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Author(s)	Nishimura, Kenichi
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People's Participation in Local Governance in the Philippines: A Case Study of the Quezon City Development Council

Kenichi Nishimura*

Abstract

In the Philippines, the Local Government Code 1991 (RA 7160) promulgates that every local government shall set up its own local development council. However, since then, most of the local governments have not established or if ever, have not put them to function. Quezon City in Metro Manila, one of the local governments which have not had the local development councils, started the process of setting up its city development council (CDC) in 2004. This paper follows that process and analyzes the attitudes and expectations of the stakeholders - the mayor, the NGOs / POs (People's Organizations), and the barangay captains — toward the CDC.

[Keywords] Philippines, local development council (LDC), city development council (CDC), Local Government Code 1991, NGO, people organization (PO), barangay captain

Introduction

The promulgation of the Local Government Code 1991 (RA 7160) was welcomed in the Philippines with a huge expectation for widening the space for people's participation in local governance through several mechanisms including local special bodies. According to the Rules and **Regulations Implementing the Local Government** Code of 1991 (Rules and Regulations), these local special bodies are the Local Development Councils (LDCs), Local Prequalification, Bids and Awards Committees, Local Health Boards, Local School Boards, Local Peace and Order Councils, and People's Law Enforcement Boards (Art. 63). Each of these is required by the RA 7160 and the Rules and Regulations to include NGOs / POs (People's Organizations) and private sector organizations in their membership. The LDCs, especially, embrace the widest range of sectors of interest and is the only local special body which is set up in all levels of local government from barangay to provinces (Art. 63 of the Rules and Regulations).

Had the LDCs functioned as expected, the people's participation in local developmental governance would have been successfully realized. However its realization has fallen short of expectations because the LDCs have not been functioning according to the law or sometimes not even convened at all. Even after a decade from the implementation of the Local Government Code of 1991, about 75% of local governments have not been operating LDCs¹. Or, at least, most of the local governments have not been conducting LDCs regularly².

^{*} Osaka University International Student Center, Associate Professor

With this fact as background, this paper, based on the author's field research in Quezon City, first explains the mechanisms of the Quezon City Development Council (CDC) and examines the features and problems of the CDC. Then, the paper further tries to discuss the implications of the CDC towards LDCs in general.

However, before going on to analyze the CDC, I will point out the reason for choosing Quezon City as a case study. The most striking fact is that Quezon City has been one of the local governments with inactive LDC despite the fact that there are so many NGOs and POs which locate their headquarters in this city.

Initially, I was going to concentrate on examining the reasons which have prevented the CDC from being set up. But, later on, it became clear that limiting my analysis to finding the reasons for the CDC's non-establishment was not sufficient to fully examine the possibility of institutionalization of participatory governance in a locality. So, I have decided to widen the scope of analysis of the Quezon City Development Council to observe how it has actually evolved.

Therefore, I will start my paper with a description of the circumstances behind the establishment of the CDC in 2004 and move on to explain the structure of the CDC and examine the attitude of its members toward its mechanisms and meanings.

1. Quezon City Development Council (CDC)

1-0 Profile of Quezon City

Quezon City was founded in 1939. Since then,

Quezon City has been politically important in the Philippines. Quezon City is one of the cities and municipalities composing Metro Manila. occupying one-quarter (16,112.12 hectares) of its total area and being its most populous city (2.17)million).³ It has 142 barangays⁴ and four congressional districts. Dominating business in the city are small and medium scale enterprises conducting sales and wholesales of final products (47% of total business establishments)⁵. On the other hand, forty to fifty percent of the population is suffering from poverty⁶. Therefore, one of the important policy issues is poverty alleviation.

Quezon City is one of the richest cities in the Philippines in terms of fiscal condition⁷. Its income in 2004 was 5.79 billion pesos and its budget surplus was 118.14 million pesos. The Internal Revenue Allotments for that year were 1.47 billion pesos which accounts for 25.4% of the total income of the city. This is a relatively small portion compared with the average percentage (68.93%, as of 2002⁸) for local governments in the Philippines.

Besides the projects for poverty alleviation and environmental programs, one of the prime development projects is the establishment of the Central Business District.

1-1 The process leading up to the establishment of the Quezon City Development Council (CDC)

Quezon City had not convened the CDC for more than a decade since the Local Government Code of 1991 was promulgated. During Mayor Ismael Mathay's term (until 2001), there was no CDC. And during the first term of Mayor Feliciano Belmonte (from 2001 to 2004), he tried to convene a regular meeting of the CDC in 2003. But that meeting was not successful and after that he did not convene any meetings during his first term.

During these barren periods, one NGO network had been driving for the realization of the CDC in Quezon City. The "Article 64 Movement" was named after an article of the Rules and Regulations Implementing the Local Government Code of 1991 which provides regulation on accreditation of NGOs and POs for local special bodies. This movement had already sued former Mayor Mathay to the Ombudsman for not setting up the CDC in February 2000. In reaction to the suit, Mayor Mathay only gave an order to the vice mayor to start the accreditation process of NGOs and POs and there was no meaningful development after that⁹.

Then Mayor Belmonte took office in 2001. But still there was no concrete attempt to found the CDC. Also the city budget of 2002 and 2003 were made without resolutions from the CDC. Following this the Article 64 Movement again brought a case to the Ombudsman against Mayor Belmonte for implementing 2002 appropriations without consultation with the CDC on February 26, 2003¹⁰.

However, the attitude of Mayor Belmonte toward the CDC was somewhat different from his predecessor. As early as August 2001, the city government started to distribute application forms to NGOs and POs. But, the attestation ceremony of NGOs and POs was not held until the end of August 2002¹¹. This may show the red tape of bureaucracy and some hesitation by the mayor and city government to make official cooperative relations with NGOs and POs. But another reason for the delay was that Mayor Belmonte still had not established a strong political base within the city government bureaucracy and city councilors during the early days of his first term. It is a matter of fact that the mayor could not make his first state of the city address within the first days of his inauguration. He only delivered it in September of that year¹². According to a case study on the collaborative approach for the city / municipality development, one of the important factors for a successful collaboration between a local government and civil society is the political stability within that local government¹³. The episode of Quezon City also confirms the results of that study.

However, in February 2003, the CDC's inaugural meeting was held, and NGO/PO representatives were invited to paticipate as members. That meeting failed because the mayor just submitted the city's comprehensive development plans to the members and asked for their immediate approval, but also partly because of misbehavior by NGO/PO representatives. According to some NGO/PO representatives who attended, many of them did not understand enough about the CDC's purpose and they just competed to get as much of the city budget as possible for their own projects. Also there were no clear principles and directions for the policy of the CDC¹⁴. All things considered, lack of understanding by both the city government and the CDC's members were the causes of the meeting's failure. After all, we had to wait for Mayor Belmonte's reelection in 2004 to see the activation of the CDC.

1-2 Outline of Quezon City Development Council (CDC)

The CDC is composed of 198 members, including the city mayor as chairman, four congresspersons from the districts within Quezon city, the chairperson of the city council's Committee on Appropriations, all of the 142 barangay captains, and fifty NGO/PO representatives¹⁵. The proportion and/or the number of each category are stipulated by law (Local Government Code 1991), however the sectors and the number in each sector of NGO/PO representatives are not stipulated. In the case of Quezon city, there are nineteen sectors, and the number of representatives from each sector are outlined below.¹⁶

Urban Poor:	10
Cooperative:	3
Charitable / Civic:	3
Education / Academic:	3
Livelihood / Vendors:	3
Labor / Workers:	2
Social Justice / Peace & Order:	2
Women:	3
Homeowners:	3
Youth / Children:	2
Business:	2
Environment:	2
Elderly:	2
Health / Sanitation:	1
Social / Cultural Development:	2
Transportation:	2
Professional:	3
Religious:	1
Persons with Disability:	1

1-2-2 Structure of the CDC

In accordance with the Local Government Code,

the CDC has an Executive Committee (Sec. 111) and may have Sectoral Committees (Sec. 112). In the case of Quezon City, these sectoral committees are the Physical Committee, the Governance Committee, the Social Committee, and the Economic Committee¹⁷.

Regarding the function and schedule of each committee's meetings, the Internal Rules say that the Regular Meeting of the CDC shall be held "at least once every six months" and the Special Meeting may be held at the discretion of the chairman at any time "when public interest so demands" (Rule 3, Sec. 3). The Executive Committee functions "in behalf of the CDC when it is not in session" and convenes "at least once a month" (Rule 5, Sec. 13). On the other hand, each sectoral committee shall function as an institution to collect data and information in their specific sector, define sectoral targets of development, identify programs and projects, and coordinate and monitor the implementation of projects in each sector (Rule 6, Sec. 14). Sectoral committees are supposed to hold meetings every month and make resolutions to be submitted at the CDC's Regular Meeting.

Beside its legal composition, the CDC has its own unique organization, the Council of Sectoral Representatives (CSR), which is composed of NGO/PO representatives of the CDC. The CSR was organized in March 2005, even before the first CDC regular meeting, on the initiative of NGO/PO representatives themselves¹⁸.

The CSR was established as an official forum for NGOs and POs to make their voice stronger, and to formulate project proposals of its members. In the CSR, its members have been discussing, for

example, the CDC's ideal functions, structure (including its four legal committees), and internal rules and regulations. The ideas raised by the CSR have affected the decisions of the mayor relating to the mechanism of the CDC. Actually, the sectoral committees and the Internal Rules of Procedure of the Quezon City Development Council (Internal Rules) were made upon the CSR's recommendation¹⁹. Also upon the CSR's recommendations, the mayor decided to include the chairmen of four committees and the floor leader and deputy floor leader of the regular meeting of the CDC in the Executive Committee. Therefore in Quezon City, the Executive Committee of the CDC has expanded its membership compared with the standard model which is stipulated by law²⁰. In these points, the CDC of Quezon city is more open to the people than what the Local Government Code expected to be the standard type for a city Development Council.

2. Attitudes of Members towards the CDC

2-1 Representatives from NGOs and POs

NGOs and POs generally express a huge expectation of the CDC and participate actively. As mentioned before, from the start some NGOs have taken a leading role in the founding and functioning of the CDC. Besides the Article 64 Movement, Mr. Antonio Padilla of Kapit-Bisig ng Kabataan Pilipinas Foundation (Youth / Children Sector), a representative from the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (Environment Sector), Dr. Feliciano Roque of Masambong Community Club, Inc. (Homeowners Sector), and Mr. Pedro de Jesus of Novaliches Development Coop., Inc. (Cooperative Sector) among others took a leading role in the establishment of the CDC^{21} .

For NGO/PO representatives, the CDC is a place for different sectors to openly discuss their concerns and through participation in the CDC, NGOs and POs can put their own projects into the city's development plan²². And through participation in the CDC, NGOs and POs can construct a good relationship with city government and barangay captains so they can become partners for the development of the city²³.

However, this relatively high expectation and active attitude towards the CDC are not necessarily shared widely among NGOs and POs. Some NGOs and POs are critical of political intervention in the process of NGO/PO accreditation and point out that there are several pro-mayor NGO/PO representatives²⁴. And some NGO/PO representatives just do not attend the CDC's meetings. For example, among twelve members from NGO/POs of the Physical Committee, two did not attend any of the eight meetings of the committee, two attended only once, one attended two times, and the other two attended half of the eight meetings. As a result, the average attendance percentage of NGO/PO members to the committee (50%) is less than that of the members who are barangay captains (52.8%)²⁵. The reasons for this indifference and passiveness seem varied. Some do not attend because of political reasons, such as being from a different "political faction." NGOs and POs who are close to former president Estrada do not feel comfortable being with Mayor Belmonte who is one of the leaders of LAKAS and close to President Arroyo²⁶. Some NGOs and POs do not attend the meetings because of financial constraints²⁷. And some other

NGOs and POs don't really understand the function and usefulness of the CDC and their role within it²⁸.

This third reason for the passiveness of some NGOs and POs - lack of understanding of the CDC's mechanisms and their roles within it - also affects the functioning of the CSR. The CSR had been holding meetings regularly in the first few months when the presiding officer was the representative from the Article 64 Movement which has been active in the field of advocacy and training for local governance including Local Development Councils. However, after he had resigned from that position due to frustration with the slow pace of the CDC's progress, CSR meetings have become irregular²⁹. One reason for this is insufficiency of knowledge about the planning process of projects and practical know how relating to managing a deliberation and decision making body like the CSR among NGO/PO representatives³⁰.

2-2 Barangay captains

Although there are various attitudes among barangay captains towards the CDC, some of NGO/PO representatives and even some barangay captains themselves point out that not a small portion of them are not very active in their participation in the CDC. According to those who pointed out the inactiveness of barangay captains, there are several reasons which affect their attitudes.

One noteworthy point which was aired by a NGO/PO representative is that barangay captains have their own traditional ways for planning projects and budgeting for them which go through personal connections with congresspersons, the city mayor and city councilors. And this point is, according to some NGO/PO representatives, connected with another problem related to barangay captains that they do not really understand and appreciate the function and usefulness of the CDC. This issue was taken up by the Governance Committee of the CDC as the reason for their project recommendation of regular seminars on local governance for barangay captains.

Another factor affecting inactiveness of barangay captains is their distrust of NGOs and POs. Because of this, according to a NGO/PO representative, it took almost two years to construct a cooperative relationship between barangay captains and NGOs and POs in order to set up the CDC and that continuous review is necessary to maintain this relationship. This is one of the reasons why most of the barangay development councils are not convened by barangay captains. However, one thing we have to consider regarding this point, according to another NGO/PO representative, is that at the barangay level some NGOs or POs are organized by political rivals and latent rivals of barangay captains and councilors. This means that the relationship between barangay captains and NGOs and POs sometimes has a political nature.

The third factor affecting inactiveness of barangay captains is time and financial restriction. As one barangay captain gave vent to his feelings, he said that the committee meetings and regular meetings are additional work for barangay captains and these can delay the planning and budgeting process of city and barangay development projects. And the latter issue is also an important matter as another barangay captain pointed out that some barangay captains who are working for companies might hesitate to attend these meetings without any compensation for a loss of one-day's salary. This point is somewhat shared by NGO/PO representatives also.

Because of the absence of barangay captains, some committee meetings were not officially recognized for failing to meet the quorum.

Nevertheless, barangay captains also have been reacting positively to the CDC mechanism in some ways. One is related to the financial difficulties of barangays. There is an expectation among barangay captains that their large-scale projects, which are too expensive for barangay's financial capacity, will be able to receive a reliable budget source from the city government through the CDC. As one barangay captain said, CDC is expected to provide authority to the barangay development projects as a proper part of the city's comprehensive development project.

Secondly, the CDC is the place for them to learn ideas relating to development projects and plans as well as practical know how of governance. Probably a series of seminars and workshops on several kinds of project formulation and governance issues which they have been attending make them recognize the usefulness of the CDC.

Thirdly, the CDC is a place for them to voice their concerns and complaints. One opposing barangay captain always attends the general meeting of the CDC and speaks his own opinions including critical comments about the city's policies. And several barangay captains also appeal for their own barangay's projects to be included into the city's development projects during the general meeting. For them, the CDC provides a good forum in which to make their concerns public.

2-3 City Mayor³¹

Mayor Belmonte is one of the famous mayors in the Philippines for his reformist style of governance. From 2003 to 2004, he and Quezon City received the awards for the Most Outstanding Mayor of the Philippines, the Top 10 Outstanding Local Government Programs, the 2003 Most Livable Community Award, and the Model of Good Governance among others³². These awards suggest that he is open to innovative measures for governance.

Actually, taking into consideration the fact that there are very few big cities like Quezon City which have a CDC, Mayor Belmonte expressed the aspiration to provide the first example of a big city which operates a CDC successfully in the Philippines.

The next point which should be examined is what the mayor considers the utility and problems of CDC to be. Now that the mayor has decided to set up the CDC, he must be convinced of some of its merits. First of all, the mayor agrees with the general rationale of the CDC, namely the promotion of the widest range of peoples' participation in local governance. Also, the major is supposed to comply with the law. However, there are a few other reasons to utilize the CDC for local governance.

One reason is related to the relationship with

NGOs and POs. For the mayor, barangay captains are not so difficult to deal with because they have been well informed about the city policies and are mostly supportive of them. The mayor and the barangay captains are in contact constantly. On the other hand, it is difficult for the mayor to predict the reactions to city policies by NGOs and POs. From the viewpoint of the mayor, NGOs and POs are "askers". That is because NGOs and POs have not been in the position to access information from the city. This is true even for NGO/PO representatives of the CDC. Therefore, a key point for successful policy implementation is how to make NGOs and POs engage in the city's policy making.

Another reason to utilize the CDC is to mobilize support for city policy from the people. For that purpose, he hopes to use the CDC as a forum to present information about city plans, and to submit them for discussion and voting for approval. For example, the development plan of the Central Business District was submitted to the third CDC regular meeting on February 7, 2006. One of the difficult issues of that project is handling the evacuation of poor residents from the project site. Thereupon the mayor used the CDC to explain about the project and to secure full support from its members including the representatives from the urban poor sector.

Some NGO/PO representatives especially criticize this second reason that the mayor considers when he operates the CDC³³.

3. Concerns and Issues Regarding the CDC

Besides the several issues we have seen above, there are some other concerns regarding the CDC. Some of them will be discussed below.

3-1 Possibility of Political Intervention

The selection process of NGO/PO representatives is one of the issues of concern. There is always a possibility of political intervention and exclusion of genuine NGOs and POs. A study on the local development councils by DILG found that the "Local Chief Executive determines which NGOs are invited to participate, which amounts to political interference, and causes a lack of transparency in accreditation"³⁴. This is partly because of the ambiguity in the regulation of the selection process. Article 64 of the Rules and Regulations, which promulgates the procedures and guidelines for selection of representatives of POs, NGOs, and those from the private sector in local special bodies, gives authority to the city council to recognize the POs, NGOs and organizations from private sector to meet "the minimum requirements for membership of such organizations in local special bodies". Considering the power balance between the mayor and the city council, it means that from the start of accreditation, there are certain spaces for the mayor to meddle in the selection of NGO/PO representatives. Even though Article 64 says that selection of representatives will be done by themselves in a meeting to choose representatives, the mayor may be able to choose who can attend said meeting explicitly or implicitly.

How about in the case of Quezon City? The accreditation process of NGO/PO started in October 2004 with candidates applying to the Community Relations Office of the city government. At that stage, the application documents were only checked to see if they had been completed correctly, and the application period continued for almost one year. As a result, more than eight hundred NGOs and POs were accredited. This was, according to a councilor, because the city government tried to encourage as many NGOs and POs as possible to participate in local governance. It seems that the attitude of the city government to NGOs and POs was openhearted.

However, there may be a different story if we see this process from a different angle. One nationwide NGO member pointed out that opening the window widely may allow "fly-bynight" NGOs to be accredited and it is easy for mayors to manipulate the accreditation process. In fact, there are at least six NGO/PO representatives who are city government employees themselves or who have relatives working in the city government. And some of the leaders of NGO/PO representatives are said to be close to the mayor. In total, at least ten of the NGO/PO representatives have personal connections with the mayor. Although several NGO/PO representatives testified that the election for NGO/PO representatives was democratic and there was no pressure \mathbf{or} interference from the city government, if there are more pro-mayor than non-pro-mayor NGOs among the participants in the election, there may be more pro-mayor NGOs among NGO/PO representatives.

But we should not be in a hurry to judge the selection process of NGO/PO representatives, because there are also several representatives from NGOs and POs who take a critical or neutral position towards the mayor. For example, a representative from the "Article 64 Movement" became the presiding officer of the

CSR although he resigned within a few months. Another NGO/PO representative of the urban poor sector who had kept distance from the mayor and observed his performance during his first term (from 2001 to 2004) has finally decided to participate in the CDC in his second term because he has been convinced of the mayor's sincerity for people's participation. And Mr. Gerardo Bulatao, executive director of Empowering Civic Participation in Governance (ECPG) which has been conducting advocacy and training activities for development of local governance since the very first year of enforcement of RA 7160, is also a member of the CDC and graded the mayor as "democratic enough" even though "he doesn't recognize fully the CDC's real value yet"³⁵. The fact that CDC members including the oppositionist group in NGO/PO representatives have been participating relatively actively may show that the legitimacy of the selection process of the NGO/PO representatives is shared among NGOs and POs. Or we may say this process is politically practical for both city government and oppositionist NGOs.

3-2 Efficiency problems of the CDC

There is another problem for the CDC - the problem of efficiency. This is partly related to the technical matter of organizing the CDC and the system designing of the CDC as stipulated by law. First of all, there are such a large number of members in the CDC's regular meeting. In the case of Quezon City, there are 198 members, all of whom are entitled to participate by law. However it is not so easy to adjust and compile the concerns of such a large number of interested parties and therefore the pace of planning through the CDC is slow³⁶. Secondly, as mentioned above, insufficient knowledge about the CDC among its members causes a delay in the decision making process. In fact, all of the four sectoral committees had to conduct a series of seminars outlining the process of planning and implementation of projects and so on. Also, this lack of knowledge may cause indifference and result in absence to meetings of the CDC. Actually, the sectoral committees ended in failure several times because they were short of the quorum.

The third point is the lack of an effective relationship between the CDC and the Barangay Development Council (BDC) within the city. Firstly, there are still few barangays which operate a BDC substantially and most BDCs are just for show.³⁷ Secondly, the barangay captains have a tendency to choose NGOs or POs which are close to them and easy to deal with³⁸. Related to this point is that there may be a tendency among barangay captains to consider NGOs and POs as minor partners³⁹. And thirdly, most of the barangay captains do not understand enough about bottom up planning and city-wide development planning⁴⁰.

3-3 Coverage of the budget by the CDC

The third problem for the CDC is related to coverage of the city budget planning through the CDC. The understanding shared among the members of the CDC and the city government is that the CDC will formulate a development plan for the city covered by 20% of the Internal Revenue Allotment (IRA). As mentioned above, the IRA occupies only one-forth of the total income of Quezon City. Considering this, CDC can recieve only $5\sim 6\%$ of total budget of the city. This means that budgets formed through people's participation only receive a small portion of government funding.

4. Conclusion: including several issues from other local government units' experiences

What are the implications that the case of Quezon City Development Council tells us? One thing is the importance of substantial participation of NGOs and POs in the CDC process for practical operation of the CDC. Also a crucial factor for successful establishment of CDCs is the political will of the chief executive. As the cases of the two mayors of Quezon City showed us, even a legal measure by NGOs against the chief executive cannot force the founding of a CDC if the chief executive decides not to cooperate. This is also true in other local government units. For example, the provincial development council of Cavite Province once became active during the term of Governor Ramon Revilla Jr. (from 1998 to 2001) but after he left office it became dormant⁴¹. And in the case of San Fernando City in La Union, its CDC became active only after Mayor Mary Jane Ortega took office in 1998. During the term of her predecessor, who is her brother in law, its Local Development Council was just nominal. Mayor Ortega is, like Mayor Belmonte, famous for her reformative governance.

The second point is that the Local Development Councils may be able to foster an atmosphere of cooperation between the local government and NGOs. This is what the NGO/PO representatives of Quezon City CDC are expecting. And the case of San Fernando City illustrates that this is somewhat true. According to the city planning officer of that city, the merits of a CDC include realizing better coordination between the city government and the member NGOs and barangays, and helping to improve networking among the communities⁴².

The third point is that the local development councils can provide lessons and training to its members and empower local communities. As we have seen, the sectoral committees of the Quezon City CDC have conducted several seminars about governance and recommended a series of seminars to the barangay captains as a city development program. These seminars as well as actual practices of the CDC meetings may train the barangay captains and NGO/PO representatives in development planning. Again, the city planning officer of San Fernando City pointed out after seven years of experience that one of the CDCs merits of is enabling community empowerment. According to him, thanks to CDCs, local communities acquire knowledge on how to assess their own capacity, and how to construct and implement their plans.43.

As Mayor Belmonte said that the CDC is still "evolving"⁴⁴, there is not enough assurance that the organization will be a fully matured institution for people's participation in the near future. Nonetheless, the likes of Mayor Belmonte, the NGO/PO representatives, and the barangay captains have succeeded in embarking on the first milestone of an inspiring endeavor to empower the local community.

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- 34 Department of the Interior and Local Government, A Study on People's

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- 35 Interview with Mr. Bulatao, March 21, 2006.
- 36 Interview with a city official of the Quezon City, September 15, 2005.
- 37 Interviews with Mr. Bulatao (September 8, 2005 and March 21, 2006), Mr. Padilla (March 17, 2006), a representative from the Urban Poor (March 21, 2006).
- 38 Interviews with Mr. Rosales and Mr. Giron (September 13, 2005), Mr. Bulatao (March 21, 2006), and Mr. Padilla (March 17, 2006).
- 39 Interview with a barangay captain from

District 1, March 21, 2006.

- 40 Interviews with a city official of the Quezon City (September 15, 2005) and a representative from the Charitable / Civic (August 31, 2006).
- 41 Interview with a member of the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (Cavite Chapter), March 15, 2006.
- 42 Interview with the City Planning Officer of San Fernando City, August 25, 2006.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Interview with Mayor Belmonte, March 16, 2006.