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Participatory Governance Institutions for Social Housing in the Philippines: Do Local Housing Boards Matter?

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ABSTRACT

This study documents the application of participatory governance for social housing in the Philippines through the local housing boards (LHBs). The interest to institutionalize LHBs in local government units (LGUs) has grown mostly in the country's highly urbanized cities. LHBs are seen to involve communities in the decisionmaking process to bring about inclusive welfare and enhance social housing outcomes. Thus, they have an important role in the adoption of effective social housing policies and programs for the poor. This study shows that LGUs vary in their implementation of LHBs. Many cities created their LHBs only in compliance with the law while some LGUs established their own mainly on paper. These LHBs either become inactive or fail to follow the appropriate representation of people's organizations and the communities. Other LGUs activate their LHBs only when there is a need to hasten the process of eviction and demolition in informal settlements. The LHBs in these LGUs have a limited role as an institution for participatory governance. On the other hand, social housing policies and projects that cater to the poor are evident among LGUs with functioning LHBs. There are representativeness, transparency, and openness in the local government for the housing needs of the vulnerable sector, resulting in the national government's provision of budget for the development of inclusive local housing policies and projects. This is why LHBs should be strengthened as a participatory governance institution, which can be done through a legislative act that will empower them

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in the planning and budgeting process of social housing projects at the local level. Moreover, the role of LHB should be expanded beyond concerns on informal settlements. They should be involved as well in the decisionmaking process for city-wide shelter projects and land use planning.

INTRODUCTION

Participatory governance is an approach whereby citizens are given authority to be directly engaged in decisionmaking on public matters, such as management of community resources and delivery of public services. The concept became popular among development scholars in the 1970s as a strategy to facilitate pro-poor policies and programs by providing an avenue for greater representation of the citizenry (Khwaja 2004; Papadopoulos and Warin 2007). Studies showed that participatory governance had led to outcomes beneficial for the poor and also quicker government responses to emerging issues in communities (Donaghy 2011; Silvestre et al. 2016; Fischer 2018). Moreover, the approach is relevant in countries where the delivery of services by the public sector is often constrained by scarce manpower and budget and partisan politics (Ostrom 1996; Silvestre et al. 2016). To this end, formal institutions for participatory governance were created in different socioeconomic settings.

In the Philippines, the legal foundations to institutionalize participatory governance started in 1987 with the change in the political system that provided for reforms in the public sector's delivery of services. The 1987 Constitution emphasized the conduct of a democratic process with the private sector's greater participation in public sector affairs.² This was further strengthened by the enactment of the Local Government Code (LGC) of 1991, which devolved to LGUs the provision of basic services and facilities and the establishment of participatory governance structures for the delivery of public goods.

These laws created new avenues for greater citizen participation at the national and local levels and the basis to transform government bureaucracy into agencies that work in solidarity with societies and communities. One of the national government's major programs that promotes citizen engagement is the Grassroots Participatory Budgeting (GPB).³ Introduced in 2012, the GPB aims to involve local civil society organizations (CSOs) and grassroots communities in the national budget process through LGUs and make the process more responsive to the needs of citizens. The strategy's projects were reported to have improved the lives of people in communities especially the poor (Manasan et al. 2017). It also increased social capital (defined as level of trust) between communities and local officials (Manasan et al. 2017).

At the subnational level, LGUs were encouraged to form participatory structures for sectors that promote ecological balance and enhance the economic and social wellbeing of people (LGC 1991, Section 35). Thus, local special bodies for public service in areas of education, health, housing, waste management, and peace and order, among others, were organized. The LGC vested upon LGUs the primary responsibility of delivering housing services to their constituents. As such, the active participation of their stakeholders is considered as an important element for LGUs to effectively carry out this role (HUDCC 2001). While local special bodies provide a platform for citizen participation, implementation varies across LGUs and many questions remain as to the benefits of participatory governance for the marginalized sector and the context in which these institutions are relevant.

² Includes representatives of civil society, urban poor groups, nongovernment organizations (NGOs), people's organizations (POs), and community-based organizations.

³ Formerly named Bottom-up Budgeting or BUB, which is similar to *Porto Alegre* Program of Brazil that involves the participation of communities in the budget process (World Bank 1994).

This paper examines the role of LHB as a participatory governance institution in the provision of social housing in key cities in the Philippines. The LHB is a local special body tasked to formulate, develop, implement, and monitor policies for social housing especially those pertaining to resettlement and demolition. The creation of LHBs in many cities in the Philippines became relevant because of the increasing population of informal settlers and the deteriorating conditions of informal settlements. Thus, LHBs have an important role in the adoption of pro-poor and effective social housing policies and programs.

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE

The theory and practice of participatory governance have grown over the years. It should be emphasized that participatory governance encompasses practices beyond the democratic rights to vote or the right to transparency (Fischer 2018). It includes collaborative and consensus-building activities through “public deliberation”, which is defined as “a debate and discussion aimed at producing reasonable, well-informed opinions in which participants are willing to revise preferences in light of discussion, new information, and claims made by fellow participants” (Chambers 2003, p.309). These bodies tend to involve the public in governance, for instance, as arbitrators or representatives of advisory committees (Rowe and Frewer 2004; Silvestre et al. 2016). Public deliberation, especially broad-based participation, is perceived to enable the growth of social capital, which is useful in combatting conflicts in material interests, moral values, and social exclusion in communities, and also to promote good governance (Osmani 2007).

Citizen involvement may also be direct in their engagement and the transformation of the state’s role in the delivery of public services (Papadopoulos and Warin 2007, p.448). This practice is based on the theory of coproduction developed by economists in the 1990s, which relates public participation to a production function whereby the “inputs used to produce goods or services are contributed by individuals who are not ‘in’ the same organization” (Ostrom 1996, p.1073). Ostrom (1996) argued that in many cases, public goods and services are not undertaken solely by the government but also through complementary inputs from citizens. Coproduction is exemplified in the following cases: the parent and community volunteer work for school maintenance and learning adaptation for primary education in Nigeria (Ostrom 1996); the management of common property resources by users themselves in Nepal (Ostrom et al. 1994); and the citizen participation in the administrative arbitration in Portugal (Silvestre et al. 2016).

While the benefits of coproduction are well established, the effects of participatory governance in the form of public deliberation are less defined. Studies noted how public deliberation had facilitated or improved traditional public administration models. It can also lead to the government’s quicker response to emerging issues and a higher level of motivation and commitment to programs and projects by the government and communities (Silvestre et al. 2016; Fischer 2018). Moreover, community participation, especially in decentralized regimes, has improved government transparency and accountability in policymaking and boosted the legitimacy of local institutions (Postigo 2011; Donaghy 2011). In social housing, incorporating civil society in participatory governance institutions has led to a broad range of social programs for the poor (Donaghy 2011).

However, studies also found failures among institutions that encouraged or allowed local participation in their decisionmaking process. Some countries that implemented the concept did so in a negligent manner that, in effect, reinforced existing power relations (Pieterse 2008). Governments tend to build up participation in governance matters by prescribing formats with rigid rules, exclusive selection, and unequal balance of power (Miraftab 2004; Cornwall 2008). There were instances when local authorities utilized participatory governance structures to depoliticize local

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bottom-up movements or create spaces for groups loyal to local political leadership (also discussed in the case of the Philippines) (Porio 2012; Basurto 2013). It was possible that the representation and leadership positions belonged to those who had long-standing connections with the government or influential groups (Basurto 2013). Participation may also fail when the interest of community representatives does not reflect the true preference of the majority (Platteau and Abraham 2002). Similarly, even the most acknowledged achievements of participatory governance, such as budgeting, may not be conducive to all contexts. The experience of Costa Rica showed that legal reforms were not enough for community involvement to succeed (Basurto 2013). Basurto (2013) noted the need to pay attention to class-based relations within the bureaucracy and the incentives created to link citizens with public administration. Participation outcomes are affected by “initial levels of empowerment and social capital” whereby groups with lower levels of social capital are expected to achieve less (Osmani 2007, p.7). Funding from the national government also affects the policies and programs supported and implemented by local governments (Donaghy 2011).

It is a challenge to understand the effectiveness of institutions for public deliberation. Rowe and Frewer (2004) attributed this to the complex nature of public deliberation, which has many schemes, levels, and scopes of citizen participation. As shown in earlier studies, several factors facilitate effective public deliberation. The extensive review of Rowe and Frewer (2004) summarized these factors as follows: (1) representativeness and access; (2) openness and transparency; (3) speed at which a group comes to a solution; (4) quality of discussions; (5) extent to which final solutions represent group consensus; (6) capacity and skills of a community or group to work in a team; (7) incentives defined as a situation where potential benefits from participation outweigh costs (i.e., there is a specific tangible concern); and (8) absence of a dominant group especially in societies that are highly unequal or have a culture of political dominance. The literature further notes that the outputs or outcomes of public deliberations are observed in the decisionmaking process. For instance, coproduction can be considered as a byproduct of public deliberations as parties agree to involve communities in the management and delivery of basic services. Thus, public deliberation and the institutions that support this process can make policies and programs more inclusive and people-centered.

Local housing boards and social housing policy

Social housing is one of the sectors whereby civil society has been most active as the Philippines moved to a new political system. This can be traced to rising urbanization and the proliferation and worsening conditions of informal settlements in the country’s urban and urbanizing areas. Social movements on housing have consolidated at the national and city or municipal levels with strong networks throughout the Philippines. Their members’ concerns usually involve housing policy and program reforms and spending priorities at the national and local levels. The Urban Development and Housing Act (UDHA) of 1992 or the LGC does not require the creation of LHB but encourages the establishment of institutions that promotes active participation from civil societies and other stakeholders (HUDCC 2001). Thus, many cities and municipalities created LHBs through their local leaders’ initiatives. With the issuance of Executive Order (EO) 708 series of 2008, the LHB was recognized as a platform for participatory governance at the national level.

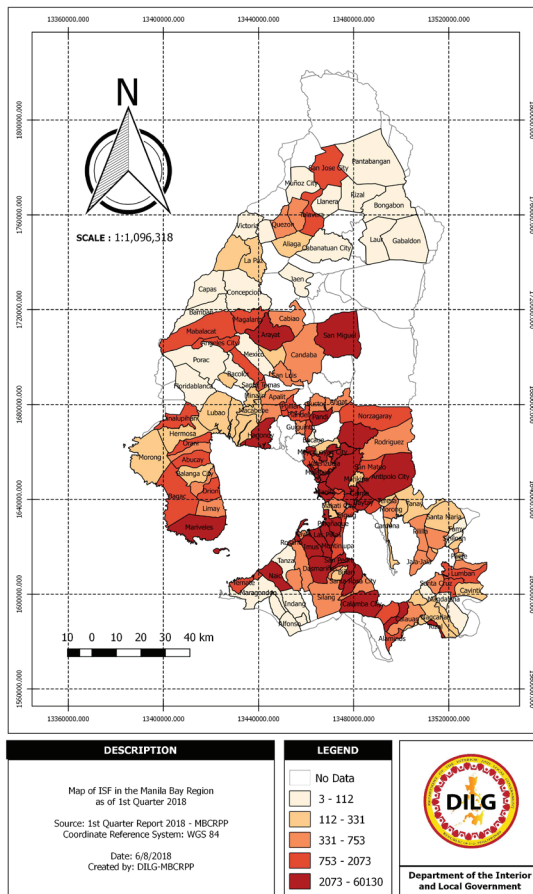
The EO ordered to transfer the clearinghouse function for the eviction and demolition of informal settlements from the Presidential Commission on the Urban Poor (PCUP) to the LGUs. As an initial step, LGUs were ordered to create their LHBs or similar bodies in charge of the task. The EO was a clear signal to institutionalize LHBs across different cities and municipalities, giving them a uniform and legitimate function. It is important to note that this was a result of public deliberations led by urban poor coalitions, particularly the Urban Poor Alliance, which

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positioned PO representation and the activation of LHBs as a crucial point in their advocacy agenda (Karaos and Porio 2015).

The second legal basis for the creation of LHBs at the national level was introduced in 2008 by the Department of the Interior and Local Government (DILG) through the issuance of Memorandum Circular 2008-143. The memorandum was prompted by the Supreme Court Mandamus ruling on the Manila Bay clean up (GR No. 171947-48). The Supreme Court, in its decision dated December 18, 2008 and resolution dated February 15, 2011, ordered 13 national government agencies (NGAs) to clean up, rehabilitate, and preserve Manila Bay based on a basic policy of the state as contained in the 1987 Philippine Constitution and the LGC “to protect the right of the people to health and to a balanced and healthful ecology” (DILG 2015b, p.4). The DILG, one of the 13 NGAs, was tasked to monitor all LGUs within the Manila Bay watershed area in terms of key performance indicators especially the removal of 100 percent of the illegal structures built along the coastal areas, shorelines, and other waterways of Manila Bay. This includes clearing of informal settlements and relocation of informal settler families (ISFs), which is a source of pollutants in the area. The Manila Bay watershed covers 178 cities and municipalities comprising of 17 cities and municipalities in the National Capital Region (NCR), 94 in Region 3, and 67 in Region 4A (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Informal settlements in the Manila Bay watershed



ISFs = informal settler families; MBCRPP = Manila Bay Clean-up, Rehabilitation and Preservation Program
Source: DILG (2018)

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The Supreme Court directive put pressure on identified cities and municipalities to facilitate the relocation of ISFs. The DILG directed LGUs to achieve the desired outputs of the Manila Bay Rehabilitation Program and issued Memorandum Circular 2008-143, mandating cities and municipalities, particularly the first to third class ones, to create and institutionalize their LHBs to engage communities in the clearing and resettlement activities.

Memorandum Circular 2008-143 provides detailed aspect of LHBs, such as their composition and main functions. The functions of LHBs, as specified in the DILG circular, include monitoring of evictions and demolitions, consultation with affected families, and regulation (i.e., compliance with demolition or prereslocation guidelines specified in the law). Ultimately, the LHB is the only institution in a municipality or city legitimate to issue a Certificate of Compliance (CoC), which is necessary to facilitate the relocation of informal settlers in public lands and those owned by the government.⁴ In the past, eviction and relocation on public lands required the PCUP's approval under the Office of the President. However, the presence of LHBs brought consultation and approval processes for demolition and resettlement to the local level. The issuance of CoC by LHBs, in effect, satisfies the UDHA requirement, reducing workload and preventing delays at the national level.

The passage of the Department of Housing and Urban Development Act (Republic Act [RA] 11201) further supported earlier laws that encouraged or directed the creation of participatory governance institutions for housing at the local level. RA 11201 emphasized the promotion of partnerships among the government, private sector, and civil society and the conduct of a genuine and inclusive participatory consultation between the government and its stakeholders (RA 11201, Section 7). The planning environment needs to establish the LHB in every city and municipality aside from the legislative basis for its creation. Both the *Philippine Development Plan (PDP) 2011–2016* and the *PDP 2017–2021* urged LGUs to establish LHBs as a mechanism to accelerate their decisionmaking and the delivery of housing services. Likewise, the Local Shelter Planning Manual of the Housing and Urban Development Coordinating Council (HUDCC) indicated the establishment of LHBs as a necessary step in developing their local plans. This kind of documents extended the nominal functions of LHB as outlined in Memorandum Circular 2008-143 although these functions were not imposed legally. The DILG in its recent shelter programs enforced the establishment of LHB as a prerequisite for specific LGUs to access funds or programmatic support. Such was the case of the micro-medium-rise buildings modality of the department, which required LHBs to bring to the PO project proponents at least 50 percent of voting membership (DILG 2015a). Overall, LGUs received numerous impulses that incentivized them to move forward with the development of LHBs.

There are efforts by the Senate to legislate the institutionalization of LHBs and give them greater powers. In particular, Senate Bill 893 proposes the following additional functions:

- To recommend directives, rules, and regulations to the *Sanggunian* on the preparation of local shelter plans;
- To approve preliminary and final subdivision schemes and the development plans for subdivisions and condominiums;
- To approve subdivision schemes and plans for all economic and socialized housing projects as well as building occupancy permits;
- To evaluate and resolve opposition to the issuance of development permits;
- To designate one representative to the Local Development Council;
- To recommend sites for socialized housing;
- To advise the *Sanggunian* on matters of local taxation in socialized housing programs;

⁴ In the case of private lands occupied by informal settlers, owners have to go through court process.

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- To recommend for approval of local chief executives (LCEs) schemes for acquisition and dispossession of lands for socialized housing purposes;
- To recommend to LCEs partnership arrangements concerning delivery of affordable shelter; and
- To report the delivery of other LGU functions as prescribed by the UDHA.

The proposed ordinance also includes the creation or conversion of responsible existing offices into the Local Housing Office to serve as an implementing arm of the LHB. Additionally, it provides financial mechanism and the division of responsibilities of various shelter and urban poor affairs agencies concerned with the functions of LHB. Once approved, these changes will give greater powers to the LHB especially in land use and local shelter planning.

Table 1. Relevant national laws, legislations, and circulars on the creation and strengthening of LHB

National laws and basis for the creation of LHBs
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 1987 Constitution, Article XIII, Sections 9 and 10• Local Government Code of 1991, Sections 2, 3(b), 17(a), and 18• Urban Housing and Development Act of 1992, Sections 2(e) and 39• Executive Order 708 series of 2008• DILG Memorandum Circular 2008-143 (Creation of Local Housing Boards)• DILG Memorandum Circular 2009-05 (Amending Memorandum Circular 2009-143)• Department of Housing and Urban Development Act (RA 11201 series of 2018)
Selected documents strengthening LHBs
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• LGU Guidebook for Local Housing Projects and Programs, 2001• <i>Philippine Development Plan 2011–2016</i> Chapter 8 or the Philippine Development Plan Mid-Term Review• DILG Memorandum Circular 2015-56 (Guidelines for the implementation of DILG micro-medium-rise buildings projects by LGUs)• <i>Philippine Development Plan 2017-2021</i>, Chapter 12, Building Safe and Secure Communities• Local Shelter Planning Manual of the Housing and Urban Development Coordination Council, 2016
Pending legislation
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Senate Bill 893 (Local Housing Board Act of 2016) - creating a local housing board in all cities and first to third class municipalities, providing for its powers and functions and for other purposes

LHB = local housing board; DILG = Department of the Interior and Local Government; RA = Republic Act; LGU = local government units

Source: Authors' compilation

Functionality of LHBs in LGUs

The creation of LHBs, as mandated by the DILG memoranda, covers cities and first to third class municipalities having informal settlers. The focus on urbanized areas was due to the observed association between the level of urbanization and the magnitude of informal settlements. Official data on the number of informal settlements do not reflect the current pervasiveness of informal settlements but the pattern of distribution show that the bulk of ISFs are in highly urbanizing cities, particularly Metro Manila.⁵ Based on the 2015 housing census, 41.12 percent of the total population of ISFs in the Philippines resided in

⁵ In 2011, the National Housing Authority (NHA) reported a total of 1.5 million ISFs in the Philippines. Of this number, more than 500,000 ISFs were found in Metro Manila. The difference in the count with the official statistics was due to the definition of ISFs it adopted, which considered ISFs mainly in terms of "consent" to the occupancy of a property. The official statistics did not consider whether consent was given by the legitimate owners.

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highly urbanized cities (HUCs) and about 57 percent of ISFs in HUCs lived in Metro Manila (Table 2). Of the 33 HUCs, the majority (25 cities) established their LHBs through a local ordinance.

Table 2. Highly urbanized cities with Local Housing Boards (LHBs)

	Number of ISFs*	% ISF to total no. of HHs	With LHB**
National Capital Region (NCR) (excluding Pateros)	123,782	3.98	Y
Baguio City	1,436	1.60	N
Angeles City	3,313	3.44	Y
Olongapo City	323	0.57	N
Lucena City	2,694	4.50	N
Puerto Princesa City	3,876	6.23	Y
Iloilo City	6,581	6.92	Y
Bacolod City	12,543	9.72	N
Cebu City	9,776	4.57	Y
Lapu-Lapu City	4,627	4.65	N
Mandaue City	4,670	4.94	N
Tacloban city	2,261	4.47	N
Zamboanga City	6,053	3.12	Y
Iligan City	1,937	2.53	Y
Cagayan de Oro City	8,825	5.41	Y
Davao City	15,670	3.82	Y
General Santos City	6,112	4.23	Y
Butuan City	3,347	4.39	N
Total ISFs in HUCs	217,826	4.17	
Total ISFs in HUCs (excluding NCR)	94,044	4.45	
Total ISFs in the Philippines	529,751	2.31	
% of ISFs in HUCs to total ISFs in the Philippines	= 41.12%		
% of ISFs in NCR to total ISFs in HUCs	= 56.83%		

ISFs = informal settler families; HH = household; Y = yes; N = no; HUCs = highly urbanized cities; LGU = local government unit

* Informal settlers refer to the number of households owning house rent-free lots without consent of the owner and those in rent-free house and lots without consent of the owner.

** Information on the presence of LHB was individually checked on the websites of LGUs. Institutionalized LHBs are those LGUs with approved Sanggunian Ordinance creating the LHB. NCR consists of 16 HUCs.

Source: PSA (2015)

Currently, no government agency monitors the LHB compliance of LGUs. The DILG, however, monitors mainly the 178 cities and municipalities around the Manila Bay watershed to ensure compliance with the Supreme Court Mandamus on Manila Bay. Among the 178 LGUs, 123 complied with the DILG directive to institutionalize LHBs (Table 3).

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Table 3. LHB compliance of cities and municipalities covered in the MBCRPP as of 2016

Location	Number of ISFs	% ISF to total population	No. of cities/ municipalities	With LHB			Total no. with LHB	No LHB**
				Rating***				
				1	3	5		
Metro Manila								
Cities	63,694	2.1	16		6	10	16	0
Municipality	2,029	14.3	1		1		1	0
Region 3**								
Cities	5,710	0.9	12			5	5	7
Municipalities	9,540	7.0	82		19	15	34	48
Region 4								
Cities	26,515	2.1	12		2	10	12	
Municipalities	19,790	1.9	55	1	12	41	54	1*

Note: The number of ISFs reflects only those that occupied danger areas or were along rivers, creeks, and other bodies of water. The proportion of ISFs was computed using the number of households from the 2015 Census of Population.

LHB = local housing board; ISFs = informal settler families; DILG = Department of the Interior and Local Government; MBCRPP = Manila Bay Clean-up, Rehabilitation and Preservation Program; LSP = Local Shelter Plan; RRAP = Relocation and Resettlement Action Plan

*The municipality of Rizal was given a rating of N/A for category 3 (ISFs and the development of LSP and RRAP)

**No LHB or no report given

***Type refers to rating based on the MBCRPP LGU compliance reports

Meaning of rating:

1 = There is an LHB created through an ordinance but lacks the required number of officers and does not conduct regular board performance tasks

3 = There is an LHB created through an ordinance with complete required officers but does not conduct regular board performance tasks

5 = There is an LHB created through an ordinance with complete required officers and conducts regular board performance tasks

Source: Authors' summary and computation based on DILG (2015b) and PSA (2015)

Those that did not comply had not considered the establishment of LHBs as urgent because the ISFs situation was not a pressing concern in their localities. The ISFs in these municipalities are usually contained in small areas and the consultative process is often ad hoc.⁶ On the other hand, in the case of Metro Manila where ISFs proliferate, all cities and the municipality of Pateros complied with the DILG directive to institutionalize LHBs.

However, compliance does not necessarily mean a functioning LHB. Some LHBs are established mainly on paper and are either inactive or do not conduct regular meetings. There are LHBs that lack the required number of members while others do not have regular representatives from the civil society or communities.

⁶ Consultative process can still be undertaken by LGUs even in the absence of LHB since they have the Urban Poor Affairs Office (UPAO), which implements housing programs and projects. The UPAO does not issue CoCs and usually serves as the secretariat of LHB.

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A closer look at the LHBs of three HUCs

Metro Manila is an important case study area for LHBs because of the magnitude of ISFs and the limited relocation sites for socialized housing in this region. Relocation often involves off-city resettlements, resulting in major displacement of families, which makes the resistance among ISFs high. The LHB provides the mechanism to engage communities and develop resettlement projects and policies to lessen the adverse effects of displacing affected families and also gives them better opportunities.

This study examined the LHB processes of participatory governance in three cities of Metro Manila: (1) Quezon City, (2) Manila, and (3) Pasig City. These cities represent areas that have institutionalized LHBs with ratings of either 3 or 5 (see Table 3) and are also key cities representing different parts of the region (i.e., north, east, and west of Metro Manila).

Organization and composition of LHB

All three cities institutionalized their LHB through the issuance of a Sanggunian resolution or city ordinance. Quezon City's LHB ordinance was issued in 2002 while those of Pasig City and Manila were issued in 2009. Organizing the LHBs took some time for the three cities. In Quezon City, records of regular meetings were reported only in 2011. For Manila and Pasig, the LHBs were convened in 2013 and 2012, respectively. The main objective for the creation of LHBs in the cities of Pasig and Manila was to have a clearinghouse for the eviction and demolition activities of ISFs, consistent with DILG Memorandum 2008-143. The functions of LHBs, as stated in their respective ordinances are: (1) monitor all evictions and demolitions in cooperation with other concerned agencies; (2) issue CoCs; and (3) ensure all requirements for eviction and demolition under the UDHA are met.

As for Quezon City, the role of LHB was expanded to other aspects of shelter development. In addition to being the demolition clearinghouse, the Quezon City Housing Board (QCHB) was tasked to formulate, develop, and ensure the implementation of policies on the provision of housing and resettlement areas for the underprivileged and marginalized households.

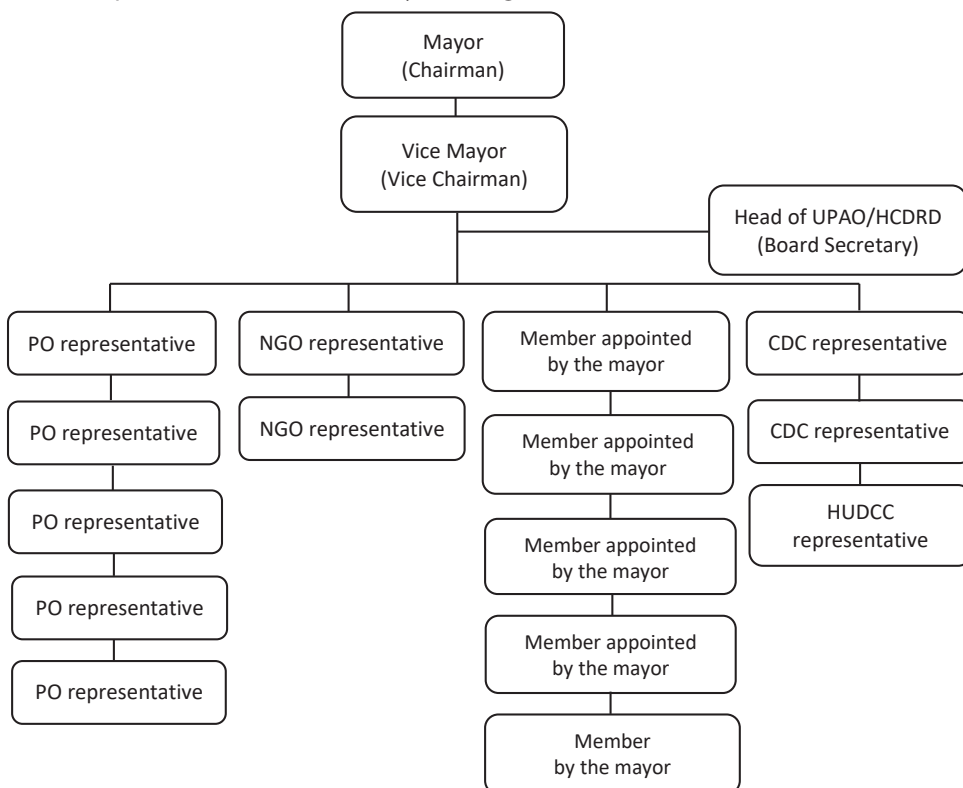
The functions of the QCHB as explicitly stated in the ordinance are to: (1) recommend local shelter plans; (2) assist in the formulation of amendments to the Quezon City land use plan; (3) monitor the progress of land developments projects approved by the Sanggunian; (4) ensure compliance with the balanced housing requirement; (5) identify lands for socialized housing; (6) advise the Sanggunian on matters of local taxation and allocation that affect the local government socialized housing program; (7) recommend for the acquisition and disposition of funds within Quezon City for socialized housing purposes; (8) recommend for approval of the LCEs partnership arrangements with the NHA; (9) coordinate with national government housing agencies; (10) ensure the registration of underprivileged and homeless families as beneficiaries; (11) coordinate with national government entities involved in housing and urban development; and (12) submit to the President and the Congress an annual report on the implementation of the UDHA.

There are also some variations in the structure, composition, and powers of LHBs in the three cities. All three cities have their mayors as the chair of the LHBs as stated in the national legislation. However, other members of the board and their representations vary.

The housing board in Quezon City is composed of the vice mayor as vice chairman of the board, the head of the Urban Poor Affairs Office as board secretary, six representatives of duly accredited POs, two representatives of duly accredited NGO, five members appointed by the mayor, two representatives of the city development council, and a representative from the HUDCC and PCUP appointed by their respective chairs (Figure 2).

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Figure 2. Composition of the Quezon City Housing Board



UPAO = Urban Poor Affairs Office; HCDRD = Housing Community Development and Resettlement Department; PO = people's organization; NGO = nongovernment organization; CDC = City Development Council; HUDCC = Housing and Urban Development Coordinating Council

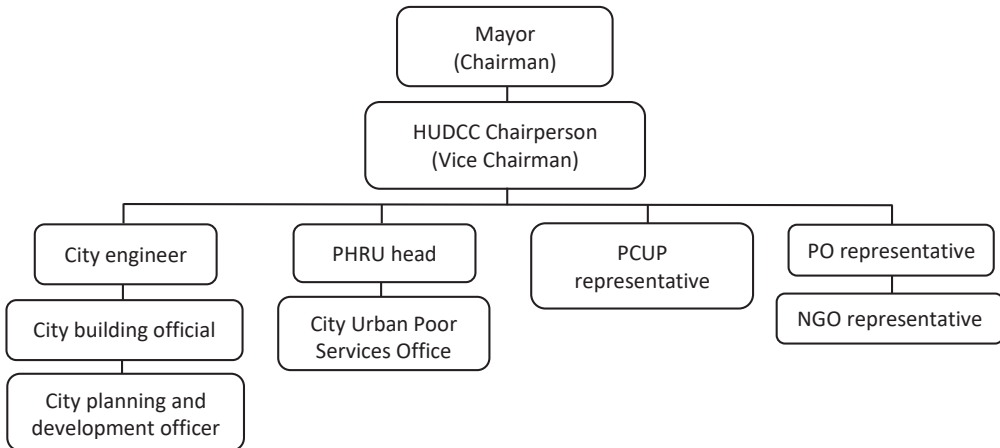
Source: Quezon City Local Government (2002)

For the representatives of POs and NGOs, the Quezon City mayor chooses among the accredited POs and NGOs in the city, which are selected by the civil society during the internal assembly. POs or NGOs that are already members of the City Development Council are not qualified for membership in the LHB. PO representatives are taken from each of the districts of Quezon City. There is one representative for every district except for District II, which has two representatives due to its size. The membership of the board shows that of the 17 members, 8 are from the civil society (6 POs and 2 NGOs). While the majority of members are public officials, not everyone from the board can vote. In particular, representatives of national shelter agencies (e.g., HUDCC and NHA) serve as observers and are nonvoting members.

In Pasig City, the vice-chair is the *Sangguniang Panglungsod* chairperson of the Housing and Urban Development Committee. Among other government representatives are the city engineer, city building official, city planning and development officer, head of the Pasig Housing Regulatory Unit (PHRU), head of the City Urban Poor Services Office, one representative from the NHA, and one from the PCUP (Figure 3).

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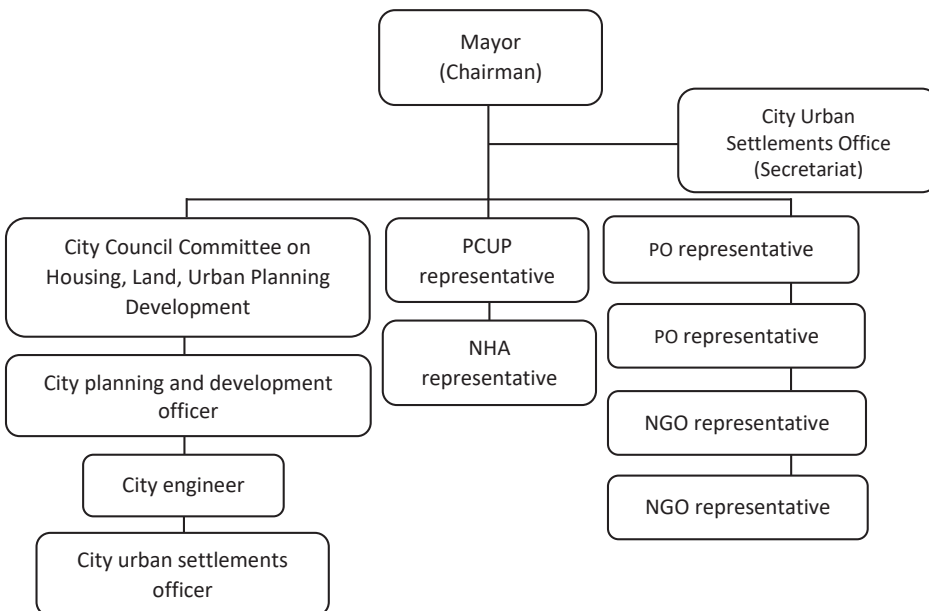
Figure 3. Composition of the Pasig City Housing Board



HUDCC = Housing and Urban Development Coordinating Council; PHRU = Pasig Housing Regulatory Unit; PCUP = Presidential Commission on the Urban Poor; PO = people's organization; NGO = nongovernment organization
Source: Pasig City Local Government (2009)

In the case of Manila City Housing Board, the vice-chair is the chairman of the City Council Committee on Housing, Land, Urban Planning Development and Resettlement (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Composition of the Manila City Housing Board



PCUP = Presidential Commission on the Urban Poor; NHA = National Housing Authority; PO = people's organization; NGO = nongovernment organization
Source: Manila City Local Government (2009)

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Other members are the city planning and development officer, city engineer, city urban settlements officer, one representative from the PCUP and one from the NHA, representatives from POs not less than one-fourth of the members of the fully organized board, and representatives from NGOs not less than one-fourth of the members of the fully organized board. The City Urban Settlements Office serves as the secretariat of the board. In particular, the PO and NGO representatives are selected from the POs and Securities and Exchange Commission-registered NGOs operating in the city, respectively. The City Urban Settlements Office gathers all eligible representatives of POs and NGOs to choose among themselves the board members. The PO and NGO representatives in the City Development Council can also be the PO and NGO representatives of the LHB.

Process of public consultations and deliberations

The effectiveness of LHB can be observed in the decisionmaking process. As provided in the previous section, LGUs applied the prescribed legislative frameworks of DILG Memorandum 2008-143 differently. For instance, the functions of the QCHB are broader than those of the Pasig and Manila housing boards. Moreover, Quezon City also expanded the prescribed composition of the board by including more representatives from NGOs and POs, such that they were of equal number with public officials who have voting rights. The inclusion and acceptance of PO representatives in the decisionmaking process are reflected in the approved board resolutions that have the signatures of all PO representatives. Also, a premeeting of LHB presided by the vice-chair is conducted especially when the approval of CoCs for eviction and resettlement has to be decided upon. The premeeting provides an opportunity for other members of affected communities to participate in the discussions and hear the issues raised by key stakeholders. It also allows for detailed discussions of the affected community's issues and concerns before the recommendations are decided upon in regular or main LHB meetings.

The process of deliberation shows that there is a good relationship between the Quezon City government and the PO representatives and the discussions in their meetings become inputs to policy decisions. For instance, the POs noted that this relationship resulted in more voluntary relocations (i.e., violent demolitions have declined) because people are consulted and PO representatives themselves are trusted in their respective districts. The PO representatives are elected by the community and current representatives who reside in that community and have remained in their positions for several years. The communities also believed that their concerns are discussed, having witnessed the pre-LHB meetings and seen the records of those meetings and the board resolutions.

In the case of Pasig and Manila housing boards, the participation of POs and NGOs in the decisionmaking process is minimal. All board members are voting members while the POs and NGOs are underrepresented because they are given only one or two seats each. On the other hand, local and national government officials comprise the majority of the board members. Decisions are approved and board resolutions are drafted even without the signature of PO and/or NGO representatives as long as the majority of members have signed the resolutions. There is also no available documentation on LHB meetings that took place. The POs and/or NGOs in both cities saw the LHB process mainly as compliance with the requirement of consultation with no real participation from the communities. Interviews with NGO and PO officers in both cities showed that there had been only a few meetings with the LHBs. They were also no longer invited to attend the meetings from 2017 to 2018. In cases when they were called to a meeting, they discussed mainly matters on livelihood support and relocation assistance. The POs in Manila housing board were inclined to approach directly the City Housing Office and the Office of the Mayor to get support for housing plan instead of airing their needs in the LHB. Having very limited influence on the works of

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the LHB, they consider the direct approach as a more effective mechanism than the LHB itself. The low importance given to the process of participatory governance in LHB was also reflected in the meetings undertaken to discuss housing issues. While the QCHB conducts preconference meetings in addition to regular LHB meetings, the Pasig and Manila housing boards did not have regular meetings. The meetings are dependent on the “need” or when eviction and relocation have to be implemented. In particular, Pasig City prefers to course the consultative process through the Local Interagency Action Committee (LIAC), an ad hoc committee created at the national level, when there is a need for eviction and relocation.

The LHB is considered as an alternative option when the LIAC fails. The LHB is then convened for the issuance of CoCs so that the eviction and demolition can be executed. The CoC signifies that a consultative process with affected communities has been undertaken and adequate relocation options have been provided. A similar process is done in Manila. The LHB is merely an avenue to comply with the provision of UDHA, which requires adequate consultations with affected families. The importance of LHB mechanism was also reflected in the operational funding of the board. Only the QCHB had a separate line budget for LHB operations. The budget, which was PHP 5 million per year, included the honorarium paid to PO and NGO representatives. No honorarium was given to the representatives of the local and national government. In the case of Pasig and Manila, there were no separate budget items for LHBs. In Manila, although the ordinance authorized a budget for the LHB to be taken from 1 percent of the internal revenue allotment (IRA), this was not implemented. Expenses for LHB meetings were subsumed in the operation of the housing offices in the cities of Manila and Pasig. No honorarium was provided to any board members. Table 4 provides a summary of the key features of LHB in the case LGUs.

Table 4. Key features of LHB in the case LGUs

	Quezon City	Pasig City	Manila City
Sanggunian ordinance creating LHB	Ordinance 1111 series of 2002	Ordinance 14 series of 2009	Ordinance 8185 series of 2009
Year LHB formally convened	2011	2013	2012
Mandate of LHB	Formulate, develop, and ensure implementation of policies on the provision of housing and resettlement areas, and the observance of the right of the underprivileged and homeless to a just and humane eviction and demolition	Sole clearinghouse for eviction and demolition activities of ISF in danger areas, public places, and government projects	Sole clearinghouse for eviction and demolition activities of ISF in danger areas, public places, and government projects
Membership of LHB	Chaired by the mayor with 17 members composed of 2 city officials; 6 duly accredited POs; 2 duly accredited NGOs; members from the City Development Council; 5 members to be appointed by the mayor, which include the PCUP and representative from HUDCC	Chaired by mayor with 10 members composed of 6 city officials; 2 representatives from national government agencies; 1 duly registered PO representative; and 1 duly registered NGO representative	Chaired by the mayor with 10 members; 4 city officials; 2 from national government agencies; at least 2 duly registered POs; and 2 duly registered NGOs

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Table 4. (continuation)

	Quezon City	Pasig City	Manila City
Selection of PO and NGO representatives	Mayor approves registered POs and NGOs in Quezon City from civil society recommendations; PO representatives are different from those in the City Development Council	Selected by the affected community No fixed PO representative	POs or NGOs in the City Development Council can also be representatives in the LHB
Meetings per year	Monthly pre-LHB meetings plus 4 regular (main) LHB meetings per year	Not regular; LHB convenes based on need; prefers to use LIAC; LHB as last resort	Not regular; LHB convenes only when there is an application for CoC
Quorum	POs or NGOs in the City Development Council can also be representatives in the LHB Key shelter agencies are nonvoting representatives	50+1 (PO may not sign resolution)	50 +1 (PO may not sign resolution)
Budget for LHB	Annual funding of PHP 5 million for LHB operational expenses Honorarium provided to PO representatives; none for local and national government board representatives	PHRU authorized to provide budget for LHB; expenses for travelling, representation, and other allowances are provided	With authorized budget but unfunded; LHB operations is subsumed in the City Housing Division No honorarium given to the board representatives

LHB = local housing board; LGU = local government unit; ISFs = informal settler families; PO = people's organization; NGO = nongovernment organization; PCUP = Presidential Commission on the Urban Poor; HUDCC = Housing and Urban Development Coordination Council; LIAC = Local Interagency Action Committee; CoC = Certificate of Compliance; PHRU = Pasig Housing Regulatory Unit; PHP = Philippine peso
Sources: Quezon City Local Government (2002); Pasig City Local Government (2009); Manila City Local Government (2009)

Delivery of social housing services

The existence of LHB is argued to promote transparency and accountability and build social capital associated with policies and programs that benefit the poor and other marginalized sectors. Data and information from the case LGUs are presented to demonstrate the potential effects of participatory governance. Given the limitation of data and the case study approach, the results are not intended to establish causality nor imply that LHB is the only factor for effective delivery of social housing services.

a. Quezon city social housing policy/programs

When the QCHB was formally convened in 2001, the Quezon City local housing office conducted a census of ISFs in the city to serve as the baseline for its local shelter plan. From 2001 to 2016, Quezon City reduced the total number of ISFs by 16 percent, specifically those residing in government priority areas, open spaces, and private properties (Table 5). However, the number of ISFs in danger areas and waterways continued to grow.

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Table 5. Magnitude of ISFs in Quezon City

Location	Year						% change from 2011 to 2016
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	
	Total no. of ISFs						
I. Private properties	102,946	100,783	91,983	93,167	92,026	91,871	-10.76
II. Danger areas/waterways/ in frastructure	31,840	40,909	45,649	48,927	49,310	46,477	45.97
III. Government projects (+ area priority development)	15,664	15,484	15,897	17,538	15,907	15,832	1.07
IV. Government priorities	77,581	35,453	34,203	34,212	35,426	36,831	-52.53
V. Open spaces	2,663	2,658	2,974	2,974	2,392	2,392	-10.18
Total	230,694	195,287	190,706	196,818	195,061	193,403	-16.16

ISFs = informal settler families

Source: Information compiled by the authors from the minutes of Quezon City Housing Board meetings

The city, through the LHB, approved 137 CoCs from 2012 to 2017 covering several ISF communities (Table 6). However, not all approved CoCs were implemented outright.

The implementation was deferred due to a lack of preparedness in relocating affected families. The POs considered concerns on the readiness of affected families as the openness of LGUs to the wellbeing of disadvantaged communities. The CoC approval process and the possibilities of deferment and allowances for renewal indicate that when the eviction orders are carried out, there is less resistance and violent clashes between the ISFs and the police are avoided.

Table 6. Summary of CoCs approved and renewed: Quezon City

Year	Approved	Deferred	Renewed
2012	8	3	-
2013	14	4	8
2014	29	6	5
2015	30	12	33
2016	18	6	112
2017	38	0	125
Total	137	31	283

CoC = Certificate of Compliance

Source: HCDRD (2016)

It should be noted that the Quezon City LGU strongly supports national government social housing programs, such as the Community Mortgage Program (CMP), which is considered as an effective pro-poor program (Table 7).⁷ The CMP remains as the city's major program while the local government serves as its accredited originator or mobilizer. In addition, the city implements

⁷The CMP assists the organized associations of underprivileged and homeless citizens to purchase and develop a tract of land under the concept of community ownership (RA 7279). For direct sales, the LGU supports ISFs occupying city-owned properties to acquire the lots they occupy by way of direct payment to the city government through monthly amortization for 25 years.

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its local housing programs, such as financing social housing developments (including the CMP) and providing mortgage finance for the beneficiaries who seem to have a high level of acceptance and commitment to the city’s housing projects as evidenced by their willingness to pay their monthly amortization. This is reflected in the high collection efficiency rate of the city’s housing projects.⁸

Table 7. Quezon City housing program accomplishments, 1990–2017

Intervention	No. of projects	No. of beneficiaries	Collection efficiency rating (as of Q1 of 2017)
CMP			
Mobilizer			
LGU-QC	286	12,985	108.63%
Others a/	226	12,245	86.92%
Direct sale program	28	6,102	108.48%
Direct sale	21	5,790	
Bistekville	7	312	
Resettlement program	-	*39,305	
Socialized housing program	37	**7,320	
In-house			169.19%
SHFC			128.54%
HDMF			146.75%
Total	605	84,059	

*Number of Families

**Number of units

a/ mobilizers other than LGU-QC; collection efficiency data from SHFC

CMP = Community Mortgage Program; LGU = local government unit; QC = Quezon City; SHFC = Social Housing Finance Corporation; HDMF = Home Development Mutual Fund

Source: HCDRD (2016)

The LHB played a significant role in the implementation of the city’s housing programs. For instance, under the CMP and direct sales programs, the LHB made the venue for the approval of CMP and direct sales projects. Moreover, it became a venue for the approval of major housing policies, such as the following:

1. Signing of the ordinance on socialized housing tax (5th LHB meeting on October 25, 2011);
2. Establishment of the Socialized Housing Fund (approved during the 11th LHB meeting on April 22, 2013);
3. Adoption of the city’s updated shelter plan (approved during the 25th LHB meeting on May 29, 2017); and
4. Approval of Socialized Housing Financing Scheme (in-house and rent-to-own) (27th LHB meeting on November 29, 2017).

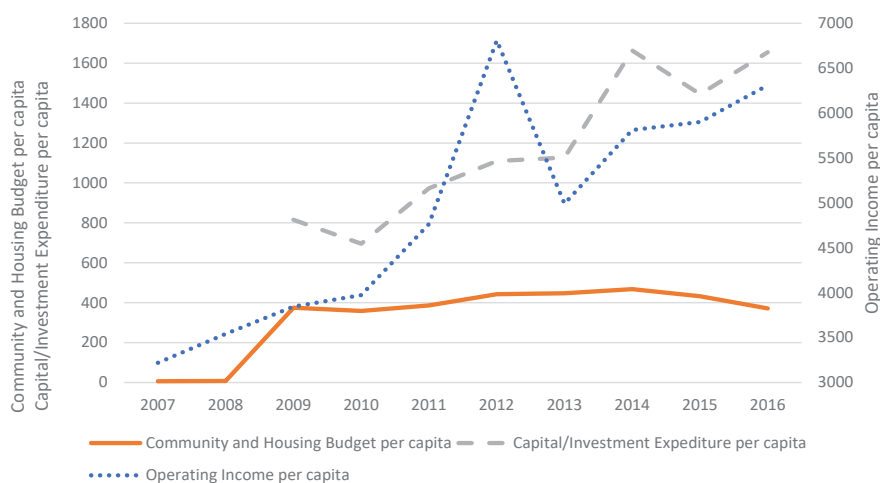
In particular, the socialized housing fund was generated from socialized housing tax, idle land tax, and proceeds from all housing programs of the city. The strong fiscal position of the Quezon City LGU also supported the LHB and the adoption of local social housing programs. On average, the city budget per

⁸ High collection efficiency is rare especially for public housing.

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capita doubled in 2016 from its level in 2007 (Figure 5). The city's expenditure on community and housing grew from PHP 6 million per capita in 2007 to PHP 372 million per capita in 2016. Capital investments in property, plant, and equipment per capita increased by 100 percent between 2009 and 2016.

Figure 5. Quezon City operating income, capital/investments and housing/community expenditure



Source: DOF-BLGF (2007–2016)

b. Pasig City housing policy/programs

Pasig City's housing programs for ISFs in the years prior to 2011 include the zonal improvement program (ZIP), CMP, medium-rise housing, and *Balik-Probinsya* program.⁹ More than 6,000 ISFs benefited from these programs (Table 8). It is important to note that both the ZIP and the CMP were settlement upgrading programs that did not involve the relocation of ISFs outside the area or city boundaries. Informal settlements were instead improved to address blighted conditions and give access to basic services. Likewise, medium-rise housing is an in-city housing program whereby the city allocates land within the city for the development of multistorey social housing for low-income families.

Table 8. Pasig City housing program accomplishments

Project	No. of projects
Zonal Improvement Program (as of 2011)	8
Medium-rise housing projects (as of 2011)	8
Relocation programs (2009–2016)	5
Financial assistance to relocated ISFs	
Community Mortgage Program (CMP) (as of 2011)a/	7

a/ = no new CMP projects after 2011

ISFs = informal settler families

Source: Pasig City Housing and Homeside Regulation Office (2014)

⁹ Families that did not submit the requirements for housing benefits were given financial assistance to cover their transport costs for moving back to their respective provinces.

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In later years, the city's housing program for ISFs involved mainly off-city resettlement programs. From 2009 to 2016, the city utilized its resources to relocate over 6,000 families. Between 2009 and 2010 alone, the period with the highest number of families relocated off-city, the city relocated 2,639 ISFs. The ISFs were mainly those occupying the waterways. While the LHB was already institutionalized in 2009, it was not operationalized during the same year because relocation was mostly voluntary. There was less resistance among ISFs, which was attributed to two major events that occurred: the massive flooding in the area that resulted from Typhoon *Ondoy* (Ketsana) and the final and executory ruling of the Supreme Court on the cleaning up of Manila Bay. The LIAC implemented "voluntary" relocation as required under the UDHA.

From 2011 to 2016, the relocation of families in these areas slowed down due to the national government's strong support for participatory housing. This policy required housing agencies and LGUs to give optimum consideration for the "People's Plan" in cases of relocation, and for the intention of PO and NGOs to utilize LHBs as an instrument to support this process. The People's Plan was proposed by the affected community wherein settlers themselves "identify, conceptualize, plan, design, develop, and manage their shelter projects" (DILG 2014, p.1).¹⁰ The city's housing officials considered the People's Plan approach as a long process, thus, the support from the city officials became lukewarm.

This period also corresponds to the institutionalization of the city's LHB whose function was limited to that of a clearinghouse for the eviction and relocation of ISFs. The board is convened only in cases of involuntary relocation. In the past two years, the LHB was convened only twice for the relocation of ISFs who were resisting off-city resettlement. Thus, the LHB was operationalized mainly to facilitate the issuance of CoC and hasten relocation. It provided the city government with the means to protect itself from the law through a participatory governance platform dominated by those who held political power and practiced patronage politics.

Moreover, the city did not engage the LHB in local shelter planning. The local shelter plan was developed by the city housing office in partnership with other relevant city offices, such as the engineering department and the mayor's office.

While off-city resettlement is currently the main social housing program of Pasig City, the resettlement support is said to have been comprehensive. Unlike most cities in Metro Manila that simply provided a resettlement site to relocated ISFs, Pasig City implemented a complete resettlement package for ISF communities relocated at the urban fringes. The city government formalized a partnership with the receiving LGUs to enable the latter to support the needs of relocated ISF communities. In particular, it signed a memorandum of agreement (MOA) with the receiving LGUs for the provision of infrastructure and other facilities needed by newly resettled communities.

As shown in Table 9, the assistance includes both physical and social infrastructures and capital equipment amounting to millions of pesos. Moreover, although the MOA was only for five years, the city government was open to provide additional support. The funding support for these projects was taken from the city's overall operating budget. To further support similar programs in the future, the city considered the implementation of social housing tax. In 2016, the Pasig City Sanggunian approved in the City Revenue Code the collection of social housing tax equivalent to 0.5 percent of the assessed value of properties at PHP 1.5 million and above. From the perspective of some government officials, the strategy of Pasig was considered the best practice for off-city relocation. However, this did not show whether the scheme was inclusive and welfare-enhancing.

¹⁰ The People's Plan can be considered as a direct form of participatory governance or a coproduction strategy.

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There were anecdotal evidence of resettled households returning to the city and/or requiring continued support beyond the agreed five years due to lack of livelihood opportunities in relocation sites, which raised concerns on the fiscal sustainability of off-city resettlements.

Table 9. Summary of assistance given by Pasig City to off-city relocations as of 2017

Off-city relocation (Southville 7, Calauan, Laguna)			
Assistance given to relocated families	Assistance given for the resettlement site	Assistance given to host LGU	Assistance given to host barangay
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of winged vans trucks for the relocatees' belongings • Provision of airconditioned buses • PHP 15,000 livelihood assistance • Installation of public faucets • Giving of four units of generator sets • Yearly giving of <i>Pamaskong Handog</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three-storey (15 classrooms) school building and covered basketball court (PHP 38,297,955) • Livelihood caravan (includes medical, optical, and dental missions, and livelihood programs) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Donation of PHP 1.3 million for the construction of cemetery 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Donation of ambulance
Near-city relocation (Southville 10, Tanay, Rizal)			
No. of units: 2,162			
Assistance given to relocated families	Assistance given for the resettlement site	Other assistance provided	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aircon buses for the transportation of relocated families • Provision of winged vans/trucks • Loading of belongings to trucks with assistance from the BCEO, action line, and MMDA • Bags of groceries and packed lunch for relocated families • Giving of PHP 10,000 financial livelihood assistance • Yearly giving of <i>Pamaskong Handog</i> • Medical, dental, and optical missions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pasig City released PHP 140 million for the funding of 500 families qualified for relocation • Initial deliveries of potable water during the first five months of relocation • Concreting of the 320.00-km access road • Construction of security outpost • Construction of a three-storey school building (PHP 20,278,000) • Donated various furniture and school supplies • Donated ambulance, service vehicles, mini dump truck, rescue vehicle • Donated equipment for livelihood programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Salaries of 26 teachers • Salaries of other personnel • Allowances of security personnel • Garbage collection and disposal expenses • Gas/oil and maintenance of garbage trucks • Tree planting activities with the LIAC of Pasig and the Pasig City Biker's Club 	

Table 9. (continuation)

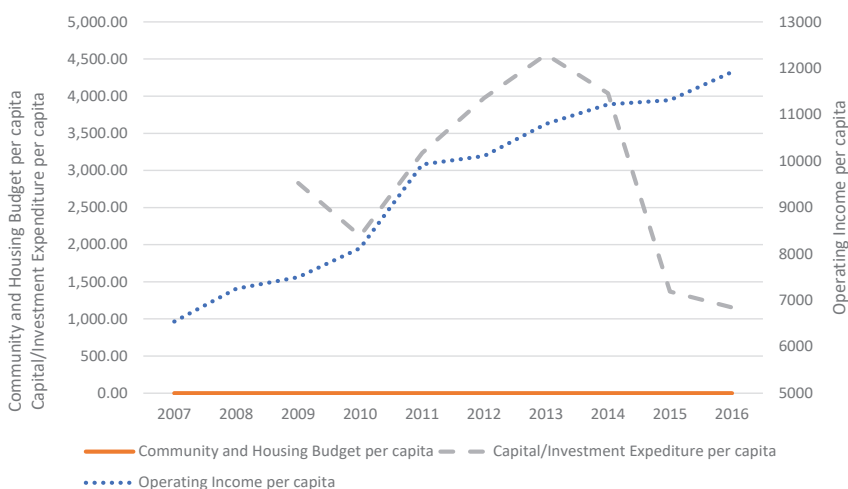
Near-city Relocation II (Eastshine Residences, Tanay, Rizal) No. of units: 2,482	
Assistance given to relocated families	Assistance provided to host LGU
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aircon buses for the transportation of relocatees • Provision of winged van/trucks • Loading of belongings to trucks with assistance from the BCEO, action line, and the MMDA • Bags of groceries and packed lunch for relocatees • Giving of PHP 10,000 financial livelihood assistance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Construction and concreting of the access road • Construction of super health center (PHP 36,128,582)

LGU = local government unit; PHP = Philippine peso; BCEO = Batas Ciudad Enforcement Office; MMDA = Metropolitan Manila Development Authority; km = kilometer; LIAC = Local Interagency Action Committee
Source: Pasig Housing Regulatory Unit (2017)

Overall, the Pasig LHB has a limited role in the social housing policies and programs of the city. Social housing decisions are based mainly by local executives indifferent toward participatory governance due to the long process involved in decisionmaking. In particular, the high income per capita in the city of Pasig enabled the local government to provide relocation incentives. From 2007 to 2016, the city’s income per capita showed a rising trend (Figure 6).

Capital/investment expenditure per capita rose sharply between 2010 and 2013, corresponding to the large number of families resettled during the period. Note that in the city, housing and community expenditures per capita were minimal and remained unchanged in the past 10 years. The expenditure was confined mainly to beautification expenses. All infrastructure expenditures, whether physical or social, were collectively reported in the city’s capital/investment expenditures with no specific line of budget for capital housing expenditure.

Figure 6. Pasig City operating income, capital/investment and housing/community expenditure, 2007–2016



Source: DOF-BLGF (2007–2016)

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c. Manila social housing policy/programs

The Manila housing office mainly implemented a housing program known as the “Land for the Landless”, a provision of the law creating the City of Manila (RA 409 or the Revised Charter of the City of Manila) in 1949. The program targets families occupying privately owned lands for several years but are not necessarily informal settlers since some families pay rent to the landowners to use the lot. The land occupied by settlers may be expropriated by the city government through an expropriation ordinance whereby it buys the land from current owners at fair market price to be amortized by the settlers for 30 years. The prerequisite is for families to organize themselves and request sponsorship from their representative councilors for the expropriation.

The relocation of ISFs is undertaken by the office in compliance with the UDHA but there is no specific funding provided for relocation and resettlement programs. Given the absence of funding from the city government, the clearing of ISFs in danger areas, waterways, and public places is often not undertaken.

Most targets of ISF clearing operations were not achieved even under the *Oplan Likas*¹¹ program of the Aquino administration, which provided PHP 50 billion for the relocation and resettlement of ISFs in priority sites (Table 10). A major reason was the absence of relocation sites and the lack of funding. The program fund was released at PHP 10-billion installments yearly. The early tranches of the funds were transferred to the NHA, which was able to spend the funds faster through the classical off-city relocation approach (Galuszka 2018). On the other hand, other agencies, such as the DILG and the SHFC, developed the program modalities for the urban poor approach at a later part. Overall, 64 percent of the fund was transferred to the NHA, 18 percent to the SHFC, and the rest were allocated to the DILG, Department of Social Welfare and Development, and PCUP.

Table 10. City of Manila relocation activities as of 2016

Site	No. of ISFs		Relocation sites	Remarks
	Censused	Relocated		
Estero de Concordia	43	43	Bulacan	100% of ISFs relocated
Estero de Paco	1,372	1,372	Laguna Bulacan	100% of ISFs relocated
Estero de Pandacan	1,421	737	Laguna Bulacan c/o NHA	Relocation under the bridge not yet completed
Estero de Valencia	392	302	Bulacan	90 ISFs did not avail of relocation assistance
Estero de Sampaloc	78	52	Bulacan	
Estero de San Miguel	1,646	279	c/o People’s Plan (on-site/in-city) c/o NHA	
Estero de Sta. Clara	229	153	Cavite	

¹¹ *Oplan Likas*, known as the “*Lumikas para Iwas sa Kalamidad at Sakit*”, is an operation to avoid disaster and sickness from the threats of climate change.

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Table 10. (continuation)

Site	No. of ISFs		Relocation sites	Remarks
	Censused	Relocated		
Estero de Sunog Apog	284	93	Smokey Mountain (for in-city) Cavite	
Estero de Maypajo	498	-	Smokey Mountain (for in-city) Cavite	
San Juan River	427	-	Cavite	
Tripa de Gallina	624	-	c/o NHA	
Estero de Magdalena	2,382	-		Priority project of City of Manila
Estero de Kabulusan	111	-	c/o NHA	
Estero de San Lazaro	1,567	-		Priority project of City of Manila
Estero de Vitas	218	-		
North and South Antipolo	-	-		Priority project of DPWH Not included in prior- ity areas of PRRC and DPWH
Estero de Tutuban	87	-		
Estero de San Antonio	51	-		
Total	13,548	3,724		

ISFs = informal settler families; NHA = National Housing Authority; PRRC = Pasig River Rehabilitation Commission; DPWH = Department of Public Works and Highways

Source: Urban Settlements Office (2017)

Similar to Pasig City, the role of the LHB in Manila was limited to that of a clearinghouse, which was only convened when there were available funds for eviction and demolition. From 2014 to 2016, the LHB issued only seven CoCs in government properties that affected specific government infrastructure projects (Table 11).

Table 11. Summary of CoCs approved: City of Manila

Year	Location	No. of families/ structures affected	Proponent
2014	Radial Road 10, Tondo, Manila	567 ISFs	DPWH
2014	Three-meter legal easement along Estero dela Reina, Brgys. 8 and 9, Zone 1, Tondo, Manila	142 ISFs	MMDA
2015	PPA property in North Harbor, Bgys. 20, 29, and 39, Tondo, Manila	401 ISFs	PPA
2015	PPA property in North Harbor, Tondo, Manila, under the territorial jurisdiction of Bgys. 29 and 39	91 ISFs	PPA
2015	Barcelona St., Bgy. 283, Sonce 26, Binondo, Manila	40 ISFs	City Engineering

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Table 11. (continuation)

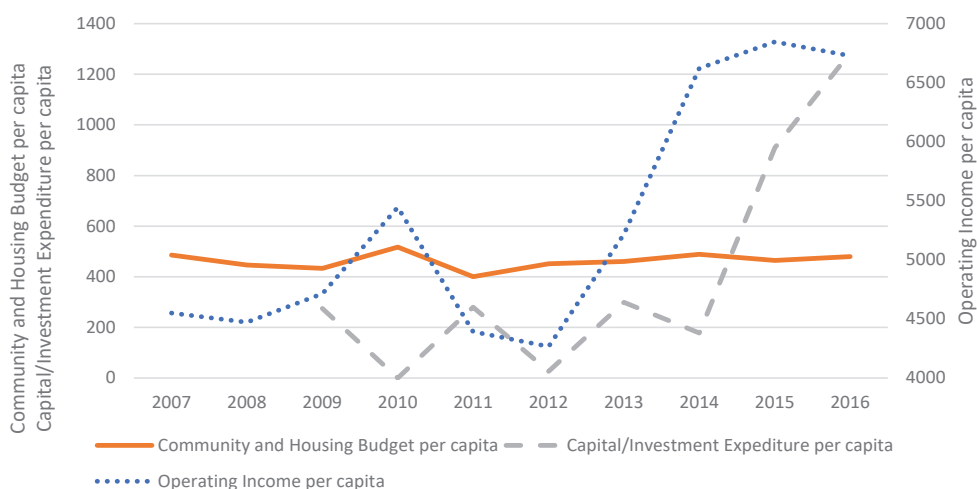
Year	Location	No. of families/ structures affected	Proponent
2016*	Concreting/widening of RRROW from Chesa to Pacheck Sts., Radial Road 10, Tondo, Manila	189 ISFs	DPWH
2017	Sidewalk of Radial Road 12, Bgy. 628, Zone 63, Sta. Mesa, Manila	140 ISFs	City Engineering

CoC = Certificate of Compliance; ISFs = informal settler families; DPWH = Department of Public Works and Highways; MMDA = Metropolitan Manila Development Authority; PPA = Philippine Ports Authority; RRROW = road right-of-way

Source: Information compiled by the authors from the minutes of Manila City Housing Board meetings

Manila relied mainly on other government agencies (e.g., MMDA, DPWH, Philippine Ports Authority, and NHA) to finance relocation activities. The city rarely allocated funds for relocation. According to the Manila City housing officials, they were constrained by the law and their finances from expanding their housing program. While the Land for the Landless was considered as an inefficient social housing strategy for a highly urbanized city such as Manila, abolishing the program would require a legislative action since it is part of the law that created the city. The LHBs were also not incorporated in the city's housing programs since they did not involve relocation/resettlement. It also appeared that social housing was not a priority investment of the city. While the city's operating income per capita showed a rising trend from 2007 to 2016, the income was utilized mainly for nonhousing infrastructure or capital investments (Figure 7). Per capita expenditure on community and housing remained flat over time despite the city's rising income.

Figure 7. Manila City operating income, capital/investments and housing/community expenditure, 2007–2016



Source: DOF-BLGF (2007–2016)

CONCLUSION

The LHB is an evolving formal space for participatory governance. Many cities that institutionalized their LHBs have not considered them as a means for effective public deliberation, which can produce social housing policies and programs that are inclusive and welfare-enhancing. Instead, most cities limited the role of their LHBs to that of a clearinghouse to issue permits for the eviction and demolition of ISFs. Of the three case studies examined, only Quezon City has a functional LHB, which provided a genuine representation of civil society and the community in public deliberation. It was shown in the inclusion of PO representatives in the LHB decisionmaking process, their equal representation with public officials in the board, the involvement of the community in the selection of their representatives, the transparency in the decisions and discussions of the LHB through the provision of avenues (e.g., pre-LHB meetings) for the inclusion of other community members in public deliberation, and the minority's signing of the LHB resolutions. Moreover, public deliberation through the Quezon City LHB resulted in the provision of regular funding for socialized housing programs, the strong support for national housing programs that are pro-poor, such as the CMP, and the adoption of an updated local shelter plan that expanded the social housing programs in the city to include locally financed housing programs. These actions have created confidence in the community on the intentions of the Quezon City government with regard to housing for the marginalized sectors, and as such, social capital was being built in the process. The case of the Quezon City LHB shows that the greater participation of the community in shelter planning can result in more acceptable housing projects and in their stronger commitment to having better project outputs. Moreover, the greater involvement of communities in the LHB resulted in a humane implementation of CoCs, which tends to slow down the clearing of informal settlements but has also reduced the cases of violent confrontations as mentioned by the PO representatives and the local housing office.

On the other hand, the role of LHB in Pasig City and Manila is limited to that of a clearinghouse that is being convened only when there are cases of eviction and demolition especially in cases of involuntary relocation. The decision of the LHB is a majority decision based on a board composition dominated by representatives of national government agencies and local officials as voting members. The minority are also not compelled to sign the LHB resolutions. The LHB is considered as a last resort when the local government and ISFs fail to reach an agreement on relocation arrangements in this case. The essence of participatory governance or public deliberation is not present. Instead, the approach is through the market system whereby the local government proposes a resettlement plan and provides "sweeteners" to achieve the objective of removing ISFs in an area. For the market approach to work, it requires political power and incentives usually in the form of substantial funding from the local government. The market approach may also apply when public deliberation fails due to the absence of social capital within the community itself (i.e., there are internal conflicts within the community). However, the sustainability of the market approach has to be considered because the fiscal sustainability of this action is a concern. Not all local governments have similar financial capacities to replicate the Pasig City model. It is also uncertain whether the housing services and other interventions provided have adequately addressed the major concerns of the community to ensure that the relocated families will not have to go back to informal settlements.

The LHB, under its current legal mandate, is an independent body that governs participatory governance for social housing services. However, in many LGUs, the LHB decisionmaking process remains with the Sanggunian and the mayors' office with very limited involvement of concerned communities and POs. The governance structure of LHB has to be strengthened for it to be an

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effective participatory governance platform and to counter “elitist” proposals. This can be done through a legislative process that will give authority to the cities’ LHBs. It is also necessary to provide for the greater representation and active participation of POs as well as greater transparency and accountability on the decisions of LGUs. The LHB should also be given financial support through a socialized housing fund. It should be involved not only in informal settlements but also in the decisionmaking process for city-wide shelter and land use planning. Lastly, additional research is needed to analyze the internal struggles of the participatory governance institutions and provide direct evidence of their impact on the outcomes of social housing policies and programs.

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