



To Induce or Not to Induce:

*The (Non) Participation of Local Development Actors in the
Integrated Solid Waste Management of Tagbilaran City, Bohol, Philippines*

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Acronyms

BANGON	Bohol Alliance of Non Government Organizations
BCDS	Bohol Center for Development Studies
BEMO	Bohol Environment Management Office
CENRO	City Environment and Natural Resources Officer
CESWAMB	City Ecological Solid Waste Management Board
CLGU	City Local Government Unit
CPDO	City Planning and Development Office
CSWM	City Solid Waste Management
DENR	Department of Environment and Natural Resources
DILG	Department of the Interior and Local Government
ELAC	Environment Legal Assistance Center
ESWM	Ecological Solid Waste Management
ESWMB	Ecological Solid Waste Management Board
ESWMP	Ecological Solid Waste Management Program
ISWM	Integrated Solid Waste
LGC	Local Government Code
LGU	Local Government Unit
MRF	Material Recovery Facility
MTDP	Mid-Term Development Plan
NEDA	National Economic Development Authority
NGA	National Government Agency
NSWM	National Solid Waste Management
PENRO	Provincial Environment and Natural Resources Officer
PISWMP	Provincial Integrated Solid Waste Management Plan
PLGU	Provincial Local Government Unit
PPDO	Provincial Planning and Development Office
SWM	Solid Waste Management
SWMO	Solid Waste Management Officer

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these trying times and look forward to a brighter tomorrow...*

Mabuhay ka Pilipinas!

Abstract

This paper explores the participation or the lack of it by the local actors in the Solid Waste Management sector in the City of Tagbilaran, Bohol, Philippines. It endeavours to understand the rationale behind a case of ‘disconnect’ in ‘participatory roles’ amidst the background of democratization, decentralization and participatory governance leading to the notions of state and community failure. The paper takes advantage of governance theories in conceptualizing the main argument that is *in an episode of what may be categorized as a situation of ‘failure’ on the part of the actors in the ‘governance triangle’*, the bureaucracy still stands as the most significant driver to revolutionize solutions to development issues by virtue of its ‘responsibility to its citizenry’ or more formally its nature institutionally, legally and organizationally. It is not the people in the community, the private firms and non-government organizations nor funding donors who have the inherent role to induce participation despite becoming parallel bodies mirroring this intrinsic responsibility by the government. While most often than not, in today’s era of globalization and modern societies these other actors are acknowledged to have more capacity in all aspects especially financially and technical expertise wise, the point of the matter is that, in the absence of the state’s participation, the whole exercise is deemed futile. It is therefore the state who is the absolute actor in the position to ‘induce participation²’ where there is lack in ‘organic participation³’ among other players. Different forms of partnership may evolve e.g. as depicted in the ‘expanded governance triangle’ (see chapter 2) but it is important to acknowledge that despite the apparent incapacity of the state, it should at the very least still remain as the ‘non-negotiable actor’ of participation process in local development.

Relevance to Development Studies

Complexities in governance especially in developing countries continue to evolve in parallel with a lot of sociological, economic and more evidently for some countries, political factors. The shiftology chart from power concentration to resource management to devolution of responsibilities has continued to provide interesting and oftentimes unpredictable and elusive patterns for interpretations making it a rich field of debates and study analyses. In fact nothing is ever absolute in this arena which distinctively separates it from the ‘natural sciences’. This study joins the attempts to analyze occurrences in communities particularly the relationship surrounding participation of local development actors and more specifically in the solid waste management sector especially in governments with decentralized systems.

Keywords

Participation, Organic and Induced Participation, Open and Close Patronage, Decentralization, Participatory Governance, Solid Waste Management, Tagbilaran City

Chapter 1

Introduction: *Let's talk trash*

The putrid smell of garbage/basura/déchets/vuilnis/müll /takataka commonly called trash engulfs the open dumpsite of barangay Dampas. Stray dogs rummage over the mountain of filth with livestock animals e.g. cows, pigs and goats feeding off some unidentifiable waste materials. The entire place is swarmed with flies and other insects. Meanwhile a group of scavengers patiently rifles through what they might consider salvageable belongings or rather things that can be sold e.g. scrap of metals, papers, some plastics and bottles. The pungent odour is just too much to bear. It makes anyone sick to the stomach. (Annex A) Understandably, a person may not be able to think clear in the middle of such mess but a range of questions begin to swamp the mind: how can anyone stand spending every day of their lives here? Why risk one's health to be able to sell something that will only make your family live for a day? What did the government do or did not do? Why are they allowing this to happen? What happened to the people in the community? Why is this place continuing to operate despite three closure orders from the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR)? Is this the prize to pay for urbanization?

The Philippines together with Indonesia, parts of China and India are the listed among the countries in Asia that faces the greatest challenge in solid waste management (Urban Development Sector Unit East Asia and Pacific Region, 1999). It is an often time neglected practice despite being obviously a looming issue in a community. The management of solid wastes has formed part of the basic services that the government has been trying to deliver. The truth however as heavily evidenced by documented case studies is that, solid waste management is not a matter for the state alone to manage. The roles of the different state and non-state actors involved underscore a symbiotic relationship of participation and empowerment in this endeavour and how in the advent of decentralization, the rise of citizen participation especially in the developing countries has essentially acknowledged the adoption of mechanisms for participatory governance addressing delivery of services through participatory planning to participatory monitoring and evaluation.

1.1 Tagbilaran city and its solid waste management problematique⁴

Tagbilaran, the capital of the island province of Bohol, is a second class⁵ city composed of 15 barangays all classified urbanized. The city is located 630 kilometres southeast of Manila, Philippines (*Annex B*). Tagbilaran is the province's center of trade and commerce. Dubbed as the 'city of friendship'⁶, Tagbilaran has had its fair share of local and international recognitions. It has been labelled as one of the Eight (8) Philippine Dream Cities by the Institute of Solidarity in Asia along with the Island Garden City of Samal, San Fernando, La Union, Cebu City, Iloilo City, Marikina, Naga, Calbayog City and Surigao City; enlisted in the 20 'Most Competitive Cities in the Philippines' as well as the 'Pinoy Cities on the Rise' in the year 2005 and 2007; and awarded by the Asian Institute of Management (AIM) Policy center as first in the Quality of life category also for the same two years. The city has a total population of 96,792; the highest in the province as of May 2010 recorded under the latest Census of Population and Housing report of the National Statistics Office. Of the said population, 41% reside in the four urban barangays where trade and commerce are concentrated. The magnitude of individuals in Tagbilaran increases during school season when most of the students and members of the academe from various towns in the province and other nearby provinces arrive and occupy lodgings in the city to study, teach or work. Total number of schools excluding vocational and other skills training facilities where

recorded with thirty six (36) private and public institutions from elementary to college level (Integrated Solid Waste Management Plan, City of Tagbilaran 10-year 2005-2014).

Given the aforementioned data, it is not surprising to note that Tagbilaran is the highest waste generator of the province with a recorded 58,075 kg/day⁷. SWM continues to be one of its developmental issues. The city is still operating an open dumpsite inside a sinkhole located in Dampas, one of its barangays. The practice continues despite the fact that the city local government already received its 3rd closure order (*Annex C*) from the Office of the Regional Director of the Environmental Management Bureau (EMB) under the DENR, last April 2011 in relation to the violation of Section 37 outlining the Prohibition against the Use of Open Dumps for Solid Waste under Republic Act (RA) 9003, providing for an Ecological Solid Waste Management Program (ESWMP) in the country. Current SWM practices of the city shows that the burden of garbage collection of wastes from households in all fifteen (15) barangays and other identified establishments is still done by the city LGU. Collected solid wastes are then disposed to the open dumpsite which is privately-owned with an area of 26,300 sq.m., and a depth of 8m. Some private schools manage their own solid wastes while hospitals have their septic vaults and big private corporations acquired their lands and established their SWM independently.

‘Even as Bohol holds the distinction of being the first province in the country to enact a provincial environment code using the integrated waste management approach in 1998, preceding R.A. 9003 by two years, the provincial government acknowledges that much remains to be done about waste management’ (Bohol, PISWMP, 2013-2022). In the Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) (*Annex D*) on the compliance of RA 9003 Best Practices of 2010 conducted by the Ecological Solid Waste Management Board (ESWMB) of Bohol, Tagbilaran City was ranked 20th in the ESWM practices bested by 19 municipalities in the province out of 48 LGUs (47 municipalities and 1 city). Being a city and the only one so far in Bohol, the performance falls short bearing certain assumptions on advantages of a city over municipalities in performance competition. Still the report shows that Tagbilaran has poor institutional mechanisms. The SWM office does not hold an efficient nor extensive database. For one, it does not have a copy of the city’s SWM Plan hence it is no surprise that the findings of the ESWM board in the conduct of its M&E noted that there were no documents showing designation of ESWM focal person, no organized ESWMB and the barangays’ ESWM committees are also not established. Again, no available information was gathered under the equity category, no ESWM related ordinances were identified, no garbage collection fees imposed, no information education campaign (IEC) on ESWM were conducted, nor evidence of waste segregation implementation and closure plan of dumpsite done is still missing. Wouldn’t it suffice to call the city local government a total junk if one has to base judgements on this report?

While a lot of policies have been enacted from the city local government as well as the barangay level addressing the SWM problem from reduction at source, to segregation, collection and transfer and the overall management of wastes, one look at residential areas for example would already highlight non-compliance to these policies. There is an evident ‘passiveness’ among the constituents, establishments and other institutions in addressing the said issue strategically. In random conversations conducted with the residents in Purok Candait⁸, barangay Dampas, a former public elementary school principal⁹ expressed how it was a disappointing experience for him to have earnestly taught students in school to practice segregation only to get the shock in the children’s faces when the garbage collectors from the city comes along, gather all their receptacles and hastily dropped all the garbage together regardless of classification in the truck. There is a ‘disconnect’ in the efforts of the city to encourage the practice

when the city local government unit (CLGU) in fact have not abided with their own rules. Of course it is easy to point a finger at the CLGU but what about the people in the community? Do they justify the right to complain when they too deserve to be criticized for being unreceptive? Do they not also deserve to carry the burden of managing their own garbage? Why dump it on the city local government only? As for the CLGU, why allow this mess to pile up? Does the scenario highlight an age-old theory of participation? Where *'the classical picture of democratic man is hopelessly unrealistic and moreover, that in a view of the facts about political attitudes, an increase in political participation by present non-participants could only upset the stability of the democratic system'*? (Pateman, 1970:3)

1.2 Philippines' solid waste management situationer

Under Section 1, Article X of the 1987 Philippine Constitution, 'the territorial and political subdivisions of the Republic of the Philippines are composed of the provinces, cities, municipalities, and barangays'. The enactment of RA No. 7160 otherwise known as the Local Government Code (LGC) of 1991 or the LGC of the Philippines essentially empowered local government units (LGUs) by ...*'granting local autonomy to attain fullest development through the powers and authority entrusted over them. The state policy likewise encourages periodic consultations among non-state actors as such including non-governmental, people and/or community organizations and other concerned sectors of the community in the implementation of any program or projects in their areas...'* It is through this Act that all other national policies are easily cascaded down to the local government units. The approval for example of R.A. 9003¹⁰ easily points out the roles of LGUs in its implementation including among others the mandate for every city and municipality the establishment of a City/Municipal Solid Waste Management Board that ... *'shall prepare, submit and implement a plan for the safe and sanitary management of solid waste generated in areas under its geographic and political coverage..'* the respective cities and municipalities later delegate responsibilities down to the barangays.

In order to have a glimpse of the SWM policy activity in the Philippines, below is an illustration of its institutional structure:

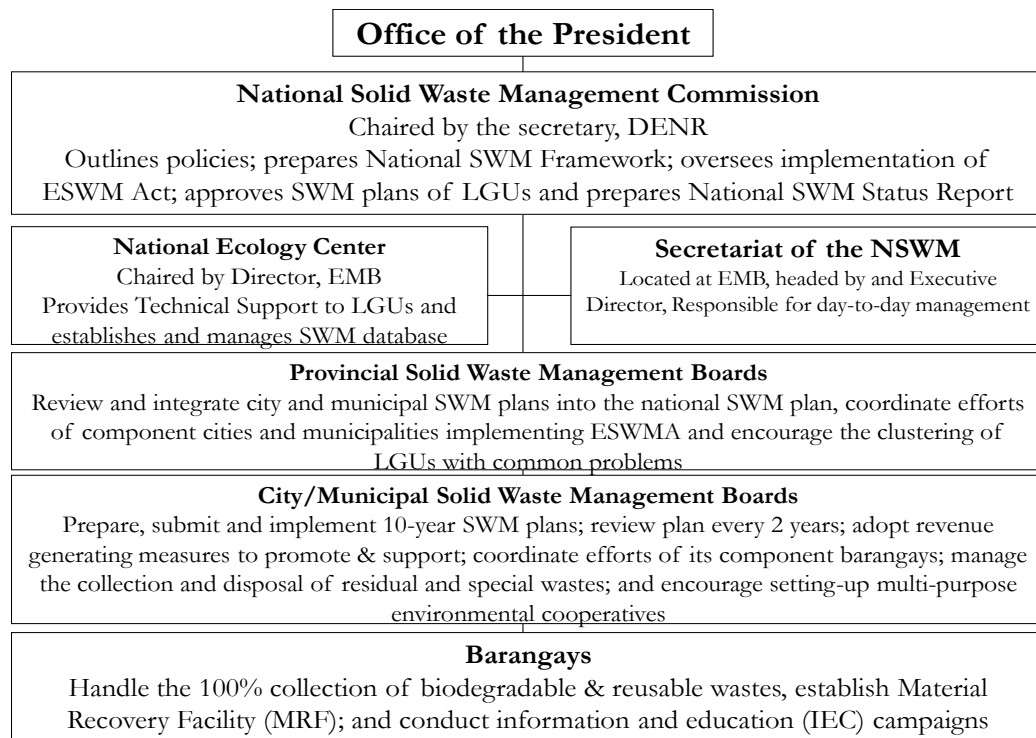


Figure 1. Institutional Arrangements Mandated by ESWM Act of 2000/ RA 9003
Adapted from Atienza, 2011, Source: World Bank. 2001. Philippines Environment Monitor

1.3 Research objectives and questions

Research Objectives

This paper seeks to uncover the parameters of participation or the *non-participation* of the local development actors in the ISWM of the city of Tagbilaran examining the challenges in the roles of these actors within the mechanisms in participatory governance. The paper further aims to contribute as an alternative or additional data for analysis of the policy makers most especially to the CLGU of Tagbilaran. In the light of the study's quest for information, the paper further targets to formulate a stakeholder's diagram analysis of the actors in the current ISWM practice of the city and how these actors are linked (or not) in policy and planning to implementation activities.

Research Questions

The main enquiry exploring *the changing dynamics of participation among the local actors in the Solid Waste Management of the city of Tagbilaran against the background of 'unripe notions of democratization'* pursue the following specific questions: a) how does the role of the state affect the participation of the other actors in solid waste management?; b) what is the significance of the participation of non-state actors in the SWM if such function is attributed mainly as a role of the state?; and c) how is failure in participation possible for both the state and community in the case of Tagbilaran city?

1.4 Methodology

This paper implores a case study research through narrative inquiry on the ISWM structure of the city of Tagbilaran City located in the Central Visayas, Philippines adhering to the four principles that should underlie all good social science research as advocated by Yin, that is an analysis that should be evidenced-based¹¹, with rival interpretations being considered, addressing the most significant aspect of the case and the use of own expert knowledge in the said case study (Yin, 2009: 160). The methods used therefore are interviews of key informants, desk analysis of documents and participant observation. The study further attempts to draft a stakeholder's analysis to aid in summarizing the central point of the study that is the framework of participation or the lack of it among the local actors in development.

1.5 Scope, limitations and organization of the paper

Participation, participatory governance, actors in local development, integrated solid waste management and decentralization are all too broad concepts to be extensively discussed and condensed together, hence, this paper will only focus on participation in the local context specifically adhering to the kind of participation emanated in community development with the assumptions identified by Pretty (1995) wherein *communities are well-informed*: people know better than professionals about their problems and needs; *communities are competent*: being survival experts, people will make the right decisions to improve their well-being; *communities are capable*: people have time and resources at their disposal; and *communities are reliable*: people have a sense of fairness and will make sure that all of them will benefit. These assumptions are specifically used as lens to probe only the case of the city of Tagbilaran in Bohol, Philippines and its solid waste management system and in the course of doing so, the study cites some best practices in SWM sector among other municipalities in the country highlighting

participation in the community. While there are attempts to identify participation of private establishments or private sector, the analysis for that part is crude compared to the stronger bias towards understanding the kind of participation displayed by the other two actors in the 'governance triangle' which are state and civil society more specifically between the residents and the CLGU of Tagbilaran hence when mentioning 'local development actors' in this study, the statement may be referring mostly to the CLGU and the barangay LGUs and the residents in the community and only some private institutions and not necessarily all three actors extensively. Henceforth in the state-civil society-market framework, the 'participation' from the market aspect is not explored in this study. The data gathering was conducted in July-August 2013, the findings, observations and conclusion drawn in this paper will continue to have a changing characteristic which could either become irrelevant in predicting future circumstances or on the other hand become a springboard for further studies e.g. in historical analysis of patterns involving the aforementioned local actors involved in the SWM of the city.

The paper while divided into five chapters essentially highlights three main parts. First, pointing out the outstanding SWM problematique of the city of Tagbilaran and tracing how national policies such as the ESWM Act of 2000 trickle down to the local government units under the decentralization process. With this, the underlying assumptions of participation in 'community development' will be used as a 'scorecard' to analyze the status of the stakeholders involved. Secondly, a review of the related studies and literature as well as some cases of best practice in the SWM sector to help situate the city of Tagbilaran in the context of participation in the advent of decentralization in the country and how the local actors in development have been playing their respective roles (or not) towards participatory governance for SWM in the city. The analysis of the findings will later be linked to the theories on state and community failure. Lastly, the paper attempts to reflect upon the notion of induced participation for SWM of Tagbilaran in the light of a current policy research working paper by Mansuri and Rao (2012), *Can Participation Be Induced? Some Evidence from Developing Countries* which argues that civic participation can by no means be successfully induced through government and donor-funded programs. The authors maintain based on their acquired evidence that induced participation particularly when it is packaged within a project is almost set up for failure due to unrealistic predictions that emerge from bureaucratic imperatives (Mansuri and Rao, 2012: 19). The study further concludes that *'local participation does not work when it is merely the ad hoc, myopically directed, creation of a project. It works when it has teeth, when it builds on organic movements, when it is facilitated by a responsive center, when it is adequately and sustainably funded, and when interventions are conditioned by a culture of learning by doing'* (ibid).

In the course of reflecting the applicability of induced participation for Tagbilaran city, this paper however does not attempt to experiment through variable-related computations and predictions on quantitative data. Instead, this study is leaning more towards a narrative inquiry on the idea of local participation in the community specifically in applying it to the SWM sector in the city of Tagbilaran taking into consideration post New Public Management (NPM) theories on governance in parallel with the 'elements of policy activity as basis of participation' (Colebatch, 2002). Local participation especially in LGUs of developing countries is subjected to much more challenges to be considered among the factors for participation e.g. resources, capacity and more importantly culture. For indeed *'there is a higher opportunity cost of participation for the poor'* (Mansuri and Rao, 2013:5) still, as this paper reflects in the end, there is a need to have a strong catalyst before being able to finally inculcate within these stakeholders, the core values of participation in governance. The catalyst in the case I will be establishing at this point should be the 'state' – the local government of Tagbilaran City.

Chapter 2

RECOGNIZING STATE AND SOCIETY FAILURE IN THE LOCAL CONTEXT: *Sweeping the garbage data*

Despite the complexities branching out from the ‘policy cycle model’ (Howlett and Ramesh, 1995) with the authors acknowledging a not necessarily linear progression from agenda-setting to policy formulation; decision making; policy implementation; and policy evaluation, still such design has notably been adopted by a number of development policy making bodies and institutions worldwide.

Figure 1. Five-stage model of the policy cycle

A five-stage model of the policy cycle	
Phase of applied problem solving	Stage in policy cycle
1 Problem recognition	1 Agenda setting
2 Proposal of solution	2 Policy formulation
3 Choice of solution	3 Decision making
4 Putting solution into effect	4 Policy implementation
5 Monitoring results	5 Policy evaluation

Source: M. Howlett and M. Ramesh, *Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1995).

In the Philippines, the National Economic Development Authority (NEDA), the highest policy making body of the country’s socio-economic developmental programs with its board headed by the President of the Republic together with selected cabinet secretaries (Executive Order No. 230, 1987)¹² espouses the same process within and/or alongside other agencies. The ministry is responsible for the integration of the Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan (MTPDP), the document embodying the government’s socio-economic policies, strategies and programs among others. While decentralization has ideally provided for the empowerment of LGUs, it cannot be denied that the national government continues to put the chains with directives with the likes of those demanding ‘all government agencies and instrumentalities including LGUs to implement the MTPDP and the Medium Term Public Investment Program’ (Executive Order No. 391, 2004)¹³. This tall order sometimes besets the LGUs capacities to plan and implement for their respective communities because in the end, their plans are ‘sacked up’ in lieu of the national plan that should serve as the basis of allocation of funds and resources. In one of the academic discussions conducted by the Development Academy of the Philippines’ courses in local governance and development for the League of Vice Governors of the Philippines (LVGP), a statement from one of the vice governors¹⁴ of the country underscores this dilemma when he said ‘*it irritates me somehow that we even bother spending a lot of our time and effort in planning only to receive a directive from the national body demanding us all, to focus our priorities under what they have determined to be more appropriate for our community...what is the point of acknowledging our capacities in this so called decentralization allowing us to determine the needs of our constituents being more close to them if only to be sabotaged by a goal to implement a ‘uniform solution’ to different circumstances?*’ (Member, LVGP, 2012)¹⁵. Before anyone even bothers to notice anymore, overwhelmed by the greater aim to have ‘more share of the pie’ and be allocated with further resources from the national treasury, a ‘copy-paste disease’¹⁶ has engulfed the policy arena undermining the need to fully understand the rules in its entirety.

Appraising therefore a specific case highlighting the dilemma in the policy making activity of local government units, one cannot help but reflect on the seemingly institutionalized practices or rather *malpractice* in the participatory roles of local actors despite the underlying assumptions in the NPM era which ‘essentially challenged the capacity of the state in the delivery of services and likewise organization and management of public goods in the most effective an efficient manner’ (Hardiman, 2012: 229)¹⁷ still the ‘waves of governance’ have historically proven overtime its continuously changing forms as well as the applicability of its principles against the various factors in different communities. Thinking along these lines, this study zeroes in on the case of Tagbilaran city, Bohol as the unit of analysis and research locale mentioned in the preceding sections of this paper. Using this case, I will try to illustrate the complexities involved in the dynamics of participation existing among the local actors of the city against the backdrop of ‘devolved governance’ wherein inherent characteristic among others of the *state* is as an actor harboring patronage; the *civil society* as an actor exercising its rights; and the *market* as the actor providing support in any community development endeavor. The study posits how these inherent characteristic may be directed towards at least two different kinds of participation to wit: *romanticized* and *collaborative* participation.

The assumptions in the proposed nexus of participation are based on the the different characteristics of participation under the typology template adapted from Pretty (1995) citing Pretty (1994), Satterthwaite (1995), Adnan, Alam and Brustnow (1992) and Hart (1992), juxtaposing the said characteristics with the principles of patronage Flinders (2012: 270)¹⁸ and collaborative governance Ansell (2012:498)¹⁹. Tables of the aforementioned sources shown herewith.

Table 1. Typology of Participation

Typology	Characteristics of each type
Manipulative participation :	Participation is a pretence with people's representatives on official boards but who are unelected and have no power
Passive participation:	People participate by being told what has been decided and has already happened. It involves unilateral announcements by an administration or project management who do not listen to people's responses. The information offered belongs only to external professionals
Participation by Consultation:	People participate by being consulted or by answering questions. External agents define problems and information gathering processes and so control analysis. This process does not concede any share in decision making and professionals are under no obligation to adopt people's views
Participation for Material incentives:	People participate by contributing resources, e.g. labour, in return for food , cash or other material incentives
Functional Participation:	People's participation is seen by external agents as a means of achieving project goals, especially reductions in costs. People may form groups to meet pre-determined objectives. This participation may be inter-active and may involve shared decision making, but tends to arise only after major decisions have been made by external agents. Local people may only be co-opted to serve external goals
Interactive participation:	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and the formation, or strengthening, of local institutions. Participation is seen as a right, not just as a means of achieving project goals. The process involves inter-disciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of structured and systematic learning processes. As groups take control over local decisions and determine how local resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures and practices.

Adapted from Pretty (1995) citing Pretty (1994), Satterthwaite (1995), Adnan, Alam and Brustnow (1992) and Hart (1992)

Table 2. Dissecting Patronage

	Closed patronage	Open patronage
Party patronage	Yes	Yes
Ministerial discretion	High/pure	Low/constrained
State structure	'Partitocracy'	Meritocracy
Impact on state	Divisive	Integrative
Directional thrust	Vertical	Horizontal
Logic	Capture support of specific group, individual, constituency	Demonstrate governing competence
Process	Private	Public
Advertised position	No	Yes
Application field	Single interviewee	Competitive interview process
Relevant expertise/experience	No/cronyism	Yes/merit-based
Nature of competition	Closed	Open
Sinecures	Yes	No
Independent regulation	No	Yes
Perceived as democratically legitimate	No	Yes
Power	Focused	Diffused
Benefit	Particularistic/clientelism	Universal/public interest
Politics	Covert	Open
Instrument of...	Favor	Governance
Essence	'Spoils system'	Pubic service bargain
Party appointee	Patron	Partisan
Reach	Extensive	Limited
Capacity for political discretion	Yes/pure discretion	Yes/constrained discretion
Motivation behind appointment	Repayment/loyalty/votes	Delivery/risk-reduction/votes

Adapted from Flinders, 2012: 270, *Handbook of Governance edited by Levi-Faur, 2012*

Subsequently, the following contentions are then extrapolated for the purpose of conceptualizing the proposed nexus of participatory roles of local actors in development. So that, participation therefore is deemed *romanticized* when the state by harboring patronage advocates *close patronage*²⁰ typology wherein *favour* is an *instrument* thereby making delivery of basic services as such with the *benefits* becoming *particularistic*; meanwhile the civil society *exercising its right* participates only through voting falling qualifies under *passive and manipulative participation*²¹ where in the course of the policy cycle, participates only 'by being told what has been decided or has already happened' since they have already elected representatives to go through the policy activity; likewise the market by *providing support* as an instrument of favour under closed patronage by the state, is considered 'repayment-motivated' hence demand driven, establishing an invisible control over some politicians as a result of the financial support given during the election. On the other hand, participation is deemed collaborative when the state by

harboring patronage does it through *open patronage*²² wherein the provision of basic services becomes an *instrument of governance* and the *benefit is universal* or for the public interest; meanwhile the civil society *exercising its right* to participate thereby adhering ‘self mobilization towards interactive participation’²³ where in the course of the policy cycle, participate by taking initiatives in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local institutions; lastly, the market by *providing support* as an instrument of governance under open patronage by the state, is considered ‘delivery-oriented’ with relevance to the ‘spectrum of public-private partnerships’ (see figure below).

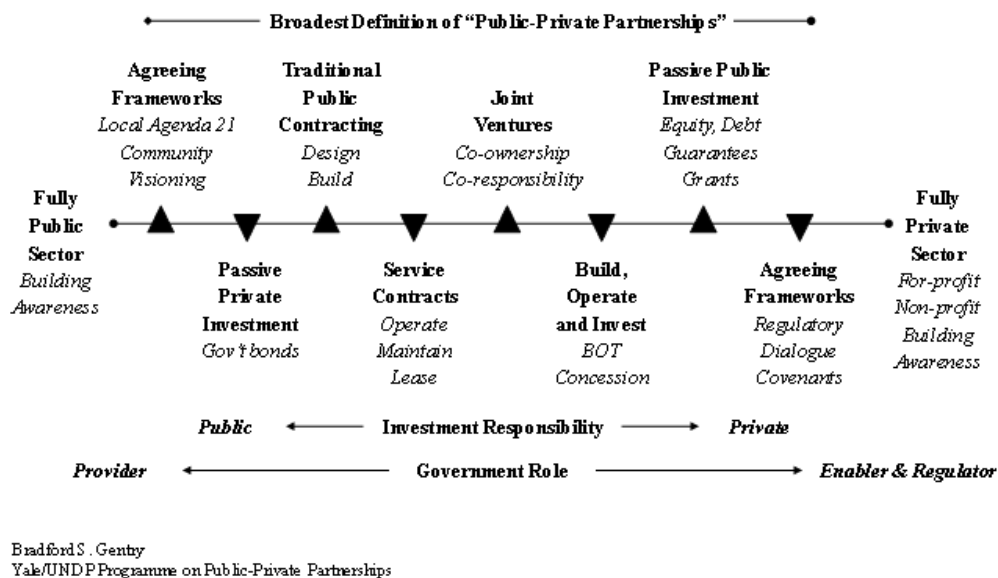


Figure 3. ‘Public-Private Partnership Spectrum’ Gentry as cited by Awortwi, 2003: 43

Hence, to demonstrate simply the conceptual nexus of participatory roles of local actors, below is the illustration of the said framework.

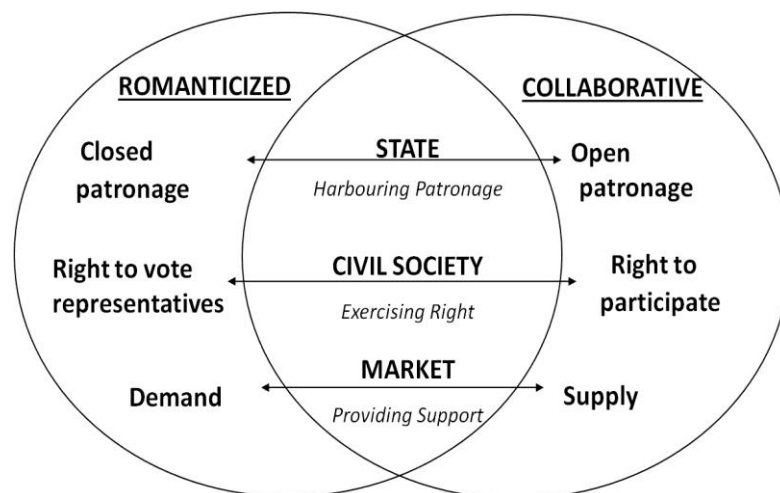


Figure 4. A conceptual nexus on ‘participatory roles’ of local actors (own construct)

In the succeeding pages I will narrate the interviews conducted with the key informants in the SWM of the city of Tagbilaran and analyze the empirical findings vis-à-vis the concepts in governance with the aforesaid conceptual framework in mind.

2.1 Tracing how the Ecological Solid Waste Management Act of 2000 trickle down the bureaucratic tiers from the national, provincial, city/municipal to the barangay level

Through the documents provided by the Bohol Environment Management Office (BEMO) where the ESWM Board is also housed, the Bohol Center for Development Studies (BCDS), Office of Sangguniang Panlalawigan Secretary²⁴, the the Solid Waste Management Office of the city of Tagbilaran, the City Planning and Development Office (CPDO), office of Sangguniang Panlungsod Secretary²⁵ and two (2) barangays in the city namely Poblacion II and Dampas; the following data on the SWM sector in the city of Tagbilaran were generated and analyzed under the ‘state actors’ parlance.

National policies of the Philippines in relation to SWM can be traced as early as the year 1975 with Presidential Decrees’ (P.D.) 825 and 856²⁶, ‘Providing Penalty for Improper Disposal of Garbage and other Forms of Uncleanliness...’ and ‘Establishment of the Code of Sanitation’ respectively. Memorandum circulars for the constitution and reconstitution of task forces for waste management including their responsibilities followed from 1988 onwards. The most recent policy however that marked the subsequent policies of SWM in all levels of LGUs and since then become the overarching policy for the said sector is the ESWM Act of 2000 (R.A. 9003).

SWM in the Provincial Local Government of Bohol (PGBh)

Now thirteen years since the enactment of the said Act, and only about 15 municipalities in the province together with the city of Tagbilaran out of the 48 C/MLGUs has an approved 10-year ISWM Plan²⁷. Bohol governor Edgar M. Chatto continually urged LGUs in the province to find creative solutions in waste management and garbage problem. He warned the stakeholders especially the local executive leaders that Bohol LGUs may be sued administratively for failure to comply with R.A. 9003. The governor admits that ‘no LGU in Bohol could sufficiently say they have complied with the provisions of the ESWM Law’ (PIA-RO7, 2012)²⁸. Department of Environment and Natural Resources Region VII (DENR-7) revealed that despite the law that banned the operation of open garbage dumpsites for solid wastes with the option to switch to controlled dumps since 2004, not a sanitary landfill facility has been constructed in Bohol (ibid). Going back to the responsibilities enumerated in the Institutional Arrangements Mandated by ESWM Act of 2000 (*see figure 1 p.9*) it can be fairly acknowledged that all three duties for the province in the list have been ticked off. Furthermore, the PGBh has done substantial efforts to adhere to its responsibilities e.g. just recently, it has finished the draft Provincial Integrated Solid Waste Management (PISWMP) for the year 2013-2022²⁹. The plan however claiming to adhere to ‘participatory processes’ in its formulation led by BEMO is heavily composed of members and representatives coming from the departments of the PGBh such as the Provincial Planning and Development Office (PPDO), Provincial Legal Office (PLO), Provincial Health Office (PHO) and BCDS. Meanwhile, members of the the technical working group (TWG) representing the local government units did not even include representative from the only city in the province. National government agencies (NGAs) included DENR (obviously), Department of Education and Department of the Interior and Local Government (DILG). Only one representative for the ‘non-state actors’ is recorded: the executive director of the Bohol Alliance for Non-Government Organizations. There was neither representative from private sector nor any establishment that might have businesses relevant to SWM (i.e. paper, bottles or metal buyers or even recycling company). There was also no representative from relevant people’s organization (i.e. scavengers group).

The provincial government has a total of over sixty ordinances (*Annex E*) approved relative to SWM since the enactment of the ESWM Act in 2000.

SWM in the City Local Government of Tagbilaran (CLGU-Tagbilaran)

Moving down the line of bureaucracy, it is much apparent that the responsibilities under the Institutional Arrangements Mandated by ESWM Act of 2000 (*see figure 1 p.9*) for the city has not been strictly followed. Other than submitting the 10-year ISWM plan (2005-2014)³⁰, the city of Tagbilaran has not conducted review activities in relation to the plan which could ideally be a total of four times by this year considering the requirement to conduct it every two years. The city has neither adopted revenue generating measures to promote and support SWM nor encourage setting-up multi-purpose environmental cooperatives. It has however exerted efforts in coordinating component barangays with the conduct of IEC in SWM. Engr. Jimenez, head of the city solid waste management office, has repeatedly highlighted his team's efforts on this endeavour which was also confirmed in a separate interview by the head of waste management unit of BEMO. But Engr. Jimenez admitted that the administration of the collection and disposal of residual and special wastes remains to be a challenge. This was also seconded by one of his SWM managers saying '*wala man gud disiplina ang mga tawo nato di gyud sila musunod bisag unsaon. Magpakasayon lang gyud ba*'³¹ (Translation: Our constituents lack discipline. They never want to follow the rules and just want to have an easy way out on everything).

It would be unfair however not to recount the prior efforts of the CLGU in relation to SWM. After all, the city had already established its Environmental Code prior to the ESWM Act of 2000. The code³² incorporating SWM has outlined in details its goal to manage all types of wastes defining responsibilities of households and other establishments handling waste from generation to collection and disposal. Another milestone of the CLGU is the creation of the Tagbilaran City Environmental Management Office (TCEMO) on November 27, 1998 with Executive Order (EO) No. 10 supporting the Environmental Planning and Management (EPM) project of the city which was in coordination with the UNDP.³³ Tagbilaran was among the three (3) cities in the country selected for the Sustainable Cities Programme (SCP), a world-wide technical cooperation activity of the United Nations which aimed at strengthening the city's capabilities for environmental planning and management (EPM), (UN-HABITAT and UNEP, 1999)³⁴. Specifically, the city had a demonstration project with the establishment of the Bio-composting and Organic Fertilizer Production facility. While managed mainly by a non-government organization – the Bohol Initiators for Sustainable Agriculture and Development, Inc. (BISAD) the roles of other state and non-state actors were also identified. For instance, a group of market vendors is responsible for segregating at the source while the SWM Office was still in charge with the collection. (*ibid*) The most unifying consultation for SWM of the city happened in 2007. The activity still in line with the SCP-EPM program was facilitated by the University of the Philippines School of Urban and Regional Planning. SWM issues were extensively discussed and summarized in a problem solution matrix by the participants from the State composed of the CLGU and its department heads as well as barangay LGU officials while representatives from the Non-state had a fair number of different organizations and establishments ranging from the Bohol Chamber of Commerce and Industry (BCCI); Bohol Alliance of Non-Government Organizations (BANGON); Private Hospitals; Bohol Association of Hotels, Resorts, and Restaurants (BAHRR); Environmental Legal Assistance Center (ELAC); National Master Plumber/ Plumbing Engineers Association of the Philippines (NAMPAP); Association of Writers and Radio Announcers Foundation, Inc. (AWRA); Media/radio stations and local newspapers;

Market Vendors Association; Uptown Tagbilaran Housing Project; Churches and religious organizations; as well as owners of gasoline stations and depots.

Since the approval of the city's environment code in 2000, the Sangguniang Panlungsod of Tagbilaran has then formulated a total of fifteen approved resolutions (*Annex F*) relative to SWM including among others the creation of several committees and task forces, and importantly the City Ecological Solid Waste Management Board (CESWAMB). Fast forward to 2013 and only the SWM Office remains as the implementing arm of the CLGU in all SWM related programs. No more EPM office, no task forces and TWGs or the CESWAMB. The most disheartening of it all, the SWM office is not even filled with enough technical personnel to assist the SWM head and the office has no database, no documents in plain view or anything that would hold these documents literally (e.g. shelves for printed ones and/or computers for electronic copies). Initial responses of target key informants coming from the relevant offices of the CLGU are rather surprising. For instance, when asked about the documents from the EPM office (which is non-existent already) the respondent said *'back to zero man gud mi ron ma'am kay wala may documents nga gi turn over'*³⁵ (Translation: It would seem we are back to zero Ma'am because documents of previous staff and/or offices were not turned over). This is unfortunately a common scenario in LGUs (at least as observed in some parts of the Philippines) especially right after an election period, of which at this moment was applicable, since the local election was just recently concluded in May 2013. Yet another observation would be how 'close patronage-patterned' newly elected officials respond in the first few days of their incumbency. For instance in a local radio program³⁶ interviewing the newly elected mayor of the city (who just took office in June 2013), one constituent lamented for consideration in the collection of garbage to which the Mayor replied that he will order the SWM Office to collect all of the garbage in the meantime as they will be conducting the review on the process and plan to address the issue. In the subsequent conversation³⁷ with the head of the SWM Office, Engr. Jimenez expressed his disappointment and confusion on the abrupt decision of the mayor which was done over the radio. It would seem (as he recounted) that all our efforts to conduct the IEC in all of the barangays would be futile when in the end, the Mayor granted the request of the caller in the radio. Engr. Jimenez later claimed there is only so much he can do against his immediate supervisor, as he would claim it is but natural to follow his (mayor) orders. Additionally, he contemplated on possibly trying to evade the media interviews instead but he was definitely expecting the wrath of the region³⁸. Asked about what he personally thinks would contribute much to the effective SWM of the city; Engr. Jimenez said that it is high time to implement strict fees for violators. This will address both 'passiveness' of the people as well as generate funds for the city that can be used in allocating budget for the SWM office.

SWM in Barangay Dampas and Poblacion II

Finally at the bottom of the Institutional Arrangements Mandated by ESWM Act of 2000 (*see figure 1 p.9*) are the barangays who are expected to handle the 100% collection of biodegradable & reusable wastes, establish MRFs and conduct IEC. However in the letter from the Regional Solid Waste Management Office under the conduct of M&E (*Annex G*) by the DENR-7 in June 2012 implementation of safe closure and rehabilitation plan for open and controlled dumpsites, data revealed that even the three urban barangays have no available government owned lot for MRFs. Presently however, the barangays have enacted ordinances requiring household composting. When asked about a specific barangay who has the SWM best practice in the city so far, Engr. Jimenez recognized Poblacion II was the closest that he said was able to practice the responsibilities in line with the ESWM mandate for barangays.

*Barangay Poblacion II*³⁹

The barangay captain⁴⁰ explained that the SWM issues in their barangay were actively addressed by their SWM manager together with the barangays ESWM committee (*Annex H*). They performed the necessary duties expected from them. He feared however the sustainability of the performance as well as the position of the SWM manager which only exist in an appointment and not necessarily permanent status that would later be determined by the next administration with the upcoming barangays elections in October 2013. In the meantime, asked about how he thinks the team is able to practice effective SWM, the barangays' SWM manager responded that it is not without challenge and instilling discipline among the constituents is the biggest test of it all. He further explained that while they are able to establish MRF, some residents sneak to the facility at night and dump their wastes without segregating. This resulted to them locking the facility and scheduling supervised disposal. The same problem goes with having public garbage receptacles because despite the color-coded bins, trashes still goes anywhere inside these drums regardless of the label. This is the main reason why they have pulled out some receptacles in conspicuous areas except for public parks. The team also conducted IEC both in the residential and other private establishments. Eventually some households followed the establishment of compost pits and while SWM is still 100% addressed as required, the SWM manager said the amount of waste reduced is already significant.

*Barangay Dampas*⁴¹

Ironically, this barangay was not considered by the head of the City SWM Office to have the best practice in SWM despite the fact that it hosts the open-dumpsite for the city. In a meeting with two of the local barangays councillors; the current chair for the committee in environment and another member of the same committee who is a resident of the purok where the open dumpsite is located, it was confirmed that the barangay has currently no operational MRF. A facility that was initially established was closed due to the risk it posted to the health of the kindergarten students whose classroom was located near it. One of the councillors said that people have been passive for years because they believe exercising segregation is futile when they know in the end, all of the wastes are still thrown in the open dumpsite. In trying to access the relevant ordinances of the barangay in relation to SWM, No ordinance could be traced that officially appointed their SWM manager but a series of ordinances allocating honorarium for the said person since 2007 up to the present (2013) can be found⁴². Asked if the SWM manager is able to perform the duties expected of him, the lady councillors dismissively replied by pointing out how the fact that the person is appointed by the barangay captain does not make his 'non-performance' matter. As to how they are still tolerating the city to let their barangay host the open dumpsite when it has already been endorsed for closure by the DENR, one of the lady councillors recounted her futile experience (*Annex I*) on the effort to implement the closure of the dumpsite including among others planning on having it featured in national news as an expose. In the end, she said it is all in the game of politics.

Considerably, one can expect a lot of effort from the households being the highest generators of waste. They are expected to be the prime movers in the reduction of waste at source. Unfortunately for the city of Tagbilaran, the people are still passive on this issue. Segregation is still not diligently practiced. It would seem that the 'non-adherence' of the constituents would also mirror the fact that the employees of the CLGU also failed to be a model in adhering to the law. This would also point out to the CLGU not giving the appropriate response to the closure letter by the DENR. However, there is a 'disconnect' in the efforts of the city to encourage the practice

when the CLGU in fact have not abided with their own rules. The lax of effort on their part lead to the lax of following on the part of the constituents.

Meanwhile the SWM practices in other private establishments of the city are being handled individually by such institutions. For instance, the three biggest universities of the province located in the city manage to collect all of the school garbage with their own trucks (10-year ISWMP, 2005-2014). While these institutions have implemented segregation in the classroom, no available data was available tracing were exactly the segregated garbage goes. Also, the schools however having an independent collection schedule and process, they too still throw their garbage in the open dumpsite of the city. Garbage collection fees for business establishments who still have their wastes collected by the CLGU is included in the renewal of their licenses. Other big companies like Coca Cola bottlers Inc. maintain liquid waste treatment facilities while private hospitals have incinerators and septic vaults. (ibid) In an interview with the general services of two out three biggest companies in the city, representative for the Alturas Group of Companies disclosed that they used to have an integrated collection for all of their establishments not just the malls but all others, all of their garbage used to be dumped in their private land in one of municipalities in the province. Segregation was practiced because they have agricultural farms to benefit from the biodegradable wastes and they have also linked with other private companies to buy their paper, bottles, metals and plastics. The establishment boasts of strictly adhering to SWM practices with coded and labelled receptacles in their malls. While the company maintains that they still practice segregation, presently however, they have purchased a land adjacent to the open dumpsite in Dampas to accommodate the wastes from their establishments in the city. This still contributes to the dilemma of closing the area pursuant to the ESWM Act of 2000. On the other hand, AH Shoppers while collecting their own garbage also disposes it in Dampas. Representatives for both of the companies do not recall being invited by either provincial or city LGUs in planning activities or consultation meetings pertaining to SWM.⁴³ Also both companies while having corporate social responsibility (CSR) programs, they have nothing related to SWM.

Finally, while there are a number of NGOs in the province continually supporting development projects, there are only a few who are focused on the environment and most of these are usually either specifically drawn to coastal resource management. The ELAC is the only one that could pass for the only NGO that specifically handles SWM issues since it basically renders legal assistance to environment related matters. In a conversation with former executive director of the Bohol Alliance for Non-Government Organizations (BANGON), she confirmed how the lack of resources especially funding deter most NGOs in pursuing advocacies in general. '*Wala may problema sa (no problem in) passion and advocacy...they are still there?*'. She is referring to how she still believes that while the passion and advocacy may be present among these NGOs or may even be in the people in the community, something should continue to fuel this fire in order to sustain the pursuit of following this advocacy.⁴⁴

2.2 Diagnosing the 'disconnect' in planning and implementation among the local actors in the integrated solid waste management of Tagbilaran

The 10-year integrated solid waste management plan of Tagbilaran city targeted for the years 2005-2014, laid out an ideal facility as part of the envisioned overall SWM strategy for the city. The detailed plan extensively covered details from the ISWM planning and legitimization process; to key considerations in the preparation of the plan; clear set of vision, objectives, strategies and targets, as well as implementation and

financing arrangements concluded with a 2-year initial action plan and budget upon approval of the said plan. Initially, since there is no area in Tagbilaran passing the required soil quality for the establishment of a sanitary landfill (SLF), the CLGU intended (as reflected in the plan) to enter into a joint venture agreement with another cluster municipality which was expected to operate by year 2006. Meanwhile, while waiting for the fruition of the intended joint venture agreement, the CLGU operated a controlled dumpsite expected to be operational in 2005, this is in replacement to the existing open dump in barangay Dampas. The said controlled dumpsite was expected to operate only for a year since the SLF was already expected to operate the following year (2006).

Now a year short of the period covered by the ISWM plan (2005-2014) and appalling results beset the city with its unfulfilled layout.

Meanwhile summarizing the expected participation among the local actors (as envisioned by the plan), the following illustration shows that lack of or the ‘disconnect’ among their efforts with unresponsiveness of the civil society while the private sector has totally distanced itself to the rest of the local actors in the policy activity.

Table 3. Local Actors Participation Policy Activity Chart

Actors <i>(As determined by the ISWM Plan 2005-2014)</i>	Policy Activity Participation		
	Planning	Implementation	Monitoring
State CLGU of Tagbilaran including departments National Agencies e.g. DENR	Only LGU	Disaggregated participation	Only LGU
Civil Society Media establishment, vendors association Driver’s association, city employees coop & Other associations, public schools, Parent-Teacher association, hospitals and clinics			
Private Sector Business establishment operators		Independently operating	

(Own interpretation)

Assessing rapidly the salient components of the ISWM Plan, the following structure presents the participation matrix of the local actors. The solid line indicates direct and continuous participation while the broken square line shows non conformance while the the broken dotted line manifest independent operation.

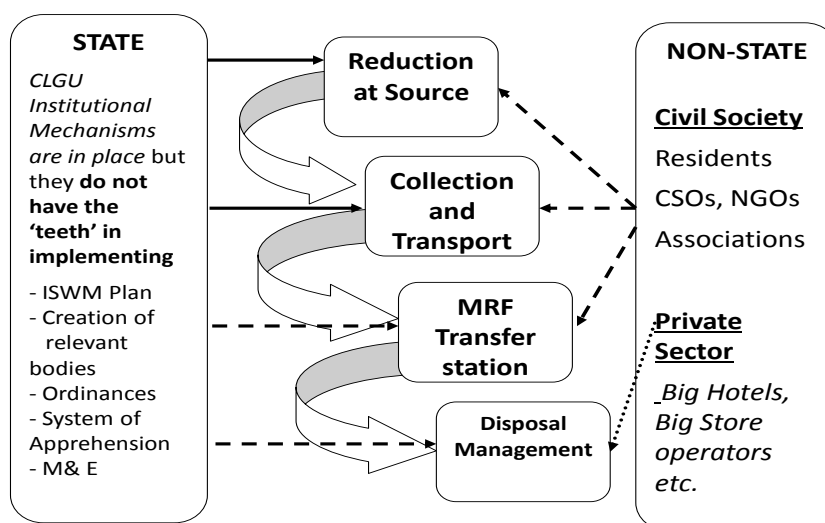


Figure 5. Local Development Actors vis-à-vis the components of Tagbilaran ISWM Plan (2005-2014)

Chapter 3

RATIONALIZING GOVERNANCE FRAMEWORKS AS A REJOINER:

Collecting and segregating the concepts

This chapter conversely re-examines the underlying principles in the ‘changing nature of governance’ exploring the idea of laying out the basic theoretical framework which may be applicable for the case of Tagbilaran in response to the possible notion of ‘failure of state and society’. The said framework endeavours to be in support to the main argument of the study that is the ‘non-negotiability’ of the state as the actor or one of the actors (in case of partnerships) to induce participation where ‘organic participation’ is deemed missing.

3.1 Taking advantage of the ‘Governance as political theory’

Very prominent among the classical theories of governance is the Weberian school of thought suggesting the ‘theory of bureaucracy as efficiency’ where it is considered ‘*a science of delivering clear and precise operating procedures or a set of maxims for public action*’ (Awortwi, 2003). In this view, the state (bureaucracy) clearly has the ultimate capacity to attain efficiency in service delivery.

The rise of neoliberal ideologies however posted challenges to these theories, similarly, the onset of urbanization and the dawn of other institutional structures (NPM driven) gained new powers and projected a more improved capacity for efficiency i.e. from regional to national down to the local levels of government in the case of states adhering to decentralized systems as well as other forms of social partnerships. Jessop (2000) cited the World Report on the Urban Future 21, wherein different types of cities were identified by the authors based on informal hyper-growth, dynamic innovation and learning, similarly on the declining cities of an outmoded Fordist model of growth. Different responses for each city’s status were also recommended which clearly points out the different adaptations of the overall neoliberal program to the same set of challenges (World Commission, 2000 as cited by Jessop). ‘*States should not attempt to provide monopoly services but should contract them out or at least introduce internal competition*’. ‘*Cities should develop their stock of indigenous “human capital” and their local labour markets in order to promote local well-being as well as international competitiveness. Hence, while globalization, technological change, and competition become depersonalized, human agency enters in through the need for survival and sustainability*’ (ibid). Again, the aforementioned ideas are under the overarching ideologies of neoliberalism prone to more self-centeredness and individualism in communities and clearly assuming a certain degree of ‘maturity’ among its constituents to be more active in the ‘socialization process’ (Jenks, 1998:274). It would be helpful at this point to remember the nature of governance inherent in the state as the ‘steering’ body of society hence ‘*governance is essentially political concept*’ (B. Guy Peters, 2012)⁴⁵

‘Societies require collective choices about a range of issues that cannot be addressed adequately by individual action, and some means must be found to make and to implement those decisions. The need for collective decisions has become all the more obvious when the world as a whole, as well as individual societies are face with challenges... that cannot be addressed by individual actions...even with social and economic problems devoid of the complexity of common pool resources, there is still a need for collective action’. (ibid)

In the framework of society under the Parsonian theory of action, (cited by B.G Peters, 2012) the ‘polity has the task to develop mechanisms in making and implementing collective policy choices...simply put, the state has been assumed to be

responsible for providing effective guidance to other institutions...in such a conception of how societies cope with their environment, the public sector is assigned this crucial function' (ibid: 22). In the same way, contemporary studies posits that

'statehood may indeed be a precondition for effective governance if fully consolidated for with (out) government, dilemma arises wherein you have at one end a less clear impetus for the need of non-state holders to contribute to governance when strong states can deliver the goods and services and on the other end governance with (out) government becomes a necessary condition for public policymaking in the case of weak or worst in failed states' (Börzel and Risse, 2010).

Clearly, the abovementioned reviews of some 'theories in governance' are biased towards the underlying assumptions within the classical schools of thought. In this age and time (when 'governance' have been perceived to have flown from wave to wave), the impression to build current argumentation by presenting a simplistic characterization of the role of the state in society may appear too basic. However, while the era of 'expanding participation' clearly put across present sophisticated and complexities continuously redefining governance (e.g. multi-stakeholders partnerships), to some extent indeed, too much emphasis on this new period may have left some other basic principles overlooked resulting for example to the denial of the role or more so the inherent power of the state where *'the notion of state sovereignty, i.e. that a state has full decision-making authority within its territory, has been challenged by social economic developments where the state has been found to lose authority'* (Kjaer, 2004). Likewise, the overwhelming stream of these progresses with the influx of international development organization e.g. World Bank and European Union waving the banner of 'good governance' concepts have significantly marked their positions in the 'rules of game' (Kjaer, 2004:7) . The presence of these powerful actors in the field, may have rendered local actors in development to prematurely live in the age of democratization overlooking the capacity of individuals to fully understand the value of participation in governance, all these leaving the fact that while *'governance theory is mainly occupied with institutional change, it also involves human agency'* (ibid).

3.1.1 Examining the layers of the expanded governance triangle

The governance triangle introduced by Abbot and Snidal (2009) articulates three key actor groups illustrated in a triangular abstraction depicting the interplay of relationship amongst each other. At the top most angle is the 'States' explained to *'include both developing and developed countries, as well as governmental agencies'* (ibid), also simply refers to the 'bureaucracy'. Meanwhile at the other end of the left and right angles are the 'NGO' which *'covers all private actors except the firms that are the targets of regulation; it thus includes not only NGO advocacy groups, but also labor unions, nonprofits, student groups, and other civil society organizations, as well as socially responsible investors, which might be considered "firms" in other contexts'* (ibid). Lastly, the "Firms" category includes *multinationals selling branded consumer products, small firms selling intermediate goods, agricultural enterprises and small-scale farmers, and many other variants* (ibid).

From this framework, an expanded governance triangle was further triangulated exemplifying complex forms of partnerships within and among these actors. The illustration encapsulates the 'new governance' or that which has been noted in various literatures as the changes in the meaning (see Rhodes, 2012:33), modality i.e. big government to big governance (see Levi-Faur, 2012:3) hence altering the nature of governance. The 'waves of governance' (Rhodes, 2012) correspondingly explains the 'shiftology' from the perspective of the 'changing' role of the state in the layers of the expanded governance triangle where the evolution from the fundamental layer of actors

(state-CSOs-market) to the different forms of private-public-private partnerships and all other hybrid partnerships (CSOs, CSRs, PPPs...) eventually lead to the multi-stakeholders participation type of governance. Below is an illustration of the expanded governance triangle.

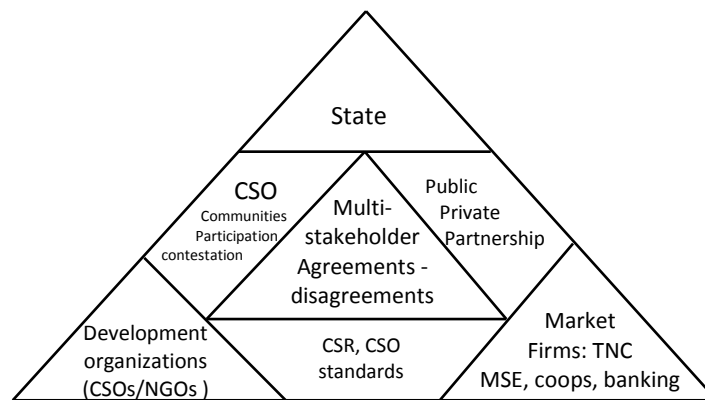


Figure 6. Expanded Governance Triangle

As the Rhodes (2012) identified, there have been three waves of governance to wit: *network governance*, ‘associated with the changing nature of the state following the public sector reforms of the 1980s...’ (ibid: 34); *meta-governance*, ‘referring to the role of the state in securing condition in governance and its use in negotiation, diplomacy, and more informal modes of steering’ (ibid: 37) and *interpretative governance* ‘suggesting that under the *rule*, political scientists should ask whether different sections of the elite draw on different traditions to construct different narratives about the world, their place within it, and their interest. His argument focuses on ‘the need to put the people back into governance by focusing on the ways in which governance is constructed differently by many actors working against the background of diverse traditions’ (ibid: 33).

In this narrative inquisition, the focus would be more on the ‘re-engineering of the state’ as a pre-condition for the ‘new governance’. The supposition however appearing to be crude is nonetheless the whole point being put across by the argument, for it is believed to be the most disregarded root cause of the succeeding current development issues of the city. In the simplistic sense, I am just pointing out how in some cases the bureaucracy in communities especially in developing countries most often than not neglect to ‘beef up’ its institutional capacity first, or even making a simple institutional assessment before treading the assumptions in democratization, modernization and in the overall context, the age of ‘new governance’ where participation of the two actors becomes as crucial as the state. Hence, following the hypotheses in some of the theories of governance mentioned earlier and granting that these statements are true i.e. ‘1) the state can steer the other actors involved in governance by setting the rules of the game and 2) the state can alter the balance between actors in a network’ then clearly, the state indeed ‘still has the inherent role to manage, directly and indirectly the networks of service delivery’ (ibid: 38). However, since the actors in the governance triangle involved, do not necessarily project a hierarchical correlation, then the same statements could likewise be true or applicable for the other two actors.

Thus, setting side by side the above mentioned suppositions with the ‘failure of institutions’ scenarios among the actors illustrated in the governance triangle reflected in various literatures i.e. *state failure* (King, G. et.al, 2001), *market failure* (Bator, F.M., 1958) and *community failure* (McCay, B.J., 1998), how then is it more viable to begin once again with the state in collaborating the efforts of these actors towards participatory governance?

3.1.2 Looking through the lens of participatory governance

As the evolution of the expanded governance triangle continues, counter hegemonic institutions have surfaced e.g. US Aid, UN, World Bank and EU among others solidifying the models of ‘participatory governance’. Such occurrence did not just only ‘steer’ new forms of management but also ‘stirred’ the ‘politics of decision-making’ in the policy activity of communities from planning to implementation. The advocacy for participatory governance with an *‘emphasis on democratic engagement through deliberative practices moves beyond the citizen’s role as voter or watchdog to include practices of direct deliberative engagement...’* (Fischer, 2012) is among the forefront banners of these new key actors. With this, ‘governance’ as steering has once again been redefined not as a top-down directing *‘but a coordination across multiple organizations and stakeholders...now labelled as collaborative governance with the broadest definition of partners within and outside government...entailing shared, negotiated and deliberative consultation and decision-making...’* (Bingham, 2011 as cited by Papadopoulos, 2012)⁴⁶. Such statement is a highly idealized assumption for governance which obviously entails a certain degree of capacity at best and at the very least intellectual and moral understanding of its values. It would therefore be a challenge to reconcile this to the lowest tier of a decentralized democratic form of government in a developing country with high incidence of poverty wherein the ‘cost of participation’ is relatively considered an additional burden. Reiterating the assumptions of participation (Pretty, 1995) one can weigh in immediately the consequences of these expectations and understand how it can be impossible for some individual or groups in society especially at the local level to adopt it. If in participation, communities should be well informed, competent, capable and reliable then this would necessitate at least among others a formal or informal level of education which has clearly no bearing in their priority list by virtue of the ‘hierarchy of needs’ or even in terms of capacity amongst the ‘poorest of the poor’. Hence, as reflected in the World Bank Policy Research Report, 2012, *‘the review of the literature finds that participants in civic activities tend to be wealthier, more educated, of higher social status, male, and more politically connected than non-participants’*.

It is therefore imperative to ‘scan the environment’ at the local level and assess the dynamics among the actors working together *or not* in addressing a development issue. This underscores the fact that *‘states need not adopt a single uniform approach and can use different approaches in different settings and times’* (Rhodes, 2012). And so referring back to the ‘expanded governance triangle’ the state has a ‘menu of strategies’ by means of the formation of partnerships according to what suits best in a given situation.

3.2 Simplifying the understanding of participation in local *development* context

Among the definitions provided for the concept of participation is the idea that it is *‘the process through which stakeholders influence and share control over priority setting, policy-making, resource allocations and access to public goods and services’* (WB Source Book, 1996). Over time the term has been modified, understood and used in the same manner as public, community, citizen, popular as well as people’s and participation.

Considering the abovementioned points are correct and construing the same in a local community context e.g. the case of the SWM sector of Tagbilaran city, then it would follow that there would be an ‘organized group’ e.g. a technical working team, ad hoc committee or council composed of people in the household at the barangay level, NGOs, private sector and other relevant agencies and institutions formed together in order to plan and implement a solid waste management strategy hence the absence of such group undertaking a ‘process’ to address the solid waste management issue would mean, there is *no* participation in the city on this aspect.

3.2.1 Identifying organic and induced participation: *best practices in solid waste management showcasing 'community participation' in the Philippines*

Defying outstanding arguments in participation as well as biases of best practices, the following cases seeks to present the 'overlapping' thought and custom of organic and induced participation. The two kinds of participation has been distinguished by a World Bank policy research report as follows,

'Organic participation is organized by civic groups outside government, sometimes in opposition to it; *induced participation* attempts to promote civic action through bureaucratically managed development interventions, inducing participation requires a fundamentally different approach to development, one that is long term, context sensitive, committed to developing a culture of learning by doing through honest monitoring and evaluation systems, and that has the capacity to learn from failure' (Mansuri and Rao, 2012:32).

Below is a review of two SWM cases from two other towns in the Philippines showcasing participation as induced by either a donor agency or encouraged by the provincial local government. Either way, both cases have successfully gone through the cycle of planning, implementing and are now continually monitoring their SWM process. Los Baños has fourteen (14) barangays with a population of 101,884⁴⁷ and San Francisco fifteen (15) barangays and a population of 47,357⁴⁸.

Case A: Donor Assisted Program

*'A Breakthrough in Solid Waste Management through Participation and Community Mobilization: the Experience of Los Baños, Laguna, Philippines'*⁴⁹

A study in 2008 and 2011 by Dr. Vella A. Atienza⁵⁰ extensively narrates the successful SWM experience of Los Baños, Laguna, a town situated 63 kilometers south of Manila. The paper showcasing how 'participation through community mobilization' can be an effective means to address SWM in most developing countries, is a funded project of the Philippines-Australia Community Assistance Program (PACAP) in partnership with Philippine Society for the Study of Nature, Inc. (PSSN) targeting '1) conversion of the open dumpsite into an ecological solid waste processing center; and 2) establishment of Los Baños Solid Waste Organization (LB-SWO), an informal sector into a people's organization'. Highlights of the success of the said endeavour summarized by the local chief executive, Mayor Caesar Perez under three important factors to wit: social, political and technical dimensions (Perez, 2006 as cited by Atienza). Under the social aspect, the LGU engaged mainly into a series of multi-stakeholders dialogues and consultations as well as the creation of technical working group to study and discuss different issues and concerns in SWM and develop SWM strategy suited to the community (Atienza, 2008: 8). Meanwhile under the political aspect, LGU reinforced the SWM through creation of several municipal ordinances and memoranda including among others the 'Waste Segregation and Anti-littering Law' (Municipal Ordinance No. 2001-08). Likewise, following the mandates under the overarching national framework of SWM – the ESWM ACT OF 2000 Act, the LGU established SWM board, task force *kalinisan* (cleanliness) as well as volunteer enforcers from non-state sectors. Finally under the technical aspect, the LGU implemented the strategies as a result of the consultations starting off wide information education campaigns on segregation at source conducted in the household level; finalization of

garbage collection schedule and fabrication and distribution of composting drums to pilot barangays among others. Meanwhile, the breakthrough initiative on the establishment of the LB-SWO came as a respond to the call by World Bank Group of Companies for innovative projects in the First Philippine Development Innovative Marketplace (PDIM) dubbed *Panibagong Paruan: Making Services for the Poor* in October 2003 (ibid). The following year, the program was funded by PACAP-AusAID supporting the aim to raise the status participation of informal sector by acknowledging their contribution in this case to the SWM of the town. Recognized as one of the most critical factors in the entire endeavour are the political will, commitment and passion of the mayor who believes that ‘no amount of so-called high technology and financial capability can solve the garbage problem without discipline’ this is a core value that Mayor Perez thinks should be instilled in all of the constituents.

Case B: ‘LGU-encouraged participation’

‘The San Francisco, Camotes Island, Philippines Experience’⁵¹

Another paper presented early this year at the Hongkong Institute of Education by Zenaida D. Ligan, M.I.S.⁵², shared how the municipality of San Francisco in Cebu province effectively carried out the ESWM Act down to the local level significantly pointing out the roles of state and non state actors in the implementation of the said national policy. San Francisco is located similarly with Tagbilaran City, in the Central Visayas about 562 km southeast of Manila. The town bagged the expanded Green and Wholesome Environment that Nurtures our Cebu program (e-Gwen award) for four consecutive years since 2009, gaining recognition as a model municipality for SWM through the purok system⁵³ in country. In the paper, the author stresses the importance of ‘enlightened participation’ as she coined it referring to ‘voluntary participation of the citizens at the grassroots level after they have been informed and educated on the necessity of managing solid waste’ (Ligan, 2013:4). The study traces the implementation of the practice starting off with the ‘massive information drive throughout the municipality which was done through ‘pulong (public consultation); the distribution of flyers and leaflets that promote the SWM of the municipality; the practice of ‘recorda’ or public announcements conducted in conspicuous areas like the marketplace; personalized information drive during monitoring trips; house to house distribution of flyers in all barangays; integration of SWM in schools with the conduct of orientation and demonstration of composting; installation of signages in public as well as color-coded trash-bins for the practice of segregation and the render of community service by violators in addition to the fees and penalties’ (ibid: 14). Essentially, the author anchors the idea of empowerment in democratization as basis of participation with the constituents developing a sense of ‘community and belongingness’ towards development. The SanFran Model with the slogan ‘Think Big – Start Small’ is the policy base of then mayor of the town; Alfredo Arquillano⁵⁴. The effort strengthened the Purok-based systems for community based governance and empowerment by working together in planning, implementation and maintenance of development in the community. (UNISDR, 2011) Of course the program did not necessarily went through smooth seas in achieving their victory, it took seven (7) years to completely develop, establish and practice the entire system in all of the one hundred twenty (120) puroks of the municipality. People were very resistant at first with some considering it a waste of their time. Eventually however, one of the puroks and later an entire barangay was able to successfully implement the process. A great deal of recognition and promotion was then conducted calling all others to follow suit. Presently, the concept has been reformed and replicated with committees established at purok level of the barangays. Members of these committees are from the households of the purok who are now

responsible in making the reports as well as monitoring of the practice. One of the cited best practices was even submission of the committee reports not only to the barangay level but to the office of the mayor too. Transparency was emulated with data and information available in the 'purok huts' reflecting the finance management with the money coming in from fees of violators. The money has then become revolving funds for small livelihood projects or other activities in the purok which has forty to two hundred (40-200) households (ibid). The campaign since then have been continually receiving awards from local and international groups including among other UN-Sasakawa Award⁵⁵ and the Seal of Good Housekeeping by the Department of Interior and Local Government, Region VII (DILG-7).

The aforementioned cases demonstrates how the dynamics of organic and induced participation do not necessarily become a pre-condition for the other *i.e. organic should come first before inducing or inducing first before being organic* nor does organic participation be assumed to exist already in a community. A possible proposition would therefore be that the absence of organic participation warrants induced participation and whether such 'inducement' come from other local development actors, the important thing to note is that, the state should not be excluded in the participation process. For if there is one actor among the rest whose participation in development is assumed to be organic, then it has to be the state. '*Whilst new public management may be seen as complementary to traditional public administration, it certainly does not replace it...* (Batley & Larbi, 2004)'

3.2.2 The evolving participatory role of local actors in community

The theories and practice of participation are likewise overlapping. On the one aspect, it has been viewed as '*a means to increase efficiency* with the rationale that people are more likely to engage in the agreement or disagreement in the policy activity if they are involved in the entire process *i.e.* from its formulation to implementation and monitoring. The other aspect of participation is more basic *i.e.* considering *participation as an individual's right* hence one's responsibility to mobilize for collective action is seen as a more intrinsic effort with empowerment and institution building' (Pretty, 1995: 1251). Enter the era of New Public Management and the advent of decentralization and you have the procedures of direct service provisions swiftly moving away from the hands of the government towards external actors or along the line of bureaucracy but to much more disaggregated sectors by areas of specialization (see Awortwi and Helmsing 2008:105-136).

The evolution of the 'participatory roles' of local actors in the community has been proven over and over again by historical reviews alongside the shifts in governance as reflected in various comparative studies. Yet at the peak of the age of 'multi-stakeholders' phenomenon, central discourses resurface among local communities beset by the challenges of successfully pulling the local actors to act together with the primary understanding of the responsibility at hand thereby necessitating one to become more responsive by virtue of either 'self-mobilization' *i.e.* '*people participating by taking initiatives independently...* or through 'interactive or consultative participation' *i.e.* '*people participating in joint analysis, development of action plans and formulation or strengthening of local institutions...participation by consultation by means of answering questions...*' (Pretty, 1995: 1252).

If indeed with decentralization, many local governments are applying subsidiarity where agencies now become the manager of the delivery of such basic services (Batley et.al *also cited by* Gomez et.al, 2012:6) through different modalities *e.g.* along the spectrum of public-private partnership (Gentry et.al *as cited by* Awortwi,

2003:43) then it would be necessary to evaluate the capacity of such agencies who now carry these responsibilities because such disaggregation is likewise subjected to more complexities that will eventually call for streamlining measures to ensure no ‘manipulative’⁵⁶ nor only ‘functional’⁵⁷ kinds of participation will exist. Also, what happens if local actors don’t have ‘organic participation’? Going back to the dilemma of ‘participation-to-be-costly-for-the-poor’, how can a local community proceed and who will induce participation towards addressing a development issue?

The proposed concept for the case of the SWM in Tagbilaran city explained below joins then the discussions on some alternative point of views in the wave of organic and induced participation.

3.3 Conceptualizing the role of the city local government unit as the primary actor inducing participation to the rest of the local actors in Tagbilaran

Notwithstanding the aftermath of New Public Management (NPM), ‘the development of governance measure in a modern political administrative system focusing on restoring public sector organizations towards greater coordination and integration’ (Christensen et.al, 2007)⁵⁸, have emerged with post NPM reforms challenging on the account of ‘perceived disintegration’ under NPM thereby increasing pressure to look once more into the horizontal coordination and integration. Likewise this supported a major subject confronting political executives who at the height of NPM reforms were reluctant to accept the undermining political control emanating from such evolution’ (Christensen et.al, 2012:259) hence validating further traditional governing norms and ‘state-centered governance’ theories such as the following:

‘although governance relates to changing relationships between state and society and a growing reliance on less coercive policy instruments, the state is still the centre of considerable political power...state is the undisputed locus of power and control...’ (Pierre and Peters cited by Levi-Faur, 2012:11)

‘government is a powerful actor that creates networks as a phenomenon in order to realize its projects and does so in response to national mandate to be a delivery arm for a national policy initiative that requires inter-organizational cooperation at the local level...’ (Skelcher et. al. as cited by Christensen et.al, 2012:257)

‘State is an exercise in legitimation: decisions accepted as binding on members of society, it is therefore sovereign, exercising absolute and unrestricted power in that it stands above all other associations and groups in society...’ (Heywood, 2002)

The premise that *State has an inherent capacity to catalyze and or even demand participation* can be extrapolated from the amalgamation of the aforementioned concepts. Likewise, it validates Colebatch (2002) in his identification of the participants in the elements of policy activity to wit *authority, expertise and order*. Hence, translating the above statements for a specific community situation e.g. in the case of Tagbilaran, the following assumptions are illustrated into a proposed theoretical framework supporting the traditional governing norms and the fundamental principles of post NPM era.

Before continuing however with the aforementioned framework, it would be helpful to picture out first the current status of ISWM stakeholders in the city. Thus, plotting the local actors involved i.e. NGA, PGBh, CLGU, BLGUs on the side of the ‘state’; community residents, ELAC, BANGON and the development bank and

organizations on the side of the CSO; and lastly, private firms on the side of the private sector stakeholder's diagram analysis is hereby constructed.

Figure 7. Tagbilaran city current SWM stakeholders' diagram analysis (own construct)⁵⁹

Following below is the proposed framework indicating for the CLGU of Tagbilaran to be fully aware of its intrinsic capacity to induce participation among the rest of the local actors in the SWM sector, it should cover all measures to ensure that such innate responsibility be carried out fully. Such that if the said CLGU is not manifesting success in its endeavor to address development issues or is unable to deliver the basic services then it must assess its *internal* and *external* environment in order to understand and devise a strategy from there. The said '*environmental scanning*' is highlighted in the main argument of this study as the most critical element (precondition) to induce participation to the rest of the local actors in the community. Therefore converting the illustration above, the CLGU should upgrade its internal capacity e.g. organizational re-engineering; expand opportunities by tapping expertise of private sector; as well as enhance its capacity by tapping expertise of NGOs and other development groups.

Figure 8. Proposed Theoretical Framework (own construct)

Chapter 4

SYNTHESIZING FINDINGS AND REFLECTING ON REALITIES:

Recycling philosophical psychology of sociological dichotomies

In a developing country like the Philippines it cannot be denied that reduction of poverty through livelihood programs are much more prioritized over matters that are not directly affecting the people's capacity and the need to provide food in the table for their families like SWM, unless of course, those people among the group whose income depends on scavenging and selling things salvaged from the garbage. Meanwhile, official development assistances are usually geared towards economic livelihood. For the province of Bohol, a lot of NGOs' are geared towards this mission. In fact, there are no NGOs solely advocating nor implementing projects, programs and activities addressing SWM mainly. While there are NGOs with environmental advocacies, most of them are biased towards Coastal Resource Management if not broadly addressing issues encompassing the environment like the ELAC.

Nevertheless, this should not deter the actors from developing at the very least the appreciation or even recognition of the core values of public participation. One can say that the solutions arrived in this specific case could still fit into the 'old wine in new bottles' cliché. After all, the underlying concepts in discussion have been repeatedly argued and debated upon. The important thing to note however is that, there will still be attention given in the need to review these so called 'new bottles'. In this sense, the state more importantly should be conscious of the kind of 'shiftology' in governance that they currently fit into and how it necessitates the enhancement of capabilities among its stakeholders both internally and externally.

Expert based and other hierarchical-instrumental policy making while subjected to insurmountable obstacles in modern liberal democracies also pointed out by Wagenaar (2007), is in itself justifying the 'erosion of output legitimacy' by acknowledging the complexities in the different social systems in community. Such statement also support therefore that there could be in fact no single solution for the challenges besetting 'participation' for both the state and non-state actors hence, to conclude simply for example that 'induced participation' is deemed to fail could only be premature at best considering the trajectories of change. It would be more appropriate to assume however that the kind of participation of state and non-state actors leading to a successful partnership addressing development issues vary from community to community depending on external and internal factor such as capacity, influence and culture of society among others. For indeed, the solutions as in Dia (1996) may neither be in the need to formalize or in getting rid of informal institutions nor converting formal institutions to more informal one but instead a collaboration of these institutions with due consideration to, or rather against the background of 'institutional bricolage' i.e. *'the multiple norms and complex identities of bricoleurs (local actors); the practice of cultural borrowing and adaptation of institutions to multiple purposes; and the prevalence of common social principles which foster cooperation between groups of stakeholders'* (Cleaver, 2009).

Conscious or Unconscious Social Agents

Going back to the basic layer in the governance triangle in understanding the case of the (non) participation of the actors in solid waste management for the city of Tagbilaran, the findings suggests that the roots of the perceived passivism and disconnect in the relationship among the actors involved can be attributed to the lack of appreciation in their respective roles in 'participatory governance'. Passiveness by both state and non-state actors regarding the SWM issue is alarming. For the city

government, non compliance to 3 orders via executive orders from the national government through DENR have been made for the closure of the dumpsite; alternative solutions have not been realized even with the implementation of the barangay material recovery facilities; while MRFs have been installed, the said facilities have not been maximized or fully utilized. Other MRFs in barangays have stopped operating due to non-committal behaviors of residents to comply with segregation. With this dilemma at hand, the state becomes evidently more accountable in the light of its inherent legitimacy and binding responsibility to 'steer', for this case, participation among its constituents.

Closed Patronage or Open Patronage

The term 'patronage' is associated more with shaded ideas in the governance parlance. The Philippines like some other countries has been known to have embedded 'closed patronage' in the tradition of its political system. To change a 'culture' could sometimes mean having to try doing it in a lifetime. Hence, it might be worthwhile to pay attention more closely on how you can turn the table e.g. taking advantage of the system i.e. 'if you can't beat the system, join the system' after all, it is a matter of putting things on the right perspective. So that, for example, if one is able to perceive how patronage creeps in and fuels the corruption in the system, then one can consider, how better to use patronage to create a counter effect inside the system. Using this thought in the case, the CLGU should consider beefing up incentive policies with incentive packages in place for all actors, award systems in the local government level and in the community level by the barangay LGUs. Meanwhile findings also reflect poor practice in the imposition of fees and sanctions supported by the 'politically-driven' leniency in policy implementation (*as showcased in the abrupt change of decision over a radio program mentioned above*). The CLGU should not be lenient in implementing sanctions for violation or rules as well as imposition of fees. While such systems makes participation seem to be an 'obligation at first', with continued practice, it will eventually become a force of habit hence, people will not only do it because they think they will be punished but imbibing the responsibility of ultimately finding the value of creating a healthier and cleaner environment. In this way, the CLGU is gearing towards open patronage where implementation is an instrument of governance and not politically favour driven. In sum, there should be enforceability of rules through commitment in leadership.

Manipulative or Interactive Participation

Findings also suggested that there is lack of participation by non-state actors in terms of creating strategic solutions that would address SWM as a community and not as individual actors. This is a seemingly paradoxical connotation to the present 'democratic' system of government in that country. Yet this is exactly one of the most basic things that is overlooked in the situation, just because the society is deemed to have that kind of governance, does not mean its 'participants' have automatically imbibed the values accordingly. Participatory governance as described by Fischer (2012)⁶⁰ claims to offer more as opposed to being considered just a 'political virtue unto self' in the parlance of democratic participation. Education (formal or informal) may in fact be a key for the local actors in the city of Tagbilaran to be able to move beyond the 'pretense nature' of participation towards an interactive kind of participation where they are able to contribute in the policy activity highlighting therefore the essence of participatory governance contributing '*to the development of communicative skills, citizen empowerment and community-capacity building*' (ibid).

Technical or Institutional Capacity Building

Dia (1996:25-28) articulates the primary goal of capacity building in governance as the provision of the necessary tools among its citizens that will enable them to reflect on the 'normative principles that underlie the provision of public services' hence enabling the ability of citizens to critically reflect the values of participation and the equity of its outcomes.

This is basically what is envisioned of the CLGU of Tagbilaran in the light of the theoretical framework presented (chapter 3). To do this, 'a focus on its technical aspect wherein capacity building is equated with training, education and technical assistance' is deemed to complement local supply thereby catering to the basic issue of having enough qualified and experienced staff, building equipment and knowledge to do the job'. (ibid) This in turn will strengthen the institutional capacity in the case of Tagbilaran to make use of its renewed sense of technical expertise towards participating fully in the SWM problem of the city.

Organic or Induced

The fact that people in the city of Tagbilaran does not participate under the guise of collaboration do not necessarily warrant the absence of 'organic' participation.

If organic participation is the formation of civic groups, then we have to dissect first the factors within the 'act of organizing' that deters the people in the community from participating. In this sense, they could in fact be interested (hence inherent and natural) to participate but are incapacitated. This again, therefore, should where the attention needs to be focused i.e. the empowerment and capacity building towards citizen competence.

However it is also important to note that participation according to Osmani (2007)⁶¹ *'is more than just a matter of competence. Competent people may not necessarily perceive an incentive to participate. Thus, getting them to do so is another important issue. Engagement in the public realm is not without its own costs, and most people have little interest in participating unless the costs of engagement are outweighed by the possibility of benefits from it'*. This underscores why is it more practical to begin with the government, as this becomes a matter of realism pointing on the nature of its organizational and institutional structure (see Colebatch, 2002), the configuration of such institution makes the 'inducement' more convenient by virtue of its legal authority. This does not mean of course that in case of Tagbilaran only the CLGU has the capacity to do so, but it would certainly be more practical to begin with the CLGUs 'self-assessment' in order for them to realize their inherent role to 'induce' participation.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

So, can the present dynamics of the participation and accountability among the local actors in the Solid Waste of Tagbilaran city *change* towards a more strategic form of participation among its stakeholders? The resounding answer is yes. However, as cliché as it may sound, it has indeed always been easier said than done. For in fact '*change is the only permanent thing in this world*' and like all others, 'participation' is subjected to a kind of evolution where such 'continuing process' involves actors that most often than not vary in power, influence and interest. The dynamics in governance existing in the relationship of local development actors will remain to have a mysterious abysmal gap that will continue to become a platform for debates and continued research in the academic and/or practitioners' world. This rich field enables to posit different perceptions, assumptions and recommendations based on evidence-based theories. This paper presented is just one of the many possible solutions which also fall under the caveat that, while the recommendations may work for the city of Tagbilaran, it may not necessarily work for the others just as while other solutions presented worked for the others, those may not necessarily work for Tagbilaran.

It is interesting to witness the 'shiftology in governance' over the years and the subject matter have certainly had its fair share of argumentations and debates over time, this paper however was not exactly tracing the shift with the case of the city of Tagbilaran, instead it tries to go back to the basic dilemma, pointing in this case, that it was left overwhelmed trying to live the notion of a 'modernized society' in NPM era i.e. 'government to governance' (Levi-Faur, 2012) when in fact, the community has not even 'matured' enough to understand fully the underlying principles of 'participatory governance'.

The paper tried to uncover the existing framework of participation of the actor in the ISWM of the city of Tagbilaran finding out an appalling 'disconnect' in the planning and execution of plans and policies which called for an analysis in the relationship and among its actors and the challenges that deter *participation* among other actors. Responding to the question of possible state and community failure, interestingly, findings pointed out the most basic notion of 'passiveness' among its stakeholders in the 'policy activities' which relatively dispel the intrinsic existence of 'organic participation' among its constituents thereby calling for the consideration to 'induce participation'. And while the present CLGU does not necessarily qualify as the actor with the capacity to induce participation (as showcased by the weakness in its organization) it has by virtue of its legal powers and having the most basic structure to enforce management, carry the intrinsic responsibility to catalyze such participation through engaging in and tapping the right partners in doing said 'inducement'.

Hence, if the CLGU of Tagbilaran aspire to address the SWM issue through multi-stakeholders participation, interpretations of the findings suggests that it definitely needs to enhance its capacity first to be able to manage or co-manage (in the case of partnerships) the modality that will be undertaken for SWM. With this, an imminent 're-engineering' within its organization is the ideal solution as a first step towards catalyzing participation among the rest of the actors. This is also based on the results shown in the previous chapters that the role of the CLGU of Tagbilaran is crucial in 'steering' the participation of its constituents. While such role is heavily subjected to the negative connotations of 'patronage' labelled as close patronage, the same practice could likewise

be used, this time, tapping into the lesser known form but optimistically a viable potential that could serve both the interests of the actors i.e. ‘open patronage’⁶².

Meanwhile the other actors in the community must likewise be aware of the significance of their participation in addressing the SWM issue. Based on the interpretations from the findings, the conduct of IEC therefore must not just involve the people working in the bureaucracy but include other stakeholders in formulating a strategy that would best capture the attention of the rest of the people to understand the importance of working together in order to address SWM. Strategies could be as simple as a ‘road shows among barangays’ including in this way, participants from the barangays itself portraying lead actors in the IEC campaign. Likewise the role of NGOs in helping the CLGU in this advocacy is also very crucial but as findings present it, there is not even a specific NGO advocating for SWM mainly. This calls for reaching out to donor agencies and funding institutions to support capacity building for the CLGU as well as the rest of the stakeholders involved.

Whether the path chosen by the CLGU of Tagbilaran is either increased private sector participation or other non-state actors including NGOs and the community in general, the point is, they have to choose a path and they have to do it as soon as possible. More importantly, the CLGU must look *inwards* first to be able to catalyze participation onwards.

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Annexes

- A. Images from the Open Dumpsite in Barangay Dampas, Tagbilaran City, Bohol, Philippines (August, 2013)
- B. Map of Tagbilaran City, Bohol, Philippines
- C. 3rd Letter of DENR to City Local Government of Tagbilaran (closure order)
- D. ESWMB Monitoring & Evaluation Report
- E. List of ordinances of the Sangguniang Panlalawigan (Province of Bohol's, Legislative Body)
- F. List of approved resolutions of Tagbilaran City
- G. Monitoring Report: Implementation of Safe Closure and Rehabilitation Plan for Open and Controlled Dumpsites (June 2012)
- H. Poblacion II, Barangay ESWM Committee
- I. Verbatim words in conversation with Kagawad Aida (Barangay Dampas, Tagbilaran City, Bohol, Philippines)

NOTE: ACTUAL ANNEXES EMAILED SEPARATELY IN EUR MAIL SINCE THE FILE CANNOT BE ATTACHED IN MOODLE WITH IT

End Notes

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- ¹ See chapter 3 p.21 of this paper
- ² In this sense either I construe the term as catalyst due to its capacity, or as the first one to acknowledge the need to enhance its capacity and seek for help from other actors
- ³ See Chapter 3 p.24 of this paper for definition
- ⁴ Data from this section culled out from the Tagbilaran ISWM 2005-2014
- ⁵ Income Classification Provinces, Cities and Municipalities in the Philippines where 2nd class cities are those that has an income of P 320 M or more but less than P 400 M
- ⁶ The title emanates from one of the most important events in Philippine history (immortalized on canvass by the famous Filipino painter Juan Luna) was the blood compact between Datu Sikatuna, a local native chieftain, and Captain Miguel López de Legazpi, the Spanish explorer and colonizer. It took place in the coast of Bool, now a district of Tagbilaran, on March 16, 1565, a day after Legazpi and his crew of conquistadores on four ships chanced upon the shores of Bool during their trip to the province of Butuan from Camiguin Island because of strong southwest monsoon winds and low tide. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tagbilaran>
- ⁷ As reflected in the reports of the Bohol Environment Management Office, 2012
- ⁸ Purok is the household level division in the barangay. Purok Candait comprises the households in the area where the dumpsite is located
- ⁹ While the former principal agreed for me to use his comments on the SWM issue, he asked if his name could remain anonymous in the document
- ¹⁰ Copy can be accessed online at http://www.chanrobles.com/republicactno9003.htm#.UoPJ1nA_saY
- ¹¹ See List of Annexes
- ¹² See NEDAs mandate which could also be accessed online at http://www.neda.gov.ph/about/legal_mandate.htm#AnnexA
- ¹³ See NEDA's mandate **references** which could also be accessed online at <http://www.neda.gov.ph/references.asp>
- ¹⁴ Heads the legislative body of the Provincial Local Government in the Philippines
- ¹⁵ The Vice Governor referred to in this comment agreed for me to use his statement however not naming him because he said it was only a part of an 'academic discussion' in one of our classes in Local Governance and Development for LVGP
- ¹⁶ I use this term to refer to the exercise of literally copying the statements in the policies from national and provincial government units down to the local government units and literally pasting it to their own policy statements after tweaking and customizing a little if only to claim there exist a policy in the local government that goes in line with the national and provincial policy;
- ¹⁷ Under the Oxford Handbook of Governance, edited by David Levi-Faur, 2012
- ¹⁸ *ibid*
- ¹⁹ *ibid*
- ²⁰ See table 2 of this paper as seen above *Dissecting Patronage*
- ²¹ See Table 1 of this paper (page 13), *Typology of participation*
- ²² See Table 2 of this paper (page 14), *Dissecting Patronage Systems*
- ²³ See Table 1 of this paper (page 13), *Typology of participation*
- ²⁴ Secretariat to the the Sangguniang Panlalawigan (English: Provincial Council), commonly known as the Provincial Board, is the name given to the legislatures of each of the provinces in the Philippines. They pass ordinances and resolutions for the effective administration of the province. Their powers and responsibilities are defined by the Local Government Code of 1991 (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provincial_boards_in_the_Philippines)

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- ²⁵ Secretariat to the Sangguniang Panlungsod (City Council) the legislative body of the city
- ²⁶ Copies could be accessed online at <http://www.emb.gov.ph/laws/solid%20waste%20management/pd825.pdf> and <http://www.doh.gov.ph/content/code-sanitation-philippines-presidential-decree-no-856.html>
- ²⁷ No. of approved ISWM Plans gathered information from the Monitoring and Evaluation Report of BEMO 2010
- ²⁸ Philippine Information Agency (PIA-RO7) , regional news dated January 7, 2012 could be accessed online at <http://r07.pia.gov.ph/index.php?article=1051325915306>
- ²⁹ Obtained electronic copy from the Bohol Center for Development Studies however, I cannot attach document herewith since it is currently in the legislative committee for adoption and approval.
- ³⁰ There is no copy available online. Researcher only scanned a copy of the printed document during the data gathering in August 2013. I was not able to ask permission to attach the said document herein
- ³¹ Batonghinay, 2013. Key Informant Interview, one of the coordinators in the SWMO
- ³² Hard copy of the code not available online, researcher's copy secured from Office of the Secretary to the Sangguniang Panlungsod with no permission to attach herein
- ³³ See Review and Documentation of Sustainable Cities Program/EPM Experiences and Lessons Learnt, In Tagbilaran City, Bohol Province University of the Philippines, School of Urban and Regional Planning. Online at http://www.fukuoka.unhabitat.org/programmes/scp/philippines/pdf/SCP_documentation_Tagbilaran.pdf. Accessed May 2013
- ³⁴ *ibid*
- ³⁵ July 2013, encounter with employee from CLGU during the data gathering. It would be best not to name the person as his/her response may not necessarily reflect that of the CLGU despite the fact that he/she is holding an official position
- ³⁶ I personally heard over the radio the interview with the mayor on August 17, 2013 (during the field research in Tagbilaran City Bohol, Philippines)
- ³⁷ I decided to go back to the office of Engr. Jimenez on August 22, 2013 to ask for his opinion regarding the decision of the mayor over the radio
- ³⁸ referring to the regional office of the SWM under the DENR-7
- ³⁹ One of the urbanized barangays in the city of Tagbilaran where a lot of business establishments are located as well as other institutions i.e. the schools, hospitals and churches. Interview was done with current Punong Barangay (Barangay Captain) Honorable Eleuterio A. Paredes and their SWM manager Mr. Jesus Vergara on August 20, 2013 at Poblacion II barangay hall
- ⁴⁰ Head of the The Punong Barangay, commonly known as the Barangay Captain and less commonly Barangay Chairman, is the highest elected official in a barangay, the smallest of the elected administrative divisions of the Philippines
- ⁴¹ This is the barangay where the current open dumpsite of the city is located. The interview was conducted with Honorable Liza Templa-Regis, chairperson of the Committee on Environment and Honorable Adelaida P. Barafon, assigned kagawad to the Purok where the open-dumpsite is located. August 24, 2013 at Dampas barangay hall. Note that their names have not been specified in the comments stated above as per request by the respondents
- ⁴² With permission to go over the documents in their computer database since the hard copies of the resolutions have been kept by their bookkeeper who was on leave at the time of visit
- ⁴³ There are five big malls in the city. Three out of the five is owned by the same group of company-Alturas Group of Companies owns Marcela, Island City Mall and Alturas Shopping Mall while the other one is AH Shoppers Mart and still one from another company.
- ⁴⁴ August 22, 2013, conversation with Ms. Myttee Palo, former executive director of BANGON
- ⁴⁵ Under the Oxford Handbook of Governance, edited by David Levi-Faur, 2012
- ⁴⁶ *ibid*

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- ⁴⁷ 2010 Census of Population and Housing, Total Population by Province, City, Municipality and Barangay: CALABARZON, Los Banos: P 64, accessed online at <http://www.census.gov.ph/sites/default/files/attachments/hsd/pressrelease/CALABARZON.pdf>
- ⁴⁸ 2010 Census of Population and Housing, Total Population by Province, City, Municipality and Barangay: Cebu Province, Municipality of San Francisco: P 9, accessed online at <http://www.census.gov.ph/sites/default/files/attachments/hsd/pressrelease/Central%20Visayas.pdf>
- ⁴⁹ Can also be accessed online at http://r-cube.ritsumeikai.ac.jp/bitstream/10367/231/1/RJAPS24_A%20Breakthrough%20in%20Solid%20Waste%20Management%20through%20.pdf
- ⁵⁰ Atienza, Viella is a graduate of the Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University and a Research Fellow in Environmental and natural resource studies group, inter-disciplinary studies center in the Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organizations
- ⁵¹ Can also be accessed online at www.ied.edu.hk/include/getrichfile.php%3Fkey%3Df645e816f16f2a446606d9ff4147b321%26secid%3D3782%26filename%3Dasahkconf/conference/E071_Best%2520Practices%2520in%2520Solid%2520Waste%2520Management%2520.pdf+%26cd=1&chl=en&ct=clnk&gl=nl
- ⁵² Professor Zenaida Ligan is an assistant Professor, Social Sciences, University of the Philippines Cebu, Cebu, Philippines
- ⁵³ Household group in the barangays, the smallest community division in the Philippines
- ⁵⁴ Also recognized as champion of the Making Cities Resilient facilitated by United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR) in 2011
- ⁵⁵ The United Nations Sasakawa Award for Disaster Reduction is awarded to an individual or institutions that have taken active efforts in reducing disaster risk in their communities and advocates for disaster risk reduction.
- ⁵⁶ See Table 1 of this paper (page 13), *Typology of participation*
- ⁵⁷ *ibid*
- ⁵⁸ As cited by Christensen et.al, 2012, *Oxford Handbook of Governance, edited by David Levi-Faur, 2012*
- ⁵⁹ Based on Multi-stakeholder management: Tools for Stakeholder Analysis: 10 building blocks for designing participatory systems of cooperation
- ⁶⁰ Under the Oxford Handbook of Governance, edited by David Levi-Faur, 2012
- ⁶¹ As cited by Fischer in Participatory Governance. Jerusalem Papers in Regulation & Governance, Working Paper No. 24 August 2010
- ⁶² See Table 2 of this paper (page 14), *Dissecting Patronage Systems*