

Identifying Options for an Urban Community-Driven Development
Program in the Philippines

DRAFT FINAL REPORT

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Kapit-Bisig Laban sa Kahirapan Comprehensive Integrated Delivery of Social Service (KALAHI-CIDSS) National Community Driven Development Program (KC-NCDDP) has been a featured part of the government's poverty reduction initiatives for more than a decade. It has featured participatory processes through which rural communities voiced their priorities in a competition identifying their preferred local investments. Potential funding of these community initiatives through the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) avoided elite capture while aiming to revitalize local institutions and make them more responsive to the people's priorities.

More recently, the large number of urban poor households clustered in degraded informal settlements in cities has emerged as a situation also meriting community driven development programs. Many informal settlers face the threat of eviction, demolition and relocation to peri-urban resettlement sites that are ill-prepared to receive them. The initial advantages of having a peri-urban housing unit are, however, soon offset by inadequate basic services and the lack of employment. Accordingly, many resettled families return to the city where they had more control over ways of earning income.

In order to start planning seriously for an urban community-driven development (CDD) program, the World Bank at the request of DSWD recruited three consultants, the authors of this report, to provide options for establishing CDD in cities. The following questions were raised: What differences from the original rural model would CDD have to address if implemented in cities? Or should one formulate the new perspective from as an urban framework from the start? What criteria would apply in selecting the communities and local beneficiary groups? What categories of investment are likely to gain favor in the community consultations? How are the benefits of these investments to be sustained? How are the benefits of CDD investments to be sustained in the community?

It is clear that urban poor communities differ significantly from rural ones. Three elements stand out: (1) a cash-based informal economy, (2) environmental hazards in deteriorated physical living conditions (Moser et al. 1996), and (3) flourishing social capital networks with active community organizations. The details affect the feasibility and form of urban community driven development.

To understand how and when urban poor community initiatives lead to the achievement of the members' aims, and how these might offer guidance to KC-NCDDP in cities, eight case studies of organized community experiences were carried out. They included two Metropolitan Manila sites where, with NGO training in community organizing, the communities successfully resisted the government's plan for distant off-city resettlement in favor of its own People's Plan for onsite upgrading and nearby resettlement. Two of the other communities are located just outside Metro Manila as resettlement areas in Rodriguez, Rizal. One is a community-initiated venture with NGO, Church and European donor

assistance; the other is a government resettlement site also in Rodriguez. The third set of communities is part of Kabankalan City, listed as a small-sized city, while the last two are in medium-sized Butuan City.

Three criteria were applied to the selection of urban barangays: (1) city size, location and typology, (2) high prevalence of poor households in the population, and (3) presence of organized community associations with experience in striving for and succeeding in their aims. The fieldwork took place from June to September 2016 using focus group discussions, key informant interviews, and secondary data collection. The respondents represented people's organization leaders and members, NGOs working with the community, and local government officials.

An overview of the Philippine experience in urban community driven development processes and their institutional links emphasizes the initiative and resilience of community organizations and the importance of their controlling decisions and resources related to their neighborhoods. Urban poor households and communities should be regarded as assets and effective partners with government in local development. The most impressive efforts through the years have been partnerships between people's organizations (POs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). These have generated several in-city housing solutions. In addition, recent evidence from Tacloban City has shown that the trauma of disasters often enables the victims to venture more willingly into new approaches as volunteers. Recovery and reconstruction from disasters experience better results when the affected families organize to make their preferences and voices heard.

While all eight case studies focused on poor communities in cities, each one displays a different combination of concerns. The account of how and why community members organized themselves is enhanced by references to the kinds of beneficiary groups, categories of investment, and sustainability that would figure prominently in a CDD program. The lessons learned from these community's experiences cover the importance of community organizing with formation of POs assisted by NGOs and other civil society networks, the need to build trust relationships between government and community, the prominence of women's leadership and active membership roles, people's interest in learning new skills relevant to community issues, the complexity of Metro Manila governance where constituent cities and national government agencies action often overlap, a situation less likely in cities outside Metro Manila, the ability of long-organized POs to articulate their issues through active lobbying at the policy level, and the need for local government training programs in participatory processes with their constituents.

In addition, in small- and medium sized cities where life is dominated by the daily round of living (unless active eviction threats are in play), community organizing as demand-making with outside authorities is weak. Instead, household labor joins with internal cross-cutting social networks, and for some, links with outside formal institutions for survival and moving up the social ladder. Most barangays in the city are urban, being inside the city and subject to a cash economy. Some of the barangays occupy agricultural land while one is a remote indigenous people community in the mountains. In that sense they are an anomaly, not being sociologically urban although they are administratively so.

The research results suggest that for urban CDD purposes, urban poor communities should be categorized under three types of Philippine cities: Metropolitan cities, Peri-Urban

Resettlement, and Small/ Medium Sized Cities (with urban and rural barangays). The Metropolitan cities can be further categories into groups on the basis of security of tenure status. For Metropolitan cities (with no rural barangays), the top priority issues center around secure land tenure and housing, with basic services and income generation forming a close second. For those informal settlements in the city not currently threatened with eviction, basic services and income generation rank highest in their concerns. Urban CDD can respond to these differential sets of challenges.

Beneficiary groups are best identified by the PO, other local groupings, and the barangay captain and council. They are likely to be the most vulnerable: the poorest women, children, youth, and elderly, and persons with disabilities. Projects that will enable community members to obtain regular and sufficient earnings would also be pertinent. Categories of investment would be: (1) land and housing bringing in disaster risk and recovery management, income generation through employment, livelihood and training schemes, youth-oriented programs, basic services provision including needed infrastructure, modern communications support, community organizing training, and funds for organizing. To address the issue of women's time for community efforts and child care, a reproductive health program along with a health program for children would be desirable.

Community organizing is a key element in the empowerment of communities, with NGOs prominently involved. The case studies illustrate the process of moving from unorganized to well-organized and effective communities.

Sustainability will be enhanced if the community has freely participated in the innovative CDD process from the beginning. Crucial for people's success are the fund contributions and technical assistance of city governments and other donors to reinforce the enabling environment for community action through participatory processes. Finally, recognizing and bolstering the strengths of women's leadership and engagements in urban informal settlements together with NGO support offers the best hope for active and effective community-government partnerships.

Finally, with the recent change in government and the election of President Rodrigo R. Duterte, there is a need to analyze whether his administration's orientation, policies and programs will change previous ways in which government has interacted with communities.

INTRODUCTION

The Kapit-Bisig Laban sa Kahirapan Comprehensive Integrated Delivery of Social Service (KALAHI-CIDSS) National Community Driven Development Program (KC-NCDDP) was launched in 2011 as part of the government's poverty reduction initiatives. Building on the rural model of KALAHI-CIDSS implemented from 2003 to 2009, KC-NCDDP's continuing aim was to reduce poverty in the poorest barangays of the Philippine countryside, where the majority of the Philippine poor still live. Participatory processes would serve as the key mechanisms through which communities could voice their priorities in a competition identifying their preferred local investments, with potential funding from external resources for the successful proposals. These community initiatives would also serve to revitalize local institutions toward good governance by being more responsive to the people's priorities and avoiding elite capture. Outcomes in the succeeding years have shown wide-ranging benefits attributable to the KC-NCDDP in rural communities.

Urban poor as focus. The Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) has been simultaneously concerned about the plight of poor people in urban informal settlements. These constitute one-third of Metro Manila's population, with estimates ranging from 250,000 to 600,000 informal settlement families (World Bank 2016:1). A similar pattern appears in large cities elsewhere in the Philippines of poor people seeking better lives in the city settling in degraded urban sites for lack of affordable options. While the trend toward informal settlements likewise appears in small and medium sized cities, the issues of land and housing are less dominant there than the livelihood and basic services concerns of poor communities.

Organized urban poor communities. Over the years informal settler residents in Metro Manila and Metro Cebu have organized themselves to address multiple challenges. The highest level of solidarity emerges when they are threatened with eviction, but they also come together in the struggle to find ways of enhancing daily lives in their degraded settlements. In the Visayas and Mindanao, government authorities also face every day the realities of poverty faced by many of their poor constituents.

The DSWD is therefore seriously considering that in addition to its pro-poor programs already in place in many cities, e.g., Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps), Self-Employment Assistance Kabuhayan (SEA-K), and others, it should also implement the KC-NCDDP in urban poor communities. The constraints and opportunities that arise for community driven development in *city* contexts need, however, to be better understood in order to develop appropriate responses.

The problem. Given the features of typical urban informal settlements, questions arise regarding possible options for viable KC-NCDDP activities in cities as a whole:

1. What elements of the rural community-driven development programs are appropriate to urban poor communities?
2. Instead of trying to adapt the rural model to urban settings, would it be more feasible to start from the city framework for urban informal settlements and

develop the program based on issues and options generated there, still incorporating the overall CDD principles?

3. What criteria would apply in selecting the communities and local beneficiary groups?
4. What categories of investment are likely to gain favor in the community consultations?
5. How are the benefits of these investments to be sustained in the community?

To answer these questions, the DSWD with support from the World Bank requested three consultants – the authors of this report – to offer meaningful answers drawn from their extensive research experience in and interaction with urban poor communities.

FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

Distinguishing between Rural and Urban Poor Communities

The first challenge calls for clarifying the distinctions between urban and rural community frameworks so as to comprehend better the contexts in which the lives and aspirations of the urban poor flourish. Three elements stand out: (1) integration into a cash economy, (2) environmental hazards in deteriorated physical living conditions (Moser et al. 1996), and (3) flourishing social capital networks with effective community organizing.

1. *Informal cash-based economy.* Urban residents must pay for their food, clothing, utilities and transportation. This makes them more vulnerable to economic shocks from increased prices or declines in wages and public expenditures. Whether first-generation migrants or second- and third-generation city dwellers, many urban poor work onsite in low-technology manufacturing (doors, windows, furniture) or offer a wide range of services (barber, beautician, vending, laundering, vulcanizing). They find multiple ways of earning for their families, with virtually every able member including women and children working or seeking to work full or part-time. Some are employed in the low-level formal sector as security guards, cleaners, messengers, and clerks. Households range from the chronic poor or “poorest of the poor” at the bottom to some non-poor slightly above the poverty line at the other end, and in between the largest proportion of “less poor” or “transitional poor.” They constitute the lowest 30% of the city’s income deciles.

Over the years many residents have gradually moved up the socio-economic ladder, hoping they will not slide back because of illness, earning lapses, eviction, criminal threats, and other assaults on their well-being. High priority goes to educating their children, if possible through college for higher paying and more stable jobs with benefits, so as the children will not repeat their parents’ lives of poverty. Their insistence on remaining in their long-time neighborhoods and resisting distant relocation stems from their need to be near their established sources of income, schools, and health facilities, and retain their supportive social capital networks. Tolerating poor environmental and housing standards in the city thus represent tradeoffs toward a better socio-economic future from their incity base.

2. *Environmental hazards in deteriorated physical living conditions.* Urban informal settlements are composed of densely clustered households living with insecure tenure and poor housing conditions in degraded physical environments. They are generally unable to afford better but also more costly housing elsewhere in the city. The initial settlers moved into unoccupied land belonging to the government or private landholders, some of whom gave them initial permission or charged minimal rent. More than their rural counterparts or better off neighbors, they are subject to the ravages of floods, fires and diseases stemming from their residence along river banks, under bridges and overpasses, and even in cemeteries. Deplorable sanitation conditions and limited amounts of clean water pose serious threats to their health and wellbeing. These heighten health care costs and reduce their work productivity together with their overall wellbeing. Government identifies these households as living in danger zones, making them candidates for relocation in the belief that shelter is their main problem. Such moves are strongly resisted by urban settlers who know from experience that poverty is multi-dimensional in its origins: the distant resettlement sites lack employment, basic services, safe environments and cheap transport back to the city. In effect, as off-city resettlers say, they have been moved from “danger zones” to “death zones”.
3. *Flourishing social capital networks with active community organizations.* Urban poor households rely heavily for life improvement strategies on the social capital they build up within the community as well as with outside groups and institutions. Thus, family, close friends and neighbors reinforce relationships through mutual trust and reciprocal favor doing. Local associations attract members ranging from tricycle drivers associations to mothers’ clubs who unite around their common concerns. Links with external groups range from government agencies like the Department of Social Welfare and Development or the National Housing Authority, on the one hand, to church parish councils, NGOs and international donor groups, on the other.

Community organizing capacities and social cohesion emerge most dramatically when informal settlers are threatened with eviction. Where NGOs have trained them in organizing strategies and tactics, the resulting people’s organization (PO) exerts its agency by resisting and presenting alternative plans to government. For several communities in Metro Manila this has led to secure land and housing tenure onsite or relocation to nearby in-city sites along with everyday improvements in community services. Women command most of the leadership positions and active membership in these organized neighborhoods, performing effectively in collective demand-making and negotiating around their families’ and community’s collective interests. Through their show of power and effective management of the people’s organizations, these POs have gained increased respect from government authorities interacting with them around land tenure, housing and other rights. Innovations that are proposed by outsiders gain the POs’ interest provided the community is genuinely consulted and their voices and recommendations taken seriously. They are keenly aware of and know their rights as citizens in the city.

A more detailed listing of urban-rural differences appears as Appendix A.

Learning from Urban Communities

The study set out to understand how and when community initiatives emerge among the poor in cities leading to the achievement of their aims, and how these might offer guidance to KC-NCDDP in urban rather than rural settings. The research team in consultation with DSWD and World Bank personnel selected eight examples of organized community efforts in cities spread over the three island regions of the Philippines. Organized social cohesion in these communities ranged from strong to moderate to minimal levels of organizing.

The communities in Metro Manila and its peri-urban resettlement sites (Cases 1-4) were selected by the consultants with DSWD's agreement while the four urban communities in small and medium-sized cities in the Visayas and Mindanao were selected by DSWD in cooperation with the consultants.

The key criteria used in selecting the sites are the following:

- City size, location and typology (metropolis and peri-urban municipality in Luzon, small and medium-sized cities in the Visayas and Mindanao, respectively),
- High prevalence of poor households in the population, and
- Presence of organized community associations with experience in striving for and succeeding in their aims.

The fieldwork took place from June to September 2016 and elicited information on community experiences through focus group discussions, key informant interviews, and secondary data collection (*see Appendix B for the research instruments*). The respondents were categorized into people's organization (PO) leaders, PO members, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) working in the communities, and local officials.

The findings and analysis of the eight case studies have generated operational guidelines for carrying out urban community-driven development (CDD) programs, as discussed below.

Table 1 presents the selected research sites and community organizations.

Table 1. City Research Sites and Community Organizations

Area	Barangay	Community Organization
Metro Manila (metropolis)	Estero de San Miguel, Manila (urban) Onsite upgrading/nearsite resettlement	Nagkakaisang Mamamayan ng Legarda (NML)
	Gulod, Quezon City (urban) Within-barangay resettlement	Gulod Urban Poor Alliance (GUPA)
Rodriguez, Rizal (Luzon peri-urban/off-city)	San Isidro (peri-urban) Self-initiated resettlement	Payatas Scavengers Homeowners Association, Inc. (PSHAI)

resettlement)	San Jose (peri-urban) Government- initiated resettlement	Kasiglahan Village 1B Action Group
Kabankalan City (Visayas small city)	Carol-an (upland with IP community)	Carolano Tribal Community Association (CaTriCA)
	Hilamonan (semi-rural)	Various homeowners associations
Butuan City (Mindanao medium-sized city)	Fort Poyohon (urban)	Purok 4 Fort Poyohon Homeowners Association
	Taguibo (agricultural community)	Sustainable Initiative in Agriculture of Taguibo Association (SINAGTAA)

A REVIEW OF THE PHILIPPINE EXPERIENCE IN URBAN COMMUNITY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES AND THEIR INSTITUTIONAL LINKS

In addition to the eight case studies highlighted in this report, it is important to understand the broader context of informal settlements in cities by reviewing other Philippine experiences showing the initiative and resilience of community organizations. This section offers an abridged review, with the longer version appearing as Appendix C.

Recognizing that the poor and their organizations are assets and partners in development, the Community Driven Development (CDD) approach essentially gives control of decisions and resources to community groups. Poor communities receive funds, decide on their use, plan and execute the chosen local projects, and monitor the resulting provision of services.¹ CDD is a way to provide social and infrastructure services, improve livelihoods and resource management, empower poor people, and enhance security of the poorest.² For the disaster-prone Philippines in particular, it generates disaster preparedness, mitigation and appropriate recovery.

Governments have a range of institutional options for supporting CDD.³ Cities in particular have more funding than other administrative units owing to their semi-autonomous and higher tax and revenue bases. The design of a CDD program usually follows one of three types of institutional arrangements. One is based on a partnership between the community-based organization (CBO, or in the Philippines PO for people's organization) and the local government, the second is based on a partnership between the PO and an NGO or private firm, and the third is a direct partnership between the PO and the central government. Given that certain contexts are deemed favorable to a certain type of institutional arrangement, the

¹ Community-Driven Development: Delivering the Results People Need, International Development Association, July 2009. <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/IDA/Resources/IDA-CDD.pdf>

² Philippe Dongier, Julie Van Domelen, Elinor Ostrom, Andrea Rizvi, Wendy Wakeman, Anthony Bebbington, Sabina Alkire, Talib Esmail, and Margaret Polski, Chapter 9 – Community Driven Development in http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRS1/Resources/383606-1205334112622/5805_chap9.pdf

³ Ibid, p. 303.

specific circumstances of any given country would determine the most appropriate institutional arrangement.⁴

In the Philippine urban sector, there is considerable experience in community-initiated development based on partnerships between POs and NGOs. Four of them are featured in Case Studies 1-4 below. This experience has been built over four decades starting in the seventies with the systematic introduction of community organizing in urban slum communities by private voluntary and church-based service organizations. Community organizing was directed in the beginning at addressing “small issues” such as water, health and sanitation and gradually moved towards tackling larger issues such as resisting demolitions and off-city relocation, and securing land tenure onsite. Later on with the return of democracy after the Marcos dictatorship, POs began to engage more strategically with state agencies and local governments for addressing specific community needs such as housing and land tenure and the provision of basic services. After Tropical Storm Ketsana (locally Ondoy) hit Metro Manila in 2009, community organizing and development initiatives began to incorporate disaster preparedness, risk reduction and management and the development of resilient livelihoods.⁵

Over the past three decades, various programs have been designed by government and civil society institutions to encourage and support community-initiated development projects. One category of projects addresses the issue of land tenure. The Community Mortgage Program (CMP), now integrated into the Social Housing Finance Corporation (SHFC), was introduced by the Philippine government in 1989 to provide financing for the acquisition of land and housing by urban informal settlers organized into a community association (CA). Informal settlers occupying private lands are assisted by NGOs in finding land, negotiating with landowners, drawing up a community subdivision plan, setting up a savings scheme and obtaining the needed documents to access the program.⁶

The CMP’s community-led development approach was adopted in another home financing program of SHFC, the High-Density Housing Program (HDH) in 2014. The HDH finances the construction of multi-story residential buildings for informal settler families living in danger zones in Metro Manila. The institutional arrangement in both the CMP and the HDH programs is based on a partnership between the PO and the NGO, enabling the former to access resources from the central government for land acquisition and house construction usually onsite or near their current neighborhoods. Because only organized communities can access the program, it provides an incentive for informal settler communities to get organized and establish a legal personality. In many cases, the organizations initially formed to avail of a CMP loan became a vehicle for accessing additional government or non-government resources to address other community needs.

⁴ Ibid., p.315. A thorough discussion of the contexts favorable to each type of institutional arrangement is found in this article.

⁵ See Christian Aid, CDP, COM, JJCISI, PHILSSA, SALIGAN, SPI, TAO-Pilipinas, Unlad Kabayan Migrant Services Foundation, *Resilient Urban Communities: Stories from the Ketsana Rehabilitation Programme*, Quezon City, 2012.

⁶ The CMP was first administered by the National Home Mortgage Finance Corporation (NHMFC), a state-owned corporation, until 2004. From 2004 to the present, it has been administered by a subsidiary of the NHMFC, the Social Housing Finance Corporation (SHFC).

For many urban poor communities, land tenure is not the most urgent need around which community efforts revolve. Even when communities do not yet have secure tenure, as long as there is no immediate or foreseeable threat of eviction, informal settlers do initiate projects to improve living conditions in their community. NGOs sometimes act as sources or conduits of the community grants for such projects. An example of an institutional arrangement whereby organized urban poor communities accessed grants for community infrastructure projects through an NGO is that of the Upscaling Urban Poor Community Renewal Scheme (UUPCRS) and its follow-up program Project UPSURGE.⁷ Under the scheme, a project management unit developed a menu of community infrastructure facilities which could be supported by the project and NGOs provided technical assistance to community associations which identified and developed the community projects. The infrastructure designs were prepared by project engineers assisted by city engineering offices, in close consultation with the community associations. The procurement of materials and services for the implementation of the infrastructure projects was done by NGOs.

Worth noting is that urban poor communities vary in the amount of social capital that they possess. At one end of the spectrum are fairly established informal settlements that have developed bridging relationships with local households, associations and outside institutions and are thus better positioned to access a diverse range of resources for community development.⁸ On the other end are communities with few ties to outside institutions such as communities resettled to distant off-city resettlement sites. Studies have shown that distant relocation frequently results in the dissolution of pre-existing social ties or networks, rendering people more powerless than ever. Successful community development initiatives under such challenging circumstances have mostly been facilitated by resettled individuals, usually women who were leaders in their previous community and have resumed their mobilizing efforts in the new locations.

Recent evidence has shown that recovery and reconstruction from disasters experience better results when the affected families organize to make their preferences and voices heard. Fisherfolk communities in Tacloban City displaced by Super Typhoon Ketsana (local name Yolanda) and about to be relocated by the local government to a poorly prepared distant site resisted. With the help of NGO community organizers, they found land for

⁷ The project was implemented by the NGO network Partnership of Philippine Support Service Agencies (PHILSSA) with funds from the World Bank. The project sites were located in the cities of San Fernando, Naga, Mandaue, Iligan and Quezon City. Examples of the community projects include roads and drainage systems, water systems, material recovery facilities and relocation site development. See Cynthia C. Veneracion, Nonita Adan-Perez, Lorraine S. Mangaser, Project UPSURGE: Partnerships for Scaling Up Slum Improvement in Philippine Cities, Quezon City, 2010.

⁸ One example is the urban poor community of Barangay Banaba in San Mateo, Rizal occupying a seven-hectare piece of land in a flood-prone area known as Libis with an informal settlement of approximately 750 households in 2012. The community organization Buklod Tao mobilized the ties it had forged over the years with the local church, schools, the *barangay* and local and international NGOs to develop a community-based disaster risk management plan which helped the community avoid any casualties during Tropical Storm Ondoy. Fruits of its engagements with these various institutions include the installation of an Early Warning System, training in disaster risk reduction for community members and livelihood projects such as bag-making, organic soil composting and urban container gardening. For a fuller account of the history of Buklod Tao, see Manuel “Ka Noli A. Abinales and Michael Vincent DC. Mercado, “Survivors, Not Victims. Resilient, Not Downtrodden. Forging Unity in Barangay Banaba for Better CBDRRM” in *Resilient Urban Communities: Stories from the Ketsana Rehabilitation Programme*, Christian Aid, CDP, COM, JJCICSI, PHILSSA, SALIGAN, SPI, TAO-Pilipinas, Unlad Kabayan Migrant Services Foundation, Quezon City 2012

resettlement in the city not far away from their boats, and obtained funds for the land purchase through the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace (CCODP). The families undertook land development, designed and constructed their houses receiving technical training and professional supervision. Pope Francis Village has become not only their secure home and community, but also a place of supplementary livelihood, urban gardening, and a site where their children can play in peace (Gerlock 2016).

This review represents only a small portion of the multitude of community-based organizing occurring all over the Philippines, often in partnership with NGOs, faith-based social action groups, leftist political groups, private sector foundations, and government. The basic message is clear: that organized, empowered communities are not only critical for successful and sustainable local development efforts but also essential for government's efforts to improve wellbeing throughout the country.

Sub-Categories of Urban Poor Communities in Metro Manila

Metro Manila is home to roughly a third of urban informal settlers in the Philippines. While sharing common characteristics such as high density, poor sanitation, preponderance of substandard housing made of light materials and lack of common spaces and community infrastructure, urban poor settlements differ in the degree of security of land tenure that their residents have. This situation has a bearing on the kinds of investments communities are likely to identify.

The priority given by community members to investing in the improvement of their housing and community infrastructure is very much influenced by their perception of whether there is a threat of displacement either due to a planned government infrastructure project or a government policy of clearing unwanted and illegally built structures. Urban poor communities in Metro Manila can be categorized into three main types according to land tenure security.

Type 1: Without formal land tenure. This category can be further divided into two subtypes:

- a) *With no immediate threat of eviction.* Residents of these communities have no formal tenure as owners or renters of the land they are occupying, which could be owned either by the government or a private entity. Most of them have lived on the land for years, with or without the consent of the owner who has ostensibly not made any plans to use the property. Some residents may not even know who the landowner is.
- b) *With immediate threat of eviction.* These are settlements on what are considered "danger areas" such as the easements of rivers, estuaries, railroad tracks, under bridges, and cemetery sites. They can also be areas where a government infrastructure project (e.g. roads, pumping stations for flood control) is to be implemented within the next five years, or the landowner has actively raised an eviction threat owing to the intention to put the space to other uses.

Type 2: Formalization of tenure in process. There are presently government programs that aim to regularize the tenure of urban informal settler families. A number of

presidential land proclamations have declared certain government lands as available for disposition to their occupants. These land proclamations have virtually awarded legal rights to informal settlers occupying these lands even though in most cases the formal process of providing community or individual titles has not begun or is stopped indefinitely somewhere along the way. Often the problem lies in the failure of the government to follow up with Implementing Rules and Regulations or resolve bottlenecks within that process. Nevertheless, there is recognition on the part of the government, and the specific government agency that owns the land, that the occupants can remain on the land and will eventually be awarded ownership of the lots they occupy. Another government program, the Community Mortgage Program, has a defined process for awarding legal ownership to informal settlers who have purchased usually privately-owned land. As soon as they take out a CMP loan, the community members start paying amortization on their housing loan. In both proclaimed lands and those acquired by communities through the CMP, housing and environmental conditions improve slightly but there is still a great need for upgrading the quality of housing, sanitation and access to basic services. Livelihood also stands out as an urgent need because of the requirement of paying monthly amortization on the land.

Type 3: With formal tenure: These are communities whose residents have either owned the land for a long time or have completed their payment for the land that had been awarded to them through a government program (e.g. resettlement, Areas for Priority Development). Nevertheless, the residents lack the resources to improve their housing and community infrastructure. This category includes also poor communities occupying government tenement buildings that have deteriorated over the years due to neglect or absence of estate management.

Social Transformation through Community Organizing

Urban poor communities also differ in the degree and quality of organization that they possess. Some communities are self-organized and are able to access services such as water systems, improvement of pathways, sanitation and medical missions, and educational scholarships for their children. Communities that have succeeded in availing of government programs for acquiring land tenure security have mostly been organized with the help of NGOs or local governments (e.g., Urban Poor Affairs Offices of city governments). Still there are many urban poor communities that are unorganized.

It is evident that community organization has a transformative effect on the physical, social and economic well-being of urban poor communities. Aside from income and access to financial resources, the level of organization of a community enables community members to make gradual improvements in the physical condition of their community. Usually this process is facilitated by the connections forged by community members with external institutions that are in a position to provide resources and/or services needed by the community.

The transformation of informal settlements into well-organized and empowered communities involves the acquisition of a wide range of skills and capabilities that enable community members to access resources from within and outside the community and to manage these resources for the community's benefit. Among the key elements of this transformation process are the following:

1. Acquisition of basic skills in community organizing and democratic management of a community organization or people's organization;
2. Education and capacity building, including values formation that emphasizes the principles of mutual help, individual responsibility, solidarity, common good, and human dignity;
3. Networking with NGOs, local government offices and professional organizations for specific technical requirements for accessing government programs;
4. Financial literacy for managing household and organizational finances, including savings mobilization and accessing microfinance programs, livelihood strategies and social enterprises;
5. Knowledge of land acquisition and government housing programs, mandates of government agencies, government processes and procedures; legal rights as in RA 7279: Urban Development and Housing Act and its revisions; and
6. Knowledge of disaster risk reduction strategies and government programs.

PROFILES OF EIGHT COMMUNITIES

The cases featured below detail the organizational processes over time in eight urban communities as they addressed emergent issues and problems. These accounts offer insights into the complex community dynamics that must be considered and understood by those introducing a Community Development Driven Program into a city setting. While all are urban, each community displays a different combination of challenges in their everyday living. Each case tells the story of community organizing as it happened and raises the key issues, beneficiary groups, categories of investment, and sustainability that would figure prominently in a CDD program in those kinds of settlements. (See also Appendix D: Summary of Key Characteristics and Issues in the Study Sites.)

Common concerns. Research results showed that all eight communities expressed the need for enhanced income generation through employment, livelihood and micro-enterprise development and marketing schemes appropriate to their varied ecological situations in metropolitan, peri-urban, medium and smaller sized cities. All lack various kinds of basic services. All seek training in and funds for community organizing to address increasingly complex issues facing them, although much less so in the small and medium-sized cities. Unarticulated but implied investments related to women's time for community involvement suggest improved child and reproductive health programs. Research has shown that the poorest households in urban informal settlements also constitute the largest-sized households (Guevara 2008). Thus, the most vulnerable women with many young children and pregnant with the next, who are likely to be the neediest, are also those less likely to join community activities that could improve their earning and other capabilities. Middle-aged women, who form the bulk of local leadership and membership and who already have three or more children, are the most apprehensive about undergoing another pregnancy. Indeed, those

already practicing family planning do articulate the need for contraceptive support when they are deprived of it by an anti-RH city mayor, legal or supply constraints or bureaucratic delays.

Rural communities in cities. Two of the eight communities, Hilamonan and Taguibo are agricultural in demographic and livelihood terms, distant as they are from the city center. Although administratively within city boundaries and thus governed by the city mayor, they are socio-economically rural. The third community, Carol-anis populated by indigenous peoples engaged in upland cultivation and gathering in the city's mountainous terrain. For program purposes barangays or communities like these must be considered rural even if they fall within city boundaries.

Prospective CDD investments. The eight study communities can be categorized according to their distinctive priority concerns: land and housing, enhanced income generation and basic services. The distant rural or upland barangays add as their priority concerns roads and improved farming technology.

Case 1: Nagkakaisang Mamamayan ng Legarda, Estero de San Miguel, Sampaloc, Manila

Fringing an *estero* (estuary) of the Pasig River in the Sampaloc area of the City of Manila, this community of 167 informal settler households in 2016 has existed since the 1980s, having faced regular eviction threats over the years along with the daily problems affecting poor urban families. Threatened yet again in 2009 after Tropical Storm Ondoy with possible eviction and relocation through Oplan Likas, the community leaders invited Urban Poor Associates (UPA), an NGO, to help them organize against eviction and demand onsite upgrading for a better life in the city.

Soon, community residents with UPA assistance organized and were meeting to assess their situations, decide on strategies to remain and upgrade their current environment as well as identify nearby land in the neighborhood for resettling household overflows. Out of this process emerged Nagkakaisang Mamamayan ng Legarda (NML, or United Citizens of Legarda). NML mobilizing took the form of non-violent pressure tactics targeting key government officials in the National Housing Authority, Department of Interior and Local Government, Department of Social Welfare and Development, Office of the President and the City of Manila with their demands followed by effective negotiations. Volunteer professional support came from groups of architects, engineers, accountants and others including the World Bank helping with settlement planning, housing design, financing, estate management and demystification of government regulations. Catholic Church leaders rendered support when asked, getting NML leaders appointments with the President and top-level officials who could respond to the PO with on-the-spot decision-making. After decades of struggle and hundreds of meeting, community members are now proud to identify themselves as “homeowners” rather than “informal settlers” or worse, “squatters.”

The major actors in this process have been the active women of NML, assisted by UPA community organizers. Although focused on their land and housing demands, they initiated livelihood training, environmental clean-ups, urban gardening, estate management, and actively participated in the year-long 2015 National Housing and Urban Development

Summit. Their involvement, they say, is logical because they are usually in the community and know how to negotiate and interact peacefully with sometimes hostile officials, a quality they say their potentially more confrontational husbands lack. They claim to have more free time than their husbands. Yet, it is also clear that the younger women are constrained from active membership if they have many young children whose frequent illnesses plus overall need for care undermine the women's options for community engagement.

Key issues, beneficiary groups, categories of investment, and sustainability in urban CDD for tenure security challenged Estero de San Miguel are the following:

1. Land tenure security confirmation, site upgrading, shelter construction, government housing requirements compliance, financial literacy and estate management;
2. Employment, livelihood generation and micro-enterprise schemes with a marketing outreach;
3. Access to basic services;
4. Disaster preparedness, mitigation and recovery planning in collaboration with the City government; and
5. Increasingly sophisticated community organizing training and implementation; community organizing expenses.

For a more detailed discussion of Case 1, see Appendix E.

Case 2: Gulod Urban Poor Association, Quezon City

Barangay Gulod covers 98.6 hectares along the Tullahan River in Novaliches, Quezon City. Its 2015 population of 53,325 residents in over 9,000 households lists 1,801 households as active members of its 34 homeowners associations (HOAs). A mixed-income area featuring 78 small- and medium-sized business establishments, its poorer households formed clusters of informal settlers on or near the flood-prone three-meter easement along the river. These families were most severely affected by Tropical Storm Ketsana in 2009 which provided the impetus for the formation of the Gulod Urban Poor Alliance (GUPA) and the focus on acquiring legal tenure on the land the families had been occupying.

GUPA was formed to consolidate the efforts of various pre-existing community associations that had been active in addressing community needs such as potable water, electricity and garbage collection, over the years. After identifying idle properties in the barangay as possible relocation sites for the families affected by Tropical Storm Ketsana/Ondoy, it acquired a 0.5-hectare plot and through active demand-making and negotiations succeeded in obtaining from the Quezon City government grants amounting to Php 7.7 million for a drainage system, Php 3.7 million for concrete pavements, and Php 4 million for the retaining wall.

At the invitation of GUPA, the Foundation for the Development of the Urban Poor (FDUP) assisted the households interested in enrolling in the government's Community Mortgage Program (CMP) to accomplish the complex documentary requirements of that program and the related on-the-ground efforts. FDUP sought the voluntary help of professional architects, engineers and their students to train the community members in site planning, design and construction of the planned two-story apartments, named Ernestville after their energetic barangay captain.

Key issues, beneficiary groups, categories of investment, and sustainability in urban CDD for Barangay Gulod are the following:

1. Land tenure security confirmation and onsite/near-site housing within the barangay, infrastructure development, site planning and housing construction, estate management, financial and administrative literacy;
2. Income generation through employment, livelihood, skills training, micro-enterprise, credit, and value chain development, as well as to further strengthen existing savings programs;
3. Basic services;
4. Disaster preparedness, mitigation and recovery planning in collaboration with City government;
5. High school and college scholarship programs; and
6. Modern communications technology for networking; partnerships with experienced community organizers and technical professionals; organizing expenses.

For a more detailed discussion of Case 2, see Appendix F.

Case 3: Payatas Scavengers Homeowners Association, San Isidro, Rodriguez, Rizal

The Payatas Scavengers Homeowners Association, Inc. (PSHAI), a community-driven group, was registered in 1998. Its predecessor organization, the Payatas Savings Association, Inc. (PSAI), consisted of approximately 150 saver-participants working as volunteers with the Vincentian Missionaries Social Development Foundation, Inc. (VMSDFI). Most of them resided in shacks constructed from recycled building materials scavenged from the Quezon City garbage dump.

In 1998, following a trash slide that killed hundreds of people living in the dumpsite community of Payatas, PSHAI bought a 3-hectare titled land in San Isidro. Its members had long resided in Payatas which despite its physically degraded environment provided income to thousands of residents. Fr. Norberto Carcellar of VMSDFI was instrumental in enabling the families to aspire for a better life for their children. The Foundation helped develop savings programs with the scavenger families and livelihood activities coupled with values formation. The savings funds responded to four sets of needs: down payment for land, loans for family crises, livelihood capitalization, and general purposes.

In 1998, building on their three-year savings of Php 600,000, they obtained a low-interest loan of Php 3.9 million from Domus-Mariae of the Diocese of Manila to complete the Php 4.5 million down payment for the three-hectare lot in San Isidro. This transformed them legally into homeowners and no longer “squatters”. Largely through Fr. Carcellar’s successful networking, PSHAI was able to obtain significant financing for its house building phase assisted by its links with the Homeless People’s Federation of the Philippines, Inc. (HPFPI), the Philippine Action for Community-Led Shelter Initiatives, Inc. (PACSII), and an internationally based program, Community-Led Infrastructure Financing Facility (CLIFF). As of 2015, however, only 66 houses had been constructed and only 44 families had actually moved in. Many claim they cannot pay the Php 450 monthly amortization.

The vast majority of PSHAI member households are geographically split to maximize their resources. Many members still living in Payatas vending, waste-picking and maintaining the casual worker roles of earlier years, while also spending time in San Isidro with the rest of the family members residing there fulltime. The latter add to family income through construction work; vegetable, fruit and hog raising; vending, driving and other kinds of work. Only a few households have moved intact into their Rodriguez site.

Key issues, beneficiary groups, categories of investment, and sustainability mechanisms in urban CDD for PSHAI San Isidro as a self-initiated off-city resettlement community are the following:

1. A reformulated housing loan program adapted to the differing income levels of the households, especially the poorer stratum with very low and sporadic incomes;
2. Improved employment and livelihood programs that will generate savings and investments to allow fulltime residence in San Isidro; and
3. Public infrastructure construction, technical assistance and capability building, support to community organizations through salaries for community organizers and organizing expenses.

For a more detailed discussion of Case 3, see Appendix G.

Case 4: Kasiglahan Village 1-B Action Group, San Jose, Rodriguez, Rizal

Kasiglahan Village Phase 1-B (KV 1-B) is a 50-hectare NHA resettlement site whose residents were relocated from communities all over Metro Manila. The initial group of 220 informal settler families from the Makati banks of the Pasig River arrived in KV1-B in 2000 believing that they would find completed housing units equipped with basic services awaiting them. Instead, they encountered flimsy, unfinished housing, a shortage of piped safe water which required them to line up at hand pumps for hours, electricity limited to only a few hours in the evening, dark and dangerous streets, and distant schools where as many as 100 students are cramped inside a classroom.

The Pasig River relocatees have had extensive experience in community organizing assisted by Community Organizers Multiversity (COM),. It did not take long for its experienced community leader to mobilize 15 of her fellow Pasig River relocatees and other women in KV1-B into an Action Group to demand from NHA water, electricity, more classrooms and health facilities, lower installment payments for the unit, improved transport, space for a church, and protection from the proliferating youth and drug gangs. It took years before they could reap the benefits of their unrelenting demand-making. A more issue emerged when large sections of the community were inundated by flood waters along with the residents' discovery that KV 1 lies along the area's earthquake fault line. They lodged protests to NHA for resettling them in a danger zone.

The Action Group's initiatives led to the release by the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) of a Php 1 million SEA-K livelihood loan to 100 recipients. Community mobilizations succeeded in getting the NHA to set up the public market (Pamilihan ng Mamamayan) and the Manila Water Corporation to install piped water connections.

The Action Group also participated in the national government's Bottom-Up Budgeting program resulting in a grant of Php 1.2 million for three community identified projects: sewing training for 30 mothers seeking increased incomes and an internet shop and a printmaking establishment, both run by local youth entrepreneurs.

For urban CDD purposes, key issues, beneficiary groups, categories of investment, and sustainability mechanisms in Kasiglahan Village as a government off-city resettlement would include:

1. Livelihood programs, especially for women and youth;
2. Addressing environmental issues linked to flooding, earthquake and disaster risk preparation, mitigation and management;
3. Improved housing and community infrastructures;
4. Funding community organizing expenses; and
5. More and better equipped classrooms.

For a more detailed discussion of Case 4, see Appendix H.

Case 5: Carolano Tribal Community Association, Carol-an, Kabankalan City, Negros Occidental

Kabankalan City, located in the Negros Island Region, has a land area of 697.4 sqm and has a 2015 population of 181,977. Its 2015 Internal Revenue Allotment is 750 million. Its 2012 poverty incidence is 25.79. Barangay Carol-an is one of Kabankalan's 32 barangays and has a 2010 population of 6,213, 70% of whom are indigenous peoples. It is located at a high mountain elevation conducive to vegetable growing because of its cooler temperatures.

The Carolano Tribal Community Association (CaTriCA) has been in existence since 2000 with around 200 members. Its members pay dues of Php 100. The association successfully obtained its Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title working closely with the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP). In line with its economic activities, the members have each contributed Php 1,000 to purchase shares in a cooperative arrangement that gives loans for vegetable-raising. With the profits gained, members purchase cattle and carabaos to be raised by each member-household. When the livestock is sold, dividends are shared among the IP members.

Interaction between the barangay government and CaTriCA is enhanced by their having a common leader at various points in time. In cases of land or boundary disputes the barangay government consults the tribal elders who resolve them through interpreting traditional law in line with their ancestral domain claim. The collaboration also facilitates the processing of applications to NCIP for scholarships from which ten Carol-an IP youngsters benefit each year.

Although the City Social Welfare Department staff are open to working with local community associations, the three full-time social workers, who cover all 32 barangays of the City, are overstretched and cannot focus specifically on Carol-an's needs. Moreover, they admit that they direct their training and daily work largely to individual case work rather than to community development, for which they seek training.

For urban CDD program purposes, the Carol-an case would have to be carried out in the context of the indigenous culture of the community supported by the Indigenous People Rights Act (IPRA) while also recognizing also the needs of the non-IP population. It would include:

1. Repair and upgrading of the roads leading to the community;
2. Strengthening the upland agricultural technology of vegetable and cattle-raising through effective capability training programs for adults;
3. Enabling youth to benefit from scholarships; and
4. Capability-building of local officials, especially social work staff, in community development and participatory processes.

Case 6: Hilamonan Homeowners Associations, Kabankalan City, Negros Occidental⁹

Hilamonan is a semi-rural barangay within the boundaries of Kabankalan City with a population of 12,212. In 2008 it was selected by DSWD as a site for the Core Shelter Assistance Program under the Calamity Assistance Rehabilitation Efforts (CARE) Program. The Kabankalan LGU received Php 1.4 million to construct 20 units of core shelters at an individual cost of Php 70,000. Since Hilamonan is classified by the Philippine Statistics Authority as urban, being administered by a city, it was selected in 2014 by DSWD as a pilot site for the urban mode of KC-NCDDP.

However, since the City Social Welfare and Development Office (CSWDO) felt it could not implement the urban CDD pilot program owing to its lack of qualified personnel, the Mayor's Office took over. The community underwent one cycle of the project, with its beneficiaries opting for livelihood skills training – welding, carpentry, and plumbing – all conducted by the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA).¹⁰ As no organizational underpinnings accompanied the program, it apparently ended once the first batch had been trained, with limited prospects for follow-up employment programs.

For urban CDD program purposes, key issues, beneficiary groups, categories of investment, and sustainability mechanisms in Hilamonan as a semi-rural oriented barangay in a city would include:

1. Micro-enterprise loans and continuing technical support to establish local businesses that would utilize the skills of the newly trained workers
2. Livelihood programs;
3. Infrastructure improvement projects; and
4. Training community city social development workers or organizers.

⁹ The researcher assigned to conduct interviews in Kabankalan City fell ill on his second day of fieldwork. Although he gathered information on Hilamonan from a City Social Welfare Officer, he was not able to interview any of its community members, hence this shortened account.

¹⁰ Despite numerous requests for documentation reports of the pilot study in Hilamonan, DSWD-NIR has not furnished any reports to the researcher on the post-training results in the community.

Case 7: Purok 4 Fort Poyohon Homeowners Association, Fort Poyohon, Butuan City

Butuan City, located in Northern Mindanao, encompasses a land area of 816.6 sqm and has a 2015 population of 337,063. Its 2015 Internal Revenue Allotment is 994 million. Poverty incidence in 2015 is listed at 18.65 percent. Barangay Fort Poyohon is one of Butuan's 86 barangays and one of the city's 15 urban barangays. Its vibrant civil society groups emerge in sector-based alliances. These include ten active neighborhood associations, women, farmers, informal sector, senior citizens, transport groups, and others.

Purok 4 Fort Poyohon Homeowners Association (Purok 4 FPHOA) located in Butuan City was organized in 1995 with the goal of acquiring the 3,000 sqm land the residents had been illegally occupying for some years. The group was not very successful in organizing as a group because of ineffective leadership. That changed when a big fire in December 2013 razed the entire *purok* (community) to the ground affecting 96 households. Responding to their critical situation, the group reorganized and elected a new president a few days later.

The private landowner offered a deal to the residents: he would pay Php 20,000 to each household to vacate the area. The president and seven other households refused the deal believing they could obtain the land on their own with the support of Fort Poyohon's barangay captain. Realizing that there was hope for acquiring their own land, 40 other households joined the initial eight households. Eventually through effective negotiation, the landowner agreed to sell the land to the occupants for Php 1,000/sqm. Each household would get 50 sqm and would pay the landowner Php 655/month for 100 months. These payments are now coursed through the PO, then handed over to the landowner. Currently, the PO has drafted a proposal for a construction of a drainage system to address perennial flooding in the area. The proposal has been forwarded to DSWD.

For urban CDD program purposes, key issues, beneficiary groups, categories of investment, and sustainability mechanisms in Fort Poyohon as an urban poor barangay would include:

1. Improved housing, infrastructure and estate management for the new lot owners;
2. Income generation and skills training through micro-enterprises and employment in the City's fast-growing economy to help the homeowners pay their installments in full and on time; and
3. Community organizers or social development workers to help the members expand into other areas of development

Case 8: Sustainable Initiative in Agriculture of Taguibo Association, Taguibo, Butuan City

Taguibo is a rural barangay located 13.7 km from the city center. Its main source of income is agriculture. In 2014, Luntaw Mindanaw, an NGO in Butuan City being supported by the Organization for International Co-operation on Development Projects (Dienst voor Internationale Samenwerking aan Ontwikkelings Projecten or DISOP) and Heifer International, expanded its agricultural productivity projects in Agusan del Norte to communities surrounding the Taguibo watershed in Butuan City, including Barangay Taguibo. The project, "Improving Natural Productivity and Enhancing Capacities of Rural

Farming Households Within Taguibo Watershed (In–Peace)” aims to increase the agricultural productivity of the marginal farming families living in the watershed, raise their income and nutrition levels, enhance the capacity of the families to meet their basic needs and create sustainable employability through on-farm/off-farm income generating projects. This initiative is expected to reduce pressure on the Taguibo watershed, which furnishes water to the City, by encouraging its residents to shift from engaging in mining and logging activities to farm crops and livestock.

Luntiaw Mindanaw selected 100 households in Taguibo to form a group of project partners which eventually named themselves Sustainable Initiative in Agriculture of Taguibo Association (SINAGTAA). The members attended seminars on hog-raising, after which they were given a pair of piglets for raising. As the PO members proved successful in hog raising, they were able to pool their profits to set up a feed mill and are now themselves training neighboring communities in successful hog-raising techniques. When SINAGTAA joined the government’s BUB program in early 2016, their project proposal of fish cultivation was included in the budget for implementation the following year. The group also used Php 50,000 of its funds to plant falcata (*Paraserianthes falcataria*) trees for harvest and sale in 2020. With the assistance of Luntiaw, SINAGTAA has also linked up with the Department of Trade and Industry, which provided the group with agricultural machinery (e.g., rice gluer, dryer, bagger, scale, etc.).

Since Luntiaw Mindanaw is operating in an essentially agricultural economy within the City investment priorities would be agriculturally oriented along already existing rural KC-NCDDP guidelines. For urban CDD program purposes, key issues, beneficiary groups, categories of investment, and sustainability mechanisms would include:

1. Improved technology in animal, crop and fish raising;
2. Micro-enterprise and health-related programs for children and women; and
3. Opportunities to try out new forms of productivity for increased incomes.

KEY LESSONS FROM THE CASE STUDIES AND REVIEW OF THE PHILIPPINE EXPERIENCE IN URBAN COMMUNITY-DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES AND THEIR INSTITUTIONAL LINKS

Priority to Land and Housing: Communities in Metro Manila and Peri-urban Resettlement Sites

1. Community organizing is a crucial process that evolves over time in relation to a variety of challenges the community has faced calling for social cohesion and collective action. The more successes the community has experienced in achieving its aims, the more likely it is to be capable of negotiating its interests. NGOs are crucial partners as community organizers fostering the empowerment process.
2. Organized communities which have effectively resisted over the years government efforts to evict and relocate them or which have received little support from government on their multiple needs are likely to be suspicious of government-sponsored programs offered them; trust and confidence-building relationships are therefore needed between outside

program proponents and the community before the project starts as well as during its progression until completion.

3. When local government units or city governments establish trust relationships with community groups and come to appreciate the value of community partnerships for improving the city's overall wellbeing, they are more likely to respond favorably to the community's proposals through significant funding allocations and technical support in a participatory governance mode.
4. Women play active and dominant roles in urban people's organizations, in part because they are closest to the everyday needs of their families and community, are willing to allocate their time, and possess culturally generated negotiating skills and interpersonal expertise in dealing with persons in authority. Thus, support to their capacity building along with organizing expenses will reinforce these strengths.
5. Organized communities are eager to learn new skills and gain added knowledge related to issues they want to address; these cover a wide range of technical challenges, especially for women; again, capacity building support is appropriate.
6. While land tenure and housing issues are usually of highest priority, concerns over basic services and livelihood also merit significant attention. City governments within Metro Manila have varied in the degree of support given to their urban informal settler residents, part of the problem stemming from overlapping jurisdictions between the national and city governments. Cities outside of Manila have greater leeway to operate autonomously since national government surveillance is more distant.
7. NGOs have contributed significantly to helping communities get organized. As the people's organizations gain strength and show their growing capacity to deal with their issues effectively, NGOs shift to new roles like suggesting legislation to lobby for, and linking the PO with prospective government agencies, other civil society technical and professional groups, faith-based organizations, and private sector partners. At some point most NGOs reduce or withdraw from the community, confident that the PO can handle its challenges. The NGO partner usually remains on call for continuing consultations or to act as advisers in PO networks established to deal with continuing urban poor issues. People's organizations have gained further collective strengths through the networks and alliances they have formed with other POs, NGOs, and international donors. These enable them to look beyond specific community concerns to raise policy issues by lobbying in Congress or influencing government to address their concerns. The capacity to mobilize around their issues to exert pressure on the authorities enhances their collective strengths.
8. Traumatic events, like a fire or a strong typhoon with massive flooding, often serve as transformative moments when leaders and communities willingly make dramatic changes in traditional ways of behaving in favor in new paradigms for future action. Outside partners can thus more easily motivate communities to organize for post-disaster actions around their interest; they also engage more seriously in disaster risk preparedness, and mitigation together with contingency planning in close coordination with barangay and

city officials, acquiring, for example, DRR equipment, infrastructure, and emergency assistance.

9. However, urban poor settlements display a range of varying characteristics, of which only a few are represented by the eight case studies. Urban CDD investments in metropolitan cities, for example, will need to consider sub-categories according to the land tenure status of the community: (a) without formal land tenure, (b) tenure formalization in process, and (c) with formal tenure. The implications are discussed below in the Options section of this report.
10. Selection criteria must thus include not only city size, density, regional location and prevalence of poverty, but also appropriate levels of community organizing, the city government's readiness to engage in a participatory CDD process following evolving Urban CDD guidelines, and the sub-categories of urban communities in Metro Manila and possibly Metro Cebu.

Priority to Basic Services and Income Generation: Communities in Small and Medium-sized Cities

1. Although informal settlements exist in medium and small-sized cities, they are proportionately few in relation to the overall population. Unless their tenure status is threatened by eviction, therefore, they are not likely to develop strong spontaneous people's organizations ready to address common issues with determination.
2. Disadvantaged communities, whether informal settlers or simply peri-urban poor groups, organize informally around their everyday needs, generating social capital in the process. NGOs, faith-based, or politically Left groups may enter and identify issues around which groups will be willing to organize, like basic services access and income generation strategies.
3. When existing government programs focus on the urban poor, as in the conditional cash transfer (4Ps) or bottom-up budgeting (BUB), they show that people will readily organize to engage in outside interventions if they envision these as benefiting them. The trust building process develops through intense and frequent PO interaction with the government facilitated by NGO community organizers, or community facilitators or development workers in DSWD, Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG), National Anti-Poverty Commission (NAPC), or the Philippine Commission for the Urban Poor (PCUP).
4. Rural or indigenous peoples' barangays located within city boundaries appear to be an anomaly from the sociological perspective in that their economies are based on agriculture or upland farming assets rather than on cash. However, because of their location the city government must reckon with them as constituents. The model for CDD programs in those kinds of communities would rely on the guidelines for existing rural KC-NCDDP programs.

OPTIONS FOR AN URBAN COMMUNITY-DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

City Size, Density, and Prevalence of Poverty

The criteria initially selected for the case studies proved constructive: (1) a range of city sizes and with regional representation, (2) high poverty incidence especially in informal settlements or resettlement areas, and (3) the presence of organized community groups that have pursued prior mobilizing around local issues.

Selection issues for CDD projects necessarily come to the fore in considering the size, density and land tenure status of the prospective partner communities. In metropolitan cities the barangays are often huge in both area and population size and densely packed. Using city data on poverty levels by barangay, drawing on conditional cash transfer/4Ps evidence and consulting maps, DSWD planners in collaboration with city planning, social welfare, health, urban poor affairs offices and others should be able to identify the locations of the poorest clusters of households. Aerial photographs allow easy identification of informal settlements as they usually do not follow the orderly grid layouts associated with regular neighborhoods. Moreover, requiring serious consideration is the readiness of the city and urban barangay governments to develop CDD projects according to a participatory process under a set of urban CDD guidelines.

Rural barangays in cities. The research findings suggest that cities containing rural barangays within their boundaries should consider them under the rural CDD modified schemes since they are urban only in an administrative, not sociological sense. Rural or IP barangays within city boundaries can be classified as special urban-rural groups in the city having an agricultural or upland cultivation base. For IP communities, DSWD already applies a modified conditional cash transfer/4Ps scheme, which might well be applied to this modified upland model. Moreover, for indigenous people's communities, the issue of cultural sensitivity regarding local structures, cultural values and worldviews as well as guidance from IPRA enters in.

Preparedness of city government. Not all urban governments are open to engaging with communities in participatory processes. Successful urban CDD programs will depend to a significant degree on how ready and willing the city government is to interact with communities in participatory planning, implementation, and evaluation. Much depends on the orientation or openness of the mayor to these efforts. Moreover, other concerns enter in related to categories of investment appropriate to city type, e.g. the internal revenue allotment of the city, revenue generated, population size and density, and poverty incidence. These factors need to be assessed in selecting the appropriate community. Capacity building of city governments in this aspect of governance is needed.

Drawing on Civil Society Groups for Community Organizing Assistance

To identify well-organized urban communities for CDD programs, especially productive will be consultations with community-based NGOs, social action organizers from faith-based associations, and academic outreach volunteers. Being actively engaged with urban poor groups and POs in selected cities, these civil society groups can readily identify

organized informal settlements which need help, which can readily articulate their community priorities, and which already have the basic or considerable experience of working together to achieve collective aims.

One effective model of participatory profiling and mapping of informal settlement communities is the "Citywide Slum/Settlements Upgrading Project" carried out in Muntinlupa City, District 6 in Quezon City, and Barangay 177 in Caloocan (World Bank 2016: 141- 153). Assisted by NGOs, the communities found the participatory profiling and mapping exercise a truly empowering tool as they came to know the physical and demographic characteristics of their communities. Moreover, they had something to present to their LGU that could become the basis for proposing a community upgrading or other project. LGUs appreciated the data because they could use it for budgeting purposes and for seeking additional funds from the national government. If the model were incorporated into urban CDD as part of the project design, there would potentially be a database on informal settlement communities nationwide (at least in the key urban centers and medium sized cities). That resource would greatly facilitate and bring up to scale the delivery of housing and other sought-out services.

The issue of how to attract "volunteers" within the community to enhance collective activities is frequently raised in development circles. However, the urban poor communities studied do not appear to consider this a distinct category relevant to their situation. All their PO members are volunteers in the sense of opting to serve as the core unit for action. Moreover, the range of community activities generated by strong POs brings in different participants at various times. Some are attracted by skills training programs, community clean-up drives, a street theater event, or joining rallies to protest recalcitrant government entities withholding assistance. Often when these single issue participants gain the sense of exhilaration that successful community events bring, they readily list themselves as formal members or join a committee. One might view the PO as an extended version of the family and kin, friends and neighbors, peers and particularly close local clusters of individuals. People, especially women, readily join PO activities when their already involved kin or friendship links invite them to do so. Although the fluctuating participation may regularly cover only a minority of the community, when the core or active clusters claim success in achieving aims applicable to the rest, the latter will likely join in regularly or from time to time in a band-wagon thrust. The notion of "volunteers" thus appears in this context to be an outside "middle class" concept that does not apply to urban poor communities. These operate on the basis of fluctuating and flexible, informal and formal relationships in organizational processes that form part of their everyday lives. Primary and secondary associational ties shift back and forth interweaving with one another to create a dynamic community framework.

Another element in the urban CDD in metropolitan and large cities is whether the program should continue to pursue the competitive approach of the rural model, considering the number of poor urban informal settlements scattered through numerous barangays in the city. Population size, settlement density and irregular layouts, presence of strongly organized community groups, openness of the city government and tenure category may be the five most compelling criteria to consider. Drawing on databases already used for the 4Ps program or possibly compiled by the local government offer possible opportunities. Attempting to assess poverty levels in communities, at least at the outset, is difficult unless the city already

has up-to-date statistics; methods of determining them are complex, under constant challenge and would require an enormous amount of time for investigation.

Populations resettled in off-city locations by government or on a self-initiated basis usually have strong community organizations and are readily identifiable as discrete clusters. For small and medium-sized cities where community organizing is relatively modest, population size, density, obvious levels of poverty, and readiness of the mayor to engage in participatory governance would constitute the major selection criteria. Bringing in community organizers or social development workers/facilitators is crucial for any community-driven development process.

Finally, a characteristic of effective community organizing for people's self-management and empowerment is the factor of time. Organizing is a long-term process that must be consistently nurtured in relation to the challenges being confronted by the community. While the term, "social preparation" has found acceptance in government procedures, civil society NGOs and POs recognize it as only a partial reflection of community organizing needs. Community organizing is a necessary element *throughout* the life of a community actively pursuing their goals. It becomes especially important when community members have decided to solve a common problem together. Thus investments in community organizing itself cannot be limited only to the early months of the intended project but necessarily continues throughout as the community learns and grows in strength and conviction to address its interests.

Beneficiary groups

Women organized in community groups or POs pursuing community-wide concerns *not* usually identified as "women's groups" represent the most productive partners for urban CDD in informal settlements. They are also in the best position to bring into community discussions key sets of beneficiaries in consultation with the barangay government. In addition to basic infrastructure improvement applicable to the entire community, some of the more vulnerable groups needing attention are single-headed parent households, unemployed or low and irregularly earning women and men, out of school youth, children, migrants, ethnic minorities and disabled and elderly residents,

Categories of Investments

The research results suggest that for urban CDD purposes, Philippine cities should be divided into three major categories: Metropolitan cities, Peri-Urban Resettlements, and Small/Medium-sized Cities (with rural barangays). For Metropolitan cities (with no rural barangays), the top priority centers around secure land tenure and housing, with basic services and income generation forming a close second. However, the tenure and housing priorities apply largely to communities with forms of insecure tenure as described in the sub-category types listed above (page 8). Urban CDD investment responses need to be differentiated in terms of these variations. For a fuller description, see Table 2.

Table 2. Communities in Various City Types Linked to Prospective Community-Driven Development Investments

Metro Manila Approach: Urban CDD/Basic Urban CDD Services				Peri-Urban Resettlement Approach		Medium and Small Cities Approach: Extended Rural CDD Model	
Without Formal Land Tenure		Formalization of Tenure in Process	With Formal Tenure	Government Resettlement	Community-initiated Resettlement		
<i>With no immediate threat of eviction</i>	<i>With immediate threat of eviction</i>						
<p><i>Basic Services</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • potable water • electricity • sanitation • communication • disaster mitigation • children’s health • reproductive health <p><i>Enhanced Income Generation</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • employment and livelihood • credit/microenterprise • financial literacy • marketing/value chains 	<p><i>Secure Land Tenure and Housing</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •clarifying onsite upgrading possibilities and/or identifying nearby incity relocation sites •confirmation of documents needed for land acquisition and secure tenure •training in documents completion •financial literacy for housing arrangements •housing design and community layouts; reblocking •clarifying installment payment schemes and legal document requirements •training in estate management 	<p><i>Secure Land Tenure and Housing</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •confirmation of secure land tenure •pursuing Implementing Rules and Regulations (IRR) •confirming security of tenure documents •housing design and community layouts; reblocking •clarifying installment payment schemes and legal document requirements •training in estate management <p><i>Basic services</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •potable water •electricity •sanitation 	<p><i>Basic Services</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • potable water • electricity • sanitation • communication • disaster mitigation • children’s health • reproductive health <p><i>Enhanced Income Generation</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • employment and livelihood • credit/microenterprise • financial literacy • marketing/value chains 	<p><i>Basic Services</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • potable water • electricity • sanitation • communication • disaster mitigation • children’s health • reproductive health • safety and security <p><i>Income Generation</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • employment and livelihood • credit/microenterprise • financial literacy • marketing/valu e chains • youth 	<p><i>Basic Services</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • potable water • electricity • sanitation • communication • disaster mitigation • children’s health • reproductive health <p><i>Income Generation</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • employment and livelihood • credit/microenterprise • financial literacy • marketing/value chain generation savings schemes financial literacy <p><i>Secure Land Tenure and Housing</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • from community title to individual title acquisition • arrangements for 	<p><i>Basic Services</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • potable water • electricity • sanitation • communication • disaster mitigation • children’s health • reproductive health <p><i>Secure Land Tenure and Housing</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • if existing informal settlements are threatened with evictions 	<p><i>Enhanced Income Generation</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • employment and livelihood • credit/microenterprise • financial literacy • marketing/value chains

	<p><i>Basic Services</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •potable water •electricity •sanitation •communication •disaster mitigation •children’s health •reproductive health <p><i>Enhanced income generation</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •employment and livelihood •credit/microenterprise •financial literacy •marketing/value chains 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •communication •disaster mitigation •children’s health •reproductive health <p><i>Enhanced income generation</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •employment and livelihood •credit/microenterprise •financial literacy •marketing/value chains 		<p>programs</p> <p><i>Secure land tenure and housing</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • confirming security of tenure documents • title acquisition • clarifying installment payment schemes and updated records 	those in payment arrears		
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Peri-urban resettlement sites can be further divided into two sub-categories: Government Resettlement and Community-initiated Resettlement. In the former case, since the resettlers are already housed in an off-city site, their issues tend to center around consolidation of their secure tenure status. That relates to the entire government-homeowner association interaction related to the processes entailed for confirming tenure relying on regular amortization payments. For self-initiated resettlers, the issues derive largely from their difficulties in moving completely into the new settlement. Many maintain a dual residential status that combines their former and current residential status, with the household members divided between the two locations during the week and mostly united on weekends. Their everyday issues, therefore, are less frequently secure tenure, but rather site development, estate management, and the ultimate acquisition of an individual title. Dominant rather is the lack of employment, livelihood or income. Overcoming these constraints will ultimately enable them to acquire their community title followed by individual titles, and move completely and permanently into their new site. The inadequacy of basic services continues to be key issues. Again, urban CDD is appropriate as a key approach to address an additional set of challenges.

For small and medium-sized cities, many of them also containing rural barangays as well as in-city poor neighborhoods of informal settlers not threatened by immediate eviction and relocation, the existing rural CDD model with some adaptations in a City-run local government remains appropriate.

The highest priority for investments in terms of community benefits are listed below, the actual choice depending on the particular situations of each community. The assistance of community organizers or social development workers along with organizing expenses is essential. To reiterate, for those informal settlements in *metropolitan and peri-urban resettlement sites*, Land and Housing investments would take highest priority, depending also on the tenure sub-category of the particular community. However, for metropolitan areas like Metro Manila, sub-types of land tenure situations must also be considered. Basic Services and Income Generation thus either come in as a close second in communities where land tenure insecurity is high, while they take on top priority status where land tenure security issues are minimal. For *small and medium-sized cities*, Income Generation and Basic Services would dominate except where a few clusters of informal settlers are immediately subject to eviction.

The most likely investments are thus the following:

1. Land and housing
 - Access to secure land tenure and housing: obtaining legal titles or usufruct rights
 - Community planning and housing design; site development, reblocking, estate management
 - Disaster preparedness, risk mitigation, and management
 - Skills training, especially for men, in building construction and site development work
 - Financial literacy
2. Income generation: employment and livelihood for men and women; youth employment programs

- Micro-enterprise and livelihood development
 - Skills training, access to technology and follow-up value chain marketing programs
 - Scholarships for children and youth in high school and college
 - Systematic links with potential employers
 - Urban agriculture
3. Basic services
- Environmental clean-up: sanitation, drainage and garbage collection
 - Health centers with appropriate medicine and staff; child nutrition and health; family planning and reproductive health; public health education, health monitoring of street foods
 - Potable water systems with 24-hour supply
 - School buildings and classrooms with enough chairs/desks for students; improved toilet facilities with running water
 - Electricity system for household connections and street lighting
 - Markets, paved streets, alleyways and paths, play spaces for children
 - Flood control
 - Cellphone signal access
4. Community organizing
- Financing administrative and staff costs of training and recruiting community organizers, in addition to overhead costs, from the conceptualization of a project through its completion
 - Fostering PO to PO advising and learning
 - Capability-building programs for city officials on participatory governance

Sustainability

If the community has freely participated in the innovative CDD process from the beginning, having discussed and selected the investment and played a role in its management and evaluation, there is a strong likelihood the members will sustain it as part of their strategies aiming toward upward mobility. Crucial for success are the fund contributions and technical assistance of city governments and other donors to reinforce the enabling environment for community action through participatory processes. Finally, recognizing and bolstering the strengths of women's leadership and engagements in urban informal settlements together with NGO support offers the best hope for active community-government partnerships.

Future Risks

With every change of government leadership come changes in policies and often a rejection of previous arrangements developed by the former leadership. In the context of President Rodrigo R. Duterte's administration, several points may need consideration:

1. Decreased urban poor community cohesion in light of the anti-drug actions promoted on the part of government in many of their neighborhoods.

2. The growing number of widows and orphaned children from drug related deaths or collateral damage may deter women from engagement in community activities.
3. Fear of government may become a factor in how communities view outside efforts from city and national officials.
4. The increasing prominence of the political Left and those urban communities its members have organized may call for another way for communities to deal with government; an increased willingness to deal with a supportive government but unwillingness to collaborate with other urban poor communities organized by the civil society or religious sector may lead to policy conflicts.
5. In Mindanao cities, especially in the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM)/Bangsamoro areas, approaches that Muslim communities might want to utilize in Urban Community-Driven Development are still to be developed.
6. The administration's orientation to World Bank partnerships and other external funding prospects in terms of counterpart funding for social programs like Urban CDD may shift.

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