (mayors and governors) and members of local legislatures are also elected by their respective constituents and get to serve the full six years (Republic Act [R.A.] 7160 of 1991).

In the context of this study, it is important to note that decentralization in the early 1990s gave local government units far greater responsibilities and resources. At the same time, civil society has been given more opportunities to participate in service provision and policy-decisions at all levels of the planning process. Many civil society groups are actively engaged in addressing issues of urban poverty. This new form of governance encourages more participatory forms of planning, and more cases of civil society-government partnerships.

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<sup>20</sup> The revised 1987 Constitution does not allow the country's President to run for two successive elections in order to prevent dictatorship. In the 1973 Constitution, the President had a six-year term and no limitation on re-election.

#### 4.2.1.1 The urban<sup>21</sup> economy

The Philippines is the most rapidly urbanizing country in East Asia. This growth is fueled by both in-migration from rural to urban areas and natural population growth (World Bank, 2009). The urban population has already passed the 50 per cent mark and is expected to rise to 75 per cent of the country's population by 2030. The nation's capital, Metro Manila, is the 11<sup>th</sup> most populous metropolitan area in the world (World Bank, 2009).

The growth of urban population from 32 per cent in 1970 to 38 per cent in 1980 and 47 per cent in 1990 (Philippine Commission on Population, 2003) implies that the urban economy has been the key driver of national economic growth (GHK International, 2009)<sup>22</sup>. In the past decade, both large and small cities have reported their highest economic growth rates, which have stimulated development in the surrounding areas.

Despite the high economic growth in urban areas, there are still significant problems associated with poverty. Though most definitions associate poverty with a lack of, or deficiency in, the human necessities, there is no consensus as to what basic human needs are or how they can be identified (Wratten, 1995). The concept of poverty is complex and there is no consensus on its definition. The Philippines adopts the complementary economic and anthropological interpretations that were proposed by Wratten (1995) and Satterthwaite (1995 as cited in Satterthwaite, 2003, p. 74)<sup>23</sup>. The urban poor in the country are those people

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<sup>21</sup> In the Philippines, an urban area is defined as:

- In their entirety, all cities and municipalities which have a population density of at least 1,000 persons per square kilometre;
- *Poblaciones* or "central districts" of municipalities and cities which have a population density of at least 500 persons;
- *Poblaciones* or "central districts", not included in 1 and 2 above, regardless of population size which have the following characteristics:
  1. Street pattern, that is, network of streets in either parallel or right angle orientation;
  2. At least six establishments, either commercial, manufacturing, recreational and/or personal services; and,
  3. At least three of the following:
    - a. a town hall, church, or chapel with religious services at least once a month;
    - b. a public place, park, or cemetery;
    - c. a market place or building where trading activities are carried out at least once a week;
    - d. a public building like a school, hospital, puericulture, health centre, or library.
- *Barangays*, or villages, having at least 1,000 inhabitants, which meet the conditions set forth in 3 above and in which the occupation of the inhabitants is predominantly non-farming/fishing (Philippine Commission on Population, 2003).

<sup>22</sup> Information taken from the technical consultants' report for Asian Development Bank.

<sup>23</sup> According to Wratten (1995) and Satterthwaite (1995 as cited in Satterthwaite, 2003, p. 74), conventional economic definitions use income or consumption as the main indicator. Alternative interpretations allow for local variation in the meaning of poverty, and expand the definition to include perceptions of non-material deprivation and social differentiation (Wratten, 1995; Satterthwaite, 1995).

in urban and urbanisable areas who are without houses and whose income falls below the poverty threshold set by the government (Republic Act [R.A.] 7279 or the Urban Development and Housing Act of 1992). It also refers to people who do not own housing facilities to include those who live in makeshift dwellings and do not have security of tenure (Article 3, R.A. 7279). In 2009, a Filipino family needed Php 7,017<sup>24</sup> income per month to stay out of poverty: this is the amount needed for a five-member family household to meet their monthly basic needs of food, clothing, and shelter (National Statistics Coordinating Board [NSCB], 2011). In 2007, the urban poor in informal settlements were estimated at 550,771<sup>25</sup> households (Cruz, 2010). Despite the high incidence of poverty in urban areas, the huge number of people living there may be due to urbanisation, better perceived opportunities, and displacements in rural areas resulting in political instability and infrastructure projects.



Figure 4.2 A Filipino family. It is common for a Filipino family to have at least three children with less than two years of age gap. (Photo and text: Author, 2009).

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<sup>24</sup> Php 7,017 = NZD 204.22 using the currency converter . Retrieved at [http://coinmill.com/PHP\\_calculator.html#PHP=7017](http://coinmill.com/PHP_calculator.html#PHP=7017) on 21 October 2011.

<sup>25</sup> Data is part of the Spatial Statistics of Informal Settlers in the Philippines which is a component of the Housing Backlog Study commissioned by the Housing and Urban Development Coordinating Council (HUDCC). For this study, informal settlers are defined as “those households whose tenure status is ‘rent-free’ without consent of owner” (Cruz, 2010, p.1).

Urban poverty in the Philippines is also manifested in the proliferation of slums and informal settlements found in high-risk areas: e.g. riverbanks, railway tracks, and flood and landslide prone areas. These overcrowded settlements lack basic infrastructure services, secure tenure, social networks, and access to quality services such as health, education, and transportation. These informal settlements also lack access to employment and livelihood opportunities (Republic Act [RA] 7279; Llanto & Ballesteros, 2003).



Figure 4.3 Houses of the urban poor. The houses of the urban poor consist of materials abundant in the area. This photo shows shacks in Iloilo City made of bamboo and thatch; this is in contrast to Manila slums, where most houses are made of corrugated iron, cement blocks, and scrap materials (Photo and text: Author, 2011).

These characteristics of urban poverty are not unique to the Philippines as they have also been found in other Third World countries. Variations may exist, such as the nature of the activities of urban poor, the types and severity of problems they experience, and assistance that is available to them (see UN-Habitat, 2008, 2009). National governments, the civil society sector, the private sector, and development aid organisations have programmes and projects that address urban poverty; these programmes are undertaken either as resistance to prevailing state practices or in partnership with the state.



Like other cities in the Third World, urban poverty in Iloilo City has manifested in the engagement of the poor in the “informal sector”. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) defines the informal sector as:

[consisting] of small-scale, self-employed activities (with or without hired workers), typically at a low level of organization and technology, with the primary objective of generating employment and incomes. The activities are usually conducted without proper recognition from the authorities, and escape the attention of the administrative machinery responsible for enforcing laws and regulations (ILO website, 2000).

The informal sector in many Asian cities accounts for 50 to 60 per cent of the workforce (International Labour Organisation [ILO], 2000).

In the Philippines, the definitions adopted by the country’s policy-making and coordinating body on statistical matters (which is the NSCB) and the Social Reform and Poverty Alleviation Act<sup>26</sup> conform to the definition of ILO. Their definitions, however, deviate in the respect that some informal enterprises are registered with proper government agencies (Sibal, 2007).

The informal sector in the Philippines has the following characteristics (Sibal, 2007):

- composed of self-employed workers and unpaid family workers;
- mostly homed-based, mostly unregistered, hardly paying direct taxes, and uninsured;
- engaged in both legal and illegal (or non-legitimate) activities;
- majority work purely in the informal sector but some are also working for a limited period (on contractual arrangement) in the formal sector as wage workers, sales agents, service providers, etc.;
- the condition of safety in the workplace is very uncertain; and,
- the main source of capital is their savings, and there is no form of loan assistance.

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<sup>26</sup> The Social Reform and Poverty Alleviation Act of 1997 (R.A. 8425) refers to workers in the informal sector as “poor individuals who operate businesses that are very small in scale and are not registered with any national government agency, and to the workers in such enterprises who sell their services in exchange for subsistence level wages or other forms of compensation” (Section 3, w).



Figure 4.4 Sources of livelihood in the Philippines. Some urban poor get their source of income from driving jeepneys, taxi cabs, or *trisikads*. A *trisikad* is a popular mode of transportation which means *tri* (3 wheels) and *sikad* (to pedal) and is considered as a poor man's version of a taxi (Photo and text: Author, 2011).



Figure 4.5 Street vendors outside a university. Street vendors sell fruits and other foods to augment the meagre income of the household which is less than NZD \$5 a day (Photo and text: Author, 2011).

The first Philippine survey of the informal sector reported that there are 10.5 million operators in 2008<sup>27</sup> (NSO, 2009). These informal sector operators were either self-employed without any paid employees, or employers in family operated farms or businesses. The self-employed numbered about 9.1 million, while the employers numbered 1.3 million (NSO, 2009).

#### 4.2.2 Iloilo City: Socio-political and economic characteristics

Iloilo City, with a small land area of 78.34 square kilometers (Fast facts: Iloilo City, 2011), is the regional centre in Western Visayas region<sup>28</sup>, southeast of Panay Island just across the Iloilo Strait (Figure 4.6). The city is one of the biggest urban centers in the country, with a population of 418,710 recorded in the nationwide census in 2007 (Fast facts: Iloilo City, 2011) distributed among six districts (City Proper, Lapaz, Jaro, Mandurriao, Molo, and Arevalo). In 2007, its growth rate of 1.9 per cent was just slightly lower than the Philippine's average growth of 2.04 per cent (NSO, 2010). The city's relatively fast growth rate is attributed to its role as the administrative, financial, and educational centre of Western Visayas. The majority of the land area in Iloilo City (Figure 4.7) is used for residential purposes (yellow colour), while commercial areas (red colour) are found along major thoroughfares. Only a small percentage of the total land area is reserved for agricultural purposes (green colour). The socialised housing zones (yellow-orange colour circled in red), or areas of low-income housing units, are mostly located on the periphery or just outside the boundaries of the city. Their locations make access to employment and services difficult for the urban poor who stay in these areas.

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<sup>27</sup> The nationwide survey was conducted by the National Statistics Office with funding assistance provided by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP).

<sup>28</sup> Western Visayas consists of six provinces; Aklan, Antique, Capiz, Guimaras, Iloilo and Negros Occidental.



Figure 4.6 Location of Iloilo City in the Philippines and in Western Visayas region.

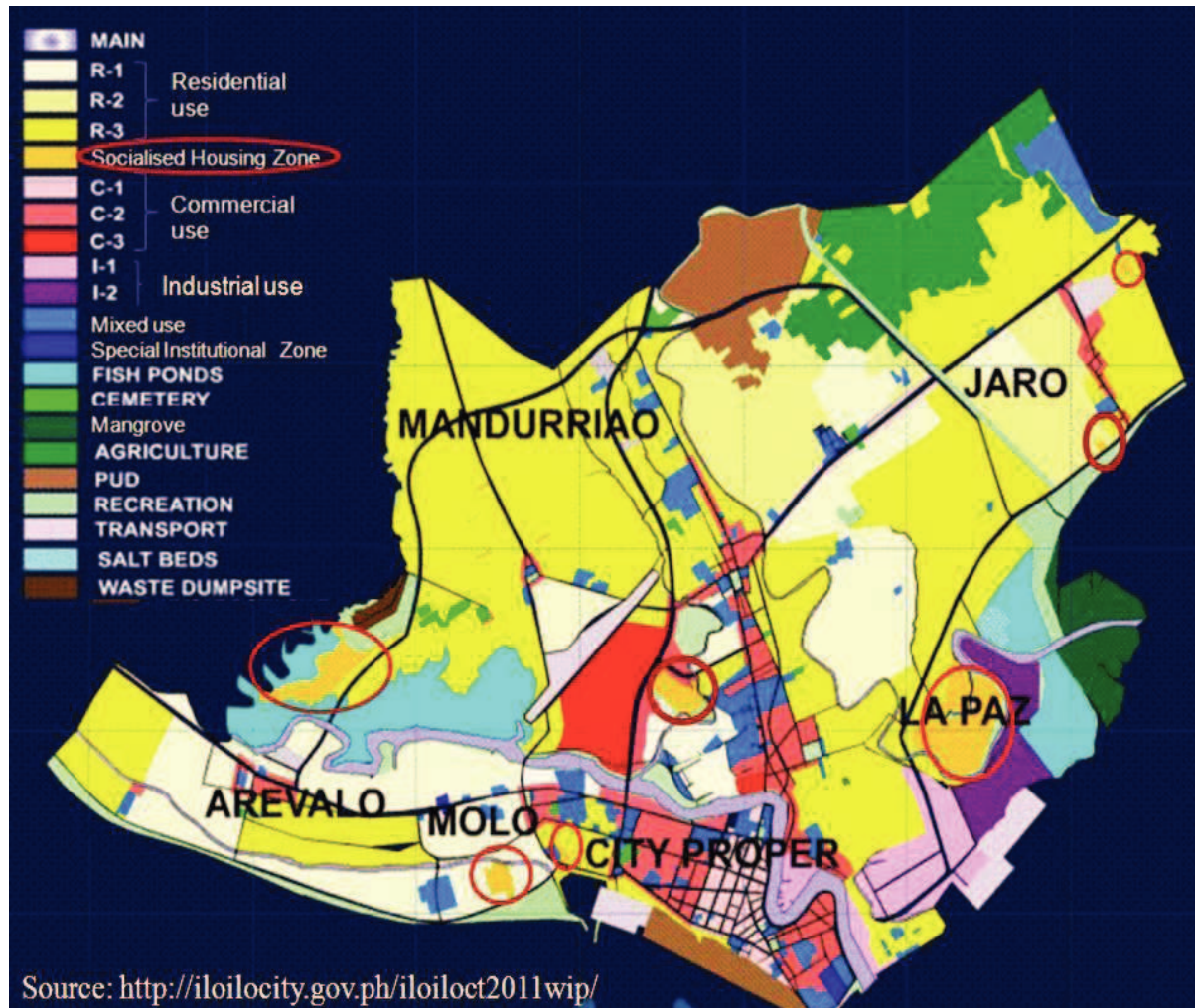


Figure 4.7 Zoning Map of Iloilo City. The map shows Iloilo City's six districts and its current land uses (for the period 1998-2011).

Iloilo City has a directly elected executive mayor, 12 councillors, and a lone legislature. Below the city government there are 180 *barangays* (or “villages”) distributed across the six districts. Local officials are elected every three years by the constituents. Civil society participation is quite active based on the hundreds of civil society organisations found in Iloilo City. The city government recognises their significance in decision-making processes; thus, there is a requirement for civil society to be represented in development councils and committees.

The current city mayor has collaborated with civil society groups and other institutions such as international funding agencies, business sector, and local government units to increase the city's linkages with other agencies other than the national government. The city government's most notable partnerships have been in housing, solid waste management, heritage conservation and festival programmes; all of these have gained international recognition for their success (Institute for Solidarity in Asia [ISA], 2009). It also has on-going partnerships with international agencies (e.g. Canadian Urban Institute [CUI] & Canadian International Development Agency [CIDA]) for its good governance programme. The significance of partnerships in the planning and development process has been initiated and supported by international agencies working in the city, such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Asian Development Bank (ADB), World Bank (WB), German Company for International Cooperation (GTZ, now GIZ) and Japan International Cooperative Agency (JICA).

#### *4.2.2.1 The urban economy*

A large percentage of Iloilo City's urban economy is driven by the service sector, followed by industry (e.g. food processing, wood products, construction, and fishing) and agriculture (Fast facts: Iloilo City, 2011). Although official statistics do not put the city on the list of the country's poorest areas, claims of reports from civil society groups indicate that a significant percentage of the population is employed in the informal sector. At the local level, there is no official figure yet available on the number of people in the informal sector. The national statistics, however, show that, of the 10.5 million employed in the informal sector in 2008, 8.1 per cent of these are found in the Western Visayas region (NSCB, 2011). This means that the region has the third highest percentage of people in the informal sector after CALABARZON<sup>29</sup> (11.1 %) and Central Luzon (8.3 %) (NSCB, 2011).

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<sup>29</sup> CALABARZON is one of the regions in the Philippines and is composed of five provinces, namely: CAvite, LAguna, BAtagas, Rizal, and QueZON.

Many of those employed in the informal sector have land tenure problems. The large number of informal settlers prompted the current city mayor to create the Iloilo City Urban Poor Association Office (ICUPAO) in the early 2000s as the government agency that manages the concerns of the urban poor (Calubiran, 2007). The ICUPAO conducted a structural census in 2002, and found that the number of informal settlers in Iloilo City was more than 17,000 families (Calubiran, 2007), with an average of five members in each family. The informal settlers were mostly concentrated along the river banks and old railway routes. The number of informal settlers has since been reduced to a little over 7,000 families in 2011 (Homes await Iloilo..., 2011). The decrease in the number of informal settlers is attributed by ICUPAO to the city government's relocation sites and the declaration of Presidential Proclamation Areas in the city as resettlement areas. There are also households who were able to attain security of tenure through the Community Mortgage Program (CMP) run by the government (Calubiran, 2007). Recently, the city government has embarked on land banking as a strategy to address tenure security of the urban poor.

Given that Iloilo city has a population of almost half a million, the reported number of households found in informal settlements appears to be an under-presentation of the actual figure. Capturing a more realistic number of informal settlers in the city may have been hampered by the limited resources available to the government when conducting the census, and the lack of coordination with urban poor federations in the city. Recently, the city government has formed partnerships with some urban poor federations to improve its census of informal settlers in Iloilo City.

The reduction of urban poverty has been part of the activities and programmes of civil society organisations in the city. There are three organisations whose programmes are specifically focussed on the urban poor; these groups form my three case study groups. HPFP and GABRIELA are community-based organisations, which means their membership consists of the marginalised sectors of society. JASAC is a faith-based NGO that represents marginalised sectors.

Based on the descriptions given by the case study groups of their urban poor members, this segment of society is multi-dimensional. The groups have members or clients who are employed, but as low-level workers in government agencies and business establishments. Moreover, the majority of their members or clients share the following characteristics:

absence of land tenure, residence in high-risk areas, engagement in the “underground economy” (or informal activities), and insecure employment.

### 4.3 Description of Case Study Groups

The stories of the collective activities of the three case study groups have been used as a heuristic device to illustrate the circumstances under which these groups adopt insurgent and co-production planning practices. Although the composition of the three groups’ members and/or clients is similar, some important differences have helped shape the type of programmes and services they provide to their members and the general population. These include welfare, housing, legal, and educational services. This section provides more detailed information about the groups in terms of their formation, functions, and basic strategies to mobilise their members, and their relationships with the state and other sectors.

#### 4.3.1 Homeless People’s Federation of the Philippines-Western Visayas

The Homeless People’s Federation of the Philippines (HPFP) brings together urban poor community organisations across the country that find solutions to problems they face with secure land, housing, health, infrastructure, income welfare and access to affordable credit. An HPFP member in Western Visayas described the hardships of the urban poor as follows:

Our membership is mainly based on non-ownership of land... I realised that the definition of urban poor depends on the context and there are no standard solutions to address it. The urban poor, at least those who are HPFP members, have problems with land tenure and unsafe houses mostly located in high-risk areas. There are also problems with access to potable water and sanitation (no toilet or wash out in coastal communities). They typically live below the poverty line and are self-employed in the informal sector as street hawkers (e.g. selling *balut* or the three-day old chick), *trisikad* drivers or as laundry woman. We also have members who are government employees...No, we have no member that is HIV positive in our urban poor communities, unlike in South Africa where it is a major problem so they have a specific component in their health program to address this problem.(HPFP member/PACSII main documentor, personal communication, 19 October 2009).

These are the conditions which shape the programmes and strategies of the HPFP in Western Visayas.



#### 4.3.1.1 History

HPFP is a national network of 200 urban poor community associations and savings groups spanning the regions of the Philippines: Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao (Co, 2010). It was formally established in September 1998; however, the engagements of its member communities, with the support of the church-based organisation called Vincentian Missionaries Social Development Foundation (VMSDFI), date back to as early as 1992 (UN-Habitat & Cities Alliance, 2006).

HPFP was initially a needs-based group that addressed tenure security. Over time, it evolved into a self-help network of low-income associations that not only addresses land security but other problems associated with it such as housing, infrastructure facilities, health and welfare services, income, and access to affordable credit (Co, 2010; UN-Habitat & Cities Alliance, 2006). Its basic strategies to bridge the gaps are “a) using savings and credit programmes which members themselves manage and b) using the community-led process” (UN-Habitat & Cities Alliance, 2006, p. 10). These strategies are rooted in its vision and mission, which is the promotion of an adequate standard of living and housing to the urban poor (UN-Habitat & Cities Alliance, 2006).

The group has a partner institution called Philippine Action for Community-led Shelter Initiatives, Inc. (PACSII), an NGO that grew out of VMSDFI in the Philippines. In 1992, this NGO supported the first community savings groups in Payatas in Manila. It has since provided technical services to HPFP related to land and housing concerns; it also conducts research and assists HPFP in looking for funds (Philippines: PACSII Initiatives, 2010).

HPFP was established in Iloilo City by a Vincentian parish priest in 1998, starting with KABALAKA<sup>30</sup> (*Kasilingan Nga Naga **Balay** Padulong sa **Kauswagan*** or “Neighbours Working Together Towards Housing for Success”) Savings Association. Ninety per cent of the members at that time were informal settlers formed into a group because of the threat for eviction. At present, the members come from nine community associations with an estimated 830 member families (HPFP member/PACSII main documentor, personal communication, 12 January 2011).

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<sup>30</sup> Kabalaka is an Ilonggo term which means “to care”. It is often used as an acronym for groups.

#### 4.3.1.2 Structure and funding sources

The formal structure of HPFP is comprised of three levels. The National Office supports regional activities and coordinates tasks which are national in scope. The Regional Offices provide technical support to community offices in different aspects such as savings, land acquisition procedures, and participation in local development councils. The community-based Area Resource Centers (ARCs), which are linked to the regional offices, maintain records and manage savings and loans activities.

Over the years, various funding and donor partners have supported the HPFP-Western Visayas' community-led and savings strategies. These partner institutions include faith-based development agencies, such as Misereor-Germany; multilateral institutions, such as the World Bank/Cities Alliance (WB/CA) and the Asian Development Bank/Japan Fund for Poverty Reduction (ADB/JFPR); network partners, such as the Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI), the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR), and Homeless International (HI); and international government agencies, such as the UK Department for International Development (DFID) and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency. These funding agencies provide support to the group either through bilateral or multilateral arrangements. A bilateral arrangement means that the funding agency deals directly with HPFP, while a multi-lateral arrangement involves an intermediary organisation between the group and the funding agencies. These funding agencies provide support to HPFP that the government are not able to provide due to other responsibilities and resource constraints.

#### 4.3.2 General Assembly Binding Women for Reform, Integrity, Equality, Leadership, and Action-Panay

The General Assembly Binding Women for Reform, Integrity, Equality, Leadership, and Action (GABRIELA) is a national alliance of women's grassroots organisations across various sectors. It addresses issues affecting women such as poverty and various forms of human rights abuses. The majority of their members are urban poor women who experience insecurity of tenure and employment and live in danger zones. The destitute condition of the urban poor is exemplified by the following quotes from a GABRIELA Coordinator:

They are those whose livelihood is what we call as "*remedyo heneral*" [roughly *general remedy*] or just enough to get them a daily income to feed their family. They do not have permanent work and engage in underground economy. Their houses can be found beside creeks and rivers, on the dumpsite, under the bridge and other danger zones. For

their inability to buy land, they live in depressed communities. During rainy season, they constantly worry about keeping themselves dry because water goes through their roofs...Also, we have members that are employed as contract workers in [business] establishments, usually as sales ladies...(personal communication, 2 September 2009).

#### 4.3.2.1 History

It was in 1984 when GABRIELA officially started as a women's movement when thousands of women marched in Manila defying a decree by President Ferdinand Marcos against demonstrations (Rosca, 2006). GABRIELA was chosen as an acronym after a prominent past female revolutionary in the Philippines named Gabriela Silang, who fought against the Spanish colonialists.

From an initial coalition of only 42 groups, GABRIELA Philippines now has around 250 women's institutions and groups (GABRIELA's history, 1999). GABRIELA treats women differently depending on their age and status in life. Majority of its members are peasant women workers and mothers from urban poor communities. Other members are professional and factory workers, the youth, students, and women from the religious and elderly sectors (Libres, 2005; Rosca, 2006).

GABRIELA started as a political advocacy group with the vision of liberating women from all forms of oppression (GABRIELA's brochure, 2010). Part of organising their group members is to provide popular education classes to make them better informed about their basic rights and about issues in society. Through the years, GABRIELA has evolved into a group that not only focusses on advocacy work but also includes provision of all forms of services to its members and other clients.

GABRIELA-Panay was formally established in 1987 as a region-wide organisation, but its roots can be traced back to KABALAKA<sup>31</sup> (*Kababainhan Lakat Bangon Para sa Kahilwayan* or "Women Rise Up and Walk for Freedom"). KABALAKA was an all-women multi-sectoral organisation that died down in 1984 due to militarisation during Marcos' administration. GABRIELA-National wanted to establish regional centres, so the leaders returned to their provinces to organise communities. KABALAKA could not be revived because it had already been branded as a "red group". The development of the organisation

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<sup>31</sup> KABALAKA was conceived in 1983 by a group of women from the Institute of Religion and Culture (IRC). It was composed mainly of women professionals who were actively involved in church-related activities. It should be noted that this KABALAKA differs to that of HPFP.

was also facilitated by a Canadian living in the Philippines who had the resources to mobilise communities and could move around the area (GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 4 January 2011).

GABRIELA-Panay has an NGO partner: the Iloilo Women's Centre (IWC). The IWC was established by GABRIELA to focus on technical support, conduct of research, production of materials, and the provision of capability building workshops and training. GABRIELA itself focusses on community organising. In 2011, the group has revived the Children's Rehabilitation Center (CRC) which provides services to children who are victims of militarisation, human rights violations, and other forms of abuse.

#### *4.3.2.2 Structure and funding sources*

The highest decision-making body is the National Assembly; this convenes every two years and is composed of representatives from its member organisations. Below the Assembly sits the National Council; this is convened in the intervening year between each Assembly, and is composed of national coordinating members, regional and sectoral representatives, and commission coordinators. The National Coordinating Committee acts as the monitoring body and directly supervises the National Secretariat and the commissions of GABRIELA (The structure of GABRIELA, 1999). GABRIELA has regional chapters in Metro Manila, Cordillera, and Mindanao. It has sub-regional chapters in Negros, Panay, and Samar; also provincial chapters in Bicol and Cebu. GABRIELA-Panay will soon launch its regional chapter to cover Iloilo, Capiz, Aklan, Antique and Guimaras (GABRIELA-Panay Coordinator, personal interview, 4 January 2011).

GABRIELA-Panay has received external support for its programmes from Bread for the Light, Terre des Hommes (TDH) International Foundation, and from the European Union. It also gets funds from its own party list group Gabriela Women's Party (GWP) and from its umbrella organisation Bayan Muna (Nation First). Additionally, GABRIELA receives pledges from individual donors.

#### *4.3.3 Jaro Archdiocesan Social Action Center*

For the past 40 years, the Jaro Archdiocesan Social Action Center (JASAC) has been actively serving as the archdiocese's institution that connects the Catholic Church and the community with its primary task to improve conditions of the people through its

programmes. JASAC has been providing a diverse range of assistance to its clients, majority of them come from the lower class.

Most of the clients who frequent our drugstores are those who cannot afford to buy medicines. They usually engage in manual labour such as *estivador* in ports and *trisikad* drivers... It's easy to identify them, after work and getting their day's wage, you will see them carrying a plastic bag of rice for their whole family (Pharmaceutical drugstore manager/JASAC community worker, personal communication, 13 October 2009).

#### 4.3.3.1 History

JASAC is a NGO serving as the social action arm of the Episcopal Commission on Social Action, Justice, and Peace (ECSA-JP) of the Catholic Bishop Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) in the Archdiocese of Jaro. It is guided by the Christian Catholic teachings of integral human development, which is “*having a life not only of spiritual fullness but economic and political fullness as well*” (JASAC Executive Director, personal communication, 23 August 2009). It is a faith-based organisation that works for the urban poor, farmers, fishermen, women, children, and youth.

JASAC was established in 1968 by the Catholic Church as a group that can respond to the worsening poverty and oppression in the Philippines. The shift within the Philippine Catholic church away from spiritual aspects of Christianity toward an emphasis on social justice was given impetus by the Second Vatican Council of 1962-1965. The Council addressed the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the world by emphasising the commitment of the church to deal with both spiritual affairs and social action to achieve justice and transformation (Silliman & Noble, 1998). At the time JASAC was formed in the late 1960s, social unrest was building up with a series of heavy demonstrations and protests against the Marcos government. The focus of JASAC's work was community organising, and it was responsible for organising farmers, workers, and students. Due to its activities, its office was raided twice: by armed men in 1973 and by the police in 1980. A former Executive Director survived an assassination attempt while officiating mass. There have also been brief periods of closure due to security threats and financial constraints (JASAC Drugstore Manager, personal communication, 13 October 2009).

A number of calamities, especially in the early 1980s, re-established the social action centre in the Archdiocese. These calamities significantly affected the poor, leaving them with nothing to start their lives again. Thus, JASAC organised these communities, and provided

the members<sup>32</sup> initial funding support and technical assistance. Since the start of the organisation, community organising has been their main strategy in carrying out their programmes.

JASAC's first programme was *Alay Kapwa* (or social welfare service delivery) as a response to a typhoon that devastated the province of Iloilo in the seventies. Next, JASAC established a relief and rehabilitation programme that focussed on socio-economic activities to augment the income of the members (JASAC Drugstore Manager, personal communication, 13 October 2009). Since then, a number of programmes have been added in response to the needs of JASAC's parish communities.

#### *4.3.3.2 Structure and funding sources*

As would be expected in a religious institution, the internal structure of JASAC is quite hierarchical. It receives directives from the Archbishop via the Commission on Social Concerns. The latter directly supervises the Internal Auditor, Financial Auditor and the Chronicler. The next person down the line of authority is the Program Director, who oversees the six programmes (called "desks") of the organisation implemented in parishes under the Archdiocese.

The current director of JASAC believes in sourcing funds from their own projects that generate income, such as the pharmaceutical drugstore they operate and their rice produce from their farms. In an interview with the Executive Director (personal communication, 23 August 2009), he emphasised that dependence on foreign funding institutions is inconsistent with the Catholic Church's teaching of community self-reliance. Nevertheless, JASAC has received external sources of funds from international agencies such as Misereor, Caritas Espanola, and the European Union (EU) as well as a local grant from the Department of Agriculture-Western Visayas. JASAC also receives generous support from communities, individual donors, and the private sector. Similarly to HPFP and GABRIELA, funding has been a major problem for JASAC, both in meeting program costs and in paying for administrative and expenses and other overheads. The opportunity to tap these major sources of funds enables civil society groups to create and continue their programmes and respond to their administrative concerns.

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<sup>32</sup> In this study, members of JASAC refer to people who are both being helped by the group through its programmes and people who volunteer their services to JASAC's programmes.

Each group was asked to describe their relationship with each other. A JASAC representative (Asst. Programme Director, personal communication, 11 September 2009) responded that the action centre has worked with both HPFP and GABRIELA on issue-related concerns. *“We maintain a good relationship with other organisations that coordinate with us. At the start, we set our own terms of engagement in order to avoid misunderstandings in expectations”* (Asst. Programme Director, 11 September 2009). GABRIELA has worked with JASAC mostly on advocacy and campaign projects such as demonstrating their opposition to political, social and economic issues (e.g. the construction of coal-fired power plants and mining in the region, extrajudicial killings, and the government’s plan for charter change through protest actions) (GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 22 December 2009). JASAC and GABRIELA also invite each other as resource speakers in trainings and workshops (GABRIELA Coordinator, 22 December 2009). HPFP recognises the welfare services assistance that JASAC has provided them in times of natural disasters (HPFP Regional Director, personal communication, 5 December 2009). At the same time, the group assists JASAC in helping other communities during periods of natural and man-made calamities through food and clothing provisions and community organising (GABRIELA Coordinator, 22 December 2009).

Both GABRIELA and HPFP have not been given an opportunity to work together. According to the leaders of the groups, they are open for collaboration as long as they agree on the terms of engagement, particularly the strategies to use in carrying out collective acts.

#### **4.4 Chapter Summary**

The three case study groups intersect in similar areas of concern. These common areas include sectoral representation, level of member formation, and having programmes that are responsive to the needs of the urban poor. The groups also all have government accreditation and access to external aid.

At the same time, the groups differ from each other in terms of their relative independence from the state in undertaking collective activities. Their historical formations, vision for their respective organisations, and basic strategies in mobilising their members have influenced groups’ preference to conduct activities largely by themselves or to seek the support of the state.

A summary of the groups’ salient features is presented in Table 4.1.

**Table 4.1 Summary of the salient features of the three case study groups.**

Features	Case Study Groups		
	HPFP-Western Visayas	GABRIELA-Panay	JASAC
Type of civil society	Community-based	Community-based	NGO
Sectoral representation	Urban poor	Multi-sectoral	Multi-sectoral
Members/clients	9 community associations with 830 member families, excluding KABALAKA Home Owners Association ARC in 7 coastal villages	3,600 members	93 parish communities covered by the Archdiocese
Level of member formation	From household to regional level	From household to regional level	From household to parish communities
Basic strategy for mobilising members	Community savings	Community organising	Community organising
Current programmes/functions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Financings schemes and savings products</li> <li>• City-wide mapping and enumeration</li> <li>• Transit housing</li> <li>• Community-managed resettlement housing projects</li> <li>- KABALAKA demonstration housing Project</li> <li>-San Isidro resettlement housing Project</li> <li>• Community-managed upgrading projects</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community Organizing</li> <li>• Education</li> <li>• Campaigns</li> <li>• Services</li> <li>-VAW/C (Violence Against Women and Children)</li> <li>-Violation of human rights</li> <li>-Reproductive health</li> <li>-Livelihood</li> <li>• Solidarity and Linkages</li> <li>• Formation of Gabriela Women's Party (GWP) list</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Alay Kapwa</i> (Social Welfare Service Delivery Desk)</li> <li>• Relief and Emergency Rehabilitation Desk</li> <li>• Justice and Peace Desk</li> <li>• Poverty Reduction Desk</li> <li>• Ecology Desk</li> <li>• Corruption and Prevention Desk</li> <li>• S.H.E.E.F (Shelter, Health, Education, Employment &amp; Food)</li> </ul>
Partner institution providing technical support to groups	PACSII	Iloilo Women's Center (IWC)	JASAC provides technical support to communities under the Archdiocese
Funding sources	Local and foreign agencies	Local and foreign agencies	Local and foreign agencies
Accreditation and registration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)</li> <li>•Philippine Council for NGO Creditation (PCNGOC)</li> </ul>	SEC	SEC

Sources: Brochures and interviews with leaders of the groups.

The next chapter describes in more detail the collective planning practices of the case study groups.



# Chapter 5

## Case Studies of Collective Planning Practices

### 5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter described the context of the study area and provided a comparative overview of the case study groups. The overview showed that the groups started as advocates of largely single issues to improve the lives of their members and/or clients but, over time, they have engaged in an expanded variety of services and provisions. This chapter provides detailed descriptions of the collective planning practices of the three civil society case study groups that they have developed in response to problems associated with urban poverty.

### 5.2 Case Study 1: HPFP

#### 5.2.1 Financing programme and savings products<sup>33</sup>

Limited access to financial resources is a major problem for the urban poor. It creates obstacles in the lives of the poor because food, health, education, and acquisition of land with secure tenure depend on whether or not a family has money to spend. To address the financial weakness of low-income families, HPFP offers a variety of financial programme and savings products that have evolved from “...a *microfinance scheme into a community financing facility for the urban poor*” (HPFP Regional Director, personal communication, 5 January 2010). The following financing services are available to a diverse profile of savers such as women, the elderly, people with disabilities and the young:

- *Compulsory savings*. This is a type of community savings scheme which helps<sup>34</sup> to secure business or providential loans (from 1.2 to 1.8 times the amount of their savings) when savings have reached a certain amount. There are two types of compulsory savings: the productive loan for small scale enterprise with a 2% interest per month and the non-productive loan which is intended for school fees, hospitalization and house repairs with 1% interest rate per month (KABALAKA history).

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<sup>33</sup> The savings scheme was introduced to members of the KABALAKA homeowners association in Iloilo City by the Executive Director of the Vincentian Missionaries Social Development Foundation Inc. (VMSDFI). In 1998, a selected number of members were sent to Payatas, Manila to learn about group savings for land acquisition and applied their experiences to their own parish (KABALAKA history).

<sup>34</sup> Consist of savings groups with 7-10 individual members; loans are payable within 1 to 6 months.

The urban poor are taught how to save by making “sacrifices” of setting aside a certain amount of money everyday which they usually spend on their vices (e.g. cigarettes and carbonated and alcoholic drinks) (HPFP collector, personal communication, 22 October 2009). This is not an easy task given the poor are not used to saving whatever extra money they have.

Much of our work involves motivating people to save up. Although our official task only involves collecting the money and turning it over to the office, it is implied that giving encouragement [to our members] is part of it. Our members have not been used to setting aside money for their various needs. As a collector, I have to constantly motivate and remind them that even poor people like us can manage to have some savings just like other people. I use my own experiences in putting aside money and share these with them. I tell them, if I can do it, so can you (HPFP collector, personal communication, 22 October 2009).

- *Voluntary savings*. This is for individuals and community associations (e.g. vendors, transportation drivers, and vulnerable groups) that want to save money which they can withdraw anytime. Unlike the compulsory savings product, it is non-loanable and no maximum savings is required. Members typically withdraw money from their voluntary savings to address immediate needs such as food, house rentals, minor house repairs/improvements and burial expenses (HPFP member/Parish Secretary, personal communication, 20 October 2009).
- *Land and housing savings*. This savings scheme is for communities that have bought or are planning to purchase property and wish to save for equity contribution and monthly amortization (KABALAKA history). Withdrawals are only allowed for housing and land acquisition payments. Members are encouraged to make decisions about their future, particularly land acquisition, by availing of this financing scheme because of limited options available for the urban poor in housing and shelter security (HPFP member/PACSII Main Documentor, personal communication, 17 November 2011).
- *Health insurance*. This is for individuals and families who want to avail of free medical consultation/check-ups, medicines and hospitalizations.
- *Mortuary fund*. For individuals who want to ensure that, upon their death, financial assistance will be provided to their beneficiaries. Members contribute a nominal amount each month in exchange for Php10,000.00 (NZD \$287.00) in mortuary support that their beneficiaries will receive.
- *Urban Poor Development Fund (UPDF)*. For associations that want to secure loans for proposed or on-going physical upgrading projects in their communities such as a water

distribution system, drainage and road constructions. It can also be used for repayment of land in relocation sites. For the long term goal of achieving security of tenure, community associations can also borrow money from UPDF to augment their community savings for the purpose of land purchase or to finance its documentary requirements (KABALAKA history brochure, n.d.).

A feature of this fund is that each member should have a compulsory monthly contribution of Php 50.00 (NZD \$1.43) as counterpart for availing the loan. Another feature of the fund is that only the community, and not individual members, can avail of the money with a per annum interest rate between 6%-9% payable in 3-5 years (KABALAKA history brochure, n.d.). The UPDF can also be used as a loan vehicle for livelihood enterprises (e.g. swine raising and small-scale buy and sell businesses) to increase household earnings. The UPDF is similar to a “basket” where all resources are placed inside which come from project funds and loan repayment. Everything in UPDF and other financial programmes is managed by the community. *“The money is managed by community people, not by any NGO. Right now, the government has no funding counterpart but it provides land, infrastructure and technical support.”* (HPFP Regional Director, personal communication, 5 December 2009). The UPDF is used for projects that require bigger loans such as land acquisition, community upgrading and house improvements. For emergency cases and income generating activities, most community associations use their own internal savings funds (HPFP Regional Director, 5 December 2009).

HPFP promotes its community savings programmes by collaborating with the city government and government agencies (HPFP member/PACSSII Main Documentor, personal communication, 17 November 2011). It has conducted orientations and hands-on trainings on community savings with the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) for those who availed of the agency’s 4Ps<sup>35</sup>; and with the Housing and Land Use Regulatory Board (HLURB) and the Iloilo City Urban Poor Office (ICUPAO) for community associations to start their own community savings as well to revive those communities with inactive savings members.

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<sup>35</sup> The 4Ps program (or *Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program*) is a poverty reduction strategy of the Philippine government that is being implemented by the DSWD. Patterned after the Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) programmes in Latin America and Africa, it provides grants to extremely poor households to improve their health, nutrition and education particularly of children aged 0-14 (Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program, 2012).

The sub-sections that follow are the various projects under the housing programme of HPFP.

### 5.2.2 City-wide mapping and enumeration project (Duration: a year maximum)

HPFP conducts city-wide mapping and enumeration (or surveys) of high risk or disaster prone communities. These include communities living in dumpsites, riversides, railways, foreshore areas and those which are directly affected by development and infrastructure projects in the city.

These surveys<sup>36</sup> are undertaken in partnership with the Iloilo City government. The City Engineer's Office and the Iloilo City Urban Poor Association Office (ICUPAO) extend logistical support through drafting and approval of endorsement letters allowing HPFP to conduct surveys (PACSII Main Documentor/HPFP member, personal communication, 11 November 2009). They also assist in ocular inspections, structural mapping and actual conduct of surveys. Community members of affected areas are utilised as enumerators by providing a series of orientations and trainings on the conduct of surveys and on ethics in dealing with respondents (PACSII Main Documentor/HPFP member, 11 November 2009). The survey team is composed of HPFP and two other urban poor federations<sup>37</sup>, the city government and the affected communities. Under this partnership, the city government uses the list of households generated from the surveys for future resettlement projects.

The project is also being supported by Slum Dwellers International (SDI) which funds activities, such as the formulation of survey tools, orientation for team members, actual conduct of survey, data encoding, data analysis, data validation, and data publication. HPFP also links with an academic institution (PACSII Asst. Documentor, personal communication, 1 September 2009). The University of the Philippines Visayas, through its Community Development practicum students, assists HPFP in encoding, validating, and editing of data, as well as documenting the enumerators' experiences; for example, students of Computer Science set-up a local database for the community surveys.

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<sup>36</sup> As of 2011, the surveys have already been conducted in at least 7,500 households in 6 villages: Sto. Niño Sur, Sto. Niño Norte and Calaparan in Arevalo District; Calumpang, San Juan and Boulevard in Molo District.

<sup>37</sup> These two other urban poor organisations are Iloilo Federation of Community Associations, Inc. (IFCA) and Iloilo City Urban Poor Federation, Inc. (ICUPFI).

HPFP's partnerships with the city government and the academe initially started without formal agreements. It was only recently that a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) was drafted and finalised. The HPFP Regional Director provided explanation for this less formal arrangement:

We are able to carry the surveys without formal written agreement. If we want to discuss something with them, all we need to do is call or send them a text message. The same thing with us, we are accessible by phone or text ...The MOA came later, for the purpose of documenting our engagements with other sectors (personal communication, 5 December 2009).

The surveys aim to achieve several things. First, the enumeration fills in data gaps on the number and status of urban poor communities in high-risk areas to include renters and sharers who are often overlooked by official surveys (PACSII Main Documentor/HPFP member, personal communication, 11 November 2009). Second, the surveys are used in identifying possible intervention programmes and in making local development plans for those who live in at-risk areas and are facing eviction (PACSII Main Documentor/HPFP member, 11 November 2009). The HPFP Regional Director added, "*The surveys provide us the opportunity to hold dialogues with government officials and other institutions so we can partner with them in projects that target high-risk communities.*" (personal communication, 5 December 2009).

Third, the surveys empower community members. An HPFP member who was able to participate in the trainings said that it gave her a sense of purpose.

I volunteered to be an enumerator. It made me feel good about myself that I can do the tasks. Before, I only watch other people do census surveys. This is different... we familiarise with the forms, we are taught how to handle different types of people, and I was able to find something useful to do with my time (HPFP member 4, personal communication, 19 October 2009).

Another member mentioned that she enjoyed the surveys because she gets to meet other people while being getting paid for it.

We talk with people who have similar problems with me. I also get to visit villages which I would not have been able to visit if not for the surveys...Yes, we get a fee for doing it. Last time, it was Php 10.00 (NZD \$0.29) per survey form (HPFP member 5, personal communication, 19 October 2009).

### 5.2.3 Transit housing facility project (Duration: 3 months)

Iloilo City was hit by Typhoon Frank (international name Fengshen) in June 2008 and experienced the worst flooding in its history which affected almost 48,500 (Homeless People's Federation of the Philippines, Inc., 2008) families, with damages in infrastructure, agricultural assets, businesses and private assets reaching Php 1.3 billion (estimated NZD \$337,380 million) (Mabilog, 2010). The Iloilo City government realised the urgency to provide safe shelters to the victims but existing resettlement areas were unable to accommodate all of them.

HPFP responded by building 66 temporary housing units at San Isidro relocation site. Transit housing offers a solution to displacement resulting in disasters especially in the context where land is scarce and affected families do not want to be relocated outside the city limits. The arrangement in this project was that the victims would transfer to their new houses in the same site once these are completed so that other victims of disasters can move into the transit houses. The row house type has a floor area of 18.2 square meters which can be occupied by one household for sleeping purposes only. HPFP was helped by SDI and Homeless International (HI)<sup>38</sup> in looking for funds which came from Misereor and Jersey Overseas Aid<sup>39</sup>. See Figure 5.1 for the transit housing facility.

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<sup>38</sup> HI is a UK-charity NGO that supports slum dwellers to improve their lives and find long-term solutions to urban poverty.

<sup>39</sup> A UK-based NGO.



Figure 5.1 Transit housing facility at the early stage of construction (Photo: HPFP, 2008; Text: Author).

While HPFP worked on building the units, the city government provided basic services at the transit facility in the form of communal water, cooking and sanitary facilities. The city government also provided technical support as well as logistics in terms of coordination with village officials and use of equipment and vehicles for construction purposes. The City Agriculture Office supplied seedlings to the occupants who converted some vacant lots into temporary vegetable gardens.

A few members who used to stay at the transit site were interviewed about their experiences. They preferred to stay at the transit housing site than at the evacuation centres (e.g. gymnasium and schools) or in their previous homes.

There was no privacy at the evacuation centre. When we transferred to the site, our family was able to own a room [without sharing the space with other families]. We have our own savings, too. HPFP encouraged all the families to have community savings for our future needs (HPFP member 6, personal communication 13 September 2009).

[At the site] we cooked in the common kitchen. Although we come from different areas, we treated each other like we have known each other for a long time. We shared food, pots and pans (HPFP member 8, personal communication 13 September 2009).

Of course I miss our house destroyed by the floods. But at the site, I felt like we were given another chance to make our lives better. Our house used to be near the creek which posed a danger to us every time it rains hard. But at the site, we didn't have to worry about water level rising. I never have a regular job, but when my family and I transferred to the site, it made me think of looking for a more stable source of income (HPFP member 9, personal communication, 13 September 2009).

#### 5.2.4 Community-managed resettlement housing projects (Duration: 2009- present)

HPFP has been implementing community-managed resettlement housing projects under the Community-Led Infrastructure Finance Facility (CLIFF) programme managed by UK-based NGO Homeless International (HI). This international programme is funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) and Department for International Development (DFID). Homeless International saw the need to provide small to medium financial grants to its partners which requires increasing levels of capital so that initiatives of the urban poor and support organizations are scaled-up to settlement or city-wide level. However, the urban poor and their support organisations are often unable to access affordable loans from financial institutions. Thus, CLIFF recognises the need for access to affordable finance and bridges this gap (Homeless International, n.d.).

In the Philippines, the CLIFF programme aims to provide sustainable and affordable housing to low-income families through a housing loan. The target beneficiaries are those households which were relocated in government resettlement sites but have limited access to affordable housing finance, and those currently living in high-risk areas and facing eviction and demolition.

The pilot area for the CLIFF programme is Iloilo City. It was chosen because *“of the active support of the city government to HPFP and an existing strong network of urban poor federations which are the target beneficiaries of the housing projects.”* (HPFP Regional Director, personal communication, 5 August 2009). There are two subprojects in its first phase. The first subproject is the 21-unit KABALAKA Housing Demonstration in Zone 1, Calumpang, Molo District, Iloilo City (See Figure 5.2). The lot area for detached units has three categories: 51 sq. metres, 54 metres and 72 metres. Each row house has two floors with a total floor area of 25.2 square metres. It consists of a toilet with a septic tank; the kitchen is downstairs and one open plan room upstairs. Currently, the first floor is made of plywood which can be improved in the future. Members of the community association were able to get a housing loan between Php 150,000.00 to Php 230,000.00 (NZD \$4,300- \$6,600) from



the UPDF (PACSII Asst. Documentor, personal communication, 15 January 2010). All families who moved in were from flood prone areas and were threatened with eviction. They have agreed to pay the monthly repayments of Php 1,300-1,500 (USD \$37.00-44.00) over a 15-year period.



Figure 5.2 Row houses at the KABALAKA resettlement area (Photo: HPFP, 2009; Text: author).

The second subproject is the 172-unit Community-Managed Resettlement Housing in San Isidro Relocation Site, Jaro District, Iloilo City (See Figure 5.3). Following the city's socialised housing policy for low-cost housing projects, each housing unit has a lot size of 60 square metres and the floor area is between 25 to 30 square metres (PACSII Asst. Documentor, personal communication, 15 January 2010).



Figure 5.3 CLIFF housing at San Isidro Relocation Site. The allotment of space for the urban poor is a validation of the city government's support to HPFP. Photo was taken during the inauguration of the project (Text and photo: HPFP, 2009).

To date, the CLIFF community-managed housing projects in Iloilo City is HPFP's biggest venture in the Philippines. The process involved ensures that the urban poor take the lead while the government and other sectors provide assistance to needs requested by the poor.

The project builds on the capacities of the members because they are involved in every stage of the project. The partner institutions learn together with the CLIFF beneficiaries. Their technical people work closely with us, their representatives hold meetings with community leaders and they attend the workshops. They are around during construction. They are with us in every stage (HPFP member/PACSI Main Documentor, personal communication, 11 November 2009).

HPFP uses an alternative housing construction material for the CLIFF project at San Isidro Relocation Site (See Figure 5.4). The Interlocking Compressed Earth Block [ICEB] is a cost-effective, earthquake-resistant and environment-friendly technology compared to the conventional material – hollow blocks - which are often used for low-cost housing projects.

This technology is not commercially sold but shared to the local government units [such as San Carlos City, Cagayan de Oro, and Iloilo City] as cheap but of quality construction materials for low-cost housing. This is in partnership with JFLFI [Jose and Florentina Ledesma Foundation Inc.], a local NGO. The technology and the block-making machines come from Thailand, but the block-making system was introduced by JFLFI. ICEB is considered as a breakthrough in urban development because of its potential to provide mass housing to the less privileged (PACSII Asst. Documentor, personal communication, 1 September 2009).



Figure 5.4 Hands-on training of CLIFF beneficiaries on Interlocking Compressed Earth Block Production (Text and photo: HPFP, 2009).

The local government provided logistics and technical support for the CLIFF project at the San Isidro Relocation Site. It allotted 1.6 hectares of land which is part of the 16.2 hectares of the resettlement area. In addition, the city government provided hauling trucks for recycled/salvaged materials for reconstructing the houses on the site. The National Housing Authority (NHA), Housing and Land Use Regulatory Board (HLURB) and the Presidential Commission for the Urban Poor (PCUP) offered technical support for the CLIFF project.

The CLIFF housing projects typically involve the following activities:

- criteria formulation for the selection of housing participants;
- selection and screening of housing participants;
- preparatory training and workshops for actual procurement and construction;
- pre-construction process finalisation of design prototypes;

- site preparation;
- warehouse construction and pre-construction meetings with labourers;
- preparatory trainings and workshops on housing design, procurement, and reading of basic architectural and structural plans;
- production of ICEB;
- hands-on training on construction; and,
- over-all project management.

### 5.2.5 Community-managed upgrading projects (Duration: at most a year)

Community upgrading is viewed by HPFP as an immediate response to improve health and safety conditions of families who live in informal settlements when permanent solution to the tenure problem is not yet available (Carcillar, Co, & Hipolito, 2011). HPFP was able to receive a financial grant of USD \$30,000 (NZD \$36,750.000) from Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR) intended for construction materials while community members provided labour equity. Volunteer professionals such as architects and engineers gave technical assistance. According to the HPFP's Regional Coordinator, the original idea of a project grant was converted into loans:

ACHR's initial idea was to give the money as small grants at USD \$3,000 [NZD \$3,675] each. But we didn't like to create dependency by getting money for free. We proposed to them to convert the grant into a revolving loan fund to be used by communities for small-scale upgrading projects. The loans were repaid to the Urban Poor Development Fund<sup>40</sup> (UPDF) without interest and payable in 3 years (personal communication, 5 December 2009).

The aim was to empower communities in leading the planning and implementation phase of projects. One of the small scale upgrading projects was the street lighting in a village in Lapaz District (See Figure 5.5). This is a small community of mostly poor households that availed of a NZD \$1,200 loan. It involved putting up 18 street light posts for the community's main walkway. People in the village volunteered to do all the work on weekends, and the money from the loan was used for procuring the necessary materials. As shared by one of the leaders in the community, "*The people negotiated with the village officials and requested that residents will not pay for the electric bill from the new street*

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<sup>40</sup> The UPDF is a system of loans made accessible to urban poor groups; the groups organised themselves and put up community savings to avail of loans to finance their development projects.

lights” (HPFP Homeowners Association [HOA] leader 1, personal communication, 5 October 2009). She added that the cost per lighting post was much lower compared to one post set up by the village officials.

The Barangay Captain felt ashamed when he learned about the big difference in the cost. But, we had to be diplomatic in dealing with officials so as not to embarrass them [and not lose the community’s confidence in them]. [In the end] we need their support to get things done in their area (HOA leader 1, 5 October 2009).



Figure 5.5 Streetlight project during construction. Inset photo shows one of the streetlights (Photo: HPFP, 2008; Text: Author).

Another community-led upgrading project was the earth dike and perimeter wall in Molo District. The small canal running along HPFP’s property site usually gets flooded. A loan of USD \$2,900 (NZD \$3,555) was made from ACHR to protect the community from flooding (See Figure 5.6). On weekends, families at the site would work together with volunteers from the homeowners association. They built the structures located at the back of the property using cheap mixtures of sand and soil.



Figure 5.6 Perimeter wall and dike project funded by ACHR (Photo: HPFP, 2008; Text: Author).

Other projects from the ACHR loans included the solar lighting and water-refill station project (See Figure 5.7). The people in the communities provided labour equity and paid up the loans through their community-savings.



Figure 5.7 Solar-home lighting in a village in Jaro district (left) and the community-managed water refilling station (right) in Arevalo district (Photos and text: HPFP, n.d.).

In interviews with HPFP members, the researcher asked if they have shown overt opposition to government policies. According to them, unlike other urban poor groups in the city which use confrontational types of protests (e.g. rallies, pickets), they feel that the best way to be heard and effect change is by forging and maintaining partnerships with the government. For them, there are other means of demanding change, particularly on land and shelter policies.

We collaborate with the state through policy formulation and implementation on relocation, slum upgrading, and promotion of our own financing schemes. These allow us to build the capacity of our community leaders and allow the government to understand and participate in what we are trying to do. By working with the government, we get opportunities to seek for concrete improvements (HPFP Regional Director, personal communication, 2009).

The members added that they have been advised by leaders from their main office to refrain from using confrontational tactics in showing opposition against government policies. By contrast, they are encouraged to use modes of communication that are likely to be supported by the government, such as public consultations and public hearings. For HPFP, confrontational forms of communication do not necessarily build up the capacity of the people. A HPFP member provided an explanation:

Our demands may have been met by holding rallies but we cannot engage in these activities every time we have problems. We must learn to negotiate. We need to practice negotiation skills. Besides, they [government officials] may not listen to us anymore if they see us holding placards on the streets and making some noise (personal communication, 7 October 2009).

A PACSII staff member shared that for the past few years, the relationship between HPFP and the current city administration has been good and that problems have been discussed through dialogues and negotiations between parties.

So far, the federation's relationship with the city mayor and the urban poor office has been okay. We've been partners in resettlement and homeless related projects. There is no reason to hold rallies or pickets like other groups, the mayor has been supportive...He has been open to hold dialogues with us (personal communication, 7 October 2009).

The leaders of two urban poor federations, together with HPFP have formed a network of urban poor federations in the city. They agreed to use negotiations and dialogues in communicating their opposition to government policies.

We used to hold rallies whenever there was a demolition activity...in the 1980s and 1990s. In some ways, the rally can put pressure on the government. But then there were many issues involved that cannot be handled properly by holding a rally. A major issue [in those times] was that the government did not have a program for us [the urban poor]. Since there is no program, there was not much the government can do for us.

It's a different time now with the current government whom we have been working with since 2001. The officials have been open to work with us. At this point, engaging in rallies will not get us anywhere. What's more, we can get what we want without engaging in rallies by using proper venues...In meetings where we can hold dialogues (IFCA leader 1, personal communication, 9 October 2009).

In my experience, it is good for different groups to sit down and talk things over. That is the best way to solve problems. There was a time when we held a rally against the demolition of our houses under Mayor Reyes<sup>41</sup>. In spite of our protests and barricades, the demolition team continued to tear down our houses (ICUPHI leader 1, personal communication, 29 October 2009).

While HPFP does not generally engage in more open forms of protests, the group has resorted to contesting government officials over issues if they think they are right. A case in point is when HPFP, together with its urban poor network, wrote a petition letter asking for the resignation of a city councilor who they felt was meddling too much with the job of the city urban poor officer. In the letter, the groups claimed that the councilor has been absent in meetings on urban poor concerns so he does not understand the programmes and projects for the groups (Calubiran, 2008). After the incident, the city official started attending meetings but, despite this, the relationship between the councilor and the urban poor groups has been described as "civil but indifferent" (IFCA leader 1, personal communication, 9 October 2009).

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<sup>41</sup> The name is an alias to refer to an official who served in the previous administration.



## 5.3 Case Study 2: GABRIELA-Panay

### 5.3.1 Community organising

Community organising is both an approach and a programme for GABRIELA. Its aims are threefold: empower the people by developing their capacity to take control of their condition in life; establish and sustain people's participation through programmes and projects and by linking with other groups and sectors; and secure short and long term improvements in the quality of life of the members (GABRIELA brochure, 2009). It is basically directed towards the powerless and the oppressed, particularly women and the poor. The GABRIELA Coordinator explained why their work is focused on women:

Our main entry [in community organising] is the women because they are the ones who are left at home, who are financially deprived, and have sacrificed a lot for their families. We feel that these women have to be educated of their basic rights so that they could do something about their situation. They would be confident, and not afraid, when they deal with the government (personal communication, 4 January 2011).

The community workers rationalised the need for community organising:

We organise the women and educate them on how to handle their roles and rights as a woman...By organising them, they can immediately fulfil their basic needs such as health, food, and clothing. But in the long term, community organising is supposed to create an environment which develops their creativity and solidarity (GABRIELA Community Worker 1, personal communication 27 August 2009).

It mobilises and enhances women's resources and capacities so that they find solutions to their problems. GAB[RIELA] believes that community organising is the first step towards effecting change in their existing and oppressive exploitative conditions (GABRIELA Community Worker 2, personal communication, 27 August 2009).

GABRIELA's process of community organising is a continuous cycle. It involves a series of steps from identification of the issue, to clarification of the issue, decision-making on courses of action and the evaluation of and reflection on the actions taken. The whole experience of organising involves participation of the masses and the community.

We follow basic steps in organising. First we integrate with the local community through immersion. We talk with the people in communal areas, attend feasts, or do house visits. Second, we do SI [social investigation] to see if the community is organisable or not based on certain criteria. The area must have urban poor households with at least 15 families. It is also important that we have contacts in the area, [such as] a friend or a relative. If these conditions are met, we ask the

contacts if it is feasible to organise. If yes, then we continue. Third, we schedule for an orientation with the women where we give them ideas about the activities of the group. [At the end of the meeting], we ask them if they are willing to continue. If yes, we schedule for another organisational orientation. If the women are willing to organise a chapter with at least 15 women members, then we form a chapter in the area. They become the core group and tasks are assigned. Next, we conduct meetings and discuss issues and problems. If there are mass action activities [e.g. rallies and dialogues], they join. If there are trainings given by GABRIELA, they also participate. After the activities, we evaluate and reflect on lessons learned (GABRIELA Community Worker 1, personal communication, 27 August 2009).

The group facilitates projects in the area in response to issues identified and prioritised by the members themselves. Thus, the group's approach on the choice of projects revolves around issues which are perceived to be affecting a significant number of people in the community. The issues are realistically resolved through collective actions and sometimes through negotiations with people from the government and other sectors.

The issues could be lack of access to health services or livelihood projects, tenancy problems, poor water supply, or domestic abuse. Our programmes are in response to the types of problems the people experience. We educate them through our popular education classes, make them understand...their situation. We provide them trainings so they can enhance their skills... leadership trainings so that they would know how to face people in power. Together, we come up with solutions to their problems (GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 2 September 2009).

A concrete example of how community organising has been instrumental to achieve positive results was the relocation of thousands of informal settlers from the city to an adjacent town in the late 1990s. Based on the accounts of GABRIELA's leaders, the residents opposed the transfer to the new site because the area was not yet fully developed, it lacked facilities, some houses were not yet ready for habitation, and it was far from the city which would take them away from their jobs. The residents wanted to negotiate with the government but they did not have the capacity to influence the government's decisions. GABRIELA saw this as an opportunity to organise the informal settlers in the area. It was not very difficult to organise the residents for collective action; some residents affected by the transfer were already GABRIELA members. When the residents were organised by GABRIELA, they were able to negotiate with the government and some of their demands were provided to them. Within a year, they were able to transfer to the site. The Coordinator related their experience of the incident.

When it comes to development, GABRIELA believes that we should not resist it but it should be done together with the people. The development concept of the City Mayor at that time, around 1990s, involved displacement of people from the city to an adjacent town. To lessen the effects of displacement, we organised the urban poor so that they can be effective in asking for demands from agencies... We conducted negotiations, dialogues with representatives of agencies and with city officials. Even during typhoons, we held rallies in front of the housing agency office.

As a result of our protests and negotiations, we were able to lower the rent of houses at the relocation site with a five-year moratorium of no payment, a one-month food supply from the social welfare office, free service vehicles for the transfer of belongings from the squatter's area to the relocation site, and a one-shot Php 5,000 [NZD \$130] financial grant for housing materials. We are happy! (GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 4 January 2010).

Community organising can bring success in achieving the goals of the group, yet, GABRIELA community workers revealed the difficulties of the approach. These problems include: inability of members to regularly attend meetings, lack of finances to pursue certain projects and misconceptions about the activities of the group. The community workers shared how they are able to handle such issues.

Majority of our members have nothing. They don't have regular jobs so they cannot regularly attend our meetings and activities. Sometimes, we hold our meetings in the evening, when they are already at home. We also hold meetings between 9-11 AM or 1-4 PM after they are through with their household chores. The most convenient time is in the evening so we adjust to their time (GABRIELA Community Worker 3, personal communication, 20 November 2009).

My problem is usually money. If there is not enough money, we cannot mobilise. [When needed] we engage in "sideline"<sup>42</sup> and borrow money from our families to carry out the activities. We shell out our own money. For our transportation fare, GAB gives us allowance. That's the thing, if you are committed you will do everything to make things work. How can we help other people if we do not know how to help ourselves. If the members see we find ways to pursue a project, they will get motivated to do the same (GABRIELA Community Worker 2, personal communication, 27 August 2009).

Some people are discouraged to join the group. They hear black propaganda against us, that we are witches (*aswang*), members of the NPA<sup>43</sup> [New People's Army]...that we encourage people to fight the government. We have learned to ignore these talks. We also have problems with husbands of our members. They do not understand the

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<sup>42</sup> Sideline refers to work other than the main job.

<sup>43</sup> NPA is the armed group of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

group's activities, so we explain these to them. Some husbands eventually join our activities together with their wives. Sometimes, the wife cannot attend the rallies so their husbands participate in their behalf (GABRIELA Community Worker 2, personal communication, 27 August 2009).

### 5.3.2 Services

GABRIELA provides a variety of services to its members and clients in response to their survival, security and enabling needs (GABRIELA's history, 1999). Survival needs refer to food, nutrition, water, sanitation, clothing and health. Security needs include shelter, peace and order, income and livelihood. GABRIELA also provides services that enhance individual capacity through basic education and literacy, participation in community development and family care (GABRIELA's history, 1999). These services are available throughout the year.

Direct services include small scale psycho-social counselling, medical check-ups for women members and their children, and referrals to health institutions. GABRIELA's psycho-social counselling sessions are different compared to the kind of service provided by government agencies. While counselling from government agencies is given by a medical doctor, GABRIELA offers a socio-historical perspective in making the victim understand the causes of abuse on women in society. The community workers discuss with the victim historical and societal factors that contribute to the oppressed state of women in general (GABRIELA member/Iloilo Women's Centre [IWC] staff, personal communication 12 November 2009). Medical check-ups are organised by GABRIELA together with their network organisation HEALTH-Panay. Medicines prescribed by the doctor are either bought at affordable prices or given for free by HEALTH-Panay. For hospital referrals, GABRIELA coordinates with the Department of Health.

GABRIELA also renders legal service to both members and non-members (collectively called clients) who are victims of abuse (See Figure 5.8). Not everyone can be given legal service so the group follows a standard procedure to determine the kind of service it can provide to the victim. In most cases, psycho-social counselling is given to the victim and her family. However, in cases when the victim needs to file a legal case, GABRIELA refers the complaint to their network of lawyers or to the Public Attorney's Office (PAO).



Figure 5.8 A victim of police brutality sought help from GABRIELA. A community worker documented the incident as relayed by the client and necessary steps were undertaken afterwards (Photo and text: GABRIELA, 2009.).

In the Philippines, GABRIELA-Panay is the only group that facilitates and monitors court cases for non-members.

There are other women organisations in the Philippines but we are the only group that provides legal services to both members and non-members. Even the main office in Manila does not provide regular legal service. They may agree to assist legal cases but normally they provide psycho-social services to victims of abuse. In our case, we have walk-in clients, we facilitate and monitor their case after consulting with our network of lawyers (GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 4 January 2011).

Support services of GABRIELA come in the forms of livelihood and health trainings, information dissemination on diseases and on women's reproductive and basic health care methods. Some support services are undertaken by GABRIELA with limited or no support from the government. GABRIELA conducts herbal trainings for its members as part of its reproductive health project financed by an international NGO (See Figure 5.9). Members can use the products either for personal or commercial purposes.



Figure 5.9 GABRIELA's herbal training project. GABRIELA conducts training with its members on alternative medicines for ordinary illnesses e.g. cough syrup and ointment for skin diseases (Photo and text: GABRIELA, 2009).

There are other services which GABRIELA would request assistance from government agencies such as the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) for provision of allowance for their indigent victims. They also seek help from the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA) for skills development and from the Department of Labor and Industry (DOLE) for the conduct of feasibility study on livelihood. GABRIELA collaborates with the Department of Health (DOH) on awareness campaign against diseases. For one particular health campaign, DOH provided educational campaign materials while a private company donated spray insecticides. The health campaigns are conducted between June-December, the wet season.

During [the] rainy season, we conduct information campaign drives against leptospirosis<sup>44</sup> and dengue<sup>45</sup>. However, it is not enough that we provide information to people. To make our campaign more effective, we tie up with government agencies which provide equipment or medicines. For example, for the dengue campaign, we discussed with the community about dengue. Representatives from DOH sprayed insecticides [in certain areas] in the community. The insecticide was sponsored by Bayer [a German chemical and pharmaceutical company]. The Department of Health also provides flyers for our health campaigns (GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 16 November 2011).

GABRIELA also conducts trainings for government personnel on topics such as gender equity and gender sensitivity. These trainings may last for a day or two. For example, the Philippine National Police (PNP) regularly requests gender sensitivity trainings from GABRIELA for proper handling of cases involving victims of sexual harassment and domestic violence. Such trainings are conducted to improve the manner the police force handles cases of abuse.

We provide gender sensitive workshops for police personnel assigned in the Women's Desk. It used to be that male officers handle the desk. The victims, who are in most cases women, have reservations to disclose information to them. So, we request for women personnel. Since they are not conscious of the issues, we provide them with workshops to make them more gender sensitive and more sympathetic in responding to cases that they handle (GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 22 December 2009).

The GABRIELA Coordinator (personal communication, 4 January 2011) pointed out that their economic projects must be clearly undertaken within the concept of “*supporting and sustaining the struggles towards people's goals [that] are concrete expressions of the alternative system that GAB is working for.*” The group does not introduce and implement projects which they see as reinforcing the old value system of dependency.

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<sup>44</sup> Leptospirosis is a severe bacterial infection that occurs when people are exposed to several types of the *Leptospira* bacteria which can be found in fresh water that has been contaminated by animal urine (ProMED-mail, 2011).

<sup>45</sup> Dengue is a mosquito-borne viral disease transmitted by the *Aedes aegypti* species. It is common in tropical areas; babies and young children are predisposed to the disease (WHO, 2009).





A campaign that strategically influenced decision-makers to address an issue was the protest against the wearing of swimsuits by women who were employed at a local restaurant to wash cars in its parking lot. At least 100 members of GABRIELA and its allied groups held a picket in front of the restaurant to stop the gimmick. The scheme played on sexual innuendoes that offended women but amused men. This highlighted the age-old problem of “*commodification and sexual exploitation of women*” (GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 5 January 2010). GABRIELA demanded that the government investigate the scheme to protect the rights and welfare of women. According to news paper reports, the city mayor did not know about the existence of the bikini car wash and upon investigation learned that the application permit of the establishment for the bikini car wash remained unapproved pending additional documents. GABRIELA considered their campaign a success since the application was eventually disapproved by the city and the scheme was pulled out.

There are advocacy campaigns where GABRIELA is at odds with the government or the Church. There are also campaigns when one of the institutions is on the same side as GABRIELA. One example, in which the state and GABRIELA has been at odds with the Catholic Church, is the current Reproductive Health (RH) bill sponsored by GABRIELA Women’s Party (GWP) list in Congress. GABRIELA has been advocating for the passage of the bill which contains several provisions that will help ensure poor women and children’s access to healthcare<sup>46</sup>. However, the RH Bill also contains provisions pertaining to population control. GABRIELA has lobbied for the inclusion of artificial methods of contraception, a move that has received support from many government officials. However, the Catholic Church has strongly opposed this move from GABRIELA and some government officials. The Roman Catholic Church considers the use of artificial contraceptives as against Natural Moral Law. Further, the Church believes that the promotion of artificial contraceptives could possibly lead to promiscuity and to failure in conceiving a baby if fertilization would take place despite their use. GABRIELA and other allied groups have been holding dialogues and political rallies (See Figure 5.11) to gain support for the bill which is now in the Senate.

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<sup>46</sup> The provisions include having mobile healthy clinics, improvement and upgrade of equipment in public health care facilities and pro-bono reproductive health care services for indigent women.



Figure 5.11 An advocacy campaign to increase access of poor women to reproductive health care system. GAB members held a rally at the Calle Real in celebration of the “Worldwide Alliance on the Protection of Women’s Health and Reproductive Rights” (Text and photo: GABRIELA, 2009).

One campaign which brought GABRIELA and the local Catholic Church (specifically JASAC) together was the protest against construction of a coal-fired power plant in Iloilo City in 2008. The project was strongly supported by the city government and other state agencies. Dialogues with government officials were conducted and protest marches were held in different parts of the city. GABRIELA, along with other groups, demanded to stop the project by highlighting the direct dangers of coal to residents near the project site. They also pointed out the poor track record of private companies in following standard procedures and of government agencies’ failure to regulate and monitor private firms operating coal-fired plants. In spite of the strong oppositions from various groups, the construction pushed through and the power plant is now in full operation.

GABRIELA does not get discouraged by campaigns which do not necessarily turn to their favour. They still respect the government as an institution and are open to opportunities to work with the state in projects that are beneficial to women.

We continue to educate and organise the people and let them [be] involve[d] in changing the system. But let me emphasise that we are not against the government. We are against the system that is not right and doesn’t serve the general interest.

If there are factions among the groups or the government, what we do is sit down and talk about these problems. We are critical of the policies and of government officials who are not sensitive to the needs of the people. It should be the government for the people, by the people, with the people. People say we are used as a 'front' by the NPA. We are not, since we do not take up arms and are not against the government per se. We need a government to look after the people. It is also possible to have genuine government if different representatives talk with each other and are in harmony. Because of our ideas, people think we are communists for we want communal governance, there is no single institution to govern everyone. We explain then which aspect we can have equal rights and equal access to resources. This is what we really aim for...(GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 4 January 2010).

Interviews with GABRIELA leaders revealed that most of their work is related to advocacy campaign programme, for the reason that it does not require much money and logistics compared to other programmes. They mainly utilize communication strategies based upon information dissemination through community leaders and other allied organisations. They also ask for the help of print and broadcast media representatives in their campaigns. Campaigns that involve protest marches are held in conspicuous parts of the city where there is high foot traffic, such as major thoroughfares (See Figure 5.12).



Figure 5.12 A cultural programme at the Rotary Ampitheater. In celebration of the Worldwide Protection of Human Rights, GABRIELA members performed a play which included a human effigy chained by all kinds of sufferings to symbolise the abuses against women (Text and photo: GABRIELA, 2009).

### 5.3.4 Education

The education programme of GABRIELA is different from the lecture-format of traditional schooling. It refers to popular education which is “*an ongoing process by which the person learns knowledge and insights from their everyday experiences through talking with other people*” (GABRIELA Community Worker 3, personal communication, 20 November 2009).

Popular education classes do not have the formal structure of a school classroom, where there is a teacher who gives lectures, and students who participate through recitations. GABRIELA community workers usually conduct classes in areas where people can gather around, such as a member’s house, back yard, in communal laundry areas and on sidewalks (See Figures 5.13 and 5.14). Community workers would start the discussion by talking about a particular national issue, relate it to local issues, and members would share their experiences and views. Through popular education classes, the members get some understanding of their life situation by questioning the existing system which prevents them from achieving their aspirations in life (GABRIELA Community Worker 2, personal communication, 19 October 2009).



Figure 5.13 Education programme. GABRIELA conducts popular education classes for its members to raise their awareness on laws and issues that affect their lives (Text: Author; Photo: GABRIELA, 2009).



Figure 5.14 Education programme. A popular education class held in a member's backyard (Text: Author; Photo: GABRIELA, 2009).

The goal of popular education, as understood by the community workers, is to raise people's consciousness by reflecting on their poor conditions in life. Once they have come to an understanding of their plight, this would bring about change in their attitude and they would act upon this to improve their conditions in life. A GABRIELA Youth leader expresses similar sentiments about popular education classes:

It helps us find our voice. We are taught to be critical of our surroundings and to assert our rights by expressing our opinions in these gatherings. There is a sense of power that comes with it...We are more confident to do something about our situation when we band together as a solid group (personal communication, 13 November 2009).

While popular education was viewed by the community workers and other members as an approach that can transform society, GABRIELA's Coordinator (personal communication, 16 November 2011) gave interesting insights when asked about such acts in bringing change in society. She mentioned that being active in women's and the urban poor's struggles since the 1980s made her realise that such acts may not necessarily lead to positive changes in society. She pointed out that raising people's consciousness can have two consequences. One effect is that people could demand change through protest marches on the streets. The other consequence is that people could choose to abandon their support to the government and take

up arms against it. The latter is not the consequence that GABRIELA wants to achieve in conducting popular education classes and advocacy campaigns. The following quotes provide a detailed explanation:

Before, we thought that street parliamentarism through rallies, demonstrations, pickets and popular education classes were the keys to change society. For so long, we believed that genuine change can only be achieved by raising people's consciousness through politically motivated acts. However, [after the 1986 EDSA<sup>47</sup> Revolution] we realised that working outside the system while empowering the people may turn these politically motivated acts into full-fledged armed revolution, just like what some groups have done [referring to the New People's Army]. This is not what GABRIELA wants and stands for. We have recognised the limitations of protest actions, we cannot change the attitude of those in power if we do not have proper representation in the government. Raising people's consciousness and engaging in short-lived political activities do not guarantee that we will achieve long-term change. There is another strategy for this kind of change... (GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 16 November 2011).

Still, the Coordinator emphasised the need to conduct popular education classes and organise protest actions to develop people's consciousness.

Even though protest actions and popular education classes may not necessarily lead to change in the system of government, making people aware and care about what's happening around them is a start to effect any change, even if that change is on a personal level only (personal communication, 16 November 2011).

### 5.3.5 Formation of Gabriela Women's Party (GWP) list

In the past, leaders of GABRIELA negotiated and lobbied with government officials for issues and concerns that affect women. They realised, however, that these were either ignored or not properly dealt with (GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 16 November 2009). Thus, the Gabriela Women's Party (GWP) list was formed and formally participated in the party-list elections in 2003. It has since consistently won two seats in Congress. GWP aims to articulate in Congress the voice of women and to assert their interests in a Congress that is perceived to be dominated by the upper-class (Libres, 2005). The political group has consistently advanced and supported bills and laws on Filipino women. Most notable of these are laws that protect women and children against all forms of

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<sup>47</sup> EDSA is an abbreviation for Epifanio de los Santos Avenue.

violence, the Magna Carta of women<sup>48</sup>, and the maximisation of the use of Gender and Development (GAD) budget of local government units. GWP has also been pushing for the passage of the comprehensive reproductive health bill which gives women the choice to use different types of contraceptives.

GABRIELA's Coordinator rationalised the need to create a party list, which is the platform to introduce reforms in society, by becoming a member of the House of Representatives.

There is realisation among us that the people's issues and concerns that we advocate on the streets are not properly addressed. There should be a proper venue where we can be more effective in advancing the rights and interest of [Filipino] women. There are laws which are not pro-women and there is also absence of laws that advance our interest. If we are not part of legislation, it is very difficult to achieve the change that we want. The formation of a political party is the best way to bring these concerns from the streets to the level of legislation. The org considers working at another level when it comes to directly addressing root causes of injustices (personal communication, 16 November 2011).

A GABRIELA leader concurred that the creation of a party list ensures that women's perspectives are represented in Congress. The issues and concerns of women from different parts of the country are articulated into proposed legislations.

We gather the issues and concerns of women by conducting meetings with our leaders and members from different communities. We share their views with party list representatives who then express these concerns into bills or resolutions in Congress. By doing this, we ensure that we are presenting genuine concerns of women because these come from our grassroots members (GABRIELA leader 1, personal communication, 26 November 2009).

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<sup>48</sup> The Magna Carta of Women is a Philippine Law that recognises and protects women's rights at home, at work and in all spheres of society. Its most salient features include increasing the number of women personnel until they fill half of third-level positions in the government, setting up in every village a women's desk and providing incentives to parties with women's agenda.

### 5.3.6 Solidarity and linkages

GABRIELA develops links and solidarity relations with other groups which share their values and vision of advancing women's rights in society. They engage in solidarity initiatives and linkages through hosting of exposure visits with local and international organizations. Every semester, GABRIELA takes in practicum students of Community Development from the Western Visayas State College (WVSC); students do community immersion with the supervision of the community workers. Students, quoted below, shared their experiences in doing community immersion with GABRIELA.

When I learned that my teacher assigned me to do practical work with GABRIELA, I got scared. My parents were also worried. I wanted to be assigned in a micro-lending institution but our teacher said we have to stay here. We have heard a lot of bad things about them. My uncle told me they [GABRIELA] are similar to the NPAs, they engage in fights. My uncle was afraid I will participate in the fights. But our teacher said other students did their practicum with the org. So, I am giving my best because we have no choice. So far, they have been good to me. There is no truth to what my family told me about the org...The community immersion is a learning experience for me, there's a difference between what we read in books and what we have to do in the field. For the past weeks, I've been helping the community worker organise the classes (GABRIELA practicum student 1, personal communication, 2 September 2009).

I also had similar problems. My Lola had apprehensions if I can do the work here for she thought GAB only organises rallies. We didn't know that they are a lot more to what we see on tv and hear from other people. On my first few weeks, my family used to ask me what we do here. Eventually, they stopped asking. They must have thought I can do the work and because I did not complain (GABRIELA practicum student 2, personal communication, 2 September 2009).

I've been exposed to other agencies where the staff treated me like I was not part of the organisation. With GABRIELA, it's different. The members sit down with us and listen to our problems. They are willing to make consideration[s] of our time. Sometimes, we cannot report to the office because of school activities so they consider this when we cannot do our expected tasks...As for rallies, they don't force us to join; our teachers tell us that it is our personal choice to join or not (GABRIELA practicum student 3, personal communication, 3 September 2009).

GABRIELA also organises solidarity activities with families of their members during Christmas season (5.15). It also forms linkages with local and international organizations in conducting workshops to enhance skills of women (See Figure 5.16).





Figure 5.15 Solidarity and linkages programme. The Women's and Children's Day is one event that strengthens the bond among GABRIELA members (Text and photo: GABRIELA, n.d.).



Figure 5.16 Solidarity & linkages programme. A Basic Health Skills Training on taking vital signs was conducted by Doc Ely for GABRIELA's health team members (Text and photo: GABRIELA, n.d.).

When asked about the nature of GABRIELA's collaboration with the state, a GABRIELA leader (personal communication, 26 November 2009) revealed that the group typically does not have formal agreements with government agencies. This gives them the option to pull out from the engagement if they feel there are aspects in the undertaking which are against the principles and values of the organisation.

## **5.4 Case Study 3: JASAC**

### **5.4.1 Community organising and Basic Ecclesial Community (BEC)**

JASAC's basic strategy to mobilise people is through community organising. This strategy is employed by community workers of the Roman Catholic Church in implementing the group's programmes. The process of community organising stresses unity in resolving issues and aspirations of the people and involves reflections on passages from the Bible. This approach to organising is used because it is a way of instilling among the people "*a pro-social and pro-poor orientation*" (JASAC Volunteer/Parish Worker, personal communication, 12 January 2010). Moreover, Filipinos are basically a religious people so if this orientation is directed towards their active participation in changing society, then faith becomes meaningful (JASAC Volunteer/Parish Worker, 12 January 2010).

While GABRIELA's approach to community organising is issue-based, JASAC's approach is faith-based and is aimed to build Basic Ecclesial Community (BECs). BEC is a pastoral programme introduced to the communities by diocesan priests and pastoral workers. Under BEC, the community is envisioned to be Christ-centred, to celebrate meaningful liturgies and other sacraments and is committed to the total transformation of society (JASAC Asst. Director, personal communication 9 September 2009). A parish priest shared the basic organising activities in BEC and his experiences in its implementation (personal communication, 21 October 2009).

We cluster 10 people into one group then we facilitate in making them evaluate and assess their situation. We categorise their problems into: economic, spiritual, political or cultural aspects. If it is economic, we target to put up a cooperative; if it's spiritual – more on the sacraments and on worship; or political – we make them aware of issues that affect them and make them participate. We haven't really gotten into the cultural aspect because my community is not yet ready. People are still suspicious of each other. There is still a need to concentrate on building leadership. The mission of the church is to help them become better people in all aspects. But they can only develop spiritually if their basic economic needs are addressed. This is where the social action

programmes come in (Parish priest, personal communication, 21 October 2009).

A JASAC volunteer worker expounded how the BEC is conducted:

It starts with letting people talk about their problems. This takes time. Most people don't readily share their problems with others. But it is important that the description of their condition comes from them. Next, we provide the information they need to understand and analyse their situation from the gospel. Together with them, we provide the means to improve their situation. This is what we call *conscientisation* in which there is deeper understanding of the world and taking action against the factors that are causing the oppression (personal communication, 12 January 2010).

JASAC responds to the needs of their communities by establishing “programmes that promote human development, justice, and peace” (JASAC Executive Director, personal communication, 25 September 2009). These programmes focus on the bible verse taken from John 10:10: “*The Lord Jesus came that every man may have life and that life lived in fullness*”. He explained what living in fullness means.

By fullness, it means both temporal and spiritual. It is not only about economic development but spiritual development as well. Economic development, however, is anchored on social and political development...if one is economically poor, then s/he is not enjoying the fullness of life. And, those who have enough in life have the duty to help the poor. This is not charity but a duty by justice to the poor (JASAC Executive Director, personal communication, 25 September 2009).

He added that it is not God's will that people live in an impoverished state. JASAC responds to the sufferings of the people and lifting them from their “de-humanised state” (personal communication, 25 September, 2009). Thus, a variety of programmes<sup>49</sup> have been created to improve the conditions of poor and marginalised groups.

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<sup>49</sup> Programmes are referred as Desks by JASAC.

#### 5.4.2 *Alay Kapwa* Desk (Social Welfare Service Delivery)

*Alay Kapwa* facilitates sharing of resources from parishioners through envelope distribution and collection. Forty per cent of the collection is divided among National Secretariat of Social Action–Justice and Peace (NASSA-JP)<sup>50</sup> and twenty per cent is allotted for the calamity fund. The remaining amount is allotted for walk-in clients who need immediate assistance in terms of medicines, food, hospitalisation and dental services. JASAC gives hospital referrals<sup>51</sup> and a Php 10,000.00 (NZD \$287.00) budget/month is allotted for medicines to walk-in clients (JASAC Secretary/Parish Worker, personal communication, 2 September 2009). JASAC also gives out privilege cards to parish members who are “valued clients” of the group’s pharmaceutical drugstores. Depending on the gross monthly income and the number of children of the client, one can avail of free medicines or can get these on discounts.

Let’s say the gross monthly family income is between Php 15,000-20,000(NZD \$430.00-574.00), the member has to pay the regular price of medicine. If the income is between Php 10,000-14,999 (NZD \$287.00-429.00), one will pay 95% for a single receipt. If the gross monthly income is Php 1,000 (NZD \$28.00), one gets the medicines for free (JASAC Secretary/Parish Worker, personal communication, 2 September 2009).

Under the same programme, educational scholarship grants are provided to deserving students. The mechanics of the scholarship grant was explained by a staff of JASAC.

We have an educational scholarship for poor but deserving students. A qualifying exam is given to high school students referred to us by the parish. They have to pass the written and the interview exams in order to avail of the benefits. For students who wish to enrol in government schools, we pay the tuition fees plus the miscellaneous and a monthly allowance of Php 1,000 (NZD \$28.00). If they wish to enrol in private institutions because their program is not available in government schools, we pay for the amount equivalent to the highest tuition fee in government institutions. We don’t pay anymore the miscellaneous fees. We get 12 scholars every year and a minimum grade requirement is required to keep the scholarship... If nobody passes the exam, we get the top 5 but we don’t provide allowance to them. They can request the help of their parish for other expenses (JASAC Secretary/Parish Worker, personal communication, 2 September 2009).

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<sup>50</sup> It is the social action arm of the Catholic Bishop’s Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) which has local counterparts all over the Philippines. The Justice and Peace component was created at the height of Martial Law because of the incidence of human rights violations committed during the 1970s.

<sup>51</sup> JASAC has a tie-up with West Visayas State University (WVSU) Medical Center and St. Paul’s Hospital, government and private-owned institutions respectively.

Scholars of JASAC are provided regular spiritual formations and are encouraged to work for the organisation after their graduation.

A micro-finance scheme is also available to parish members. Those who usually avail of the loan are small-time vendors who can borrow a maximum amount of Php 5,000 (NZD \$143.00) payable in 6 to 12 months with a 1% interest per month. The requirements include a project proposal and a “character reference” (JASAC Staff 1, personal communication, 2 September 2009). A credit investigation (CI) is conducted if a client fails to pay the loan after 6 months. One-time loan payment has been the most common problem of JASAC for its micro-finance scheme (JASAC Staff 1, 2 September 2009).

#### 5.4.3 Relief and Emergency Rehabilitation Desk

This programme responds to victims of natural and man-made calamities particularly typhoons, floods and fire. JASAC requests assistance from parish members, patrons and other groups through donations and collections. Further, prayers against inclement weather are said during mass in all parishes as part of JASAC’s spiritual assistance during calamities.

During Typhoon Frank in 2008, JASAC extended relief assistance through medical missions to affected villages (JASAC Staff/Finance officer, personal communication, 16 September 2009). They also provided their parishes Php 800,000 (NZD \$22, 700.00) to fund materials and labour for rehabilitation projects.

JASAC facilitates donation campaign for other areas in the Philippines affected by typhoons. In 2009, parts of Luzon were severely affected by Typhoon Ondoy (international name Ketsana) prompting the Jaro Archbishop to appeal for help from its parishioners. JASAC facilitated the donation drive of food, clothes, medicines and other necessities for typhoon victims (See Figure 5.17). An *Oratio Imperata* was also prayed by all parishes and by all prayer groups for victims of the typhoon (JASAC Volunteer/Pastoral Worker, personal communication, 12 January 2010).



Figure 5.17 JASAC initiated a relief campaign that included clothes, noodles and sacks of rice for Typhoon Ondoy victims. The clothes and boxes of noodles were donated by members and supporters of the archdiocese while the sacks of rice were from the organic farm of JASAC and the National Food Authority (NFA) (Text and photo: Author, 2009).

#### 5.4.4 Justice and Peace Desk

Under the Justice and Peace Desk, JASAC members and its volunteers hold protest actions to advocate for causes that uphold the rights of persons. Issues that are addressed and promoted are human rights, electoral reforms, genuine land reform and the peace process. They also provide free legal assistance to the poor.

One campaign that has created much controversy between JASAC and the city government was the protest actions organised by JASAC against the construction and operation of a coal-fired power plant in Barangay Incore, Lapaz. Upon its completion, the plant was expected to supply 164 megawatts to islands in the central Philippines and would end the daily power outages that have plagued Western Visayas. JASAC, together with GABRIELA, enlisted the support of the academe and other sectors and conducted dialogues and negotiations with the city government to stop the privately-owned project, citing the ill-effects of coal on people's health and the environment. JASAC and other groups recommended that renewable sources of energy, while taking longer to build, present a better alternative fuel source than coal. Protesting groups also claimed that the power outages in the city were artificially induced to justify the construction of the power plant. JASAC, GABRIELA and other groups organised signature campaigns and disseminated position papers to the media and government agencies

stressing the negative health and social impacts of coal<sup>52</sup>. JASAC also helped Greenpeace-Philippines in organising a series of multi-sectoral prayer rallies (See Figure 5.18).

In spite of the vehement oppositions from JASAC and other sectors, the project continued, but it was stalled to some degree by the protest actions (JASAC Community Worker/Secretary, personal communication, 2 September 2009).

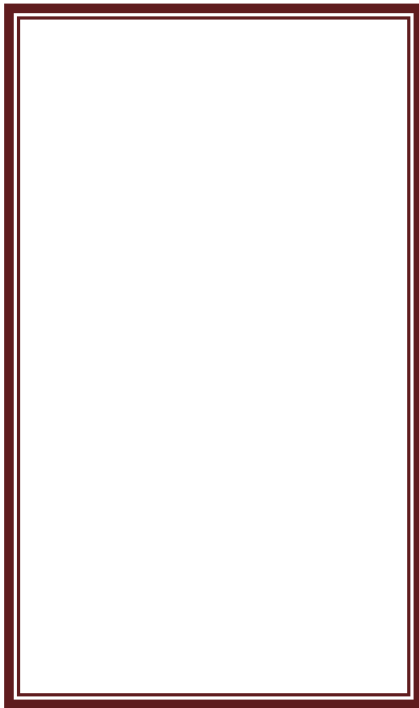


Figure 5.18 Prayer rally. JASAC, together with Greenpeace-Philippines and other multi-sectoral groups, organised a prayer rally at the Jaro Cathedral protesting the construction of a government-supported 164 MG coal-fired power plant (Text: Author; Photo: Greenpeace-Philippines<sup>53</sup>, 2008).

#### 5.4.5 Poverty Reduction Desk

Under their Poverty Alleviation Desk, JASAC organises training on entrepreneurship so that the poor can start their own business. It also provides capital and only charge one per cent interest for the said financial assistance in villages (JASAC Staff/Finance officer, personal communication, 2 September 2009). JASAC's skills training partner is the Western Visayas College of Science and Technology (WVSCT). They provide trainings on reflexology, massage, baking, cooking and cosmetology every month (See Figure 5.19).

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<sup>52</sup> According to HPFP's Regional Coordinator (personal communication, 5 December 2009), the group wrote a position paper but she did not give any information as to whether it was in support or in protest of the project. Later, in consultation with their network of urban poor federations, HPFP decided to withdraw the position paper and remain non-partisan to the issue. She cited that it did not directly concern the overall aims and programmes of the group. Still, the members can show their protest or support on any issue on their individual capacity as residents of the city.

<sup>53</sup> Photo downloaded from Greenpeace Flickr account at <http://www.flickr.com/photos/gpsea/2569527968/in/photostream/> on 11 January 2010.



Figure 5.19 Recipients of JASAC's reflexology training provided free services to clients inside JASAC's compound (Photo and text: JASAC, n.d.).

JASAC also forms partnerships with the government's Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA) and Department of Agriculture (DA). It also collaborates with the non-government organisation Brotherhood of Christian Businessmen of the Philippines (BCBP). Projects introduced for the poor include self-building through trainings and seminars, attitude formation, religious instruction and project monitoring (JASAC Secretary/Parish Worker, personal communication, 2 September 2009). There are also projects for livelihood generation such as swine-raising and *darag*-raising for native chickens (See Figure 5.20). *“Most of the projects for the poor require low start-up capital and maximisation of available resources”* (JASAC Secretary/Parish Worker, personal communication, 2 September 2009).





Figure 5.20 JASAC's swine-raising project. The project does not require a large capital outlay or expensive physical facilities, and can be completed within four months (Photo and text: Author, 2009).

#### 5.4.6 Ecology Desk

The Ecology Desk raises consciousness on the protection of the environment and the pursuit of sustainable agriculture by conducting seminars together with its networks of non-governmental organisations, the academe and the national state agencies. It has a demonstration farm located outside the city which showcases organic farming technology. Some 3,000 farmers have been given training on organic farming and 150 have been practicing as such (JASAC Secretary/Parish Worker, personal communication, 2 September 2009). Farmers also foray fowl dispersal, goat raising, cows and swine as sources of household income. Its 3.6 hectare demonstration land contains diversified farming of rice, fish, poultry and meat using organic methods (Gonzales, 2010).

Under this programme, JASAC established *Bigasan sa Parokya* (Rice Retailing in the Parish), where very cheap rice is sold. To meet the increased demand by the consumers, it also sells rice from the National Food Authority (NFA). In 2010, there were twenty one rice retail stores all over the archdiocese (Gonzales, 2010). JASAC established the demonstration farm to address food security in poor areas.

A thirty-nine year old farmer shared his experience on organic farming. He mentioned that it was his father who underwent some training on organic farming and he learned from him. While he practices vermi-composting and fowl dispersal in his own farm, he is also

responsible in tending the rice and vegetable farm owned by JASAC. Together with the Executive Director, the farmer tries whatever alternative farming technologies are introduced by government agencies or by the private sector. He gets a certain percentage from the farm produce which he has used for the education of his small children. When asked about the production costs of a conventional rice farm from organic farm, he thinks the costs are almost comparable. However, it is a disadvantage to engage in organic farming if the adjacent farm lot uses conventional technology.

It's hard if the adjacent farm is into conventional technology. Sometimes, my farm gets infected by pests from the nearby farm. Some farmers also use strong chemicals which affect the quality of my produce (personal communication, 15 November 2009).

The farmer added that the market has put a high premium on organic products which increases their selling price. Naturally, consumers would buy products sold at a much lower price. In response to this problem, JASAC has been holding an organic farm market every Sunday morning inside their compound. Produce from their organic farm and from other organic farmers are sold at low prices. One of the volunteers mentioned that JASAC takes out the premium price on organic products which are set by commercial businessmen.

We've started the trend of making organic products affordable to all by avoiding the usual exorbitant premium price attached to organic products making them "elitist products". We started the Sunday Organic Market in Jaro Cathedral. We're selling low - while commercial establishments sell organic rice at Php 60/kilo (NZD \$1.70), we're selling at Php 33/kilo (NZD \$0.93) until supply lasts. We base our price depending on production costs. Yesterday, while tomatoes have retail price of Php 40/kilo (NZD \$1.13) at Super [wet market], we sold at Php 35/kilo (NZD \$1.00). Organic lettuce is sold at Atrium [Mall] for Php 150-180/kilo (NZD \$4.25 – 5.10), our price yesterday was Php 100/kilo (NZD \$2.83)...(personal communication, 8 April 2012).

JASAC intends to expand the market so that more small farmers will switch from conventional to organic farming.

#### 5.4.7 Corruption Prevention Desk

The Corruption Prevention Desk started as part of the Justice and Peace programme. However, because of the perceived rampant cases of corruption in the country, the third Synod of Jaro passed a mandate to make it as a separate division (JASAC Secretary/Parish Worker, personal communication, 2 September 2009).

Under the programme, the People's Graft Watch of Iloilo, Inc. was formed in 2002 and authorised by the Ombudsman. Graft Watch leads local efforts to address the problem of corruption. In 2006, JASAC was able to get a one year grant from the European Union (EU) in the amount of Euro 54,415.00 as part of the agency's good governance programme component (People's Graft Watch of Iloilo, 2008). The aim of the project was to enhance the capacity of people to prevent graft and corruption through capability-building of Church-based and other civil society groups in investigating, filing and monitoring of cases. Moreover, the project was aimed to strengthen linkages among Church-based and other CSOs in fighting graft and corruption in government. The money was used to finance a number of activities of Graft Watch: anti-graft and corruption capability-building trainings, meetings, planning, information and education, monitoring, evaluating and system establishment (People's Graft Watch of Iloilo, 2008).

Members of Graft Watch participate as observers<sup>54</sup> in the bids and awards process of government agencies involved in major projects and contracts. The inclusion of civil society in Bids and Awards Committee has enhanced civil society's role in anti-corruption work. At the same time, it has increased government transparency and accountability in project procurement. Graft Watch has participated in the project proceedings of the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG), PhilHealth, Department of Health (DOH), Bureau of Internal Revenues (BIR) and the Department of Public Works and Highway (DPWH) (JASAC Graft Watch Volunteer/ Parish Worker, personal communication, 12 January 2010).

Majority of Graft Watch volunteers are parish workers from different towns and a few members come from professional groups (e.g. lawyers and teachers). Members undergo trainings to understand the eligibility of documents and the provisions under the Government Procurement Reform Act 9498. Basic reading and writing skills are important too as they review documents. *"Anyone can be a Graft Watch volunteer, even a tricycle driver, as long as one is willing to learn the proceedings"* (JASAC Graft Watch Volunteer/ Teacher, personal communication, 12 December 2010).

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<sup>54</sup> As observers, they are expected to process information and make reports about the whole proceeding. They are expected to translate observations into concrete actions to improve the system, propose recommendations, and/or to file complaints for any violation of procurement laws or corrupt practices.

#### 5.4.8 S.H.E.E.F (Shelter, Health, Education, Employment and Food)

As the newest programme of JASAC, SHEEF focuses attention to basic needs of the poor and other marginalised groups. Its Health Division pays attention to the medical needs of the people especially to those who cannot afford. JASAC provides trainings on herbal medicine-making and shiatsu in villages to promote alternative medicine. As explained by JASAC's drugstore manager (personal communication, 13 October 2009), alternative medicine is being promoted because it relies on local resources, is known to have few negative side effects, and can be a source of income for its members.

In response to the need to sell cheap but potent medicines, JASAC established a pharmaceutical drugstore that caters to the poor (JASAC's drugstore manager, 13 October 2009). The idea of putting up a drugstore came about in the 1990s when JASAC started holding free medical and dental services for poor communities. The consultation was done within the Jaro Cathedral compound. The medicines, mostly solicited from the Department of Health (DOH), were given free to the clients. In return, clients donated items such as food to help pay for the volunteer physician, as well as for other expenses. While there was never any lack of patients in the weekly consultation, the volunteer doctors and staff realised that some patients would throw away the doctor's prescription because they had no money to buy medicines (JASAC's drugstore manager, 13 October 2009). Moreover, the DOH stopped providing free medicines to JASAC. The Executive Director got the approval of the archdiocese to continue with the services and found a pharmaceutical company willing to supply the low-cost medicines to poor parishioners (JASAC's drugstore manager, 13 October 2009).

In 2002, JASAC acquired a business permit and officially began the operations of JASAC Drugstore (see Figure 5.21). The start-up capital was Php 6,000 (NZD \$171.00) from *Alay Kapwa* funds (JASAC's drugstore manager, 13 October 2009). The staff who had no experience of running a drugstore at that time would usually procure medicines such as anti-cough drugs, analgesics, antibiotics and vitamins, as these were the most often prescribed medicines to JASAC's clients. The medicines it sells are generic but have the same active ingredient and strength as the branded and more expensive counterparts.



Figure 5.21 JASAC first of four pharmaceutical drugstores. It was put up for poor people to have access to potent drugs at affordable prices. The store is open 8 hours of the day from Monday to Saturday (Text: Author; Photo: JASAC, 2009).

At present, most of their customers come from urban poor communities in Jaro District. But there are clients who purchase medicines from the drugstore who come in cars and from distant towns of Iloilo province (Drugstore staff 1, personal communication, 13 October 2009). Medicines sold at the drugstores are bought directly from pharmaceutical companies at discounted prices. One of the staff at the drugstore (Drugstore staff 2, personal communication, 13 October 2009) explained that they make, at most, 10 per cent profit. The profit is used to support other programmes and projects of JASAC. Moreover, the profits are used to pay for taxes, staff salaries and other operational expenses. The success of the drugstores is being duplicated by other social action centres in the Philippines (Drugstore staff 2, 13 October 2009).

The success of the project also implies growing demands and challenges for the staff of the JASAC. One of the challenges is selling generic drugs to their clients.

Doctors usually tell patients to buy branded medicine and JASAC's clients are often hesitant to try generic drugs. We have to reassure them that we follow strict guidelines in dispensing only medicines approved by the Bureau of Food and Drugs (Drugstore staff 1, personal communication, 13 October 2009).

Another challenge is making their client follow the doctor's order as directed. Some clients take medicines but do not follow the prescribed number or the frequency of taking the drugs.

We talk to our clients as much as possible. We ask them about their sickness and the doctor's prescription. We tell them that if they don't take medicines as prescribed, they may not get better or may even get worse. It is important for them to understand that they have to follow the doctor's order (JASAC Parish Worker/Drugstore Manager, personal communication, 13 October 2009).

Since 2009, three regular pharmaceutical drugstores have been put up in Iloilo, and also in Guimaras Island (JASAC Parish Worker/Drugstore Manager, personal communication, 13 October 2009).

## 5.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter described the collective planning practices of the civil society groups in response to problems associated with urban poverty. Details of the programmes of the case study groups were presented. The core of HPFP's programmes is focussed on addressing tenure and housing concerns. Its major programmes include: financing and saving products, city-wide enumeration, transit housing facility, community managed resettlement housing projects and community-managed upgrading projects. GABRIELA has programmes that protect and enhance the capacities of women through education campaigns, services (e.g. VAW/C, violation of human rights, reproductive health and livelihood), solidarity and linkages, and the formation of a party list group. JASAC has the most comprehensive variety of programmes that encompass social welfare service delivery, relief and emergency rehabilitation, justice and peace, poverty reduction, ecology and corruption prevention.

The next chapter provides an analysis of the collective practices of the three groups.

## Chapter 6

### Discussion of Collective Planning Practices

#### 6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided details of the programmes, projects and activities of the three case study groups. The aim of this chapter is to critically examine these planning practices in relation to the debates raised in the insurgent planning and co-production literatures in the setting of post-colonial cities.

This chapter is divided into three major sections as follows.

Section 6.2 restates the current debates in insurgent planning and co-production literatures that were raised in Chapter 2. Based on the review of the debates, it is argued that greater nuance is required between the terms insurgency, insurgent planning, co-production and collaboration. It is also argued that it is imperative to recognise the tendency of groups to engage in a hybrid of these approaches as a key attribute of civil society groups in post-colonial societies.

Informed by these two related arguments, the collective practices of the three groups are interrogated along two dimensions: relationships of civil society groups with the state and the scope of their activities. Each dimension is discussed in the next two sections. Thus, section 6.3 provides a critical exploration of the groups' practices by looking into their typology or category of relationships with the state in the conduct of collective acts while section 6.4 presents an analysis of the group's practices by looking into their scope of activities. The chapter ends with a summary.

## 6.2 A Review of the Debates in Insurgent Planning and Co-production Literatures

A review of insurgent planning literature shows a wide range of oppositional actions tend to be associated with the term “insurgent planning” (Watson, 2011) including political uprisings, political party formation, dialogues, negotiations, vigilantism, lectures, public consultations and fora, large-scale land invasion, civil disobedience by refusing to pay for public amenities and squatting, participation in public consultations and engagement in protest rallies (Beard, 2003; Friedmann, 2002; Holston, 1998; Meir, 2005; Meth, 2010; Miraftab, 2009; Perera, 2009, Sweet & Chakars, 2010, Watson, 2011). While the ‘oppositional’ element is evident in all these examples, the contention lies in the way some of this opposition is expressed through quite ‘formal’, state-endorsed means such as participation in public consultations and political party formation (Ibabao, Vallance, Memon, 2012). These paradoxically validate the wider state apparatus even though particular policies, programmes or plans are being challenged. The first area of debate, therefore, centres on whether insurgent planning includes all opposition or whether it is targeting a more selective ‘anti-state’ position. This is particularly important in the context of countries like the Philippines that have experienced full-scale revolutions (Ibabao, Vallance, Memon, 2012).

Another area of debate is that while the insurgent planning model has focussed on the different forms of, often, resistance, it does not sufficiently account for those activities that are transformative rather than oppositional (Mitlin, 2008; Watson 2011). A third issue is that the co-production literature has traditionally centred on collaborative service delivery (Brandsen & Pestoff, 2006; McKenzie et al., 2008; Bovaird, 2007; Parks, et al., 1981). Yet rarely has co-production been considered as a strategy through which civil society groups can achieve their constitutional rights and eventually gain state recognition (Marschall, 2004; Mitlin, 2008; Watson, 2011). Moreover, service delivery can take place through both formal and informal arrangements. These imply two possible interpretations of service delivery with the first being essentially meaning the collaborative co-delivery of services through formal arrangements like a contract, tender or Memorandum of Understanding. The second interpretation involves service delivery – interpreted very broadly - by civil society groups using non-state or informal means in absence of the state which enables them to gain credibility, rights or recognition or to inform the state.



Finally, there is contention which concerns distinctions over “everyday and mundane acts” (insurgency) and “structured and planned” activities (insurgent planning) have (Watson, 2011). Watson (2011) argued that some acts are perhaps better described as ‘insurgency’ because they are “ad-hoc and reactive” (Watson, 2011, p. 14), and are less concerned about changing the structural causes of injustices. Acts within insurgent planning, on the other hand, are strategic and “aimed at some kind of longer-lasting impact or advantage...” (Watson, 2011, p. 14). Watson (2011) acknowledges that “everyday” and “structured” acts cannot be generalised across contexts, but instead require empirical analysis in order to understand these different strategies within political and socio-economic contexts.

Given the literary debates highlighted in this section, this study proposes that a more fine-grained distinction should be made on the range of collective practices of civil society groups. A category of actions by civil society groups is presented that challenges the popular notion of the groups' dichotomous interaction as 'either' in opposition or in collaboration with the state (Ibabao, Vallance, Memon, 2012). This typology will provide a better understanding between the terms insurgency, insurgent planning, co- production and collaboration. An equally important point is that the scope of activities of the groups is influenced by the temporal goals of the organisations. Thus, some acts respond to short-term or ad-hoc goals and other activities are performed in order to achieve their long term or strategic goals.

An attempt is therefore made to critically examine the collective practices with regards to relationship with the state and scope of activities. Section 6.3 explores the categories of relationships of civil society groups with the state and Section 6.4 will look into the scope of their activities.

## 6.3 A Typology of Relationships Between Civil Society Groups and the State

The discussion in this section aims to depart from the usual thinking about state relations of civil society as a dichotomy of ‘opposition’ versus ‘collaboration’. In reality, the groups are often entwined in more complex forms of interaction where opposition and collaboration represent general categories of actions. Yet there are slight variations in the civil society’s actions as they relate to the state. Thus, a more fine-grained distinction is required of the relations by civil society with the state. These relationships may be placed in a typology or categories of actions that involve a) delivery of state services using formal means or formal consultation, b) programmes / activities / services / knowledge creation using non-state or informal means, c) opposition to some state programmes or goals using informal means but within state-recognised framework, d) opposition to some state programmes or goals using formal means and, e) anti-state acts.

### 6.3.1 Delivery of state services using formal means or formal consultation

The co-production literature provides a more popular and common interpretation of co-production as “the joint production of public services between citizen and state with any one or more element of the production process being shared” (Mitlin, 2008, p. 340). Co-production can therefore be interpreted as basically collaboration – such as the co-delivery of services (e.g. in housing, electricity, livelihood, health, education, and legal aid) which takes place within formal arrangements. The involvement of civil society groups has been identified in “service planning, design, commissioning, managing, delivering, monitoring, and evaluation activities” (Bovaird, 2007, p. 847). Their involvement can also be in policy development (McKenzie, Matahaere-Atariki & Goldsmith, 2008) through, for example, formal consultation on plans, strategies and programmes. The collaboration is expressed through submission of plans and having formal consultations that are encapsulated in formal agreements (e.g. contracts and memorandum of agreements or understanding).

My study findings show that the three civil society groups collaborated with the state in the delivery of services. Their relationship was expressed through contracts or memorandum of agreements/understanding in which basic roles, procedures and expected outputs are recognised by both parties. The main role of civil society groups in the collaborative process was provision of labour equity. They were involved in the advocacy campaigns, identification of beneficiaries, design of structures, planning, material procurement and

delivery of psycho-social, legal and economic services. They also took active participation in policy formulation relating to housing, transparency, disaster risk management and gender equity. Although the state was not able to provide (sufficient) funds, the case study groups were able to get external sources of funds, usually from like-minded international funding agencies.

While financial assistance from the state is minimal, the state extended their involvement in the provision of technical and land support; use of physical facilities and equipment; referrals to other agencies; and the conduct of feasibility studies.

HPFP collaborated with the state in the following programmes and projects: Community-Led Infrastructure Finance Facility (CLIFF) resettlement housing project in San Isidro, transit housing, and the city-wide enumeration and mapping project in high-risk locations. For these endeavor, the Iloilo City government and the state's line agencies provided technical support and utilisation of their equipment and facilities. In the CLIFF programme and transit housing project, HPFP was involved in the following activities: advocacy campaigns for the savings schemes, identification of beneficiaries, design of structures, planning, and material procurement. The beneficiaries of the project provided labour equity.

For HPFP's city-wide mapping and enumeration of high risk areas, the project was in collaboration with the City Engineer's Office and the Iloilo City Urban Poor Association Office (ICUPAO). These agencies extended logistical support through drafting and approval of endorsement letters allowing HPFP to conduct surveys. They also assisted in ocular inspections, structural mapping and actual conduct of surveys. On the part of affected communities, the HPFP members were trained to be enumerators. The Slum Dwellers International (SDI) provided funds for the activities such as the formulation of survey tools, orientation of team members, actual conduct of survey, data encoding, data analysis, data validation, and data publication. HPFP also linked with academic institutions for additional technical support.

In GABRIELA's case, its legal aid service for victims of abuse (mainly women and children and occasionally, men) is done in partnership with the state. State agencies provide referrals or coordinates with other agencies for a more efficient process. JASAC was able to get a financial and technical grant from the Department of Agriculture for their sustainable livelihood projects, particularly stock-raising and farming.

### 6.3.2 Programmes / activities / services / knowledge creation using non-state or informal means

The earlier category of actions essentially means collaborative co-delivery of services between civil society and the state through formal arrangements (e.g. a contract, tender or Memorandum of Understanding/Agreement). There is, however, a broader interpretation of service delivery that is conceived differently in other settings such as in developing countries where civil society groups, rather than the state, provide the necessary services using non-state or informal means. Mitlin (2008) argues that engaging in such co-productive acts enable urban poor groups to gain their rights and achieve recognition and legitimacy (Watson, 2011). Mitlin (2008) points out that this type of co-production takes place in contexts where the government is weak and is unwilling or incapable to deliver services (Watson, 2011). Moreover, the delivery of service “may not involve formal arrangements, rather potentially being undefined, informal and renegotiated continuously” (Mitlin, 2008, p. 346).

My data suggest that civil society groups may well engage in service delivery in circumstances when the state lacks the capacity to cope with the demands or where there is an absence of a programme or project that can sufficiently address the needs of the poor. By filling in the gaps, the groups make themselves more ‘visible’ to the state and establish their legitimacy by providing proof that they can be active partners of the state. They may also generate knowledge or sufficient information about an issue that may then be used to inform formal state policy. Such activities may also set precedence to negotiate with the state for other rights such as the right for urban poor housing within the city, better and more affordable basic services and further representation in key state committees. These important aspects of the notion of ‘co-production’ are elaborated in the specific cases that follow.

HPFP’s financing schemes strategically respond to urban poor’s problem of house and lot acquisition. The Philippine government and banking institutions do not have liberal provision for people that lack fixed income and collateral for loan. Since the state has no concrete financing facility to such sectors yet, HPFP operates by offering a financing scheme that caters to such segment of the population. The group’s Urban Poor Development Fund (UPDF) is designed for associations that want to augment their community savings for the purpose of land purchase or to finance its documentary requirements. The model-houses in two resettlement housing sites of HPFP have provided an opportunity for discussion and debate on affordable house designs and settlement layouts. The conduct of self-enumeration

and mapping in HPFP-organised areas has attracted the interest of government agencies to assist in the conduct of a city-wide enumeration and survey. The scheme also drew attention to other communities to join HPFP and participate in the project.

There are some acts which provided HPFP the venue to share resources and to produce knowledge together with the state resulting in this type of co-production. Its community-managed upgrading projects (e.g. small-scale solar lighting of homes, communal water system, and dike construction), and the construction of relocation houses at the Kabalaka area are examples of this category of action. Similarly, GABRIELA has provided services victims of abuse. The psycho-social services of GABRIELA are different from the medical and social welfare services provided by state agencies by highlighting the influence of historical and socio-political factors in the occurrence of abuse. JASAC operates a rice retail store and pharmaceutical drugstore so that poor people can avail of cheap but good quality food produce and medicines.

In addition, all three groups are members of key government-formed committees. HPFP chairs the city's committee that oversees issues and concerns of informal settlers. JASAC members seat as an observer of the Provincial Bids and Awards Committee (PBAC) as part of their Graftwatch programme (Justice and Peace Desk). It was able to get permission from the Ombudsman to help the government maintain accountability and transparency in its transactions. GABRIELA is a member of the Regional Development Council in a social and economic development planning and policy coordinating body. Moreover, the formation of a party list group was perceived as a more strategic act of working with the state. GABRIELA established the Gabriela Women's Party (GWP) list so that they can effectively contribute to societal reforms by formulating and supporting bills in Congress and the Senate that protect and promote the interest of marginalised groups.

While political party formation is a legal mechanism to join state politics, both JASAC and HPFP have opted to remain non-partisan and have not thought of forming a political group. Moreover, there would be conflict of interest if JASAC decides to form one since the Catholic Church has a church-affiliated organisation which is the state's citizen arm during elections. In GABRIELA's case, the political party formation can be easily viewed as a channel to oppose state policies and actions but still with the main intention of influencing reform by working together with the state.

All these actions are not necessarily collaborative because these challenge the state in a way that traditional collaboration does not. By increasing the quality of services (such as in welfare, safety, and housing), civil society groups challenge the policies and processes of the state such as concepts, techniques, and processes through which services are delivered (Mitlin, 2008). The city-wide census of informal settlers, community-savings scheme, community-upgrading projects, psycho-social services and establishment of retail stores have enabled the groups to introduce techniques and technology arguably improved the delivery of certain services in communities. Key committee membership and party list groups are able to oppose policies and actions which are perceived as disadvantageous to their groups. In effect, the groups are able to advance their advocacies in a manner that state officials are able to understand their concerns and make appropriate responses.

These collective acts are perceived by the three case study groups to have made transformative contributions to society. These transformations are demonstrated in the following instances: HPFP has introduced a number of changes in the government that are largely felt at the local level. First, it initiated city-wide mapping and enumeration projects on informal settlers. In the past, these projects were undertaken by government agencies and the scope was in selected parts of the city. Second, it negotiated with the city government that relocation sites should be within Iloilo City. The group's capacity as a member of various city government committees enabled them to oversee the concerns of the urban poor such as relocation, land acquisition, housing and disaster rehabilitation. Third, HPFP has promoted the community-led process in its infrastructure projects (especially on land and housing acquisition) which ensures that the urban poor initiate the projects while the government and other sectors provide assistance to the needs requested by the communities. Fourth, HPFP has introduced the UPDF financing facility for the urban poor to acquire a house and lot in the city's relocation site.

With JASAC, its membership in the bids and awards committee puts it in a position to ensure that proper procedure is followed in the procurement of goods using government funds. The establishment of pharmaceutical drugstores helps the government in making medicines more accessible to the poor. JASAC's retail store contributes to sustainable livelihood of its members. In GABRIELA's case, its psycho-social and legal services complement the ones provided by government agencies.

In addition, there are elements of informality in the collaborative practices of civil society groups in post-colonial settings. The relationship between the groups and their partners has absence of, or lacks, the traditional standards that govern their actions. The groups' relationship with the state is sometimes formalised through signing a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA). In most cases, the relationship is characterised by the absence of a MOA. GABRIELA has opted not to have formal agreements because it gives itself the choice to pull out from the engagement if it feels it is at a disadvantage and dialogues have failed.

In summary, the categories of action that indicate different interpretations of co-production that have been highlighted in literature. The first interpretation essentially involves acting as an agent of state services, and the relationship is often bound through formal means such as contracts or MoUs. The second interpretation, increasingly observed in the contexts of urban poor groups, involves civil society groups producing knowledge or delivering services through informal means to secure rights and recognition.

### 6.3.3 Collective acts that oppose some state programmes or goals using informal means but within state-recognised framework

While the previous section highlights collaborative or non-adversarial relations with the state, the groups have also been found to engage in practices that appear to challenge state policy. These oppositional acts fall within the insurgent planning framework. Several authors (Perera, 2009; Sweet & Chakars, 2005; and Watson, 2011) have argued against a narrow interpretation of insurgent planning as completely oppositional or based on the rejection of all state policies and decisions at all times. These authors maintained that groups are actually selective in opposing *some* institutionalised and systemic state practices without necessarily being 'anti-state'. A distinction must therefore be made between 'reforming' the state and 'replacing' it in a revolutionary sense. While opposition to some state practices are expressed through informal means, these acts take place within the state-recognised framework.

The three case study groups were all selective in their opposition to some state practices but did not oppose the state itself. The opposition to selected state policies and programmes took a number of forms: Some of these were 'informal' in the sense that they did not necessarily use state apparatus (political party formation, formal consultation processes, etc). While it is conceivable that illegal activities may fall within this category (squatting for example), our

own case study groups' activities and programmes stayed within the confines of the law. Typically, these included political rallies, negotiations, pickets and petition drives regarding a public issue or policy. The results of protest actions are sometimes favourable to the groups and against them at other times.

A concrete example of how protest acts through informal means have been instrumental to achieve positive results was GABRIELA's initiative of facilitating the transfer of thousands of informal settlers from Iloilo City to a relocation site in an adjacent town. In 2000, the city administration at that time planned for the development of a public land for commercial purposes which entailed the displacement of people in affected areas. GABRIELA organised the informal settlers to lessen the negative impacts of displacement and facilitate the efficient transfer of residents to the relocation site. The residents wanted to negotiate with the government but were initially unsuccessful. GABRIELA saw this as an opportunity to organise the settlers in the area initiated 'informal' but not illegal protest rallies in front of offices of government agencies. This was then followed up with more 'formal' means, including sending a position paper and negotiating with the government, GABRIELA was able to effectuate the demands of the urban poor. Ultimately, the group was able to secure the demands from the government. Throughout this process, residents were becoming savvy in their interactions with government institutions and other actors. They learned about their power and limitations, and they used this knowledge to plan and carry out activities related to the housing project. Consequently, these collective acts became a venue for openly challenging the procedures and regulations of the state and demanding reforms, albeit on a short-term basis.

Although protest marches, signature campaign, and submission of position papers are popular protest actions, there are less common forms of resistance that have been arguably more effective in addressing urban problems and that lie beyond the purview of the state. HPFP's save-withdraw scheme which responds to the emergency concerns of the urban poor relating to school expenses, sudden death in the family and illnesses. HPFP, instead of government-owned banks, does the safe-keeping of its members' money for emergencies. Its community savings scheme follows a simple procedure, unlike that in conventional banks, that adheres to a bureaucratic process. HPFP's financial loans have low interest rates compared to state-owned banks. Their staff also conduct regular field visits to check on the savings and loans status of their members. Another example of less popular form of resistance is HPFP's adoption of the Interlock Compressed Earth Block (ICEB) as an



alternative housing construction material. ICEB is eco-friendly, earthquake resistant, and cost-effective material compared to the widely popular and cheaper per unit cost conventional hollow blocks. The use of such technology as primary building material is part of the initiative HPFP in one of the CLIFF community-managed resettlement housing project.

Community organising and popular education classes are two forms of resistance that are arguably more effective in challenging the status quo. Community organising (CO) is both an approach and a programme for GABRIELA that is basically directed towards the powerless and the oppressed. Its aims are threefold: empower the people by developing their capacity to take control of their condition in life; establish and sustain people's participation through programmes and projects and by linking with other groups and sectors; and secure short and long term improvements in the quality of life of the members. While GABRIELA's approach to community organising is issue-based, JASAC's approach is faith-based and is aimed to build Basic Ecclesial Community (BECs). Under the BEC, the community is envisioned to be Christ-centred, to celebrate meaningful liturgies and other sacraments and is committed to the total transformation of society by developing community resources.

Popular education is another form of community-initiated action which challenges the status quo. The education programme of GABRIELA is different from the lecture-format of traditional schooling. Its popular education classes do not have the formal structure of a school classroom, where there is a teacher who gives lectures, and students who participate through recitations. Its goal is to raise people's consciousness by reflecting on their poor conditions in life. Once they have come to an understanding of their plight, this would bring about change in their attitude and they would act upon this to improve their conditions in life.

These types of acts illustrate the transformative power of community organising, popular education classes, community savings and alternative housing technology. These community-initiated practices should also be acknowledged as challenging the status quo, if not the state. In effect, these schemes transform the people without challenging the state; their capabilities are built and enhanced and may have the potential to effect enduring social reforms in society (Vallance, Ibabao, Memon, 2012).

#### 6.3.4 Collective acts that oppose some state practices using formal means

The insurgent planning literature has identified formal channels of participation that have been utilised by local communities and civil society groups to lodge their opposition to state activities. The state has opened a few venues of participation which are public consultations, public hearings and surveys. My study results show that while groups oppose some state practices, they still endorse the state because they use state-certified or formal means to make the protest. All three groups participate in public consultations organised by the state. None of them, however, mentioned participation in other formal venues of participation identified in literature as surveys and public hearings. In the Philippines, these forms of participation are not popular in getting people's opinions due to their costly nature to carry out.

Among the three groups, JASAC is able to challenge the state and still get its support. The group's institutional characteristics play a major role in the relationship with the state. JASAC was established by the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines, an institution whose breadth and scope is considered similar to that of the government (Carroll, 1998). The positions of the Church on certain issues carry influence because of their grasp of the situation down to the village level; they have parishes, priests and lay persons who work and live together with the people in these communities. The pastoral work of the Catholic Church among the marginalised sectors of society is almost parallel to the government's programmes and projects in terms of range and coverage. JASAC has established an extensive array of programmes and projects that encompass developmental, environmental and human rights concerns and benefit people down to the community level. Even HPFP and GABRIELA have sought the support of JASAC in some projects related to disasters and pressing local and national issues.

The breadth and depth of the influence of the Roman Catholic Church in society have been attributed to certain factors. First, the creed compels people to act on their faith. The beliefs and doctrines of the Catholic Church influence people, to a large extent, to get involved in the programmes of the Church in communities by doing volunteer and charity work. Second, the Roman Catholic Church has available resources in the forms of skilled clergy, lay people, volunteers as well as network formation, which has international reach. Third, the Church as an institution is also influential in raising the consciousness of its members and mobilising them for public engagement by providing the necessary skills for the success of their undertakings (Cadge & Wuthnow, 2006; Carroll, 1998; Ramsay, 1998; Roberts-Degennaro & Foley, 2007).

### 6.3.5 Anti-state acts

The insurgent planning literature has compressed a wide range of actions into the term ‘insurgent’ which put participation in public consultations, political marches, and political party formation in the same category as large-scale land invasion and more violent modes of oppositions such as political uprisings, guerrilla warfare and large-scale revolution. However, this grouping of actions into a single category of opposition comes in conflict with the wider usage of the term insurgent. In the context of the Philippines, which has a long history of armed struggle, the term ‘insurgent’ generally refers to ‘anti-state’ acts that aim to destabilise and overthrow the state (Seachon, 2004), and academic distinctions between ‘insurgent planning’ and ‘insurgency’ are unheard of. In this context, a more obvious distinction between the two is necessary because although the collective actions of the groups have an ‘oppositional’ stance, and are undertaken to drive change, they actually take place *within a recognised and state-approved framework*. Importantly, the groups therefore *reinforce* the state’s role and the state’s legitimacy, whilst at the same time advocate for change.

## 6.4 Scope of Activities of Civil Society Groups

Watson (2011) made a proposition that a distinction should be made between “ad-hoc and reactive” (p. 14) acts and “[those] aimed at some kind of longer-lasting impact” (p.14). This suggests that practices of groups can be categorised according to the scope of their activities. The proposition was tested in the field through interviews with leaders and staff of the three groups. My results show that practices of the groups with oppositional elements can be either ad-hoc or strategic. Some acts that have oppositional element are **strategic** or long-term as these entail long duration to achieve reforms in the state through change in policies and procedures that cause the problem. There are also acts that can be classified as **ad-hoc** or short term because they are temporary responses to the systematic and systemic consequences of poverty.

There are actions by the groups which challenged some state practices through informal means. Typical ad-hoc protest actions by GABRIELA and JASAC were political rallies, pickets and submission of position papers to express a negative viewpoint regarding a public issue or policy such as the state’s plan for constitutional charter change, misappropriation of government funds and a perceived inefficiency of government agencies to deal with exploited overseas Filipino workers. The save-withdraw financing scheme and the use of

alternative housing technology by HPFP are temporary solutions to housing problems. There are also oppositional actions carried out through formal means. These include the groups' participation in public consultations and the conduct of negotiations with government officials about issues and concerns such as the construction of the coal-fired power plant and threat of eviction.

There are oppositional acts that can be classified as strategic such as community organising and popular education classes. These practices require a long process for people to come together and act in the interest of their communities and the common good. All three groups identified community organising as a strategic practice while GABRIELA mentioned holding of popular education classes with members as strategic form of opposition.

The results of protest actions are not favourable to the groups at all times. Regardless of the outcomes, the groups maintained that they continue to adopt these practices to assert themselves as they express their discontent over state policies and decisions.

The modes of opposition to particular state policies and practices may change over time. The groups' acts of opposition are dynamic depending on the perceived effectiveness of the groups to achieve their goals. GABRIELA's Coordinator pointed out that they used to view protest marches as effective solution to poverty and inequality. By going to the streets and voicing out their discontent to the practices of the state, they encourage the public and state officials to join their advocacy. The Coordinator asserted that GABRIELA has been pursuing its advocacies on the streets and not on the same venue where it could influence key government officials. Although GABRIELA continues to engage in rallies and other forms of public protests, they now consider these acts as appropriate for ad-hoc responses to specific issues such as the construction of coal-fired power plants, extrajudicial killings, questionable use of public funds, and demands on services for informal settlers. However, for a more strategic solution to address issues, the group formed the GABRIELA Women's Party list so that it can work for reforms within the state system. According to their leaders, their sectoral representation in the government has improved their support from key decision makers to formulate and modify policies that are more responsive to the needs of marginalised groups.

In HPFP's case, some members and leaders mentioned that they have taken part in protest marches prior to joining the organisation. They later abandoned this mode of resistance in favour of negotiations, dialogues and membership in key committees. The leaders and members uphold the belief that it is more effective if they are able to seek reforms using venues that the state is more responsive to. HPFP leaders have not seriously thought of forming a party list group. This point of view, however, could change if an opportunity arises.

The groups' scope of activities can also be categorised based on a range of collaborative relationships with the state.

Ad-hoc or short-term acts within the collaborative nature of civil society-state relationships include the following:

- HPFP's transit housing project for victims of disasters, community-upgrading projects and city-wide -enumeration and mapping projects. The state's responsibility in those projects includes land provision, use of equipment, and technical support; HPFP provided labour equity and funds.
- GABRIELA's and JASAC's psycho-social, health (medical and dental services) and legal aid services for the poor and victims of human rights abuses. State agencies handle the referrals and coordination with other institutions for specific services needed by clients.

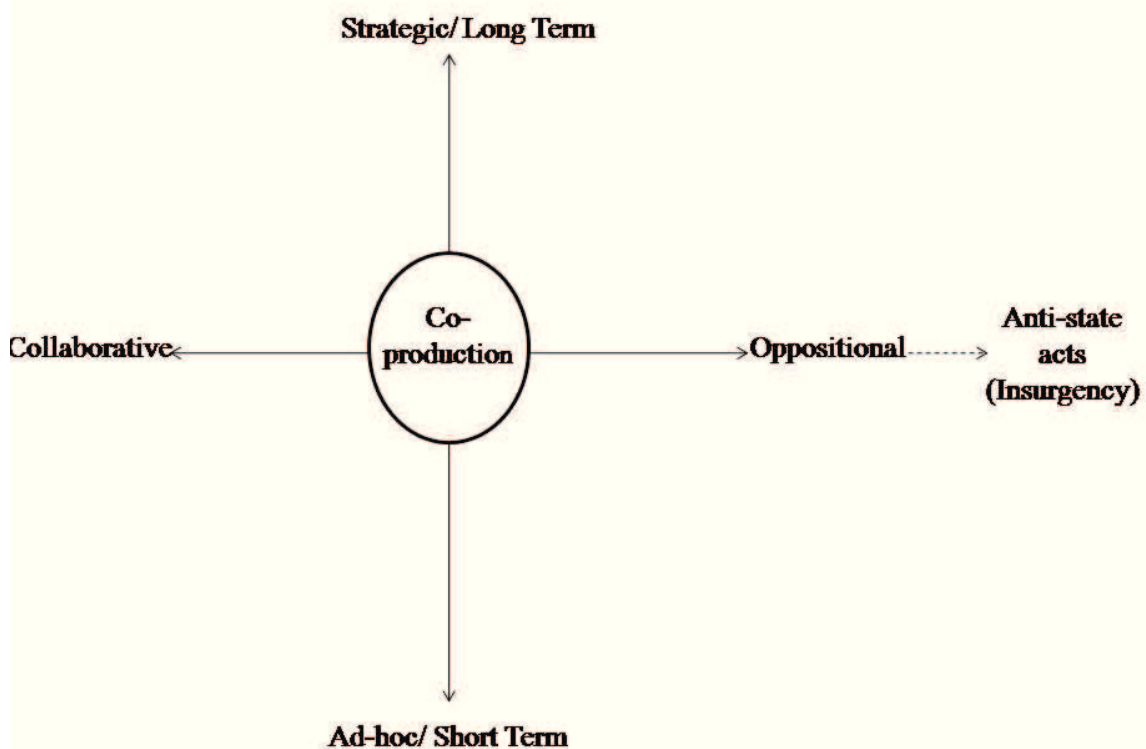
Collaborative acts that have strategic or long-term scope are as follows:

- JASAC's sustainable livelihood projects (e.g. raising of animals) for improved financial access of the groups. The state provided technical and financial support other than technical support. JASAC's Graftwatch members seat as an observer in the Provincial Bids and Awards Committee to ensure that transparency and accountability in government transactions is being followed. The establishment of rice retail stores and pharmaceutical drugstores are long term solutions to health and livelihood problems.
- HPFP's financing facility (UPDF) involves the state in identification of beneficiaries or clients for certain projects. The CLIFF housing projects in San Isidro and Kabalaka area in which the state provided technical support, equipment and land for housing. Its leaders also hold key committee memberships in housing and tenure

which put the group in a position to influence decisions that affect the urban poor sector.

- GABRIELA's party list formation and membership in the Regional development Council provide venues for its leaders to legislate and support laws and influence programmes that can promote the concerns of women, children and the poor.

The multi-faceted and complex nature of poverty implies that civil society groups have engaged different types of relationships with the state that are used concurrently with scope of activities to achieve specific temporal goals. Figure 6.1<sup>55</sup> illustrates the complexity of the collective practices of the groups. The diagram suggests that practices of the groups are a combination of the following types: oppositional-strategic, collaborative-strategic, collaborative-ad-hoc, and oppositional-ad-hoc with a somewhat murkier middle ground comprising those activities that co-produce knowledge or deliver services in the absence of the state.



**Figure 6.1 Types of Collective Practices of Civil Society Groups  
(Conceptual model adopted from S. Vallance)**

<sup>55</sup> The model was developed by S. Vallance based on her works on community-based earthquake responses by Christchurch, NZ residents.

## 6.5 Chapter Summary

An examination of the collective practices of the groups show that they are entwined in more complex forms of collective practices along the dimensions of categories of actions by civil society groups and scope of activities. The civil society-state relations go beyond the simple dichotomy of collaboration and opposition and a more nuanced distinction is proposed using categories of actions. These actions involve a) delivery of state services using formal means or formal consultation, b) programmes/activities/services/knowledge creation using non-state or informal means, c) collective acts that oppose some state programmes or goals using informal means but within state-recognised framework, d) collective acts that oppose some state programmes or goals using informal means and, e) anti-state acts. The categories show the fine distinction between insurgent planning and co-production in the context of the collective practices of the civil society groups. The categories provide a way to make a distinction between collaboration, co-production, insurgent planning, and insurgency.

In this thesis, all groups were engaged in variety of opposition with the state. The groups' opposition to some state policies was expressed through formal and informal means and is undertaken within a state-recognised approved framework. While groups engage in some forms of opposition, they have not been found to engage in anti-state acts. Anti-state acts are usually manifested through political uprisings, revolutions, and armed struggle. In the context of the Philippines, such acts are considered forms of 'insurgency' and none of the three groups' acts engaged in such forms of resistance against the state.

The complex and multi-faceted nature of urban poverty has made groups realised that effective responses to particular problems involve working with the state. Thus, groups have been found to engage in the more popular interpretation of co-production in the literature which is basically collaboration or joint production in service delivery through formal means. Another category of action is also observed between civil society groups and the state which involves co-production of knowledge and service delivery through informal means that consequently enable groups gain their rights and recognition from the state. This type of co-productive action subtly changes state policies and processes and set precedence for more specific types of service delivery with the state. Thus, groups have been found to engage in the more popular interpretation of co-production in the literature which is basically collaboration or joint production in service delivery through formal means. Another category of action is also observed between civil society groups and the state which involves co-

production of knowledge and service delivery through informal means that consequently enable groups gain their rights and recognition from the state. This type of co-productive act subtly changes state policies and processes and set precedence for more specific types of service delivery with the state.

While the groups have been found to have a category of action with the state, their collaborative, co-productive and oppositional acts can also be categorised according to their scope of activities. The scope of activities could be ad-hoc (or short-term) that provides temporary solutions to their problems while strategic (or long term) acts are long-term solutions that aim to change state policies and processes. A structural diagram is proposed that illustrates the collective practices of the two groups with regards to their relationships with the state and scope of activities. It shows a combination of types of collective practices: collaborative/co-productive-ad-hoc, collaborative/co-productive-strategic, oppositional-ad-hoc, and oppositional-strategic.

The next chapter will present findings on the views of groups on the ‘insurgency’ and the nature of hybrid practices. The discussion will explore the usefulness of the terms ‘insurgency’ and ‘insurgent’ in post-colonial cities and the widely-held perception on mutual exclusiveness of practices in the planning literature.



## Chapter 7

# Relationship of Civil Society Groups with the State and Hybridisation of Planning Practices

### 7.1 Introduction

The thesis research findings presented in the earlier chapters established a category (typology) of actions of civil society groups vis-à-vis the state and the groups' scope of activities that are influenced by their temporal goals. Yet, questions remain about the extent, to which these practices are, in fact, regarded as 'insurgent', whether these different planning practices are mutually exclusive, and if not, what rationalities guide the hybridisation of the various practices and the challenges it poses.

The chapter is organised into four sections. Section 7.2 presents results with regards to the views of the case study groups on the usage of the term 'insurgency' in the urban planning literature. Section 7.3 provides an elaboration of the concept of hybrid collective practices that was introduced in Chapter 6. This section is divided into two sub-sections: the rationales for the adoption of hybrid planning practices and challenges experienced by civil society groups resulting in hybridisation. Building on this analysis, section 7.4 is a critical review of the thesis findings focussing on the issues of the appropriateness of the term 'insurgent' and on the perceived mutual exclusivity of collective practices in the planning literature. The last section is Section 7.5 which provides a summary of the chapter.

### 7.2 Results: Views on 'Insurgency'

The three case study groups were asked about how they feel about being called 'insurgents' and for their actions being referred to as forms of 'insurgency' in the urban planning literature. They raised the concern that it carries a derogatory meaning, particularly in a country that has been plagued by underground political movements throughout its history. In the Philippines, the Philippine Army defines insurgency as a collective and planned movement that aims to overthrow the government through the use of subversive tactics (Seachon, 2004). Thus, the three case study groups felt uncomfortable when the term is used to describe their collective activities. Both GABRIELA and JASAC have been called "terrorists" and "communists" by some of

their detractors, and saw these labels as synonymous with the term insurgency. They dissociate themselves from other insurgent groups in the country<sup>56</sup>, which are known for their protracted armed struggle against the government. According to the groups, they may oppose some government policies, but they do not oppose the government as an institution itself. Moreover, they demonstrate their opposition through means that are allowed by the law, which implies taking up arms is definitely not part of their tactic of resistance. This point was clearly stressed by a community worker of GABRIELA.

Some people resort to name calling as black propaganda against our group. We have been called witches, communists and more recently, terrorists. The communists and terrorists have been identified by the government as insurgent groups. People do not know what they are saying when they resort to name calling. Terrorist groups use guns. They do not follow the laws of the land. Our group fights against injustices but we do not break any law. There is nothing in our activities that can be considered as “underground” or illegal. This is a legitimate group so we do not deserve to be called insurgents or to describe our acts as such (personal communication, 20 August 2009).

The GABRIELA Coordinator expressed that people can be less mindful when they start labelling progressive groups as “communists and terrorists,” terms associated with insurgency or armed struggle. The labels can influence the way the general public act towards the group by withdrawing their support to their advocacies. She mentioned that there are groups who are against certain government policies but still recognise the existing government; they introduce reforms through legal means. Yet, there are also groups who have completely lost their confidence in the institution, so much so that they abandon their support to it and take up arms as their only means to change society. The Coordinator further explains:

People are less mindful when they place groups that oppose the government under the same category with the NPA. Or what has been identified by the government as insurgents. GABRIELA and other progressive groups [those under the BAYAN alliance] still believe in the government but there are policies that are ineffective. We oppose this type of system. So, we introduce reforms by working with the government. We choose to continue the fight for justice through all means that are allowed by the laws. We do not take up arms and go up the mountains. This is what makes us distinct from insurgent

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<sup>56</sup>These groups include: the New People’s Army, which operates largely in the Luzon and Visayas regions; and the Abu Sayyaf Group, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the Moro National Liberation Front which operate in Mindanao.

groups. Their means for change are different from us. They have completely lost faith in the government and what they want is a revolution through armed struggle. We [the group of GABRIELA and its alliance members] have realised a long time ago that this is not the path that we want to take (personal communication, 5 January 2010).

HPFP has not been called 'insurgent' or its equivalent (HPFP's Coordinator, personal communication, 5 December 2009). She acknowledges though that, in the past, the urban poor have been given less favourable descriptions such as "lazy", "good for nothing", and "beyond help".

The three groups were asked for an alternative term that can be used to describe their actions. The word *radical* has been found to be less problematic when applied to the experiences of the case study groups. JASAC's Director associates the word 'radical' to fundamental Christian teachings that guide their activities.

I have been called by so many names. The worst is communist-priest. But I like to be called radical; it comes from the Latin word "radix", root. It means that we base our work on the fundamental teachings---we go back to the early Christian community detailed in the Acts of Apostles. It says "no one own anything, everything was considered common property." That's why we want to inculcate this in our ecclesiastical teachings. When achieved, no one would die from hunger because everybody cares for everybody. That's being radical (personal communication, 25 September 2009).

GABRIELA's Coordinator associates the term to the progressive thinking and activities of the group. HPFP's Coordinator feels that the word *radical* pertains to the initiatives of their group which have not yet been pursued by other urban poor groups.

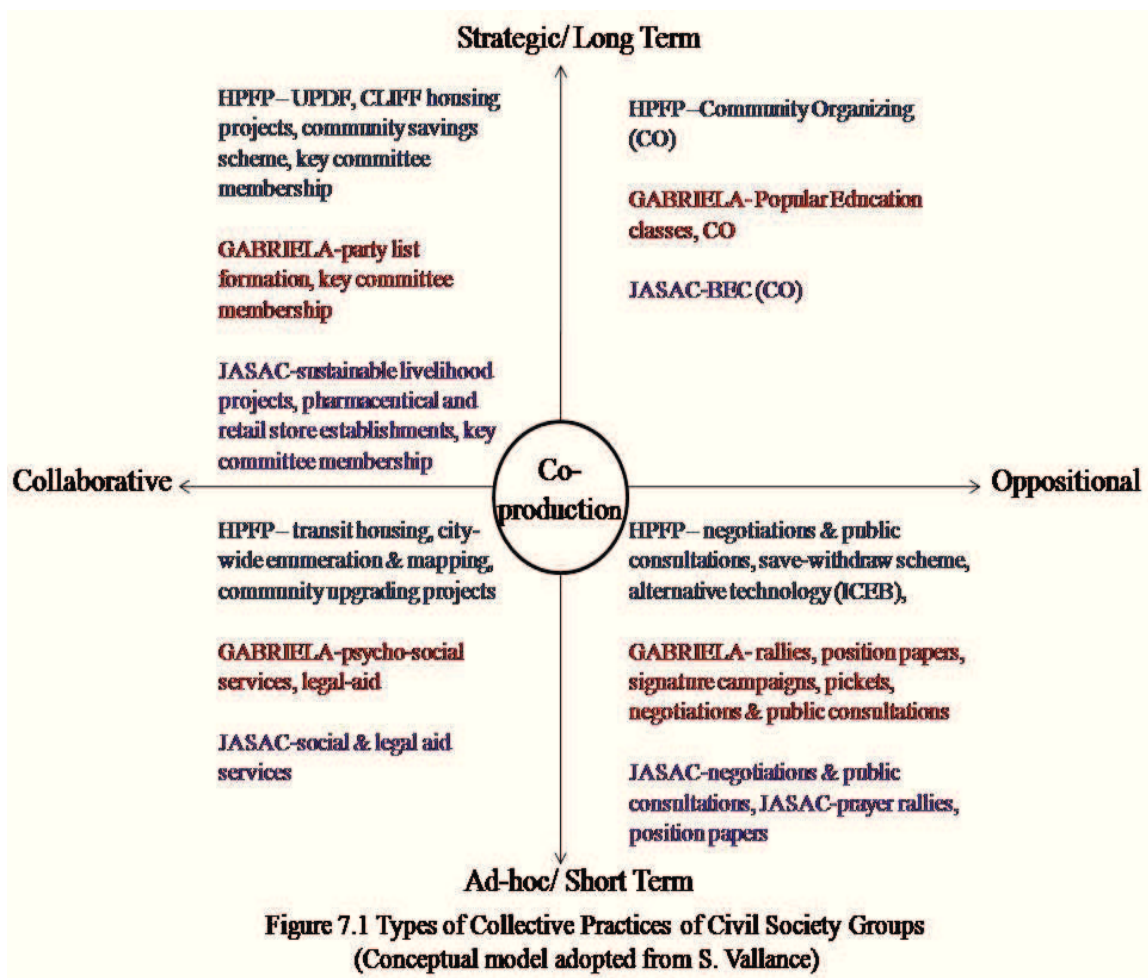
The civil society groups have made it clear that the use of the adjective 'insurgent' to describe their planning practices is highly pejorative and dangerous. The groups expressed that while they are critical of the state, their oppositional acts are selective and directed towards state's policies and procedures. They distinguish themselves from other organisations that engage in 'anti-state' acts which aim to overthrow the state through armed revolutions.

Given that the three groups do not engage in anti-state or ‘insurgent’ acts but take part in a blend, or a hybrid, of collective practices that encapsulate a category of relationships and scope of activities, the next sub-section demonstrates how this hybrid framework works in the context of the three civil society groups.

### 7.3 Results: Hybrid Practices of Civil Society Groups

The practices of the civil society groups are represented by a structural diagram (see Figure 7.1) that attempts to illustrate two dimensions of their practices: civil society-state relations and their scope of activities. The horizontal axis represents a distinction of relationship with the state: collaborative/co-production and oppositional/insurgent. The vertical axis represents two types of scope of activities: ad-hoc activities, which are temporary solutions to problems of poverty, and strategic activities which address systemic and institutionalised causes of poverty. Within the diagram, some possibilities are provided that are drawn from earlier discussions and show how they are represented in each area (recognising the non-exclusivity of each domain) by specific cases from individual group (see Chapter 5). The illustration (read counter clockwise) points out that within the collective practices there are four possible types of collective practices: oppositional-strategic; collaborative-strategic; collaborative-ad-hoc; and oppositional-ad-hoc. In domain 1, there are oppositional and strategic acts to address systemic causes of poverty. Domain 2 is characterised by strategic activities which are done in collaboration with the state. Domain 3 represents collaborative state relations and ad-hoc acts which are temporary solutions to problems of civil society groups. Finally, domain 4 represents oppositional state relations and ad-hoc activities. The middle ground comprises those activities that co-produce knowledge or deliver services in the absence of the state. The *simultaneous* engagement in a blend of practices at a time is called hybrid planning practices.

My study findings show that the practices of the three groups can be located in the types of collective practices described above. The location of collective practices in each domain is based on interviews with the leaders and staff of the groups. Figure 7.1 shows the programmes, projects and activities of the three case study groups in each type of collective practices.



In domain 1 (oppositional-strategic), all three groups use community organising (CO) and popular education as basic methods to undertake their programmes and projects. These methods are initiated by the groups and are not fundamental state mechanisms. These are strategic activities as well because CO and popular education classes raise people’s consciousness and bring people together to act on their collective interests. They undertake these acts with limited or no assistance from the state. In domain 2 (collaborative -strategic), groups engage in a variety of collaborative acts with the state for specific services (e.g. housing, health, legal aid, livelihood and education) that attempt to address root cause of poverty. Moreover, groups hold key committee memberships and GABRIELA has formed a political party group to address more effectively the problems through passage of laws and amendments in policies and procedures.

Domain 3 (collaborative -ad-hoc) represents temporary solutions by collaborating with the state for palliative solutions to poverty such as transit houses during disasters, mapping and enumeration, community-upgrading and aid services (for legal and health concerns) to victims of abuse. These collaborative efforts show the partnership between civil society and the state as well as provide groups the venue to gain rights and recognition from the state. Domain 4 (oppositional-ad-hoc) include the more popular forms of oppositional acts such as participation in political marches, paper submissions, negotiations and public consultations. These forms of resistance can get the state for immediate response to urgent concerns but have been found by the groups as temporary solutions to their problems. Then there is a middle ground that is represented by co-production of knowledge resulting in enumeration of informal settlers.

The next sub-section will explore the contextual conditions in the Philippines and in Iloilo City that have influenced civil society groups to engage in hybrid planning practices.

### 7.3.1 Rationales That Shape the Adoption of Hybrid Practices

How the three case study groups have embarked on a variety of hybrid planning practices has been largely shaped by contextual conditions that have influenced them to engage in a category of practices simultaneously. These conditions have been identified based on interviews with leaders and staff, and most are common to all groups. A review of relevant literature also identifies some of the conditions that have enabled them to engage in a variety of planning practices. These conditions can be broadly categorised as external and internal factors.

#### 7.3.1.1 *External factors*

There are political processes in the Philippines that have allowed civil society groups to engage in hybrid planning approaches. These processes consist of political opportunity structures, such as laws that stipulate people's participation in planning processes and the provision of resources to civil society groups. The decentralisation of government functions is also of importance, as well as the presence of international agencies that support poverty programmes. All these are considered as external factors because they are related to the broader socio-political context of the study area.

Key informants were probed on these political opportunity structures that have encouraged them to adopt hybrid planning practices. They mentioned that many of these “opportunities” were not in place before democracy was restored to the Philippines in 1986.

Engagement in planning practices requires a particular political milieu in the form of “political opportunity structure” (Hasenfeld & Gidron, 2005, p. 103) that allows formal participation by civil society groups in planning and development. Many opportunities are granted by the 1987 Philippine Constitution which guarantees both significant functions and assured resources for civil society groups in decision-making and in the planning process (Eaton, 2003; van Kampen & van Naerssen, 2008; Novellino & Dressler, 2010). It explicitly recognises the freedoms of speech, association, and assembly; thus it requires the government to guarantee people's participation at all levels of policymaking<sup>57</sup>.

The second external factor designed to broaden participation of civil society groups in the political system was the call for decentralisation. Article 10 of the 1987 Constitution requires the Congress to pass the 1991 Local Government Code (RA 7160), which encourages civil society participation in municipal and neighbourhood governance (Eaton, 2003; van Kampen & van Naerssen, 2008; Novellino & Dressler, 2010). The case study groups collaborate with the government to have a wider impact on pressing social problems in their communities.

Among the legal avenues by which people’s participation in local governance are promoted is membership in Local Special Bodies (LSBs), primarily the Local Development Council; the Local School Board; the Local Health Board; the Pre-qualification, Bids and Awards Committee; and the Local Peace and Order Council. They can also participate in mandatory consultations, public hearings, and system of

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<sup>57</sup> However, the constitution does not at all times ensure people’s participation. Prior to the restoration of democracy in 1986, these constitutional rights were suppressed with the declaration of Martial Law in 1972 under President Marcos. According to one account given by the leaders of GABRIELA, any form of collective gathering was monitored by the government. Anyone who showed dissent against the state was subject to interrogation and imprisonment, or, worse, torture and death (GABRIELA members/IWC Executive Director, personal communication, 26 November 2009). During this time, it was not possible to do things without government support or to participate in government activities without showing support, especially for groups that were critical of the government.

recall<sup>58</sup>. In addition, civil society groups can facilitate or participate in local initiatives and referenda where they may directly propose, enact, repeal, or amend ordinances. Moreover, they are also expected to participate directly in governance through local government units, national policy and planning agencies, government line agencies, sectoral representation in Congress, and follow-up activities of United Nations summits and international covenants (R.A. 7160). These different formal avenues of political participation available to civil society groups make the Philippines one of the most decentralised countries in Asia. The following statements illustrate these points.

#### GABRIELA:

The passage of the Local Government Code has helped us a lot. I mean in terms of providing civil society the formal venues to make us more effective in responding to women's needs and in protecting their interests. Laws are important, especially the ones that have been initiated and pushed by women. They are a reflection of decades-old experiences of the struggles of people for recognition. The provisions may not be well-implemented all the time, but they serve as a basis if some basic human rights, such as the right for participation, have been violated (GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 4 January 2011).

#### JASAC:

The devolution resulting from the passage of the Code has given civil society organisations the leverage to collaborate with the government. We have membership in councils and committees. We can engage in joint venture projects with the government. It has also given civil society groups the legal basis to get into private contracts for infrastructure and social projects with private companies. We can now do a lot of things... (JASAC volunteer worker/Graft Watch member, personal communication, 28 October, 2009).

The third external factor was the passage of the Party List System Act<sup>59</sup> (R.A. 7941) in 1995, which opened up another formal process and established the structures for direct participation in governance (Brillantes, 1998). This system is designed for progressive movements and other marginalised sectors of society to participate in the electoral process in the House of Congress (Libres, 2005). GABRIELA has a party list group

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<sup>58</sup> Civil society groups may participate in a system of recall when registered voters find the performance of local officials to be unsatisfactory.

<sup>59</sup>The party-list system of election is a mechanism of proportional representation in the election of representatives to the House of Congress from marginalized or underrepresented national, regional and sectoral parties, or organizations or coalitions registered with the Commission on Elections (Party List System Act). Votes are awarded to parties in proportion to the votes they receive. Twenty per cent of the 260 seats in the House of Representatives are reserved for the party-list. Every 2% of total party-list votes cast get a seat in the House, with each party allowed a maximum of three seats (Party List System Act, Section 11).



(Gabriela Women’s Party List) which formulates and supports laws that protect and advance the rights of women and children.

Table 7.1 provides a list of the formal venues of participation in the planning process. The information is based on interviews with leaders and staff of the case study groups. Data are presented according to the mandates in the 1991 Local Government Code (R.A. 7160) and the Party List System Act, laws that guarantee civil society participation in planning and development.

**Table 7.1 Participation of case study groups in the formal venues of urban governance (as of 2009).**

Laws	Case Study Groups		
	HPFP	GABRIELA	JASAC
1. Local Government Code of 1991			
1.1 Membership in local councils/committees	Regional Monitoring Task Force (RMTF)*  Multi-Sectoral Council**  Member of the Technical Working Group***	Regional Development Council (RDC)  Provincial Anti-Trafficking for Women and Children (PIACAP)	Pre-qualifications, Bids and Awards Committee (PBAC)
1.2 Delivery of services, livelihood projects and capability building	--service provision to members and clients particularly in security of land and housing  --advocacy campaigns  --city-wide mapping and survey	-- psychosocial and legal service provision to women and children who are victims of abuse  --conduct of training on gender and development  --service provision	--conduct of training on voters’ education and graft watch.  -- conduct of livelihood training and workshops  --service provision
1.3 Joint venture with LGU in infrastructure projects	--transitory housing for typhoon victims  --CLIFF housing project	None	None
1.4 Recall and initiative in the removal or appointment of local officials in a post relating to the organisation and operation of the local units	ICUPN leaders called for the resignation of the city councilor who chairs the committee for the urban poor.	None	The Executive Director filed graft charges with the Ombudsman against a public official.
2. Party List System Act (RA 7941)			
2.1 Creation of a party list group	None	GABRIELA Women’s Party List	None

\* The HPFP representative sits as a member of the RMTF planning committee for the city’s flood control project.

\*\*The Multi-Sectoral Council, chaired by the city mayor, is a recommendatory body on issues that affect the urban poor such as relocation, land acquisition, housing, disaster rehabilitation, and livelihood opportunities.

\*\*\*The Technical Working Group handles concerns in relocation sites.

In GABRIELA's case, it does not have on-going projects with the current city government. However, it has collaborated with the provincial government and national agencies for the formulation of policies and the design and implementation of programmes for women and children. GABRIELA sits as a civil society representative in the provincial government's planning board committee. It is also a member of the Regional Development Council (RDC), headed by the National Economic Development Agency (NEDA), which is responsible for formulating economic policies (IWC Executive Director, personal communication, 26 November 2009). It also has a party list group called Gabriela Women's Party (GWP) list.

JASAC also lacks any existing projects with the current city government. However, it works closely with the provincial government as a member of the Provincial Bids and Awards Committee (PBAC); a committee composed of representatives from different government agencies. In the beginning, JASAC was not a member of PBAC and the group wrote a letter to the Office of the Ombudsman requesting that they become a part of PBAC. JASAC is now in a position to ensure that proper procedure is followed in the bid and award process for the procurement of goods using government funds. Thus, the groups participate in various committees at different levels of the government; this provides them with opportunities to influence government decisions and practices that help them undertake their programmes and projects.

The fourth external factor has been the support of many international funding agencies to different civil society interventions for economic development, environmental protection, and poverty alleviation (cf. Hillhorst, 2003 as cited in Novellino & Dressler, 2010, p. 168). The Official Development Assistance (ODA or R.A. 8182) was passed in 1996; this allows civil society groups to obtain foreign funding in the forms of soft loans or grants. It stipulates that ODA resources must be contracted with governments of foreign countries with whom the Philippines has diplomatic ties, trade relations, or bilateral agreements; or which are members of the United Nations, their agencies, and international or multilateral lending institutions (ODA to the Philippines, 2010).

However, international funding has been decreasing over the years, which has affected the relationships among civil society groups as they compete for limited resources. This concern will be discussed further in the next chapter, which deals with the challenges experienced by civil society groups as they engage in hybrid planning practices.

Another external factor that encourages groups to collaborate with the government is the general receptiveness of the latter towards civil society participation in the planning process. There are laws that explicitly encourage public participation; yet government officials can be selective in inviting civil society groups which they would like to take part in the formal planning process. This reduces the chances of some civil society groups to work together with the government, as the previous experiences of urban poor organisations have demonstrated:

The current administration has been very responsive to us. However, this was not the case with previous government administrations. We felt that they were indifferent to urban poor concerns. In some ways, we cannot blame them for their lack of enthusiasm to deal with us. During those times, the urban poor were not yet organised as one solid group. There were many factions and each was after personal gains. The officials got confused with issues coming from different factions. It was difficult to get the sympathy of government officials particularly when it comes to the suspension of demolition activities in informal settlements and the provision of relocation areas outside Iloilo City (HPFP Regional Director, personal communication, 19 October, 2009).

These external factors have encouraged civil society groups to adopt a category of planning practices because they set out the legal and institutional bases for the expanded participation of civil society in local governance. These factors have allowed civil society groups to undertake hybrid planning practices either in collaboration with or in opposition against the state. These have also enabled civil society groups to form partnership with international funding agencies, the private sector, the academe and other sectors of society. The groups' practices have been their strategic and reactive responses to urban poverty.

### *7.3.1.2 Internal factors*

The previous section discusses the different ways by which changes in the external environment have made an impact on the three case study groups. There are internal factors which persuaded the groups to adopt a category of planning practices. As discussed in succeeding pages, these factors include resources available to the groups, meeting the needs of their members and clients, and the groups' decision to take on multiple functions in society. Moreover, their engagement is influenced by a change in attitude among group leaders towards the government.

#### *a. Resources available to the groups*

Leaders and staff of the case study groups mentioned that a major consideration for pursuing hybrid planning practices is the resources that are available to them. One vital resource is financial funding, which influences the ability of the groups to conduct certain types of projects for their programmes. If the project would require significant logistics and technical support, then they would actively seek the support of the government. If a project would require substantial working capital and investments in facilities and materials, they would usually work in partnership with international funding agencies. HPFP's community upgrading infrastructure projects and JASAC's Graft Watch project were funded by ACHR and EU respectively. Housing and land security concerns of GABRIELA and HPFP brought them to work together with the government. The logistics involved for housing and tenure security require working within the rules, laws, and functions of government institutions.

We need to coordinate with the city government to apply for a number of permits such as building, electrical, water permits. We get approval from the city for zoning, types of materials to use, design and location of basic utilities and conforming to the provisions of the socialised housing law (HPFP Regional Director, personal communication, 8 December 2009).

The absence of a financial facility for the urban poor in the Philippines prompted HPFP to apply for the CLIFF programme of Slum Dwellers International and Cities Alliance.

There is an absence of a financial facility on housing and tenure for the urban poor. This is what we have been trying to work out; the institutionalisation of a community-driven housing facility at the local level. Being locally based and community-driven means that actual needs of the community are not constrained by rigid rules of donor agencies and government agencies. The processing time and costs are cut back because people do not have to go through the whole bureaucratic process. We

introduce the community-driven housing scheme through membership in development councils at different levels of the government, minimally at the barangay (village) level (HPFP Regional Director, personal communication, 8 December 2009).

The availability of funds also affects the kind of projects the groups can undertake for their various programmes.

We are cash-strapped so most of our work involves advocacy campaigns. We don't need much manpower or logistical support to conduct information dissemination and education. All we need is our speaking ability. We can also request our alliance to help us with the campaigns. Other programmes require funding even for the transportation fares of our community workers when they visit our areas (GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 4 January 2011).

The availability of financial resources is not enough for groups to undertake their programmes and projects. The organisation cannot adequately function without competent human resources who have the qualifications and skills to handle a variety of tasks. For JASAC and GABRIELA, it is equally important that the staff should have the same political-ideological affiliations as the groups. GABRIELA's Coordinator disclosed that the Children Rehabilitation Centre had to stop its operations when funds from the international funding agency (Terre de Hommes) ended. It needed a full time staff member with experience in psycho-social counselling, advocacy campaign, networking and administrative work.

It's such a big responsibility she has to fill in. We can only provide an honorarium which already limits our chances of finding the right person. We also make sure that the staff has the right commitment for social transformation. We just cannot get someone who does not share our aspirations (GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 4 January 2011).

GABRIELA's Coordinator is aware that the government is already loaded with responsibilities; it does not want to add to the burden if it can carry out the projects by itself. Moreover, the group has been known for its critical stance against government policies. Consequently, it would undertake projects by relying more on the support of its networks.

The government does not have money for our projects. There is also bureaucracy involved if you want to work with them. The process takes time. But we need to implement the projects right away. If we can do things without their support, that is fine with us. Our organisation has always done projects without direct support from the administration. Besides, the government has a lot on their plate. We don't want to add to the burden if we can do it by ourselves (GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 4 January 2011).

On the part of HPFP, there is the intention to show to the government that the urban poor are capable of addressing their own problems by not completely transferring the burden to the institution. HPFP engages in collective self-help activities to set the precedent that it is capable of addressing its members' needs without relying on government aid alone. HPFP then uses its success in these activities to seek policy reforms in housing and tenure. Moreover, it uses its experiences as leverage when seeking assistance for bigger projects.

We want to change people's perception about the urban poor that we don't do anything about our condition except wait for agencies to help us. But through our savings products [and financing schemes], we have managed to address our basic needs. We have also undertaken some small-scale infrastructure projects with limited support from the government [in terms of technical assistance]. Our success is our leverage with other agencies, that we can be trusted if we want to form partnerships with them. It is hard to be taken seriously by these agencies when we haven't proven anything through our own efforts (HPFP Coordinator, personal communication, 5 December 2009).

#### *b. Meeting the needs of their members*

Another internal factor that has influenced the adoption of hybrid planning practices is the difficulty of addressing the diverse needs of their members. The following statements illustrate this sentiment.

#### GABRIELA

We study the situation and listen to their [members' and clients'] demands. If they need alternative livelihoods and health services such as free medical check-ups, then we find the means to address these concerns. In most cases, we do things on our own without government support. There are times when we have to collaborate with the government and other agencies such as in the provision of housing for our members and helping those who are victims of abuse and exploitation. It matters that we have the opportunity to do our activities on our own and with other service providers. At the end of the day, it is our members who benefit from our efforts, whether we did it by ourselves or with other agencies (GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 4 January 2011).

## JASAC

Our programmes are shaped by the needs of the parishes. If a need can be provided by JASAC, then we provide it. However, if the response requires that we collaborate with other agencies, then we do so. For example, right now we have a tie-up with the Department of Agriculture for our sustainable agriculture project. We were able to get funds and technical support from them. In everything that we do, we discuss matters with leaders of the Church. We also look into our resources if we have the funds and manpower to sustain the programmes and activities. We only provide services that are basically requested from us which we then prioritise based on the intensity of the need and on the availability of resources. As much as we would want to address all the concerns, we are limited by our resources (JASAC Parish Worker/Drugstore Manager, personal communication, 13 October 2009).

## HPFP

We are sensitive to the needs of our members. The organisation initially started savings, then we ventured into loans, then upgrading of small-scale infrastructures. Now we have this CLIFF housing project. We are able to sustain these different projects and activities because of our revolving fund. But, we also recognise that we would not have been able to do these projects without the support of our international networks and funding agencies (HPFP member/PACSII Main Documentor, personal communication, 27 December 2010).

### *c. The decision to have multiple functions in society*

Another internal feature related to meeting the needs of their members' decision to engage in multiple functions (Hasenfeld & Gidron, 2005; Novellino & Dressler, 2010; Salamon et al., 2004; UNDP, 2005). The types of work they undertake can be categorised as follows: advocacy, funding, legal assistance, policy-making, networking, community-based research, training, and technical assistance.

Some of these functions cannot be performed solely by the groups because these are beyond their organisational mandate. To address this concern, the groups have set up organisations which perform functions separate from the community organising work of HPFP, GABRIELA and JASAC. For example, PACSII handles documentation, networking, technical assistance, training, community-based research and funding for HPFP. GABRIELA created the Iloilo Women's Centre (IWC) which is tasked to conduct service provision, community-based research, legal assistance, technical assistance, and networking. For policy-making, GABRIELA formed the Gabriela Women's Party List (GWP); it also established the Children's Rehabilitation Centre (CRC) which provides psycho-social services to children who are victims of abuse and militarisation. JASAC

has put up pharmaceutical drugstores and Graft Watch Inc. to focus on the health needs of their members and clients and to enhance the role of civil society in anti-corruption advocacy respectively.

The creation of a range of programmes and projects has widened the opportunities for members (and volunteers) to participate in the groups' program of actions. Members have different interests; some are more inclined to participate in political acts, while others prefer to join civic and economic actions. There are also those who prefer to share their time and skills in community organising and information dissemination. By recognising that members and volunteers have varied interests, the groups are able to develop the skills and abilities necessary to function as an effective group. These views were emphasised by the leaders and staff of HPFP and GABRIELA.

#### HPFP

The community-led process encourages people to develop their own skills and capacities. But in order to do that, we have to identify first their interests by asking them which tasks they would like to get involved in. We let them choose, we don't force them or it will be hard to get their commitment. You can see this in our infrastructure projects. We have different groups who are in-charge of materials procurement, warehouse maintenance, food preparation, construction. We let the members choose which "team" they would like to join. Everyone here has a task which is important to finish a project (HPFP member/KABALAKA Secretary, personal communication, 13 August 2009).

#### GABRIELA

We understand that some members, especially those who represent the professional sector, do not like to get involved with our protest activities. It can be hard to get their support for such activities. But we can rely on them to assist us in technical training and provision of services. Having a variety of programmes has made us flexible in requesting assistance from different people. This way, we do not keep on relying for help from the same members (GABRIELA coordinator, personal communication, 6 October 2009).

#### *d. Change of attitude: from "expose-oppose" to "expose-oppose-propose"*

Another factor prompting the adoption of hybrid planning practices is the change in attitude towards government officials. This change in attitude is referred to as a paradigm shift from "expose-oppose" to "expose-oppose-propose" (Etemadi, 2004, p. 80), or "critical engagement" (Bryant, 2005, p.15). This implies that while civil society groups cooperate with the government, they also reserve the right to disagree over issues that they perceive as against the core principles of the group.



In the early years of their formation, GABRIELA and JASAC directed their opposition towards the legitimacy of the Marcos government. After the 1986 Revolution, their oppositional stance has been directed towards policies and practices that they want to change. On the part of HPFP, it has always protested against policies and practices viewed as “anti-poor”. While it has maintained its oppositional stance, HPFP has since changed its strategy by refraining from protest marches in favour of negotiations and dialogues (HPFP member/Parish Secretary, personal communication, 20 October 2009).

Pursuing critical engagement with the state has provided benefits to the case study groups. One advantage is that the groups are able to voice out their opinions in the formal venues of participation, a point also raised by Bryant (2001). One of HPFP’s leaders reiterates this view.

Officials listen to us because we do it in the proper venue. That is why we do not organise or join rallies. It is also easier to negotiate for changes when we are part of the “in-group” rather than making negotiations as an outsider (Home Owners Association [HOA] president, personal communication, 29 August 2009).

Another advantage is that it can potentially reduce the levels of coercion and intimidation that civil society groups sometimes experience in dealing with state agencies (Bryant, 2001). GABRIELA, for example, has built a reputation of genuinely addressing women’s and children’s issues such that it is now viewed as an important and persuasive group that cannot be ignored by government agencies (GABRIELA Community Worker/IWC staff, personal communication, 12 November 2009). In spite of GABRIELA’s militant stance to government policies, it still gets support for its programmes and projects from some government agencies such as the Philippine National Police (PNP), the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) and the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA).

While the hybridisation of practices has enabled the case study groups to pursue particular goals, the engagement requires the acquisition of new capacities, the promotion of new ways of working within the groups, and a provision of new rules for inter-organisational relationships. Thus, the next section presents the challenges experienced by the groups in the adoption of hybrid planning practices.

## 7.3.2 Challenges of Engagement in Hybrid Planning Practices

### 7.3.2.1 *The issue of legitimacy*

The problem of legitimacy has been identified as a key obstacle that civil society organisations (CSOs) have to overcome as they play more significant roles in planning and development (Cheema, 2010; Salamon et al., 2004). The groups' vulnerability to problems of legitimacy is influenced by their desire to meet the needs of their members, having multiple roles, and their critical engagement with the government.

Legitimacy “refers to the appropriateness of and justification for an organisation’s existence and activities in the eyes of key actors in its environment, including the general public” (Brown, 2010, p. 60). The key actors can include government agencies, the business sector, funding agencies, and the academe. The possible sources of CSO legitimacy include legal, normative, political, and associational legitimacy (Brown, 2010).

The case study groups have been making efforts to strengthen their legitimacy. The staff of all three groups mentioned that they comply with the legal requirements set by the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to address the issue of legal legitimacy. The SEC is a Philippine state commission that supervises registered business entities in the country, including the suspension and revocations of their registration (Section 5, R.A. 8799). It also oversees the operation of non-stock and non-profit groups such as the three case study groups.

Aside from the SEC registration, each group also obtains licenses to carry out certain functions. HPFP is a member of the Philippine Non-Government Organisation Council (PNGOC) on Population, Health and Welfare. PNGOC has stringent financial requirements than SEC. Registration in both SEC and PNGOC is proof that HPFP’s activities are legal, which increases their opportunities to access external resources (particularly government and international aid). Its registration and licenses from government agencies enable HPFP to perform certain services to the public. JASAC acquires permits to get legal identities for the implementation of its Graft Watch project and for the operation of their pharmaceutical drugstores. GABRIELA is recognised by a government social welfare and development department to provide psychosocial services to its clients. The Coordinator mentioned that:

Our SEC registration is proof that our activities are legal. Contrary to what other people say that we support communist activities, there is nothing underground about what we are doing here. We are able to provide psychosocial services to clients because we have a license from government agencies (GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 16 October 2009).

The ethos of each case study group conforms to the dominant values of society, thus helping them achieve normative legitimacy. JASAC's organisational mission promotes social justice and community participation. HPFP "*aspires for security of tenure, decent living, emancipation from poverty and protection of their dignity and rights as citizens of their cities*" (Who are we?, 2008). GABRIELA promotes equality for both men and women and freedom from all forms of oppression (What is GABRIELA, 2009).

In spite of the groups' efforts to strengthen their legitimacy in society, there are still related issues to overcome. Authors have recognised that, in the Philippines, civil society groups have to deal with representational legitimacy (Brillantes, 1998; Carino, 1999; de Dios & Reyes, 2005; Novellino & Dressler, 2010). HPFP leaders and staff acknowledge this limitation. They recognised that their group has to continue reaching out to the "*truly urban poor of the city such as the waste pickers and those who do not have any job at all. By widening our networks with other federations [referring to IFCA and ICUFI], we increase the scope of the urban poor that we are able to help.*" (HPFP Regional Director, personal communication, 19 October 2009). HPFP's current membership is limited to a few homeowners' associations in urban poor villages. In order to increase its reach of the urban poor in Iloilo City, it initiated the formation of ICUPN. ICUPN is an alliance of three urban poor federations which are HPFP, IFCA and ICUPFI. The last two federations have broad membership base in the city. However, the formation of this alliance was not without its problems.

HPFP leaders felt that initially, the other two urban poor federations did not fully trust them because they were "using" other groups when they deal with international organisations (such as the United Nations and Slum Dwellers International) for its personal gains (HPFP Regional Director, personal communications, 19 October 2009). HPFP is the only group in the ICUPN that receives international funding support. To build trust with the other groups and lessen insecurities that arise from HPFP receiving financial support, the group involves IFCA and ICUPHI in some of its programmes and projects.

Aside from mistrust, resource competition and turf conflict are also common issues experienced by civil society groups in the Philippines (see Brillantes, 1998; Carino, 1999; de Dios & Reyes, 2005). An HPFP member/HOA president (personal communication, 20 October 2009) recounted that the group had problems with “gate-keepers” from an NGO that provides support to a community association. The NGO did not want the community to receive funds from HPFP for its small-scale upgrading projects, believing instead that HPFP should just stick to helping their own member associations. This kind of gate-keeping is being done not only by NGOs but also by political parties and representatives of the local governments, each of whom put up a “fence” around the community and claim “ownership” of it. HPFP addresses this problem by not directly confronting the gate-keepers, choosing instead to work with communities that are ready to accept the group. *“We don’t force people to join us. People will see the work and outputs of HPFP and eventually they will join our group”* (HPFP member/HOA president, personal communication, 20 October 2009).

The issues of legitimacy experienced by GABRIELA and JASAC may be attributed to their confrontational stance in dealing with government policies and practices. GABRIELA’s critical position on certain issues makes other sectors cautious of forming linkages with them. The IWC Director (personal communication, 26 September 2009) admitted that the group’s identity as an “activist” makes it difficult for the group to access external resources; some funding agencies are just not supportive of organisations with a militant stance. This sentiment was also shared during informal conversations with GABRIELA’s Coordinator. This view also became apparent from the comments made by a representative of Iloilo City’s business sector, an organisation whose members consisted mostly of Chinese businessmen.

The club does not have any engagement with militant groups. That’s just how the members feel about it. Most of our involvement supports the projects of government agencies, local government units and private institutions (Iloilo Business Club [IBC] Executive Director, personal communication, 27 November 2007).

JASAC’s staff member shared her concern about the protest marches and other confrontational responses of the group to local and national issues. She had the opinion that some of the group’s actions and the oppositional stance of its director sometimes offend other sectors, which could lessen their support to the Catholic Church (JASAC

Secretary / Community Worker, personal communication, 2 September 2009). Another staff member mentioned that their current Executive Director can be “very outspoken” about his views of the government. Representatives from other sectors have mixed feelings about the Church’s protest marches and the critical stance against government issues by some of its leaders. In the interview extracts below, it is evident that they feel that there should be limits to the extent to which the Church should get involved with government issues.

#### Academe

The Church has a responsibility to raise people’s consciousness by making people informed, such as priest’s sermons during church service. However, I do not personally support their protest marches because these do not solve anything. Problems should be discussed in the proper forum (Lecturer, personal communication, 14 September 2009).

#### NGO

I have always been supportive of JASAC although some of its activities can offend some people, especially the more conservative ones. But the Church has always been our reliable ally and we have worked together on a number of issues already. You see, if your enemy is the government, the Church is the strongest ally that you can have. They have the resources and direct link with communities (RISE member, personal communication, 8 November 2009).

The issues of cooptation and losing independence arise in the process of civil society groups collaborating and participating in the formal structures of the government. The literature has noted that civil society groups in the Philippines generally take pride in and are known for their independence (Brillantes, 1998; Carino, 1999; de Dios & Reyes, 2005; Eaton, 2002). As groups work with the government on service provision, they learn new things such as ideas, techniques and practices. It is possible that they are drawn into the system of the government, take on its own interests and way of doing things. The groups are now tied up to the rationalities of the government that they eventually lose their own causes which have made the people accept them as “countervailing power” to the government (Carino, 1999, p. 91). The groups compromise their own integrity in order to gain support from the government and other agencies; this can be seen as a “sell-out” in the eyes of their members and allies, and therefore undermine the group’s legitimacy.

However, it is surprising to note that the case study group leaders and staff were not quite concerned about being co-opted by other groups as they had established mechanisms to protect themselves from co-optation. These mechanisms included the following: hiring staff from their own members, conducting regular orientations and spiritual formations, using community-based participatory approaches for collective actions, and holding regular meetings with networks to clarify issues and concerns. Moreover, the leaders of the groups felt that collaboration between civil society groups and the government would ultimately benefit the communities. This is encouraging given Brillantes' (1998) observations that there are civil society groups in the country with suspicious intentions that are willing to collaborate with the government. Such collaborations could bring harm to the public; however, this situation could be avoided if civil society groups with sincere intentions were more willing to work with the government.

#### *7.3.2.2 The issue of accountability*

Another challenge that results in engaging in hybrid planning practices is accountability. Accountability “refers to specific claims that stakeholders might make upon an organisation, [in contrast] to legitimacy which refers to more generally held perceptions and recognition of its relevance and appropriateness” (Brown, 2010, p. 60). One of the major features of the Local Government Code of 1991 is that it devolved the delivery of basic services to local government units (LGUs) and recognised the role of CSOs as partners or alternative service providers. Another feature of the Code is that it enabled CSOs to receive funding from partner institutions in order to pursue projects on service provision for their members and/or clients. In return, CSOs are accountable to their partner institutions and members and/or clients for the services they claim to provide.

HPFP has been working closely with PACSII whose main task is to provide technical expertise to HPFP. According to a PACSII staff member (personal communication, 16 September 2009), it assisted HPFP in setting up an efficient system of documentation and record-keeping in response to the requirements of funding agencies which are quite meticulous with financial and terminal reports. JASAC had a similar experience when their Graft Watch project received a one year financial grant from the European Union (EU). It had to keep track of their documentation process and financial records; there was so much paper work involved that it took their time away from other activities. In an

interview with JASAC's Finance Officer, he acknowledged that he was burdened by the reports in compliance with international accounting standards.

It was very stressful to me when we had the EU project. I had to prepare reports reviewed by an external auditor. I had a limited background in accounting and finance prior to this project. I think everyone involved had some problems coping with the demands of the agency. It was really a learning experience for me and for everyone else who worked on the project (personal communication, 16 September 2009).

The problems experienced by JASAC during this project have caused its leaders to refrain from seeking further international funding support. According to its Executive Director (personal communication, 19 August 2009), JASAC implemented the project on people's participation in graft and corruption prevention, the bureaucratic process that was required to get approval from heads of offices hindered them from responding efficiently to related issues. More importantly, relying on foreign funding support makes JASAC less self-sufficient.

We teach our communities to rely on each other whenever we have problems. Yet, JASAC does not really practise what it preaches because we rely on international agencies to make things happen for us. We have since changed our position on this by focusing more on our own resources. We only ask for foreign support for some projects if it's really beyond our capacity. It is hard but that is the only way we can develop ourselves and people in communities (JASAC Executive Director, personal communication, 19 August 2009).

In GABRIELA's case, funds for the operation and maintenance of its programmes come mostly from its national office in Manila. The central office submits proposals to funding agencies; GABRIELA-Panay is then apportioned a share from the funds when the projects get approved. In contrast to HPFP and JASAC, GABRIELA does not have to deal with the problems associated with preparing documents for funding agencies. Nevertheless, GABRIELA's Coordinator admitted that it has to improve its system of documentation of data on the well-being of women and children because other agencies use these data as well. In the absence of complete records, the leaders make themselves available for interviews to provide data. This may not be agreeable to some agencies that accept information taken from official written documents only.

Many agencies come to us for all sorts of information. We tell them that we do not have enough people to do the documentation. We do not have written reports to give them. But we provide the necessary data if they have the time to sit down with us and conduct the interview. Sometimes, these people provide us a copy of the reports from the interviews, in some cases they don't. We lack manpower and we have many activities which leave us so little time for documentation (GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 28 August 2009).

Related to the issue of accountability is transparency, a problem that was raised by each of the three case study groups. HPFP's staff members were aware that some CLIFF beneficiaries have been suspicious of how the project's funds are spent. "*PACSII keeps the money for the CLIFF project. Some beneficiaries were saying the money should be handled by HPFP. They think we are making money out of them.*" (Young Professionals<sup>60</sup> volunteer 1, personal communication, 1 September 2009). A PACSII representative and a volunteer provided more insights into this issue:

PACSII orders the housing materials so it's easier if the money is with the organisation. Besides, representatives from the different homeowners associations approve the disbursement of funds. We cannot disburse the money unless we get HPFP's approval (PACSII Asst. Documentor, personal communication, 1 September 2009).

During meetings, we present the financial status. We explain how the money is spent. Some listen to us while others really do not believe in us. We just have to continue making them understand what we do with their money (Young Professionals volunteer 2, personal communication, 1 September 2009).

GABRIELA has experienced similar problems with its community members. A staff mentioned that some of the women choose not to pay their fees due to lack of trust in the member-collector. This problem may be due to the lack of financial reporting or auditing by member/s assigned to do this task.

Other members want us to collect the fees from them. But that is added work on us. Right now, I do the collection. But it should not be this way for we expect that each cell group should be more trusting of each other. They have to trust their own members, and not just the community worker, in the collection of money (GABRIELA Community Worker 2, personal communication, 9 November 2009).

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<sup>60</sup> Young Professionals (YPs) is a group organised by PACSII that is composed of architecture student interns. They assist PACSII and the City Engineer's Office in technical processes (What is TAMPEI?, 2011).



In the case of JASAC, the staff did not mention issues regarding money matters during the interviews. However, a volunteer shared his concern that some priests in the organisation should be more open about the finances of the Church given that it has a variety of income-generating activities.

The Church gets solicitations from individual and group patrons. We also sell raffle tickets as part of our fund-raising activity. The archdiocese runs a bookstore. They have properties which they rent out. People also pay for the mortuary niche. There is nothing wrong with being business-minded as long as they are transparent in their dealings (JASAC Volunteer Worker/Graft Watch member, personal communication, 28 October, 2009).

The interviewee made this comment when asked about the compensations received by the volunteers and staff. It was not made clear to the researcher whether these business enterprises are actually part of the functions of JASAC. The researcher was not able to ask the leaders of the organisation to clarify this particular issue. Nevertheless, it can be implied that there are issues with transparency within the group.

### *7.3.2.3 Inadequate capacity and resources*

The widening of spaces for civil society participation in the planning process has been viewed by some authors as unrealistic because it has not been accompanied by enhanced capacity building and access to resources (Cheema, 2010; Carino, 1999; de Dios & Reyes, 2005; Devas, 2004; Salamon et al., 2004). Skills deficiency and inadequate resources can potentially create problems because civil society groups have to comply with the stringent reporting requirements of funding agencies (e.g. sustainable livelihoods, participatory approaches, log frame and gender equity). Based on interviews with the leaders and staff of the case study groups, capacity and resource deficits are most visible in the areas of skills, funds generation, and human resources. Groups have varied experiences in these areas.

In HPFP's case, the staff were concerned about acquiring skills to put in order its financial records (HPFP member/PACSII Finance Officer and PACSII Asst. Documentor, personal communications, 28 August 2009). The group needs people who can provide trainings to enhance the understanding and skills of the staff on finance and accounting (HPFP member/PACSII Main Documentor and HPFP member/PACSII Finance Officer, personal communications, 2 September 2009).

Given that some of the group's projects include community-managed upgrading and resettlement housing provisions, HPFP also needs technical persons such as architects and civil engineers who can assist the group with its projects.

There are activities in the CLIFF workshops that cannot be handled by HPFP members. These are too technical to be left in the hands of lay persons. We need people with backgrounds in architecture and civil engineering to discuss housing standards and construction materials. The scale model houses are prepared by architecture students who do volunteer work with us (PACSII Asst. Documentor, personal communication, 15 January 2010).

For its housing programme, HPFP had to learn the skills needed to understand the logical framework approach (HPFP Regional Director, personal communication, 5 December 2009). This is a management tool used in the design, monitoring, and evaluation of international development projects. It is widely used by bilateral and multilateral donors such as DFID (now UK-AID), UNDP, World Bank, and USAID.

Similarly, GABRIELA has experienced skills deficiencies in relation to making project proposals (GABRIELA member/ IWC Staff, personal communication, 11 December 2009). The organisation also recognises the importance of negotiation skills, especially in relation to advocacy work:

Negotiation skills are necessary when we deal with other agencies for the delivery of certain services. Our clientele are growing. We now have male clients, those 31 Filipino workers whom we helped return to Iloilo from Sabah, [Malaysia]. All of our activities involve advocacy work which entail good negotiations skills because we deal with people from different sectors whose orientations are different from ours (GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 5 January 2010).

For skills enhancement, JASAC staff mentioned the need for additional training on record-keeping, documentation, and computer skills (JASAC Finance Officer, personal communication, 16 September 2009; JASAC Drugstore Manager, Stocks Receiver and Drugstore Accounts Officer, personal communications, 13 October 2009; JASAC Community Worker/Secretary, personal communication, 12 January 2010).

It was quite apparent in interviews with the leaders and staff of the case study groups that funding was a constant source of concern for them. Limited funds affect the continuity of their programmes, such as GABRIELA's livelihood services which depend on external

funds (GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 5 January 2010).

GABRIELA is also expected to assist the government in the establishment of Gender and Development Council in all government levels (from the village up to the national level) as mandated by a law (R.A. 7160<sup>61</sup>). Yet, it has been unable to do so because of inadequate resources and lack of support from the government (GABRIELA Coordinator, 5 January 2010). Still, inadequacy of funds has not prevented the group from performing its other functions. *“We have managed to survive with the help of our networks”* (GABRIELA member/IWC staff, personal communication, 11 December 2009).

The financial capacity deficit is aggravated by a general decline in external funding to local civil society groups due to a shift in the interests and priorities of donor agencies (Cheema, 2010; Devas, 2004; Novellino & Dressler, 2010; Salamon et al., 2004).

According to HPFP’s Regional Director (personal communication, 5 December 2009), *“Donor agencies have redirected their funds to their own countries because of the recession and their own share of disasters.”* GABRIELA partly attributes their inability to access funds due to its militant identity which discourages some international funding agencies to provide support to the group (IWC Executive Director, personal communication, 26 September 2009).

While both GABRIELA and HPFP are open to accepting funds from foreign agencies, JASAC’s current Executive Director feels differently about this matter. *“We cannot teach our communities to be self-sufficient when even the Catholic Church does not practice it by depending on foreign funds”* (JASAC Executive Director, personal communication, 19 August 2009). Although JASAC staff mentioned that sufficient funds have been a constant problem, it supports the decision of its Director. One staff member even said that she felt proud that JASAC has managed to continue its various programmes without actively looking for funding agencies. *“We have been blessed by the support from our patrons and other groups who believe in what JASAC is doing”* (JASAC Drugstore Manager/Parish Worker, personal communication, 13 October 2009).

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<sup>61</sup> R.A. 7192 or the Women in Nation-Building Act requires the establishment of the Gender and Development Council which performs some of the following functions: formulate legislative and administrative measures relative to women’s concerns; undertake gender-based research to provide data in support of legislative action; public policy formulation of program direction; and encourage and promote the formation of federation of women’s organisations/clubs at all government levels.

In addition to financial problems, all three case study groups also experience problems with human resources. They mentioned that they have difficulty with staff recruitment, training, and retention. While the groups hire their own members for staff positions, this can limit them to recruiting people who do not have the right competencies for the job. For example, GABRIELA has difficulty looking for qualified full-time staff for their Children's Rehabilitation Center. GABRIELA's Coordinator (personal communication, 5 January 2011) mentioned that the group expects its staff to be capable of performing multiple functions, someone who has "*experience in publicity, psycho-social training, and advocacy work.*"

GABRIELA also has problems with staff retention because they are compensated not through wages but through allowances<sup>62</sup>. It is therefore not surprising that all their staff engage in "sidelines" (e.g. selling retail products or insurance policies) to augment their income. Over the years, the group has lost a number of good staff who left the group "*to look for greener pastures*" (GABRIELA Coordinator, personal communication, 5 January 2010). A similar problem has been mentioned by the current staff of JASAC and HPFP. It is also worth noting that, a year after the researcher conducted the field interviews, a number of the staff and volunteers that were interviewed for the study have already left the groups.

## 7.4 Discussion

This section will critically examine the issues on the usefulness of the term 'insurgent' in the context of the experiences of three case study groups and on the widely held notion of planning practices by civil society as being mutually exclusive.

### 7.4.1 'Trangressive' as an Alternative to 'Insurgent'

Planning scholars have widely used the term 'insurgent' to describe the transformative actions of civil society groups. Yet, the usage puts the groups at risk and debases those that scholars have been trying to help. The groups strongly emphasised in their interviews that their acts of challenging state practices are all within the bounds of the law. This is what makes them different from other organisations that completely reject the state and take up arms and other forms of violence to advance their own agenda.

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<sup>62</sup> The staff and/or community workers usually get allowances for their meal, communication and transportation expenses. They also get allowances for medical expenses and education-related expenditures for their children.

The conflicting usage poses a problem about the utility of terms commonly used in the literature to describe organisations like JASAC, GABRIELA and HPFP. This question revolves around the need for an appropriate descriptor that allows distinctions to be made between mildly ‘oppositional acts’ and more serious armed struggles seeking to overthrow and replace the state. Though labelling such groups as ‘insurgent’ has a certain literary appeal, it is rather contrary to the spirit of their actions and their overall relationship with the state. In short, the terms ‘insurgent’ and ‘insurgency’ are not useful because a) they offend and endanger the groups called by such terms and b) they are insufficiently nuanced.

I propose that the term ‘insurgent’ should be strictly used in reference to groups that are anti-state or completely reject the institution and engage in armed struggle to achieve a political end. A restricted usage would be in congruence with the usage in current public media discourse about political happenings in turbulent regions of the world; it is also consistent with historical usage in the Philippines and elsewhere.

There are alternative concepts that better capture the practices of civil society groups that are opposed to *some* institutionalised or systemic state practices without being anti-state. These terms also imply that their actions paradoxically endorse the state even whilst opposing some its practices because they use state-certified or endorsed means to make the protest. These expressions -radical, progressive and transgressive - encompass collective actions that occur in democratic political contexts such as the Philippines, where acts take place within the bounds permissible by the law.

The first substitute term is ‘radical’ which has often been interchangeably used with ‘insurgent’ in the planning literature. Both denote counter-hegemonic practices adopted by civil society groups against government practices. Although ‘insurgent’ has a more literary appeal, the term ‘radical’ has less threatening implications. Many of these radical groups were established as part of a general response to some of the traditional or institutionalised state practices to developmental, political and environmental issues. Radical groups recognise the existing state, although some of them are known for their more confrontational forms of challenging some state practices. While these forms of opposition are tolerated by the state, and do not break any law, acts such as protest marches and petition campaigns do not sit very well with others who likewise advocate for reforms but favour the use of formal venues of participation.

With the case study groups, both JASAC and GABRIELA viewed the term 'radical' as being a more appropriate phrase to describe their practices. JASAC's leader referred to 'radix', the original word of radical, which means to return to one's roots and doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. GABRIELA has been called 'radicals', among other names, because they are known for their use of more confrontational modes of resistance against state practices. HPFP was not so keen on the term but still regarded it as a better alternative to insurgent. Its leaders equated it to community savings schemes and community-led approaches.

The second alternative word is 'progressive' which is sometimes used to refer to some radical groups in the Philippines. Progressive groups are known to adhere to a particular political ideology (e.g. communism, national democracy, socialism, and social democracy), and their advocacies are directed to public issues pertaining to agrarian land reform, public ownership of land, job generation to workers, tax reforms and equitable use of public resources. They seek structural changes in society that promotes equality and community participation. GABRIELA is one example of a progressive group; members adhere to a national democratic framework and address issues pertaining to developmental, environmental and human rights issues. The term 'radical' planning, however, is more appealing than 'progressive' as the former has an established usage already in the urban planning literature.

The third, and arguably, most appropriate term that describes the planning practices of the three case study groups is 'transgressive'. Miraftab (2009) defined 'insurgent planning' as "transgress[ing] time and place by locating historical memory and transnational consciousness..." (Miraftab, 2009, p. 33). In this definition, transgression is understood as having temporal goals which influence the activities of the groups. In the process of achieving those goals, people engage beyond the dichotomous relationship of collaborative or oppositional relationship with the state. Rather, there exist categories of action. Transgression also implies actions that involve the formation of local, national and global linkages (spatial) thereby consolidating their concerns with other issues. Transgressive planning recognises the collaboration between actors which consequently leads to sharing of learnings and the production of new knowledge resulting in those shared activities. In the process of working being together, all actors involved create experiences that are shared by them.

Analysis of the three cases reveals that the groups' actions demonstrated elements of transgression as described by Miraftab (2009). All three groups did not restrict themselves in using only one but used multiple oppositional strategies to attain their goals. They used formal venues such as consultations, dialogues and fora as well as informal modes such as initiating or supporting rallies, signature campaigns and writing position papers. They have formed allies and networks with like-minded local and international organisations and institutions that support their specific advocacies. They have collective actions that address the causes and consequences of poverty. Moreover, the groups have linked their current actions to what took place in the past and used these as guides in assessing their situation. For example, groups have changed their modes of resistance over time depending on the perceived success in achieving their specific goals. Equally important is these groups have formed collaborative relationship with the state on specific service delivery. At the same time, working together with the state has enabled the groups to gain their rights for basic services and for participation in the planning process. They have also used this collaborative engagement to achieve recognition or legitimacy from the state by engaging in knowledge production activities. These acts reinforce the groups as active partners who are not mere recipients of state project and therefore set precedence for more specific collaborative engagement with the state.

This study, therefore, proposes that the term 'transgressive' should be used as the most suitable term rather than the more loaded label 'insurgent' to encapsulate the hybrid practices of civil society groups.

#### 7.4.2 Hybrid Nature of Planning Practices

The literature suggests 'pure' relationships with the state and 'pure' forms of planning practices. My research demonstrates that both areas are more ambiguous with practices occurring simultaneously and thereby hybrid in nature. The simultaneous engagement in a category of collective practices takes the following combinations: oppositional-strategic; collaborative-strategic; collaborative-ad-hoc; and oppositional-ad-hoc. Thus, it is rarely the case that one approach is favoured over the other but a blend of practices is used to achieve the best results.

The term 'hybridity' speaks of Bhaba's (1994) proposition that civil society groups are actively involved in changing selected state policies and procedures through insurgent planning and co-production. Importantly, the research finding reaffirms the point made by Mitchell (1997) and AlSayyad (2001) that the adoption of hybrid planning approaches is influenced by external and internal factors. These external factors relate to the broader socio-political context of the study area. Hasenfeld & Gidron, (2005, p. 103) referred to these external factors as 'political opportunity structures' which are "institutional reforms that allow checks and balances in the state's powers and having access to 'elite allies'" (Hasenfeld & Gidron, 2005, p. 104). Internal factors also influenced the case study groups to adopt hybrid planning approaches.

Given the concurrent interaction with the state that can be placed in a category of actions, their relationships with the state can be best described as a form of critical collaboration (Bryant, 2001; Etemadi, 2004). That is, they can collaborate with the state while maintaining a degree of opposition to it. Even the most radical group (GABRIELA) engaged in co-production with the government; similarly, even the most collaborative (HPFP) or orthodox (JASAC) groups maintained a degree of opposition against government policies and practices. If the groups showed opposition against the government and called for its overthrow through armed struggle, they would not have engaged in co-production planning. In the same manner, if the groups restricted themselves from resisting certain government practices, they would not have adopted the insurgent planning approach. Thus, groups that have been recognised as insurgents (e.g. New People's Army and the Moro National Liberation Front in the Philippines, and Al-Qaeda) by governments and international agencies or groups which have been set up by the government are unlikely to adopt hybrid planning approaches.

The empirical findings draw attention to the changing relations between the government and civil society groups through time. The relationship can be oppositional at times but can also be mutually collaborative in other instances. Moreover, the groups still get state support for some of their projects and programmes even though they have points of differences over other matters.



## 7.5 Chapter Summary

The thesis research findings presented in the earlier chapters established the collective practices of civil society groups with regards to relationships between civil society groups and the state and the groups' scope of activities. This chapter questions whether these practices can, in fact, be regarded as 'insurgent', whether these different planning practices are mutually exclusive, and if not, what rationalities guide the hybridisation of various practices and the challenges it poses.

This chapter presented the views of the case study groups and critically examined the usefulness of the term 'insurgent' as a label to describe the collective acts of groups. It was found that the three case study groups found the word inappropriate to describe their practices and as a term to label themselves. A critical examination of the results has led the researcher to look for an alternative term which included 'radical' and 'progressive'. The term 'transgressive', which has been used by Miraftab (2011), is deemed as the best appropriate term to use that best encapsulates the collective practices of the groups. The proposed term recognises temporal goals, categories of civil society-state relationships, formation of spatial linkages and the sharing of memories and collective concerns among actors.

This chapter presented the hybrid nature of the groups' collective practices. That is, their practices actually occur simultaneously or concurrently at a time. Thus, the collective practices of the groups can be classified into four types: oppositional-strategic, collaborative-strategic, collaborative-ad-hoc and oppositional-ad-hoc. The middle ground comprises those activities that co-produce knowledge or deliver services in the absence of the state. Such hybridisation of approaches is a contradiction to what the literature say that there are 'pure' relationships with the state and 'pure' scope of activities. The blend of relationships with the state can be described as critical collaboration in which groups collaborate with the state while maintaining a degree of opposition to it.

There are rationales in the engagement in hybrid planning practices which include external and internal factors. External factors include the increasing receptiveness of the state towards civil society groups and the passage of laws that institutionalised the spaces of participation of civil society groups. The internal factors are the resources available to

groups; meeting the needs of their members, the decision to have multiple functions in society and the change of attitude towards the state. The engagement in hybrid practices have resulted in challenges particularly legitimacy, accountability and inadequate capacity and resources which have potentially reduced the groups' effectiveness in performing their practices.

## Chapter 8

### Conclusion, Implications and Future Research

#### 8.1 Introduction

In this concluding chapter of the thesis, the research problem and research questions are revisited and answers are provided to give a wider perspective of the study. This is followed by a discussion on how the research questions were addressed by recapitulating what was done in each chapter and the findings from that chapter. Next, contributions of thesis findings are highlighted in relation to the current debates in the urban planning literature. Finally, the chapter concludes with recommendations for future research.

#### 8.2 Conclusion: Revisiting the Research Problem and Research Questions

The main object of this study was to gain a better understanding of the collective planning practices of civil society groups in post-colonial cities. The research problem is restated as follows: *How do civil society groups conduct their collective planning practices, programmes and activities in the context of post-colonial cities such as Iloilo City, Philippines?*

In order to address this broad research problem, Chapter 2 provided a critical examination of the literature on insurgent and co-production planning frameworks to understand the collective practices of civil society groups as they address urban poverty. This literature review also raised three key questions. First, the insurgent planning framework highlights the oppositional elements of collective practices of groups against state policies. However, insurgent planning does not adequately capture collective acts which include collaboration with the state, or practices that operate where the state is noticeably absent. The co-production framework was proposed to provide another alternative understanding of such planning practices. The co-production literature emphasises collaboration between civil society groups and the state in the production and delivery of public services. However, the current urban planning literature viewed both frameworks as mutually exclusive with the exception of a few authors (Watson, 2011; Mitlin, 2008) who suggested that civil society groups might engage in both planning practices. Second, while these authors indicated that civil society groups might employ insurgent planning and co-production approaches, there was little empirical evidence for

their claims, and few details on how their various practices and programs might be coordinated into a coherent whole. Finally, there was a great deal of ambiguity in the terminology used ('insurgent', insurgent planning', 'co-production' and 'collaboration') in urban planning literature to refer to the actual practices of civil society groups particularly with regards to their relationship with the state and whether acts were strategic or more ad-hoc. Importantly, it became increasingly clear that the usefulness of the terms 'insurgency' and 'insurgent' are problematic in the context of countries that have a long history of armed struggle. This thesis therefore addressed a number of concerns situated within these three areas:

1. Are there meaningful distinctions in the planning practices of civil society groups in terms of insurgency, insurgent planning, co-production and collaboration?
  - 1.1 What are the collective practices of the groups?
  - 1.2 Is there a meaningful distinction between insurgency and insurgent planning?
  - 1.3 Are there distinct attributes between insurgent planning and co-production?
  - 1.4 Is there a meaningful distinction between co-production and collaboration?
  - 1.5 Is there a category (or typology) of relationships between the state and civil society groups?
  
2. What is the extent of usefulness of the terms insurgency and insurgent planning in the context of post-colonial cities?
  - 2.1 How do civil society groups perceive the terms 'insurgency' and 'insurgent' as descriptions of their acts?
  - 2.2 How appropriate are the terms 'progressive', 'radical' and 'transgressive' as alternative descriptors to 'insurgent' planning?
  
3. Are the planning practices of civil society groups mutually exclusive or do they use a hybrid of planning practices?
  - 3.1 What is hybrid planning?
  - 3.2 What are the rationales for civil society groups to engage in hybrid planning practices?
  - 3.3 What are the challenges experienced by civil society groups that adopt hybrid planning practices?

The research questions were answered by undertaking a qualitative research study with three case study groups. Chapter 3 discussed the research methodology that was used to draw from the experiences of —HPFP, GABRIELA and JASAC. Qualitative data were predominantly obtained from semi-structured interviews and participant observations. Indigenous methods complemented the other techniques resulting in a richer data set. Chapter 4 provided the socio-political and economic context in the formation of the groups. The chapter highlighted the similarities among the groups in terms of sectoral representation, level of member formation, access to aid, government accreditation and programmes that respond to the needs of the urban poor. At the same time, the groups differ from each other in terms of their relative independence from the state in undertaking collective activities. Chapter 5 provided detailed descriptions of the programmes, projects and activities of each group. HPFP's core programmes are on tenure and housing concerns, GABRIELA focusses on projects and activities that protect and enhance women; and JASAC has the widest range of programmes which encompass social welfare service delivery, relief and emergency rehabilitation, justice and peace, poverty reduction, ecology and corruption prevention.

Chapter 6 provided answers to the first research question as to whether there are meaningful distinctions between the terms insurgency, insurgent planning, co-production and collaboration. Based on my research results, I argue that there are meaningful distinctions based on the types of relationships that exist between the different groups and the state.

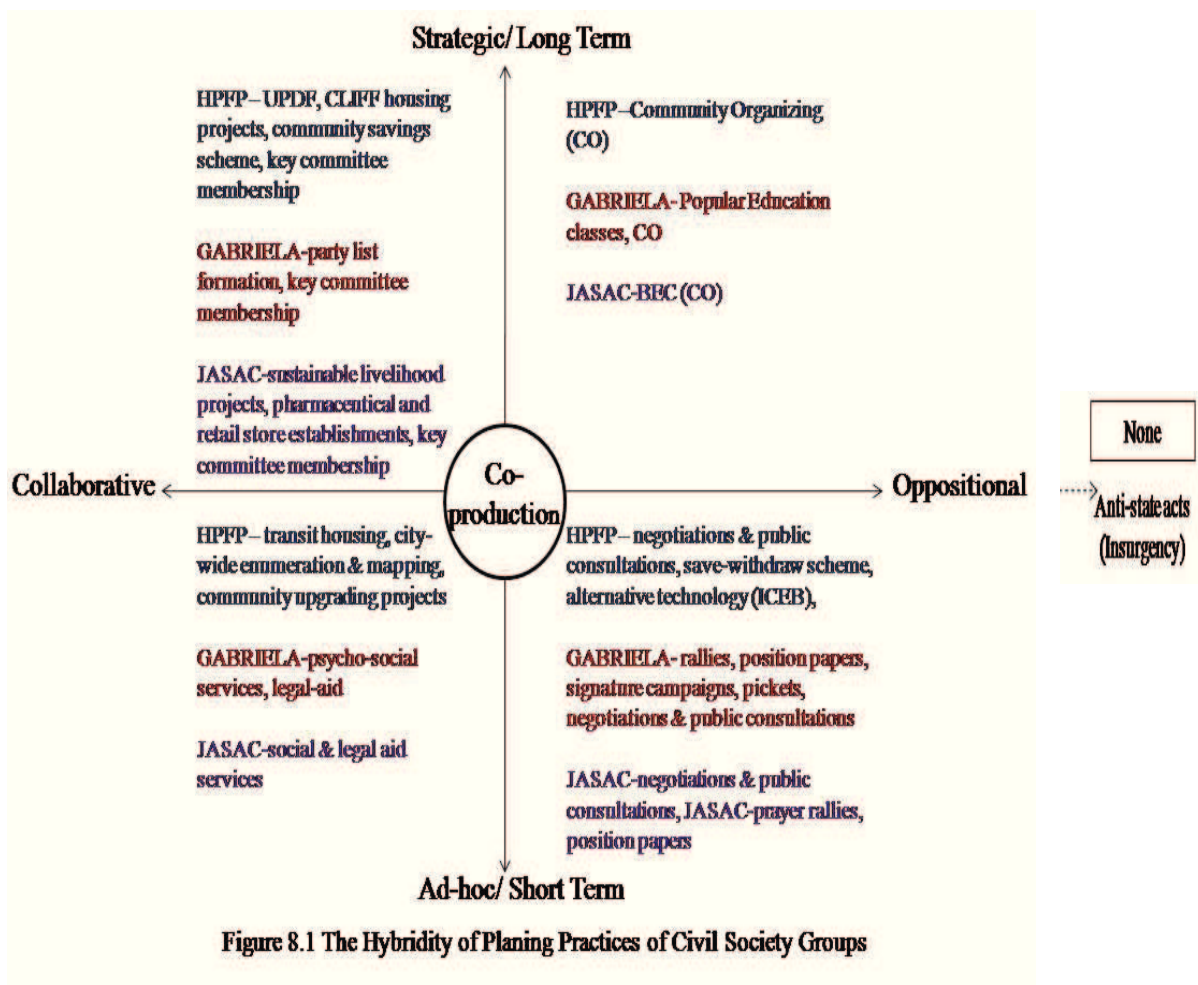
Based on interviews with the three groups, their collective practices can be placed in a category (or typology) of actions. The groups engage in collaboration – such as the co-delivery of services (in housing, electricity, livelihood, health, education, and legal aid) which takes place within formal arrangements in the forms of contracts or Memorandum of Understanding (or agreement). Another category between civil society and the state is increasingly observed in the context of urban poor groups that involves civil society groups producing knowledge or delivering services through informal means to secure rights and recognition.

The collective practices of the groups also provided greater nuance between the terms ‘insurgent planning’ and ‘insurgency’. Insurgent planning refers to selective opposition to state *practices*, though not necessarily the state, using formal and informal means. Groups have been found to use public consultations and negotiations as formal means in protest of certain state policies. When formal means are perceived by groups to have failed to address a particular issue, they used informal means that included political rallies, signature campaigns, pickets, submission of position papers. They also employed less popular but arguably more effective informal strategies of community-initiated actions such as community organising, introduction of alternative technology and popular education classes. These community-initiated practices are different from state-led planning frameworks and rely on enhancing local capacities to effect change.

In the wider definition of planning, all four approaches are considered as forms of planning. The approaches have taken place within the approved or recognised framework of the state; the valuable participation of civil society groups in the development of cities is recognised; and the approaches are aimed at reforming instead of overthrowing the state. Thus, while groups engage in acts of opposition that speak of the notion of ‘insurgent planning’, they have not been found to take part in ‘insurgency’ or anti-state acts.

Chapter 7 addressed the second research question based on interviews and participant observations. The findings showed that the three groups had negative perceptions about the terms ‘insurgency’ and ‘insurgent’. They viewed the terms as libelous and demeaning, therefore, not useful in describing the practices of the groups. Alternative terms were presented which included ‘radical;’ and ‘progressive’. This study proposed that the term ‘transgressive’ is more appropriate as it describes the collective practices of the groups that encompass oppositional acts but are still within state-approved framework actions of the state.

In the same chapter, the third research question was explored. The findings indicated the tendency of civil society groups to engage in hybrid practices as demonstrated by Figure 8.1.



**Figure 8.1 The Hybridity of Planning Practices of Civil Society Groups**

The structural diagram shows the concurrent engagement of all groups in a blend of four possible types of planning practices; that is, their practice is more hybrid than pure in form. The study highlighted that understanding the collective practices of the groups requires going beyond the simple dichotomy of relationships with the state and of the ‘purified’ practices of civil society groups. The concept of hybridisation has two dimensions: first is the relationship of civil society groups with the state and second is the group’s scope of activities.

The horizontal axis represents a distinction of relationship with the state: collaborative and oppositional. The vertical axis represents the scope of activities that are influenced by their temporal goals: ad-hoc acts, which are temporary solutions to problems of poverty, and strategic acts which address systemic and institutionalised causes of poverty. There is then a middle ground that is composed of collective acts that involve co-production of knowledge which may be used by civil society groups to gain credibility, rights or recognition.

There are external and internal factors that influenced the groups in the hybridisation of their practices. The external factors are: establishment of institutional mechanisms that widened the spaces of participation of civil society groups and the increased receptiveness of the state towards this sector. The internal factors are: availability of resources, the capacity to meet the members' needs, the decision to have multiple functions and a change in attitude towards the state. Their engagement in hybrid practices, however, has presented challenges in legitimacy, accountability and adequacy of resources of the groups.

In response to the main research problem, the findings of the study show that civil society groups engage in hybrid forms of planning which refers to concurrent or simultaneous engagement in a combination of practices that with regards to their range of relationships with the state and their scope of activities. These types of collective practices are oppositional-strategic; collaborative-strategic; collaborative-ad-hoc; and oppositional-ad-hoc.

The findings of this study have theoretical and practical implications. These are discussed in the two sections that follow.

### 8.3 Theoretical Contribution of My Research

This thesis raises three important points which contribute to current debates in the planning theory literature. The first point highlights the greater nuance that is required between the terms 'insurgency', 'insurgent planning', co-production' and 'collaboration'. While the groups have a long history of oppositional acts against the state, these have been mainly resistance to selective state practices – rather than the state - and take place within state-endorsed or state-tolerated frameworks. Their acts, therefore, do not constitute 'insurgent' in the orthodox sense of the word; indeed the terms was seen as offensive and dangerous. This study therefore makes the distinction between 'insurgency' to mean engagement in armed struggle against all state practices and 'insurgent planning' as refers to selective opposition to state *practices*, though not necessarily the state, using formal and informal.

The multi-faceted and complex nature of urban poverty requires that groups have to - at some point - work together with the state to effectively respond to these problems, and the groups engaged in a range of non-oppositional acts. Here, too, is a case for greater nuance as my research demonstrated a subtle but meaningful category based on different



relationships with the state. At one extreme ‘co-production’ is analogous to ‘collaboration’ or a formal working alliance around, for example, service delivery or even party membership. A more ambivalent position is evident in acts requiring the co-production of knowledge or information generated by civil society groups – such as a census of the homeless – which is used to gain recognition or establish certain rights. This co-productive stance is not exactly collaborative in a formal sense, nor is it oppositional; it occupies a complex middle ground that can help make groups more ‘visible’ to the state and to set precedence to negotiate for changes in policies and procedures.

The second contribution of this study centres on the appropriateness of the labels ‘insurgent’ and ‘insurgency’ given the revolutionary history of the Philippines. The findings show that the case study groups strongly rejected these terms as these are perceived to be politically libellous, demeaning and dangerous. Thus, an alternative term ‘transgressive’ is proposed which best encapsulates the oppositional element of so-called insurgent practices of civil society groups.

The final point is on the notion of hybrid planning which verifies the proposition that in practice, there is concurrent engagement of civil society groups in a blend of four possible patterns which reflect relationships with the state and scope of activities. Thus, it is rarely the case that groups favour one approach over the other; rather, it is usually a simultaneous engagement in oppositional-strategic, oppositional-ad-hoc, collaborative ad-hoc, and collaborative-strategic collective practices. There are rationalities that guide in the engagement in hybrid practices to include contextual and internal factors. There are challenges, however, in the adoption of hybrid practices which reduce the potential of groups to carry out their collective acts.

## **8.4 Implications of Research Findings to Improve Planning Practices in Post-Colonial Cities**

The results of the study show the ability of civil society groups to attain their goals through the adoption of hybrid planning practices. The knowledge and understanding gained from the experiences of the groups should not be an end in itself. These lessons can be used by planning practitioners as a foundation to effectively work with civil society groups.

Planners should work closely with civil society groups by taking active participation in their activities. Planners, together with civil society groups, can come up with more appropriate strategies that address manifestations of poverty such as homelessness, unemployment, lack of access to basic services, and vulnerability to disasters. They can devise tools that enhance the effectiveness of groups whose strategies for undertaking programmes and projects are different from the predominantly top-down approach of the state. Even among groups, they vary in terms of strategies, ideologies, access to resources, and the inclination to use primarily one method over the other. Thus, in an environment where there are many stakeholders with varied capacities and different interests, civil society groups as well as planners should acquire the skills and techniques on consensus-making and conflict resolution.

While the planning literature tends to emphasise formal avenues of engagement, the case study groups have demonstrated that there are other forms of participation which are as equally important. Other collective practices of the groups which do not have deliberate political motivation should be given attention as emerging forms of public participation on issues that may not yet have come to the attention of the state. Those practices geared towards responding to welfare, legal, socio-economic and health needs may not directly change government policies and decisions but their success set precedence in changing policies that are perceived to be more beneficial to urban poor groups.

The increasing capability of civil society groups to carry out a range of planning practices imply that the planners' role in relation to civil society groups has been restricted to providing information or technical advice. The current situation makes the role of planners more of a resource person instead of an expert whose skills are requested by the groups. Proponents of the insurgent planning theory suggest that the planner must

be able to build on the existing capacities of the groups so that the latter are in a better position to handle their challenges. The normative principles proposed by Friedmann (2002) on how planners should conduct themselves with civil society groups becomes more relevant at a time when civil society groups have demonstrated their capability to undertake a range of collective planning approaches. The planner has to have the ability to listen to the “different” stories of civil society and be able to reframe their problems simultaneously at multiple scales. There are different levels of addressing urban problems that covers scope of activities (ad-hoc or strategic), types of relationship with the state (collaborative or oppositional), and coverage area (community, city or nation-wide).

Moreover, there is a need for a planning professional who can help other groups to overcome their reluctance to share responsibilities and knowledge with civil society groups. The professional planner should also have the ability to act as a broker who can negotiate for better terms and arrangements between civil society groups, government agencies, political decision-makers, and other agencies.

On the part of civil society groups, the range of relationships that they have with the state entails the use of resources such as time in order to gain trust and recognition and eventually work together on specific services. The nature of relationship that the groups have with the state also requires effort to enhance technical skills in documentation, project-proposal making and accounting as well as interpersonal and intrapersonal skills in networking, social learning, negotiations, and conflict resolutions. The groups have to learn their strengths and limitations and use this knowledge to successfully negotiate with the government at different levels. As pointed out by Mitlin (2006, 2008) and Watson (2011), a pragmatic civil society group will use various modes or strategies depending on the context and desired outcome.

The hybridisation of planning practices by civil society groups is a response to the failure of the modernist planning model to address the problems in Third World cities. The experiences of civil society groups, however, highlight that such innovative approaches can only be effective when legal mechanisms that institutionalise civil society participation are in place, when there is willingness for groups to utilise the spaces of participation, and when there are other groups and institutions that have the resources to provide assistance to civil society groups. Thus, the state (and other actors as well)

should provide and develop more responsive mechanisms to make civil society groups effective in carrying out their programmes and project.

The case study groups have shown that they are capable of collaborating with the government and other sectors. Yet, the groups are limited in varying degrees by issues of inadequate capacities and resources, legitimacy, and accountability to funding agencies and transparency within the group. Thus, these groups have to continue working out a more sophisticated relationship with the government and with other sectors through critical engagement. While the groups are able to maintain their critical stance, they must also be able to forge a relationship with other sectors that make them more effective in carrying out their different functions in society.

On the part of the government, hybrid planning approaches should be nurtured among civil society groups. Collaboration in knowledge production with civil society groups exposes the state to knowledge and skills in community organising, gender dynamics, and innovations in technology such as housing materials. Likewise, nurturing hybrid practices enables the state to focus on other functions such as monitoring and implementation and regulation of laws, provision of incentives and sanctions, and initiating multi-sectoral participation in planning.

## 8.5 Future Research

While the typology of planning practices indicates that groups engage in hybrid or multiple strategies to attain their goals, the study results have left some research gaps. This section outlines possible directions for future research.

First, the typology of civil society-state relationship and the structural diagram of hybrid practices can be tested in other settings to see the extent of their usefulness. Although the study is context specific to post-colonial cities, similar studies can be conducted in areas which have experienced urban problems such as climate change and disasters.

Second, the hybridisation of planning practices has resulted in challenges to the groups. Strategies to address these challenges should be explored, particularly social networking and social learning. The findings showed that some of the groups' practices were made possible through the social networks and learning exchanges with other sectors. Other

than the state, there are students, individuals and other groups that provide task-based, technical, and consultancy assistance to the three case study groups. They have provided a variety of assistance in trainings and workshops, medical missions, and relief operations during disasters. Their presence is also evident in protest marches and cause-oriented advocacies. The efforts of the volunteers have been recognised by the case study groups. Thus, it seems appropriate that social networks and learning exchanges should be explored for its contribution in addressing the challenges in the adoption of hybrid planning approaches.

Third, while the study focused on co-production by civil society groups with the government, it has also drawn attention to the groups' collaboration with other sectors. These sectors have provided a variety of supports that have enabled civil society groups to undertake collective practices. It would be interesting to explore the forms of co-production that are created as civil society groups engage with the academe, the media, the business sector, other religious groups, and international agencies. Fourth, a weakness of the study is that not enough time was given to observe the planning practices of JASAC. Among the case study groups, it has demonstrated that it is capable of undertaking collective activities without seeking active financial support from international agencies. It relies on its own resources and networks to perform various functions. The Catholic Church is also known to have the most diverse actions to address many types of societal problems. It has programmes for welfare and social services, environmental protection, educational scholarships, livelihood enterprise and legal concerns.

A majority of these activities are made possible by volunteers and partnerships with non-government institutions. The Catholic Church is such a significant institution in the Philippines that it is perceived by some respondents as an institution that is as strong as the government because of its resources and its ability to mobilise communities when seeking for societal reforms. Understanding the planning practices of the Catholic Church, however, presents a major challenge. It has complex organizations and practices based on long traditions. Its hierarchical nature makes access to information difficult to obtain because one has to seek the approval of leaders in most cases. Aware of these challenges, the role of faith-based civil society organisations could be an interesting study of insurgent planning and co-production.

Fifth, the case studies presented here illustrate how the adoption of hybrid planning approaches has enabled the groups to undertake a variety of collective actions. Given that the groups have been engaged in these hybrid planning practices for many years, it would be interesting to explore the outcomes of such activities on the lives of their members and clients. In the study, most of those who were interviewed were leaders and employees of these groups. Interviewing a wider range of members and clients will provide a more in-depth understanding of the impacts that these groups have made on the lives of the urban poor.

Finally, the results of the study showed that groups have used a variety of public spaces (e.g. plazas, streets, backyards and communal laundry areas) in the conduct of their collective actions. Both insurgent planning and co-production literatures have highlighted the use of physical spaces in the enactment of the groups' goals and in claiming and defending their rights and recognition. Future research should look into how physical spaces are used by groups not only as venue for their collective activities but also as spaces for claims of rights and recognition.

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## Appendix A

### Letter to civil society groups in Iloilo City, Philippines

**DATE**

**[Name and address]**

**Dear [First Name],**

Mabuhay!

I am conducting a doctoral study that documents the strategies and the manner they are played out in spaces as important components of effective public participation in planning. This will enable civil society groups and planners to learn about the experiences of groups to influence the decision-making process in planning and produce the groups' desired outcomes. The study will further look into the roles of physical (and virtual) spaces in the conduct of the groups' strategies for the advancement of their collective interests. In order to gain a better understanding of such spaces, the strategies of various groups will be mapped out as they are enacted in spaces.

My main research questions are: (1) what are the informal and formal planning strategies used by civil society groups, why do they adopt these strategies and how do they perceive the effectiveness of these strategies to achieve planning outcomes? (2) what formal and informal spaces are created by civil society groups as venues for their formal and informal planning strategies (3) what are the implications of these insurgent spaces and strategies in the planning process and in planning the city?

The data collection process consists of a triangulation of methods namely: key informant interviews, participant observations and transect mapping. The scheduled interview and transect map will each take 45-55 minutes. These will take place at a place and time most convenient to the participants. There is a possibility of a follow-up interview and that participants have the option to review the transcripts. The interviews will be taped-recorded, that information can be withdrawn from the data and that the results will be published for research and educational purposes. Photos will be taken to illustrate the various collective activities of the group. The coverage of data collection will be from August 2009 –December 2009.

In connection with this, I would like to ask permission that the group will take part as one of my three case studies and that you will be one of the key informants. The potential benefits to you for participating in this preliminary study are:

- it is the first study of this nature to be ever conducted in the Philippines. You are the first group of participants ever to take part in this research;
- this study may be helpful in increasing your understanding of your planning practices; and
- this research could be a source of inspiration for other groups who have limited participation in the decision-making process in planning the city.

Initial results of the study will be presented to key informants for feedback.

Your return of signed consent form indicates permission to participate in the study. Please be assured that your responses will be held in the strictest confidence. Aliases will be given to names of each key informant to maintain anonymity. Real names of the organization and other information will be used unless otherwise specified by the group members. Transcriptions of interviews and analysis of field notes will be done by the researcher. As soon as the study is completed, data will be kept in a safe filing cabinet and in computers with anti-hacking device.

All data obtained from the various measuring instruments will be stored for a minimum period of six years after these have been recorded. No identifying information will be used if the results of this study are to be written at Lincoln University, New Zealand for publication.

Your participation in this study is voluntary and there is no penalty if you do not want to participate. Regardless of whether you choose to participate or not, please let me know if you would like a summary of the findings. To receive a summary please correspond with me on details provided below.

This study has been reviewed and approved by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee (LUHEC).

I hope that you will be able to participate in this study.

Thank you very much.

Respectfully,

**RHODELLA A. IBABAO**

PhD student (Environmental Management)  
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Christchurch, Canterbury New Zealand  
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**Dr. Suzanne Vallance**

Co-Supervisor  
Faculty of Environment, Society &  
Lincoln University  
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# Appendix B

## Forms

### B.1 Consent Form for Interview

Faculty of Environment, Society and Design  
Lincoln University  
New Zealand

#### CONSENT FORM

(for representatives of civil society groups)

[Title of study]

Rhodella A. Ibabao

PhD student (Environmental Management)

Contact information: rhodella.[ibabao@lincolnuni.ac.nz](mailto:ibabao@lincolnuni.ac.nz), +63 92823212137

Name of Participant: \_\_\_\_\_

1. I consent to participate in this project, the details of which have been explained to me.
2. I understand that after I sign and return this consent form it will be retained by the researcher.
3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.
4. I consent to this scheduled interview which will take 45 to 55 minutes of my time.
5. I consent to *this interview being audio-taped* and I agree that the researcher may use the results as described in the plain language statement.
6. I acknowledge that:
  - (a) the possible effects of participating in the *interview* have been explained to my satisfaction;
  - (b) the project is for the purpose of research and learning from each other's experiences;
  - (c) I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be safeguarded;
  - (d) my name will be referred to by a pseudonym in any publications arising from the research;
7. There are two copies of the consent form, one of which is mine to keep.

I wish to receive a copy of the summary project report on research findings  yes  no  
(please tick one)

Participant Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix B

### Forms

#### B.2 Photo Release Form

[Title of study]

Rhodella A. Ibabao, PhD student

Lincoln University, New Zealand

Contact information: rhodella.[ibabao@lincolnuni.ac.nz](mailto:ibabao@lincolnuni.ac.nz), +63 9282312137

#### PHOTO RELEASE FORM

I request the use of photographic material of the group as part of my study. I specifically ask your consent to use this material specifically for research and educational purposes, professional publications and pictorial exhibits related to my study. I also emphasize that the appearance of these materials on certain media (professional publication) may require transfer of copyright of the images. This means that your image may be used by other individuals.

Regarding the use of your likeness in photographs, please check one of the following boxes below:

I do...

I do not...

give unconditional permission for the researcher to utilize photographs of the group.

---

Signature

---

Date

PLEASE NOTE: Even should you choose not to allow your image to be used, we can still benefit from your inclusion as a research study participant.

# Appendix C

## Guide Questions for Key Informant Interviews

The following questions are a collation of the main questions used in the interviews. The order is incidental, as each interview guide was slightly different, customised for the person / group involved.

### A. For Civil Society Groups

#### Questions about the organisation

1. What are the characteristics of the group in terms of: history, organizational structure, nature of membership, programmes/functions, networks?
2. Can you describe the members of the groups?
3. Did you form other groups to carry out specific functions separate from the main function of your groups?
  - 3.1 What are the advantages?
4. Describe your relationship with other groups. Do you observe norms of conduct, say when you engage in collective acts?
5. Do you observe informal arrangements in the group when you deal with members, clients or other groups?
  - 5.1 What are the advantages of engaging in such arrangements?
  - 5.2 What problems are created by the arrangement?
6. What are the short term and long term goals of the group?
7. What are the strategies and collective acts of the group to achieve the goals?
8. What are the group's resources (such as equipment, networks, funds, authority to do certain tasks) to mobilise yourselves for collective actions?
  - 8.1 How does your group access some resources?

#### Questions on insurgent planning and co-production

1. Some authors in the planning literature describe your acts as forms of insurgent. How do you feel about the term "insurgent" to describe your acts and in as reference to yourselves?
2. Under what circumstances do you do things largely on your own with limited help from the state and when do you collaborate with the state?
3. Which government agencies do you usually collaborate with?
  - 3.1 How would you describe your collaboration with the state? Do you usually observe formalities in dealing with the state e.g. sending letters for meetings, signing Memorandum of Agreement? Are there informal arrangements such as negotiations etc.?
  - 3.2 Why do you engage in co-production with the state?

4. Through the years, how would you describe the relationship of your group with the state?
5. How does your group learn the skills and gain the experience to engage in a variety of programs and projects?
6. What contextual conditions have influenced your group to engage in a variety of planning practices? External and internal factors?
7. How do you communicate your views to the government?

Questions on problems encountered in engaging in a variety of collective acts and practices

8. What problems have your group experienced?
  - 8.1 What strategies do your group use to address these problems?
9. How do social networks help in addressing these problems?
  - 9.1 What form of assistance do networks give to groups?
  - 9.2 What problems do groups have in dealing with social networks when it comes to forming and maintaining relationship?
  - 9.3 How do groups protect themselves from being coopted by the state or by other groups?
  - 9.4 What problems have they experienced in working with international groups?
10. How does social learning help the group in addressing these problems?
  - 10.1 Specific to HPFP, what are the advantages and disadvantages of using social learning to the groups and to the members?

Questions on Spaces

1. Which particular spaces are formally identified as venues for community activities?
2. What are the restrictions for the use of such spaces?
3. What are the problems in enforcing the rules and regulations in these spaces?
4. How do you deal with these problems?
5. How does your group perceive the use of such spaces?

B. For Representatives of Agencies and Other Sectors

1. What collaborative engagements or projects does the agency or sector have with the case study groups?
2. What are the reasons for working with the case study groups?
3. How do other sectors feel about some of the confrontational acts of case study groups to express their views?
4. Specific to HPFP case, what are the agencies' perceptions about the community-managed/led approach?

# Appendix D

## Notes on the Photo Exhibit

The photo exhibition, entitled “strategies and Spaces”, was sponsored by the University of the Philippines Visayas (UPV) Chancellor’s Committee for Culture and the Arts (CCCA). It was held at the UPV Art Gallery from December 2009-January 2010. In April 2010, another photo exhibit was held at the Lincoln University library.

To set up an exhibit at the UPV, a proposal was submitted to the UPVCCCA. The director of the art gallery acted as curator of the photographs. Together with the lay-out artist, the curator and I had a series of meetings to discuss the concept of the exhibit.

Concept of the exhibit:

- photos were framed with film negative reels and arranged similar to a film strip to reflect the “stories” of the three groups
- photos were presented in a sepia monotone to minimise visual interruptions from background colours
- photos were cropped to fit the frames; no digital manipulation was done on any of the photos
- in cropping photos, priority was given to physical space where the event took place to highlight the importance of space in the conduct of activities

Tasks of the curator:

1. help choose the theme and title of the exhibit
2. provide guidelines in the selection of photos
  - 2.1 the image should have human activity and as much as possible, all poses should be natural, not contrived
  - 2.2 captions should have a maximum of 8 lines. There should also be uniformity in the kind of language used. Translations in both English and Hiligaynon were made because GABRIELA wrote their caption in Hiligaynon while JASAC & HPFP wrote their captions in English. Groups were consulted for the translations of their captions.
3. edit the captions
4. assist in the selection of photos for display

Tasks of the lay-out artist:

1. Modify the resolutions of the photos
  - 1.1 Programme used: Adobe Photoshop CS Version 8 and Futura type printed on 11R Canon
  - 1.2 Resolutions for sepia  
Control Hue Settings: (Colorize) Hue-50, Saturation-30, Lightness-15
2. Crop the images
3. In-charge of printing the photos and the captions
4. In-charge of the installation

