

The Social Production of Public Space in an Informal Settlement

A Case Study of Sitio Pechayan, Metro Manila

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Abstract

Informal settlements have been historically perceived in negative terms which are attributed to gaps in knowledge on informality. As more studies were conducted on informal settlements that focused on its value, this perception of marginality was challenged. The academic community started reconsidering the value of informal settlement in urban studies as an alternative mode of urban development. This thesis aims to contribute to this debate by exploring the production of public spaces in an informal settlement as both a spatial and social process. This research utilizes Lefebvre's social production of space and acts of everyday resistance to understand the relationship between the different actors and their roles.

The case study is an urban informal settlement in Metro Manila called Sitio Pechayan. The research adopted a case study approach to document the history and the current state of the different public spaces of the informal settlement. Five key public spaces were the focus of the fieldwork. A total of thirty-two semi-structured interviews were conducted.

This thesis makes three key findings. First, public space is continually being socially produced through the everyday activities of the community. Second, the state utilizes informal practices to assert their authority either by granting concessions or through political patronage. Third, the close connection of the residents with the public spaces was fostered by its value to their everyday life and their involvement in its production. These attributes are necessary for residents to feel a sense of ownership for their public space.

Finally, the research contributes towards an expanded understanding on the production of public space; one that is underpinned by social and power relations. By framing the informal production of space as a social process, this research provides a comprehensive insight into informal settlements and its public space. It also brings into question of what informality really mean to urban studies.

Declaration by Author

I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged

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March 30, 2022

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.0 Introduction

The research revolves around two main themes: informal settlements and public space. It seeks to explore the production of public space in an informal settlement as a way of adding to our knowledge of informal urbanism. In this case, public space serves as our window into the informal practices used in the production of urban spaces in an informal settlement. The research used a broader and more inclusive definition of what constitutes a public space. It includes all spaces not categorized as private and where there is some degree of public or communal use. It is also not limited to a specific typology but the criterion for its inclusion was the potential for these spaces to be utilized for social gathering that would allow freedom of action and social interactions. While the main focus is contributing to informal settlement discourse; this research can also offer new insights into urban design theories, specifically public space study. It gives us an opportunity to explore a different perspective on urban development and even redefine public space from the context of informality.

My personal journey on this research started during my first year of master's study. Before that, I had very little interest in informality and informal settlements. As an undergraduate student of architecture, the study of informal settlement has always been focused on the subject of housing. This involves learning about housing strategies and solutions for informal settlements. This means that the aim of the housing course is to formalize informal settlement by applying architectural standards and practices. To some extent, this fosters the perspective that informal settlements are urban blights that needs to be fixed. This perspective on informal settlement did not change until I conducted a research on an informal settlement as a graduate student. What I found during the research was a community that had socially vibrant public spaces despite the poor quality of its urban environment. It also made me realized that we could learn something from informality which led me to continue my research on informal settlement. The changing discourse on informal settlement also

contributed to this change in my perspective. In some ways, this shift in sentiment also mirrored my own personal misconception about informality.

This chapter introduces the research by presenting the background of the study and purpose of this research. It is composed of four main sections excluding the overview section. It begins by discussing the background on informal settlement study and its history of being marginalized especially within the academic and architecture community. The second section outlines the purpose of this research by discussing the research questions, aims, and objectives of this study. The third section discusses the significance of the research to informal settlement and urban studies. The last section outlines the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Background of the Study

The term “informal” was originally imported into urban studies from economics to describe economic activities outside the formal control of the state or official institutions (Hart, 1973). For informal settlement and several other terms used in other literatures have mainly followed that same characterization; as communities that do not comply with building and planning regulations. According to Dovey and King (2011), informal settlements have largely been defined by what they lacked in comparison to formal settlements. The UN-Habitat’s (2003) operational definition for informal settlement outlines its lack of security of tenure, inadequate access to basic infrastructure and services, poor living and substandard housing condition. While the definition is widely accepted, it fails to capture the different iterations of informal communities and undervalues its inherent qualities. In some ways, this typifies the discussions on informal settlements where it is often studied in comparison to formal communities (Kyessi, 2002). The formal and informal dichotomy reflects a lack of understanding on informal settlements which tends to portray these communities in a negative manner (Lombard, 2014). The misconceptions on informality can be historically seen in how the academic community and the state treated these communities in the past.

Informal settlements are considered the fastest growing form of urban development, especially for countries in the Global South (Mahabir et al., 2016). For

these countries, rapid urbanization has resulted in rising inequalities and the growth of informal settlements. Despite the decline on the proportion of the urban population living in informal settlements; they still amounted to nearly half of the urban growth (UN Habitat, 2016). The growth of informal settlements can be attributed to a wide range of interrelated factors that highlights the inadequacy and failure of those in power to provide a most basic human need, shelter (Shatkin, 2004).

As more low-income rural migrants move into the city, informal settlements are sometimes their only option for housing. The continued propagation of informal settlements is often seen as natural consequence of urban growth as well as a failure by the state to address this growth and deliver basic services (Fekade, 2000; Turner, 1967). But the precarious and extra-legal nature of these communities has meant that certain safeguards and services commonly provided by the state are absent. This has led to a wide range of issues for the residents from threat of eviction to environmental hazards (Dovey & King, 2011). These conditions have also resulted in the communities being marginalized which is then reflected in the hostile and dismissive policy of the state towards informal settlements (Berner, 1997, p. 4).

The early literature on informal settlements has characterized these communities as negative terms (Lombard, 2014). This view was also shared by those in the architectural community. Alfred Agache, while working on the master plan for Rio de Janeiro viewed the favelas as a disease that needed to surgically removed (Underwood, 1991). This characterization of informal settlements as a disease and the city as an organism was also echoed by Le Corbusier. He lamented the loss of coherency in the physical structure of the city's "organism" because of slums "disease" (Holston, 1989). This negative view on informal settlements also extended into its inhabitants. Lewis (1998) characterized the poor as disadvantaged and destined to the cycle of poverty, if left unaided.

State policies also reflected this negative characterization. The earlier response to the informal settlement has either been one of hostility or ambivalence (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2018). Slum clearance and relocation to housing projects was the common policy implemented before the 1970's by cities in Europe and North America. But for countries with fewer resources, this was not feasible and even failed because

of numerous factors. Dependence on strategies that revolved on shelter as the main solution for slum upgrading have mainly failed because housing in informal settlements are highly personal and individualized for every household (Viratkapan & Perera, 2006). The unique circumstances that are present in each domestic unit means that a one-size fits all solution is not feasible.

An ambivalent approach was also adopted in which the state viewed informal settlement as a temporary condition that would correct itself over time. But continued poor economic conditions, high cost of housing, increasing urban migration, and the inability of the state to provide affordable housing prevented this from being realized (Shatkin, 2004). It was only in the 1970's that a supportive policy was implemented. It called for maintaining the existing informal communities and improving the basic infrastructure and social facilities (UN Habitat, 2003). Strategies that were focused on improvements that were not possible for informal settlers to accomplish on their own; like the provisions of basic utilities and infrastructure, were seen as the more sustainable approach (Garau, 2014).

The shift in perspective began when studies on informal settlement started focused on their capacity to build their own community as well as their value to the city. Hart (1973) recognized the capability of the informal sectors to generate growth using informal practices. According to Perlman (1979) informal settlements are sometimes the only options of affordable housing for low-income rural migrants. Past studies have also highlighted that developing countries would be economically unsustainable without them. Slum dwellers subsidize the middle class and the small business by providing cheap labor (Brugmann, 2010). Soto (2000) saw the value of informal sectors through their informal micro entrepreneurship activities as a way of generating income as well as savings by circumventing the state regulation.

This change in perception echoed among urban planning professionals and theorists. Informality began to be seen as a distinct type of urban development. Roy (2005) argued that urban informality should be regarded as a mode of metropolitan urbanization. For the architectural community, the shift in sentiments towards informality began when architects began critiquing modern architecture and its rigid prescription. The MoMA exhibition by Bernard Rudosky highlighted the beauty and

history of vernacular architecture. To some degree, this validated the idea that self-built communities should also be considered as a form of urban development. Another influential author was Jane Jacobs (1961), who while not an architect by training denounced urban renewal projects that destroyed the social fabric of communities in her book *"The Death and Life of the Great American City"*. It was seen as a social commentary and an attack on the prevailing norms in city planning being employed that resulted in the displacement of poor communities. But it was John Turner's (1967) work on self-built housing in informal settlement that validated the value of informal practices in building houses.

Other studies also started challenging the prevailing discourse on informality. Perlman (1979) argued that the favelas are not "marginal but integrated into society" and that their marginalization was falsely constructed as a tool for their exclusion and exploitation. Robinson's (2006) *"Ordinary Cities"* also challenges this false dichotomy between what should be considered ordinary or acceptable. In her book, she argued that cities should be judged according to their own standard and not by Western standard; hence the view that all cities are ordinary when seen through their own context. As Robinson (2006, p. 3) noted that "the potential to learn from other contexts, other cities, would need to always be kept open and hopefully acted upon." Although she was referring to the divide between the Western countries and the "Third World" countries; it still gives credence to the notion that we can learn from informality. And to learn from informality, it should be studied through its own context which this research aims to accomplish. This begins by recognizing that informal settlements are inextricably linked to the urban fabric of the city which would help us appreciate it as a different type of urban development that needs to be explored and understood. Instead of just being seen as a material product, informal settlements should also be regarded as a social process; "an organizing logic, a system of norms that governs the process of urban transformation itself" (Roy, 2005, p. 148). Studying informal settlements as a social process would give new insights into the social and political dynamics that are involved in the production of urban space.

1.2 Research Problem

The discussions in the introduction and background of the study sections highlighted how informal settlements have often been conceptualized in terms of its place in the urban planning discourse. These discussions have largely been varied and often negative towards informal settlements. The commonly cited reason for the negative perception has been the limited understanding of the informal process and socio-spatial practices that are prevalent in informal settlement (Görgens & Denoon-Stevens, 2013; Roy, 2005). Another reason has been the continued reliance and focus on incompatible urban planning theories and practices that are often derived from western studies (Robinson, 2006). This can especially be observed in how the academic and urban planning community perceived informal settlement in relation to the city.

As narrated in the introduction section, my own personal experience as an undergraduate architectural student revealed a predisposition towards the “formal” city and the emphasis on the application of conventional planning and design principles. When informal settlements were discussed, it was largely explored within the context of formalization strategy. This meant that the type of informal urbanism taking place in the informal settlements was regarded as having little to no value in the academic training of future design and planning professionals. It also signals a preference towards a normative approach in urban planning education; where “formal” planning and design is more dominant. This in turn results in a myopic view of the city that fails to acknowledge the informal production of urban space.

The continued emphasis on conventional planning and design principles is also often observed in architectural and urban planning practices. In a three year period (2005-08), a “content analysis of six leading international planning journals”, only three out of 327 articles were about informal urbanism (Yiftachel, 2009, p. 97). The dearth of academic literature on informal urbanism has meant that it has not received the attention it needs especially when compared to the rapid growth of informal settlements. This in turn has led to a reliance on incompatible planning models for studying cities of the Global South (Revell, 2010). This indifference by both the

academe and urban design professional to informal urbanism has meant that there are gaps in our understanding of informal settlements.

These gaps in informal settlement study underscore two points that are relevant for this research. First, the negative sentiments and misconceptions of informal settlements are a product of the limited understanding of informality. As a result, informal settlements are regarded as not “ordinary” or a disease to the city. This is then reflected in state policies that are either hostile or dismissive. This then leads to incompatible policies towards informal settlements that often favor displacement or relocation; which tend to not be successful (Viratkapan & Perera, 2006). It has even be argued that land regularization or the legalization of land tenure has minimal impact on informal settlers (de Souza, 2001). What this means is that formalization strategies and practices does not always work for informal settlement. Hence the need to get a better contextual understanding of informal settlements that acknowledges their complexity, nuances, and lived experiences. This is especially true for major cities of the Global South such as the Philippines where rural migration have led to the rapid growth of informal settlements (Shatkin, 2004). A majority of these informal communities are often found in different geographical conditions (Alcazaren et al., 2011). And often, other socio-economic factors can also influence how these communities grow and persist (Dovey & King, 2011). As such, there is a need to contextualize the study of informal settlements in order to broaden our understanding of these communities.

The second, pertains to how informal settlements are often overlooked in urban planning studies. Roy (2005, p. 147) sums it up by saying that “the study of cities is today marked by a paradox: much of the urban growth of the 21st century is taking place in the developing world, but many of the theories of how cities function remain rooted in the developed world”. And much of the urban developments that are happening on developing countries are in informal settlements. Therefore, studying informal settlements can provide a different insight and conceptualization on the production of urban space; one that is underpinned by social and power relations. And public spaces, being one of the important urban spaces in an informal settlement, are an ideal study area. This research acknowledges that fact and by studying how public

space is produced and consumed in an informal settlement, the research emphasizes the importance of the informal process involved in the production of urban space by focusing on the socio-spatial practices of informal settlers as it plays out in the public spaces.

What the discussion in this section has revealed is that there is a need to re-examine our understanding of the city; one that acknowledges both its formal and informal aspect. In order to do so, we need to reconsider informality as an emerging paradigm in urban planning that needs to be understood within its own context (Roy, 2005). This research therefore is intended to contribute to broadening our understanding of informal settlement specifically the social production of urban space. The focus on social production is meant to provide a contextual understanding of the informal process by highlighting the agency of the people in producing their own urban space.

1.2.1 Research Aim and Objectives

Having established the relevance of studying informal settlement and the importance of its public spaces, this research aims to develop a conceptual understanding on the production of public spaces in an informal settlement. From this main research aim, three questions emerged for this research:

1. How are public spaces produced in an informal settlement?

This question is not just about the actual and the procedural manner by which public spaces are produced. It focused on understanding the informal processes that takes place in the production of urban space as well as the informal practices of informal settlers. The agency of informal settlers in building their own community means that the processes by which they produce their public spaces are more representative of their capability and how they allocate resources through processes and practices underpinned in social and power relations. This question also explores the social production of space, its consumption or use of space which is also considered a form of production.

2. What are the types of public spaces being produced?

This question focuses primarily on the social production of space and what they mean for the actors involved rather than the functional or morphological typology of public space. The production of urban spaces in an informal settlement is often undertaken by several actors. As such, these actors often play a different role in its production. This question hopes to achieve is to explore the relationship between people and space to gain a better understanding of the different spaces that different actors produce either through its production or consumption or space. This question also explores the different layers involved in the production of space where one public space can take on different meaning and significance for different people.

3. What are the socio-spatial practices being utilized to produce these spaces?

Informal settlements have often been characterized as lacking the structure of order and homogeneity (Hernandez & Kellett, 2010). This is also manifested in the socio-spatial practices of informal settlers which are often regarded as adaptive and opportunistic. This means that these informal practices are very contextual, reflecting their current circumstances and needs. By exploring the socio-spatial practices used in the production of public space, we are able to understand the adaptive and coping strategies of informal settlers.

1.3 Significance of the Research

The previous section on research problem highlighted two important discussions: the need to augment our understanding of informal settlements and to acknowledge informality as an alternative mode of urban development. It has been estimated that two-thirds of the world population will be living in urban areas by 2030 with a majority occurring in developing countries. It has also been stated that almost 1 billion people are living in slum-like conditions (UN Habitat, 2016). For the academic community, this means that there is a need to address gaps in our conceptual understanding of informal settlements which are inherently complex and contextual. This means that there are opportunities to learn from different informal settlements. For this research, the focus is on the public spaces and the informal practices used to

produce these spaces. This study makes two contributions to informal settlement study. First, it introduces a different way of studying informality by using the public space as a window into understanding the everyday realities of informal settlers and the social interactions that occur in this space, including the role of power relations. Second, by focusing on the socio-spatial practices, this research is able to provide a dynamic approach on how to study informal settlement. Through these informal practices, we are able to understand how informal settlers respond to vulnerabilities and opportunities. We are also able to see how informal settlers use their adaptive and coping strategies, often manifested in their production and consumption of public space.

Through the study of the production of public space, this research contributes with a deeper understanding of the urban development process that takes place in an informal settlement like Sitio Pechayan. Public spaces in informal settlements have also been an under-explored area of research, often been regarded as residual spaces. This research suggests that public spaces in informal settlements often take on different meanings and functions. Public spaces are often intended to be accessible and available for the public, but this is not always the case in informal settlements. Public spaces are sometimes appropriated which gives them a communal or parochial quality especially in terms of how they are used. This research highlights the importance of public space in the everyday life of the informal settlers. In this regard, this research contributes to theoretical and conceptual discourses on informal settlement study and public space theories.

1.4 Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into seven chapters.

Chapter 1 – Introduction: This chapter is composed of four sections. It begins by introducing the two main themes of the research: informal settlement and public space. The discussion focuses on the changing discourse on informal settlement from both the academic and architecture community. Then it outlines the research problem, along with the general aim and objectives of the research, and the significance of the research.

Chapter 2 – Review of Related Literature: This chapter is composed of four sections excluding the introduction. The first two sections discuss the literature on informal settlement and public space study. The last section presents the historical context of informal settlements in Metro Manila as well as the community.

Chapter 3 – Theoretical Framework: This chapter is composed of three sections excluding the introduction. It presents the theoretical concepts that guided the analytical portion of this research. The two theoretical concepts discussed in this research are the acts of everyday resistance and Lefebvre’s social production of space. The last section discusses how the theories relate to the research.

Chapter 4 – Research Methodology and Methods: This chapter is composed of five sections excluding the introduction. It discusses the methodology and methods used for this research. This includes presenting the underlying research philosophy that informs this research and discusses the rationale for using the case study strategy for this research. Succeeding sections describes the data collection methods and data analysis used for this research.

Chapter 5 – Findings: This chapter is composed of four sections. This chapter presents the findings of this research obtained from key informants’ interviews and field observation. The discussion revolves around three main themes: spatial practice, representation of space, and representational space.

Chapter 6 – Discussion: This chapter is composed of four sections. This chapter discusses the findings and its relation to the theoretical concepts relevant to the research. The structure of this chapter follows the order of the findings chapter starting with spatial practice to representational space.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion: This concluding chapter is composed of five main sections excluding the introduction. The first section summarizes the key findings. The second section discusses the implication and significance of this research on informal settlement and public space study. The third section reflects on the limitations of the study. The fourth and last sections explore possible recommendation for future research and the concluding remark.

Chapter 2 Review of Related Literature

2.0 Introduction

The chapter examines the literature on the two main themes of the research: informal settlement and public space. The chapter is divided into four sections, with the first section focusing on discussion regarding informal settlement and how it can be regarded as a form of urban development. The second section focuses on public space study. The third section examines the historical context of the research which includes discussion on cultural influences, power relations, and the history of Sitio Pechayan.

2.1 Informal Settlements

The research emerged from the realization that more studies are needed to be done on informal settlements. As a result of these gaps in our understanding of informal settlement; policy approaches have not always been successful and misconceptions on informality have persisted. The number of people living in informal settlements has risen to an estimated one billion (UN Habitat, 2016). The United Nations (UN) and its concerned agencies have renewed their call to improve the lives of people in informal settlements (Banerjee, 2012). But the manner by which the objectives has been laid out has been too broad and quantified, leading to unintended consequences like forced demolition and relocation (Meth, 2013). This can be attributed to the fact that policies towards informal settlement have failed to acknowledge the wide range of interrelated factors that is the root cause of informal settlement like the effects of globalization (Shatkin, 2004) to the inadequacy of governance (Devas, 2001). As long as these complex conditions exist at the macro-level, informal settlements will continue to persist grow.

Formalization and slum-upgrading approach have had their limitations in terms of ensuring the long-term success towards poverty alleviation (Antolihao & Van Horen, 2005). The inability to have sustained success in improving the lives of informal settlements despite the numerous intervention programs can be attributed to the lack

of understanding on the unique social dynamics of the informal settlements and the prevailing negative sentiments towards them (Lombard, 2014). The lack of understanding leads to failed relocation program that prioritizes the quantity of housing units rather than creating an environment to support their livelihood (Brown, 2001). Slum-upgrading programs, also suffers the same fate, focusing their efforts on the physical environment while neglecting the social, economic, and institutional development (Antolihao & Van Horen, 2005).

Roy (2005) argued that the problem maybe that informal settlements is a difficult paradigm for architects and planners. She noted that incompatible planning practices from developed countries are being used in developing countries. Another challenge is producing a consistent planning model for informal settlement owing to its heterogeneous quality. While informal settlements may look all the same, each one has its own unique physical and social environment (Mahabir et al., 2016). The unique circumstances that are present in each settlements means a one-size fits all solution is not feasible for long-term and sustained improvement.

2.1.1 Misconceptions on Informality

Gaps in our understanding of informal settlement have also resulted in negative perception towards these communities. In Chapter 1, the term informal was deemed to be too simplistic to truly capture the reality of these communities. Informal settlements and slums have often been liberally interchanged in global reports (Jones, 2017). Slums refers to urban areas with substandard living conditions while informal settlements are those that fall outside the formal control of the state and are built illegally. While overlaps maybe present between the two, they both require different planning and policy approaches. This also rings true for the different types of informal settlements. The varying typology based on their morphology, geographical location, and modes of growth can mean different degree of vulnerability, accessibility, and availability of resources (Dovey & King, 2011). What the different typologies and growth pattern suggest is that any study on informal settlement should recognize the inherent complexities of informal settlements that considers the both the social and physical constructs. So while informal settlements may vary based on its form or

location, culture also plays an important role in giving its unique dimension. Different countries have different names, from favelas, barrios, shantytown, and many more others that are unique to their own locality. For the Philippines, the colloquial term “iskwater” is used (Alcazaren et al., 2011).

Negative perception on informality has been considered as one of the factors that resulted in policy approaches that were detrimental to the lives of those living in informal settlements (Lombard, 2014). For developing Asian countries, this has been attributed as the continuation of colonial policies resulting in antagonistic policies towards the informal sector (McGee & Yeung, 1977). Other negative perceptions such as being inferior, disorderly, and harmful were also cited as the common sentiments on informality. But as more studies were done on informal settlements, perceptions improved and so did the policies that went from eviction to supportive (Recio & Gomez, 2013). Another reason for the negative perception is how their importance to the city has largely been ignored and their presence exploited.

Debunking the myth that informal settlements are unproductive and marginal, Perlman (1979) was able to show how informal settlements take on the role that the state should be providing like affordable housing and subsidizing local businesses through cheap labor. This includes their contribution to the economy through the informal economy (Soto, 2000). The means by which informality have been able to thrive through their own agency contradicts the notion that dismisses them as a mere aberration (Wells, 2012). Approaching informality not as a problem but as phenomenon (Recio & Gomez, 2013) can open its potential for theoretical contribution. This means acknowledging informality not as a problem but as a natural manifestation of urban development under ineffectual governance and scarce resources (Turner, 1967).

What the positive elements of informality shows is its inherent value as an alternative resource for urban study. It also challenges the predisposition towards prescriptive urban design and planning standards. The bias that promotes the dichotomy between formal and informal has been attributed to the standard of “ordinary” that has been prescribed by developed countries. Instead of regarding divergent planning practices, like informal settlements as inferior, they should be

considered as diversities in urban development (Robinson, 2006). Some have even argued that the exclusivity and uneven development seen in cities today is caused by incompatible planning policies (Brown, 2006) and informal settlements as its unintended product (Roy, 2005). This blind adherence to modern urban planning theories should instead be supported by learning how cities work by emphasizing its relationship with its people. Jacobs (1961) denounced how urban planners were destroying communities by using conventional planning approaches that ignored the real order. Mumford (1989) echoed this sentiment, he even considered the medieval city as his ideal city. In a way, an informal settlement does resemble the medieval and pre-industrialized city with its dynamic social environment and spontaneous quality. Lofland's (1985) description of pre-industrialized cities' urban spaces as multi-layered with no defined function where private activities are often conducted in the public sphere. In this manner, one could argue that informality embodies the unfiltered identity of its people through its spatial form (Cabalfin, 2014).

The negative perception on informality brings to lights the counterproductive effect of misplaced planning policies to informal settlements. It can also result in strict conformity to "formal" planning approaches that prioritize aesthetic and order without exploring alternative urban development. When urban improvisation is disregarded for "spectacularization" of urban areas, it results in "museification" of the city (Jacques, 2013). What informal settlement can teach us is how is how the spontaneous and dynamic use of urban spaces results in urban inclusivity and promotes urban vibrancy. They bring people together as active participants and not just passive spectators. This misconception underpins the need to bridge the theoretical gaps still present in the study of informal settlements.

To challenge these misconceptions, Mahabir (2016) suggests that there needs to be a holistic approach that considers both the spatial and social constructs of informal settlements. The studies on informal settlements that focus on its physical construct, like housing, slum-upgrading, or modeling studies are usually predisposed towards formalization. While studies on its social construct like its socio-economic aspect or policy approaches fail to incorporate its existing physical environment. One way of bringing this together is to study the interaction between the social process

and the spatial environment (Lombard, 2014). This means understanding how they adapt to their precarity and how it in turn, shapes their built environment (Jocano, 1988). This close relationship that the informal settlers have with their urban space is something that has value in urban studies.

2.1.2 Exploring the Value in Informal Settlement Study

Informal settlement is the product of self-organization and improvisation borne out of the need to adapt and produce a viable space for living in an appropriated land (Davis, 2006). It is characterized by having the agency to determine what spaces are produced and how it is used. The characterization of informal settlements as self-built communities exemplifies its contrasts with planned or “formal” communities. Kropf (2017, p. 106) argued that there is a “disparity between the fact that cities are the result of deliberate and coordinated human effort on the one hand and exhibit characteristics of self-organization and emergent behaviour on the other.” So unlike “formal communities”; the capacity to express and self-organize is present in informal settlements. And having urban spaces that respond and reflect the “social and environmental realities” of a community can foster their sense of identity to the place (Hough, 1990a). This can also result in stewardship which is nurtured when users are closely involved in the making of the space, giving them a sense of ownership and responsibility (Hester, 1984). While urban planning practices are necessary to give order and structure to a city, they can also have negative impact on the relationship between people and space. And this is something that informal settlement study can provide new insights.

Studies on the interaction of man and the built environment have revealed a lot of things about how space is produced and used. The manner in which people filter or perceived their experience in the built environment is determined by their culture, resulting in different manifestation of space (Hall, 1990). Space can also convey meanings by how it is produced and arrange in relation to other objects (Gaines, 2006). This symbolism in space can even extend in social relations to convey power or hierarchy (Foucault, 2014). Space is also never static but is embodied in individuals, bringing with them their cultural and social complexities which gives space its

temporal quality (Low, 2014). The affordance of space refers to how space will be used based on its visual qualities that are deemed useful by its users (Gibson, 2014). This means space can have different functions based on how people perceive them.

The dynamic quality of space that goes beyond its physical characteristic is the reason why Lefebvre advocated using urban space as a foreground to study human experiences (Purcell, 2014). Lefebvre (1991) viewed space as a social product rooted in social practices. For him, space is never just a physical container but is embodied with meaning that can act as a window into its users or producer's predispositions and thoughts. He characterizes space as being produced by different factors that he calls the spatial triad; perceived, conceived, and lived space. His theory reinforces the idea that space can be used to study the complexity of social relations.

Therefore, the study on urban space, especially in informal settlements should also take into account the daily routine that occurs in these spaces. This follows Certeau's (1984) assertion on the importance of using the everyday practices of people as an analytical lens to study the city. While these activities can take place in all aspect of the urban space, it is in its public spaces that both the communal and individual actions are more openly observed. Historically, public space has always been the venue for social interaction and activities. It has been the center of the social, cultural, political and economic life of the city (Kostof, 1993). But changes in the urban form of the modern city, with its car-centric approach, have limited its ability to facilitate social interaction (Oldenburg, 1999). But for marginalized communities, public spaces still plays an important role (Webber, 1963).

One of the qualities that describes the urban spaces of informal settlements is the vibrancy of its streets (Banerjee, 2012). Urban vibrancy has been defined as the "attraction, diversity, and accessibility" of an urban space that is the result of a well-defined urban function and environment (Wu et al., 2018). It is also considered an important characteristic of urban space, since liveliness is what attracts activity and more liveliness (Jacobs, 1961). Jacob stressed the importance of vitality and diversity as important factors in creating successful places. To achieve this, the streets must have "concrete, tangible facilities" to be lively and vibrant. The vibrancy and continual use of the spaces has been argued to provide an emotional connection between its

user and the space (Carr et al., 1992). This is also something that can be explored in informal settlement study and one of its important urban spaces is its public spaces.

2.2 Public Space Study

The study on public spaces has engaged urban theorists for the past century. Early literature focused on the morphological quality of historical urban squares (Sitte & Stewart, 2013). Subsequent studies on modern public spaces highlighted its relation to the urban fabric and social factor (Jacobs, 1961; Whyte, 2010). One common theme from the past studies has been the importance of public spaces in urban life because it serves as a venue for communal activities like social interactions and political discourse. The UN-Habitat considers public spaces as “a vital ingredient of successful cities” because of their role in building a sense of community, culture, identity, and revitalization (Banerjee, 2012).

While these past studies have advanced our understanding of public spaces as a deliberately designed built-environment, there has been little research done on informal public spaces. These spaces can be found in informal settlements where the users themselves produced their own spaces to reflect their needs and identity. By removing the agency of designing these spaces from design professionals, the informal process can reveal a lot more about the community responsible for creating these spaces. Another interesting aspect could be the importance of public spaces in informal settlements based on the continued use and dependence on these spaces. Altogether, the study of informal spaces could be a viable indicator in gaining an understanding on informal settlements due to the strong community participation in the production of these spaces and their reliance to these spaces on their daily life.

Public spaces have been defined as areas that are legally accessible both physically and visually to all people at all times. From a conventional context, these include spaces such as squares, parks, streets, or plaza. But others have defined public space in a more specific manner such as a space for everyday social interaction (Carr et al., 1992). Lofland (1985) describes it as a space for stranger, this was derived from the level of social interaction she argued existed in the public realm. She categorized the city in three realms: private, public, and parochial. And for her, the public realm is

portrayed as a world of strangers. She further added that public spaces in modern cities had clearly defined function and spatially segregated activities. This is in contrast to preindustrial cities which is characterized by “mixed public space use and overt heterogeneity of populace” (Lofland, 1985, p. 38).

Activities in public spaces are categorized as either for mobility or for interpersonal interaction or social activities (Carmona, 2003). Gehl (2011) uses a hierarchical and spatially deterministic framework to categorize activities: necessary, optional, and social activity. Necessary activities include everyday tasks like walking, and it can occur anywhere despite the quality of the space. On the second tier is optional activity which involves leisure and recreational activities but is highly dependent on the quality and condition of the space. And lastly, social activity is commonly referred to as a resultant activity that often emerges from the other two activities. It is spontaneous and characterized by the congregation of people to socialize. Like optional activity, it is also dependent on the physical quality of the space.

However, both the definitions and the categorization of activities may not accurately represent what public space is in informal settlement. Brown (2006, p. 22) stressed the importance of public spaces in the economic development of informal settlement. She also offers a broader definition of public space as “all space that is not delineated or accepted as private and where there is at least a degree of legitimate public or community use.” Her definition emphasizes the communal aspect of public space which suggests that it is underpinned by social relations. The differences in how public space is defined and its activities are defined provide a useful framework to explore the public spaces in informal settlements. It reveals the different aspects of public space from its physical to its functional quality. It also opens new notions on public space such as Brown’s characterization on the communal quality of public space and Lofland’s description of preindustrial urban space.

2.2.1 Public Space Theories

Early theories on public space were focused on the morphological quality of the space. This includes its spatial quality such as size, approach, architectural massing, and other pertinent components found inside the space (Sitte, 1889). Later research

explored other factors such as the importance of the location of the public spaces in the overall framework of the city. Unwin (1909) stressed on the importance of giving meaning to different parts of a city by using urban squares as anchors; allowing these public squares to act as reference points to the city. Whyte (1980) considered the location of the public spaces with regards to the streets as the primary factor to its success. He also cited other factors such as triangulation, seating quality and arrangement, presence of food, and visual accessibility as important. This preoccupation with how urban spaces are perceived was also highlighted by Lynch. In his book, *The Image of the City*, Lynch (2005) was able to identify how the recurring elements of a city shaped its identity, structure and meaning. But spatial-centric theories often do not reveal a lot about the users and the communities directly responsible for these public spaces. Other theories that underscored the social quality of public space also needed to be explored.

Hillier stated that a society's culture and its built environment are intrinsically linked. A city's spatial quality is a product of the social structure and culture; and that a society's social structure is maintained by its spatial quality (Westin, 2011). Gehl (2011) also believed that architecture and the city are not defined by its physical properties but by the interaction that happens between the people and the built environment. And the social interactions that occur in public spaces is what strengthens the social network of a community (Jacobs, 1961). Oldenburg (1999) echoed the same sentiment on the importance of public spaces in generating social capital in his conceptualization of a third place. He noted the importance of informal gathering space such as local eateries in fostering a strong sense of community and social cohesion. In some ways, Hillier and Gehl's conception of space could be seen as an argument against architectural determinism which is a concept that asserts that the built environment can affect and determine human behaviour (Broady, 2017). This concept can be traced back to ancient Chinese and Greek philosophers who believed that physical attributes and mental disposition are determined by the climate and geographical conditions (Ernste & Philo, 2009). But Broady (2017) argued that while human behaviour may be affected by the built environment. There are also other factors that should be considered such as "social structure and cultural attributes".

What the discussion on the theories reveals is the relationship between public space and society. As much as urban space is shaped by society; society is also shaped by their urban spaces. As Jacobs and Oldenburg pointed out, socially cohesive communities are often reliant on urban spaces that facilitate social interaction.

However, other literatures have decried that public spaces were losing its social significance resulting in its reduced vitality, especially in modern cities. Webber (1963) underscored the role of technological advancement in transportation and communication has made spatial location and physical proximity less of a factor in social relations. But it also showed that the marginalized and those with limited means still require their social relations or intimates to be close at hand. Some point to the car-centric approach in urban planning leading to urban sprawl and the loss of social cohesion (Oldenburg, 1999). Gehl (2011) also assailed the new urban paradigm that has dominated modern cities where specialized land-use and over-regulation of urban space has resulted in a “functionally segregated city structure” that has severely hampered the vitality of public life. He further added that private spaces were replacing the traditional public spaces; while traditional public spaces were adapting policies usually found in private space, thereby increasing regulation, and resulting in exclusionary space. This has led to rather homogenous and scripted public spaces that prioritize aesthetics over social qualities (Jacques, 2013). In some ways, the changing quality of public space is representative of a changing society that can be observed in how urban spaces have changed throughout history.

2.2.2 History of Public Space

As long as cities have existed, public spaces have been one of its important components. Public spaces have always been the site of public discourse, social interaction, expression of political power, and the celebration of its history and culture. Krier (1979) notes that what we considered as public spaces may have been begun merely as residual spaces. As structures were built around a city, these urban open spaces became an integral part of the urban fabric. The square which for Krier was the most basic urban space that men created, allowed for more security and

control. The street, on the other hand, was the artery of the city that allowed access to different parts of the city.

The importance of public spaces as the heart of the city can also be seen throughout history. The classical city of Athens where the agora was situated in the heart of the city reflected the democratic ideals of its people. For ancient Rome, the changing face of its Forum Romanum was a projection of its growing power and empire. The importance of Christian cathedral during the Middle Ages meant that huge plazas were built alongside this structure as the focal point of the city. The same treatment can be found in Spanish colonies based on the Laws of the Indies. The plaza mayor along with the church was all located in the town's center from which the streets spread out in a rectilinear pattern.

The age of Renaissance brought on the change to humanist ideals and the rise of the merchant class with their penchant for the arts. This shifted the focus from spiritualism to secularism and private values. This change resonated in the public spaces with urban squares built near residential areas. The rise of capitalism during the Industrial Revolution created a host of public health problems and environmental concerns. This resulted in zoning laws to separate vulnerable sectors such as the residential areas from the pollutants. This policy resulted in the redistribution and design of public spaces into specialized recreational spaces. The distinction between preindustrial and modern cities, as described by Lofland, meant that the activities which used to take place in streets or squares were now conducted inside private property or in specialized places. The different iterations of public spaces that are observed throughout history are a testament to its ability to reflect the changing paradigm of society, from its values, to its culture, and to its way of life. And the research believes that this holds true for informal settlements as well.

2.2.3 Public Spaces in Informal Settlements

Public spaces in informal settlements emerge largely without the influence of design and they are usually fragmented or residual spaces inside the community. The UN-Habitat cited the streets as an important tool in upgrading informal settlements (Banerjee, 2012). The report also noted the importance of the streets because of the

number of functions it provides from social, recreational, economic, to cultural activities. This means that the streets can have this transitory quality; constantly changing according to the needs of its users. This complex quality of the streets is often attributed to the ambiguous notion that informal settlers have of public space. Informal settlers have a tendency to both territorialize and share public spaces (Cabalfin, 2014). Similar to what can be observed in their houses, the limited space means public spaces are used for different activities making these spaces vibrant (Marriott, 2015).

The transient and dynamic quality of their public spaces can be seen as a manifestation of their coping strategies that arises from their need to adapt to the complexity of poverty (Jocano, 1988). And these coping strategies are often attributed to their capacity to generate and use different types of assets. As mentioned earlier, informal settlements have largely been defined by what they lack in comparison to the formal sector (Dovey & King, 2011). This includes, from an economic standpoint, the lack of financial resources. But defining them through income-poverty alone fails to take into the account the various resources and livelihood means at their disposal. It also does not capture the true conditions on informal settlements, where not all are always poor but all are vulnerable (Brown, 2006). This underscores the need to differentiate poverty and vulnerability being two different concepts (Moser, 1998). The coping strategies that informal settlements employ are aimed at creating assets to safeguard against their vulnerabilities and ensure a sustainable livelihood (Chambers, 1995). This concept of assets which includes both tangible and intangible assets is central to the livelihoods framework endorsed by Robert Chambers to capture the realities of the urban poor (Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones, 2002).

The production of these livelihood assets can happen in both inside and outside the informal settlements. In the city's public spaces, livelihood activities are usually limited to street vending and services (Brown, 2006). But it is in the informal settlement's public space where the different types of interactions and activities can be observed. The UN Habitat (2012) considers public spaces as a common resource where the economic, social, and cultural life of the community is expressed. It is also considered as a vital tool for participation, inclusion, security, and prosperity because

of their role in building a sense of community, identity, and revitalization. This strong social bond among the informal settlements is what gives them the ability to seize opportunities to improve and protect their livelihood (Racelis-Hollnsteiner, 1976). Understanding how the different processes play out in the public space and identifying what qualities of the public spaces allow this to happen is the key to gaining more understanding about informal settlements through their shared vulnerabilities and actions.

2.3 Historical Context

Metro Manila, the national capital of the Philippines, is a conurbation of 16 cities and 1 municipality. While the population growth of Metro Manila has considerably slowed down from 2015 to 2020 and is no longer considered the most populated region in the country, nonetheless, it still remains as the seat of power and hub of economic activity (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2020). While the rapid urbanization of Metro Manila and its cities has contributed to the economic growth of the country, inclusive growth has failed to trickle down to all sector of the society (World Bank, 2017). The economic growth fuelled by globalization has led to an increase in informal settlements (Shatkin, 2004). While the purpose of this paper is to understand the social production of public spaces in informal settlements, it is still noteworthy to explore if the development of informal settlements in Metro Manila is mirrored in the productions of its public spaces.

One of the often cited reasons for the growth of informal settlement is the overurbanization of cities that results in the inability of cities to absorb rural migrants (World Bank, 1991). Overurbanization is defined as the overconcentration of the population in urban areas that strains their capacity to provide basic services and housing infrastructure (Gottdiener & Budd, 2005). The main cause of overurbanization can often be traced back to the presence of primate cities which is characterized by the uneven development of cities country resulting in one or two dominant cities with little intermediate and small size cities. The lack of balanced development, often a result of a country's colonial history, means that urban infrastructure were

concentrated in few select cities resulting in the rapid influx of rural migrant looking for economic opportunities (Gottdiener & Budd, 2005) .

In this regard, Metro Manila is a primate city whose urban development was heavily influenced by its colonial history. Spain, who colonized the country for almost four centuries, established Manila as the capital of the Philippines due to its importance as a transshipment port for the galleon trade. Manila, during this time, was confined to the walled city of Intramuros where most of the urbanization took place (Alcazaren et al., 2011). The city followed a grid pattern according to the ordinances enacted under the Law of the Indies with the plaza mayor, the cathedral, and other government institutions located at the center. Only the Spanish elites, from the *peninsulares* (born in Spain) to the *mestizos* (mixed ancestry), were allowed to live inside the walled city while the *indios* (native Filipinos) and Chinese immigrants were confined to the *arrabales* (suburbs) surrounding Intramuros (Cabalfin, 2014). Aside from the Spanish elites, local regional elites who were maintained as regional leaders also benefited during the Spanish Era. In towns and cities outside of Manila that adopted the Law of the Indies, houses belonging to the upper class or the *principalia* (noble class) were clustered near the town plaza while those of the lower class were located further away (Racelis-Hollnsteiner, 1976). This spatial segregation observed in Intramuros, and other cities represented a sort of exclusive enclave that sought to divide by ethnicity and social class.

When the Philippine was ceded to the Americans, through the Treaty of Paris, Manila was redeveloped and expanded beyond the confines of the walled city. The architect, Daniel Burnham, advocated the philosophy expounded by the City Beautiful Movement in creating his plan for Manila. Under Burnham's plan, a new civic center with neoclassical buildings was introduced near Intramuros. A radial road network was also used to connect the different districts of Manila, replacing the grid pattern of the Law of Indies. The redevelopment of Manila was envisioned by the Americans to reflect a more civilized and modern Philippines (Morley, 2016). But despite these developments, the Americans did little to change the established social hierarchy in the Philippines with most of those recruited to government position coming from the elite class (Kelly, 2014).

When the Philippines finally gained its independence in 1946, a major change was proposed in 1939 to move the capital from Manila to a former agricultural land. The new capital was named Quezon City after its main proponent, President Manuel L. Quezon (Camagay, 2019). The plan was to transfer all government buildings from Manila to the new capital. The master plan of the new capital featured a large quadrangle at the heart of city from which rotundas were placed on its four corners. Elements of the City Beautiful Movement were evident in the design of American architect Harry Frost, with its grand avenues, central park, and symmetrical layout flanked by monuments and government buildings. But subsequent changes in the plan after the death of President Quezon, including the creation of Metro Manila that relinquish the capital away from Quezon City. Out of all the plans laid out in the original master plan, only the legislative department was realized and moved to Quezon City. The central park that was originally planned to cover the whole quadrangle was slowly sold and parcelled off to both the public and private sector. The unfulfilled master plan resulted in numerous unused government lands that were eventually appropriated by informal settlers (Alcazaren et al., 2011).

Aside from the planning practices that shaped the urban morphology of Metro Manila, other colonial policies are also worth exploring as having possible effect on the growth of informal settlements. Both Spain's and America's policy on consolidating power relied heavily on the pre-colonial ruling families that resulted in furthering the social stratification that prevailed during the colonial period up to the present. Spain, in their bid to facilitate control over the whole country, merged the individual city states or barangay into new towns. The pre-colonial barangay were different from the barangay as we know today as they were independent states that were not defined geographically but by tribal or familial ties; their loyalty tied to the *datu* (chief). To help with the political administration of these new towns, Spain maintained the existing social and political hierarchy of the pre-colonial barangay by appointing the *datu* as *cabeza de barangay* (barangay chief). The family of the *datu* eventually became known as the *principalia* (Simbulan, 2005). The Americans, while adopting a democratic political system different from the autocratic-frailocartic system of the Spaniards, mostly appointed principalia to government position. The reason was because most of

the educated Filipinos either came from the principalia and mestizos class (Kelly, 2014). These colonial policies helped entrench the elites to position of power and influence that also expanded their economic power. Nepotism and corruption also became common in Philippine politics that allowed a few ruling families to maintain continuous political control of their jurisdiction (Hedman & Sidel, 2013). Today, the term *barangay* was adopted to replace *barrio* to refer to small neighbourhoods. In the current government structure of the Philippines, *barangays* are the smallest local government unit. It is headed by elective officials, from the *barangay* captain to the “*kagawads*” (*barangay* councilors), which comprises the *barangay* council.

During the Spanish era, the adoption of a feudal-like system known as the *encomienda* allowed the *peninsulares* to take control of vast tracts of land including the Filipinos living within the land. The appointment of the *datu* as *cabeza de barangay* resulted in a form of caciquism wherein the *datos* were assigned to collect tax from other Filipinos. This resulted in abuses that allowed the *datos* and their family to enrich themselves and gain control of land within the *barangays*. With land being owned by a few ruling families, the class distinction became more pronounced and led to the lower class group becoming dependent to these families for employment and patronage (Simbulan, 2005). Accumulation of land by the elites and the prevalence of plantocracy continued well beyond the Spanish and American colonial period. Instead of venturing into new innovative industries, investments were focused on safe ventures such as land and real estate speculations. This resulted in an unbalanced economic development and increased economic disparity (Simbulan, 2005).

The discussions on this section initially highlighted the impact of colonialism in the urban pattern of Metro Manila specifically on the country’s planning practices. The concentration of development in Metro Manila has led to overurbanization and unbalanced growth in other regions of the country. The social segregation implemented in Intramuros represents a dichotomy between the elite and the natives. The early settlements surrounding Intramuros could very well been the precursor of the gillages, or informal settlements located in the periphery of exclusive villages. The accumulation of land by the elite has led to the lack of affordable land (Simbulan, 2005). The inability of rural farmers to own their own land has often been cited as the

main reason for the push factors that hastens rural to urban migration (UN Habitat, 2003).

The discussion also highlighted several socio-cultural practices ingrained in Filipinos that has its roots in its colonial past. The concentration of political power to a few ruling families has resulted in social inequality that has led to abuse by those in power and dependency by those in need as reflected in the *encomienda* system. The prevalence of political patronage and clientelism in informal settlements today could very well be an offshoot from this colonial practice. The institution of *cabeza de barangay* gave rise to caciquism. The role of *cabeza de barangay* as the tax collector often resulted in abuse and oppression that even surprised the Spanish friars (Simbulan, 2005). This type of behaviour has even observed in Sitio Pechayan where the barangay captain has been described as someone who represents the interest of the local government and/or private corporations wanting to gain control of the disputed property. If and how the cited factors in this discussion cause the eventual growth of informal settlements has not yet been established. The next section will address this ambiguity by exploring how informal settlements grew in Metro Manila.

2.3.1 Growth of Informal Settlements in Metro Manila

This section will discuss the factors that have influenced the growth of informal settlements in Metro Manila. This section starts with a brief history of informal settlements in Metro Manila specifically in Quezon City where the study area is located. As discussed in the earlier section, urbanization has often been cited as the main factor in the formation of urban informal settlements. The importance of Manila as a transshipment port for the galleon trade allowed it to thrive economically. New wealth also brought in urban development extending beyond the walled city of Intramuros. This necessitated a demand for both skilled and unskilled labourers. As such, the first rural to urban migration that took place was bolstered by the rapid urbanization of Manila. But the spatial segregation instituted by the peninsulares meant that the rural migrants had to form their own community in a nearby district known as Tondo (Racelis-Hollnsteiner, 1976). Unlike the well-planned city of Intramuros with its grid system, the settlement in Tondo was mainly made up of

thatched roofed houses, devoid of any formal planning and basic infrastructure like underground drainage system. To this day, Tondo houses one of the densely populated informal settlements in the city of Manila (Shatkin, 2004).

But among Metro Manila cities, Quezon City has the distinction for having the most concentration of informal settlements. As cited earlier, the reason for the large number of informal settlements in Quezon City has often been attributed to the availability of vacant lands left behind from the unrealized master plan. There is evidence to support this assumption since the largest informal settlements in Quezon City is found adjacent to the National Government Center (NGC). The NGC was originally planned to house the three branches of government, but as stated earlier, only the legislative building for the house of representative was built (Caoili, 1988). The vast complex with its idle land became home to a number of informal communities spread out in several areas surrounding the NGC. While the large number of vacant lands represented an opportunity for informal settlers to exploit, it does not fully explain the growth of informal settlements in Metro Manila.

Urbanization has long been considered to have a positive effect in the development and economic growth of countries but the impact on developing countries have been different in contrast to industrialized nations. This is certainly true in the Philippines where internal migrants take up a considerable percentage of the urban population resulting in an uneven growth where the informal sector has outpaced the modern formal sector (Osteria, 1987). The reason often cited for this imbalance is the inability of cities to cope with rural to urban migration. Rural to urban migration has been categorized as either influenced by push or pull factors, wherein it characterizes what pushes people away from rural areas and what pulls them into the city (UN Habitat, 2003). For Metro Manila, the large influx of rural migrants has been primarily attributed to the “push” factor that is caused by: unequal land distribution of agricultural lands and low farming productivity and wages (Krinks, 2002). While the initial migration to Manila during the Spanish Era can be attributed to the “pull” factor with the lure of higher wages and the splendour of a new city attracting rural migrants to move to the city, the high poverty rate in rural areas and lack of economic opportunity in the agricultural sector has become the main reason for the migration in

the modern era (World Bank, 2017). These reasons bring us back to the colonial practices that allowed the principalia to accumulate land displacing the masses from their own land.

Aside from rural to urban migration, intercity migration also took place within Metro Manila and its periphery. This migration was characterized by the movement of people away from the walled city of Intramuros to the surrounding colonial suburbs and eventually to other cities surrounding Manila. The first intercity migrants were not informal settlers but those coming from the upper and middle class fleeing the destruction of Manila after the World War II (Racelis-Hollnsteiner, 1976). This shift away from old Manila to the other cities led to the formation of new business and residential districts. With the migration of the upper and middle class, exclusive subdivisions were built around Metro Manila. Alongside this walled enclave, a new type of informal settlements was formed known as *gillages*. *Gillages* is a play of word where “*gilid*” meaning side and villages are combined (Alcazaren et al., 2011). This type of settlement, reminiscent of the informal communities that formed around Intramuros, consisted mostly of labourers, household helps, or drivers working for wealthy families living within the exclusive subdivision. As mentioned earlier, Quezon City has the largest number of informal settlements in Metro Manila because of the availability of vacant lands. But one main factor for the formation of informal settlements in Quezon City was the development of the city as the new nation’s capital. This endeavour entailed a large labor force to build the necessary infrastructure and buildings. But the failure of the government to provide adequate housing provisions for the workers led to the formation of informal settlements (Cabalfin, 2014). As Quezon City continued to grow, so did the number of informal settlers forming around exclusive villages and on idle government lands.

The growth of informal settlements, especially in developing countries has often been attributed to a range of external and internal factors like globalization, rapid urbanization, or the state’s *laissez faire* attitude to housing and urban planning (Shatkin, 2004). While this is certainly true for Metro Manila, some of the factors cited for the growth of informal settlements can be considered as the outcome of the colonial policies and practices when viewed from an historical context. From this

perspective, informal settlements are not just the spatial product of an uneven urban development but of century's old practices. One example would be the *kasama* (shared tenancy) system where the tenant pays the landlord with crops harvested in the leased land. Under this arrangement, the landlord may supply the seeds, money, and land while the *kasama* supplies the labor. Sitio Pechayan, as discussed in the next section, is a product of the *kasama* system. What the above discussion builds on is the importance of providing historical context to the socio-spatial practices observed in this research. Understanding where these socio-spatial practices came from gives the research another dimension from which to interpret these practices. It also gives new understanding to the value or belief system, conscious or not, that guides the actions and behaviour observed in the use of public space. The next section will discuss the study area and the key public spaces.

2.3.2 History of Sitio Pechayan

The land where Sitio Pechayan is located has a very complex history attached to it, which has probably obscured the legality and ownership of the property. By law, under Republic Act 9500 also known as the University of the Philippines (UP) Charter of 2008, the community should fall within the domain of the University of Philippines. But, as claimed by one informant, the university has failed to provide a registered title to the land which has only emboldened the residents of the community to assert their right to the property.

The Diliman estate where the university is located was part of a vast property owned by a Chinese trader from Binondo named Son Tua. His role in helping Spain by organizing the Battalion of the Royal Prince composed of Chinese mestizos, against the British occupation of Manila from 1762 to 1764 entitled him to the rank of nobility. His name was also changed and hispanized to Don Antonio Maria Tuason. As a reward, Spain gave him a large tract of land under the *encomienda* system. When the new capital was being planned in what would be later known as Quezon City, a part of his vast *mayorazgo* (noble estate) was sold to the government, while the site where the University of the Philippines is located was donated by the Tuason family (Camagay, 2019). The fact that the university's property is donated land with certain restrictions

attached to it may have added to confusion felt by some resident to the legality of ownership. These restrictions were enacted on the UP Chapter that prohibits the university from selling the property. But the university has managed to circumvent these restrictions by leasing idle lands to a private corporation. Both the UP-Ayala Technohub and UP Town Center Mall are currently on lease to subsidiaries of Ayala Corporation. The reason for the lease is twofold, to generate additional income and prevent additional appropriation of idle lands by informal settlers.

Sitio Pechayan, because of its location along a major thoroughfare, presents an attractive opportunity for the university because of its commercial viability. Its proximity to a new metro rail transit line has also meant that there is some possibility the government may soon appropriate part of the property for the infrastructure requirement of the transit line. While this current development could result in drastic changes to Sitio Pechayan, its beginning was much humbler and simpler. As mentioned earlier, the area was part of the Diliman estate of the Tuason family used mainly as a farmland. It was only when plans for the new capital in the 1940 including the relocation of the University of the Philippines from Manila to Quezon City that changes started to occur.

The community that would eventually become Sitio Pechayan predates the government offices located around its vicinity. The land was primarily occupied by farmers during the 1940's where a portion of the site was used as a dumping ground for old military equipment by the Americans. One of the major produce from the farmland was cabbages; hence the name "*pechayan*" or cabbage farm. But as Quezon's plan started to come into fruition, the farmlands were slowly replaced with government buildings. An area where Sitio Pechayan would eventually be located was leased to the Philippine Tobacco Administration (PTA) by the UP administration as an experimental farm for tobaccos and other crops in the early 1970's, since the land was blessed with fertile soil. During this time, the area was still under the administrative control of Barrio Sta. Cruz. But the caretakers who were assigned to secure the site started to invite their families and relatives to build their homes. To pay the rent to PTA and augment their income, the early settlers also started to plant crops and vegetables. As the community started to grow, demolitions were initiated by the PTA

to clear the land from illegal settlers. But this was subsequently reversed by the PTA, allowing their employees and tenants to remain and rebuild their homes.

After the five-year lease of PTA to the university expired in 1974, the population of the Sitio Pechayan started to increase rapidly especially during the 1980's and 1990's. It was also during this period that Sitio Pechayan became a part of a newly formed barangay named Old Capitol Site. New residents were mostly the relatives or acquaintances of current residents. This created a snowball effect that utilized social connections and kinship to acquire land within the community. While the university's policy has always been lenient to informal settlements, owing to the number of informal communities located around and within its campus, the UP administration formulated a plan to discourage new informal settlers from occupying idle lands. (See Figure 1 Timeline of Sitio Pechayan)

For existing informal settlements like Sitio Pechayan, the university conducted a community wide census in around 2005 to record the existing residents and limit any newcomers from building new houses. To enforce this policy and discourage new structures from being built inside the community, the university would ask barangay officials to report any violators. Any newcomers who were not recorded in the census will be then asked to leave. The UP security personnel or the blue guards, as the residents call them, are responsible for dismantling any new houses or any unauthorized changes to existing houses. According to a barangay official, no houses are permitted to extend beyond their original property line, only vertical additions are allowed on existing houses. But even then, the residents would still need the approval of the university to renovate their houses. But, as narrated by one informant, new settlers or existing residents looking to build a new house would resort to adaptive tactics and bribery to eventually gain hold of a vacant land. The inability of the university to limit the growth of community's population led to more lands being appropriated.



Figure 1 Timeline of Sitio Pechayan

Part of the reason maybe the distance between the community and the barangay hall. A barangay hall is a community center where barangay offices are located. In Sitio Pechayan, the barangay hall is located in a different part of the barangay around half a kilometer away and separated by a wide road that is only passable through a footbridge. This makes it difficult for barangay officials to quickly access the community from the barangay hall.

As most informal settlements are found in environmentally unsafe area, Sitio Pechayan is no exception. According to a barangay report, there have been several major flooding incidents that affected the houses close to the nearby creek. The severely affected areas where those located near Dahlia and Camia streets with floodwaters reaching up to 10-12 feet. Fire is also a problem for the residents because of the use of kerosene lamps and candles. One major fire that occurred in March 2006 affected 70% of the houses along Dahlia St. The latest fire incident happened in August 2017 during the same period I was conducting my first fieldwork in the community. The incident affected almost 60 families where they were relocated to the covered court for temporary shelter.

2.4 Conclusion

The first two section of this chapter explored two ideas: value of informal settlement in urban studies and how to conceptualize public spaces in informal settlements. The first section continued the discussion on the gaps in informal settlement study and explored its implication. What was gleaned from the discussion was the dualism that exists in urban studies does not just have detrimental effect on

informal settlement but also on the advancement of knowledge. Informal settlement study can provide a new perspective on the relationship between man and place. The close connection that informal settlers have with their urban environment means that it can offer new insights into what make their space vibrant and full of life. The vibrancy of urban space is especially important in public space study.

The discussion on the second section focused on public space study from how it is defined and categorized to exploring different public space theories. What the discussion revealed was the need to go beyond the traditional approach of evaluating public space, from spatial quality to a deeper examination of its social qualities. This includes knowing how these spaces are produced and what role these spaces have on its users. This involves studying how different social factors such as economic, political, and cultural forces interact with the built environment. A socio-spatial approach adds another dimension to our understanding of public space in informal settlement and how the community way of life is reflected into their spaces.

The last section explores the historical context of the research. As a former colony of Spain and the United States, the Philippines suffered the same social inequality, unequal land distribution, and uneven development seen in colonized countries (Gouverneur, 2015). The capital Manila became the center of economic activity that drew rural migrants from all over the country. But with so little affordable land, informal settlements started to grow in both private and government property inside Metro Manila (Cabalfin, 2014). The occupation of land was never done through force or intimidation. Some were done through negotiations that allowed the initial residents temporary access to the land in exchange for something of value (Lagman, 2012).

Aside from the effects of colonization on urban morphology, it also influenced the power and social dynamics of Filipinos. The culture of dependency seen in former colonies has been translated to a form of political patronage or clientelism that can be observed in informal settlement (Quimpo et al., 2005). This form of relationship is an important aspect of the political asset that informal settlements have cultivated. They have shown an active involvement in this process, using their close social relationship as a tool to acquire political favours (Laquian, 1969). They have learned to use this

strong community ties to empower themselves (Berner, 1997; Starke, 1996) through their knowledge of the legal process to insulate themselves against demolition and assert their rights (Porio & Crisol, 2004).

This tells us two things about informal settlements, first, they have learned to adapt and formulate coping strategies (Jocano, 1988); and second, they use their circumstances as an instrument of resistance (Lagman, 2012). So while those that are in power usually emulate the ideals of their former colonizer, the informal sectors are more tied to their pre-colonial culture (Gouverneur, 2015). It shows that informal settlements are able to produce what Bhabha (2010) calls a hybrid space or thirdspace, adapting their own culture into the regulated structure of the state. The way they yield their close social relations also reminds us of Certeau's (1984) tactic and strategy. They build social and political assets through political patronage. Even though their existence is extralegal, they know how to disrupt by using the law to assert their rights. Far from being the passive actors in this process, as some perceived them to be, they are active participants and initiators towards improving their lives.

Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework

3.0 Introduction

This section presents the theoretical concepts that guided the analytical portion of this research. Providing a framework for understanding the socio-spatial practices involved in the production of informal public space. The theories presented in this section take into account the qualities that define informal settlements and how these qualities influenced their socio-spatial practices in appropriating and producing informal public spaces. The chapter is composed of three sections. The first section discusses how acts of everyday resistance seen in informal settlement are manifested in its urban environment. The second section deals directly with the key theory that informs this research. Lefebvre's spatial theory on the production of space is used to unpack the different elements involved in the production of informal public space. The third section discusses how these different theories relate with another and gives us a conceptual understanding of how public space is socially produced.

3.1 Everyday Resistance

Informal settlements are a product of the rapid urbanization of cities that results in social inequality and inadequate affordable housing (Shatkin, 2004). The extralegal means by which a land is appropriated often leads to precarious conditions for its residents. But despite the constant threat of eviction, lack of basic services, and geographically unsafe conditions, informal settlements continue to persist and adapt. This persistence is conceptualized as a form of everyday resistance that continually shapes and transforms the urban environment of informal settlements.

What defines everyday resistance is its non-confrontational and subtle approach (Scott, 2008). This differentiates everyday resistance from publicly or openly displayed resistance like street protest or rebellion. In discussing everyday resistance, the theories of de Certeau (1984) and Scott (2008) offer differing but related frameworks that are relevant for this discussion. Everyday resistance is characterized by both as actions or patterns of activity by subordinates which are meant to subvert

those in power through covert and subtle means (Scott, 2008). Both also refer to the weak as the subordinate, with Scott (2008, p. 29) calling resistance as the “weapon of the weak” and for de Certeau (1984, p. 37), referring to tactic as the “art of the weak”. Outside of direct confrontation by the weak towards the elite, the subordinates often resort to everyday resistance to advance their objective. The main difference between Scott’s and de Certeau’s theories lies on the context from where the study took place (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2020). Scott’s writing is borne out of his study of rural peasants in Malaysia while de Certeau’s is framed from the perspective of the urban dwellers of which he refers to as the consumers or users. Their two theories present two different ways that everyday resistance can be framed, either through class conflict or through the everyday actions of ordinary people.

James Scott defines resistance as “any act by members of a subordinate class that is intended either to mitigate or deny claims made on that class by superordinate classes or to advance its own claims vis-à-vis those superordinate classes” (Scott, 1989, p. 36). From this perspective, resistance is framed around the condition of subordinate class and their intended objective. This intended objective is not meant to overthrow or dominate but merely to ease the perceived repression and obtain improved conditions or terms from the superordinate. Although Scott’s argument can easily be simplified as just limited to class relations, he mentions that his framework of everyday resistance can also be extended into other social organization that elicits the same type of everyday resistance (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2020). What this suggests is that the superordinate is not necessarily defined by the social strata of the actors involved but more in terms of power relations. It is the relationship between the more dominant actors over their weaker counterpart that defines everyday resistance.

Michel de Certeau’s theory on resistance is framed around the argument that the daily routine of ordinary people contained elements of creative resistance (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2020). Like Scott, de Certeau classifies society through power relations; he makes this distinction by calling the dominant group as the producer and the dominated group as consumers or users. But far from being passive actors, users are able to appropriate and manipulate the order/ structure defined by the producer through their consumption. To further make the distinction between the action of the

producers and users, de Certeau coins the term strategy and tactics. Strategy is defined as the rational order or structure imposed by the dominant group while tactic is the creative actions undertaken by the users to undermine the imposed order (Certeau, 1984). Like Scott's everyday resistance, tactic does not aim to impose drastic change and is in essence an acceptance of status quo. It is also inherently dependent on opportunities allowed by the dominant framework (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2020). What de Certeau's theory suggests is that tactic is a form of adaptation or self-help used by the weak to take advantage of gaps on the imposed strategy.

Both Scott and de Certeau's studies provide a broad, though albeit incomplete framework on how resistance can be used to understand the socio-spatial practices responsible for the extralegal appropriation of land and the prevalence of informal processes observed in informal settlements. While informality does exhibit characteristics that qualify as everyday resistance, it fails to account for state tolerance and moments of conflicts observed in informal settlements. The term "quiet encroachment of the ordinary" used by Bayat (2010) describes a type of activism undertaken by the urban poor in cities of the Global South to assert their right to the city.

Quiet encroachment as defined by Bayat is the "prolonged direct actions of dispersed individuals and families to acquire the basic necessities of their lives (land for shelter, urban collective consumption or urban services, informal work, business opportunities, and public space) in a quiet and unassuming illegal fashion" (Bayat, 2010, p. 45). Bayat (2010, p. 59) enumerates two main objectives of quiet encroachment: the redistribution of social goods and gaining autonomy from the imposed framework of the state. What this suggests is that unlike everyday resistance, quiet encroachment aims for lasting change by rejecting the status quo. These overt changes can often be seen in informal settlements like the annexation of adjacent properties, home upgrading, and illegal tapping of utilities. The open and active nature of the encroachment also means that negotiations can occur like asking for concessions from politicians for the extension of urban services to the informal settlement.

Another key characteristic that differentiates quiet encroachment from everyday resistance is it often leads to collective action and conflict when threatened by the state. Bayat (2010, p. 14) refers to this as “social nonmovements”, or “the collective action of non-collective actors”. What this suggests is that this type of movement is not guided by ideology but of shared practices. These shared practices are often informal actions that are merged with the everyday activities of people. While it shares similarities with de Certeau’s notion of resistance, the main difference lies in its openness and overtness.

The theories on everyday resistance put forth by Scott and de Certeau identify a subtle form of resistance while Bayat’s quiet encroachment shows a more direct and dynamic form of engagement against the dominant class. It is also worthwhile to examine the context from which the three concepts of resistance are derived. Both Scott and de Certeau lack an examination how these practices of resistance are manifested in the urban environment of which Bayat provides in his conceptualization of quiet encroachment. While all three theories offer different perspectives from class relations to activism, they are all relevant from the context of informal settlement. Informal settlement after all is defined by its complexity and needs theories that complement one another. The need for complementing theories can be seen in the different practices and processes by which informal settlements grow and are established, either by slow accretion to outright invasion. One process is defined by its almost subtle manner of appropriating land which is non-confrontational and quiet while the other is more planned and direct. The former is a product of opportunity and necessity while the latter is motivated by what they feel is the primacy of survival over legality, an assertion of what the actors feel is their right to the city.

Everyday resistance can also be characterized in the daily life of informal settlers through their informal practice and process. This type of everyday resistance is usually aimed against the regulatory powers and policies of the state which stems from the fact that informal settlements are not afforded the basic services of the state and are considered outside of the state’s purview. The unwillingness of the state to formally recognize informal settlements and the difficulties of the residents in securing the proper documentary requirements forces them to resort to extralegal means. This

results in practices such as the establishment of unregistered businesses within the informal settlements, illegal tapping of connections to utilities, disregard for zoning regulations, and the use of political patronage for the provision of basic services and infrastructure. All these practices show a varying degree of perceptibility, scale, and motivation.

Although everyday resistance has been framed through the lens of class conflict, the elite/state over the subordinate, the complexity seen in informal settlements suggest a more dynamic interplay of power relation even between informal settlers. This can often be manifested in how open spaces in informal settlement are contested and eventually encroached by individuals to the detriment of their neighbors and the community (Kamalipour, 2020).

The discussion on everyday resistance provides a way of exploring the different ways by which acts of resistance, exhibited in the form of informal practices can shape and transform the urban environment of informal settlements. The discussion also highlights the intention and the motivation that necessitates these acts of resistance: as an adaptive mechanism to one's livelihood, to create improvements to one's way of life, or as an assertion of one's right to the city. Informal settlements have always been defined through their precarious nature. Everyday resistance provides a way of understanding why informal settlement continues to persist despite the lack of security of tenure and the constant threat of eviction. Everyday resistance also allows us to understand the logic behind the informal practices that are employed by informal settlers. These informal practices in turn affect the urban spaces in informal settlements. Therefore, it can be said that informal settlements are not really a product of the collective vision of its residents but a collective result of their actions (Marriott, 2015). The next section will discuss Lefebvre's theory on the production of space.

3.2 Social Production of Space

A city's urban public spaces have long been the setting for the daily activities of its residents. Aside from its functional quality, urban public spaces have also the capacity to bring people together imbuing them with a social and ritual significance.

Another dimension of public space is its political significance that is expressed through public demonstrations, military parades, or sites for state monuments (Kostof, 1993). Therefore, to truly understand space, it needs to be conceptualized through its mode of production. And production does not just mean the actual or physical production of material things but also includes the “production of society, knowledge, and institution” (Elden, 2004, p. 191). Therefore, space should be understood as a physical, mental, and social construct. This section will conceptualize urban public space in informal settlement by using Lefebvre’s production of space theory, taking into consideration the different elements of public space from its spatial, political, and social dimensions.

The previous discussion has emphasized the role of informal practices in the production of urban space in informal settlements through acts of everyday resistance. But everyday resistance fails to account for the role of other actors in the production of space. Lefebvre’s spatial triad provides an analytical lens in conceptualizing how space is continually produced through the dialectical relationship that “exists within the triad of the perceived, the conceived, and lived” space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39). These three categories of space, as defined by Lefebvre will provide a way to understand how the socio-spatial practices of different actors and their relationship with one another contribute to the production of urban space. Lefebvre (1991) views space as a social product rooted in social practices. For him, space is never just a physical container but is embodied with meaning that can act as a window into its users or producer’s predispositions and thoughts. The dynamic quality of space supports the reason why Lefebvre advocates using urban space as a foreground to study human experiences (Purcell, 2014).

Henri Lefebvre was a French sociologist and philosopher. While his theories were heavily influenced by Marxism, he sought to go beyond the class reductionism and economism that pervaded Marxist teachings (Purcell, 2014). Lefebvre understood that the city was not just the product of industrialization or the capitalist mode of production. Lefebvre, through his study of rural and urban life, pursued to formulate a deeper understanding of urban space through the study of social life. His works and writings on space, while deeply philosophical were informed by his field researches

and engagements with urban planners and architects (Stanek, 2011). In the pursuit of understanding the universality of space, Lefebvre developed a unitary theory on space that went beyond “mere abstraction” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 86). His writings were also a critique against what he considered as the technocratic approach of modernist urbanism that valued abstract spaces. He considered abstract spaces as isolated and a product of institutions and the state (Stanek, 2011). For Lefebvre, to be able to accommodate all aspects of space, one must also take into account both the abstract space and the everyday activities of individuals or the concrete space. Lefebvre believed that space went beyond its physical attributes and was permeated with social practices (Lefebvre, 1991). This dialectic relationship between abstract and concrete space formed the basis of Lefebvre’s theory on the production of space.

“(Social) space is a (social) product” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 26). The central tenet to Lefebvre’s theory posits that space and society are intertwined. Space is not limited to its physical attributes, and it is not independent to the social practices contained within it and vice versa. In order to truly construct “theoretical unity” of space, one needs to consider the three fields of space: physical, mental, and social (Goonewardena, 2008). These three interconnected elements of space form the conceptual triad that Lefebvre notes is in constant dialectic interaction with one another in the production of space. The spatial triad is composed of the spatial practice (perceive space), representation of space (conceived space), and representational space (lived space).

Spatial practice is the physical form of space that is perceived in the daily routine of its users. Perceived space is the physical framework and pattern of space that is produced and consumed through the everyday activities of society. It is also the linkage that connects spaces set for “work, private life, and leisure” through its “routes and networks” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38). The representation of space is the mental construct of space that is conceived by “scientists, planners, urbanists, and social engineers” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38). Conceived space is produced through the abstract representation of space and is usually communicated through a “system of verbal signs”. Lefebvre considers this the dominant mode of production since it is used to impose order by those in power. The third is the space of lived experience,

representational spaces are the realm of “images and symbols” attached by an individual to a space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39). Lived space constantly seeks, by imagination, to change and appropriate space which puts it at constant conflict with the conceived space. The constant dialectic tension between these three elements speaks of the constant production of space. The interconnected relationship of these three elements of space also highlights the importance of understanding the process of production of space.

The focus of Lefebvre’s theory of space is not space itself but the process by which space is produced. For Lefebvre, space is to be understood through its mode of production between the three interconnected elements. Production of space, as revealed through the spatial triad, occurs at different moments from the production of material through practice, knowledge through discourse, and meaning through experience (Goonewardena, 2008). What this suggests is that production of space can take on diverse meanings that go beyond the production of material things but also includes the production of society and institutions (Elden, 2004). It also highlights the different manner by which space is produced by different people. This underpins another important aspect of production of space which is its relation to time and society. Lefebvre wrote, “that every society – and hence every mode of production with its subvariants produces a space, its own space” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 31). This alludes to the contextual nature of the production of space; reflecting the actions and needs of its users.

By taking into account the qualities that define informal settlement and understanding the context from which these qualities were derived, one starts to see how the relationship and contradiction between the three categories of space are expressed in the informal urban environment through the lens of Lefebvre’s spatial theory and its corresponding triadic elements. Spatial practice (perceived space) provides a way of understanding the needs of the informal settlers by how informal urban spaces are adapted and improvised for various activities. The undefined function of urban spaces in informal settlements allows it to function as flexible spaces to fit the needs of its users. The organic and unplanned urban pattern of informal settlement reveals an incremental approach in developing their urban spaces. The

absence of preplanned drawings and codified building regulations implies that representation of space is rarely manifested through rational design and planning in informal settlements. The representation of space (conceived space) is instead expressed through rules and restrictions imposed by the state on the use of urban space. These regulations are often a reflection of the ideology of local leaders and policy makers that is rooted in social and political practices. The representational spaces (lived space); the realm of meanings and symbolisms gives a glimpse into individual experience of space and even the aspirations of the residents. In an informal settlement, because of the hegemonic nature of conceived spaces, lived spaces are often manifested through quiet resistance and interpersonal negotiations (Lata, 2018). Lived spaces are often seen as the dominant space in informal settlement because of the direct involvement by the residents in shaping their spaces, the absence of urban planning, and the flexible function of it urban spaces (Mahmoud & Elrahman, 2016).

The dialectical interaction between lived and conceived space in informal settlement implies a framework that can be used to explore the production of informal public space. Conceived space, to some extent, is synonymous to abstract space. Abstract space is the domain of the dominant class that “endeavors to mold the spaces it dominates and it seeks, often by violent means, to reduce the obstacles and resistance it encounters” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 49). Abstract space is also the capitalist’s main mode of production because it prioritizes exchange value over use value (Lefebvre, 1991). At the opposite end of the spectrum is differential space, the space where differences are accentuated. Lefebvre notes that differential space arises from the contradictions that abstract space creates (Lefebvre, 1991). It is a space of contestation that attempts to challenge the dominance of abstract space (Lata, 2018). Unlike abstract space, differential space is open to temporary appropriation and its function is determined by the user themselves. Differential space “remains largely unspecified as to its functional and economic rationality, thus allowing for a wide spectrum of use which is capable of integrating a high degree of diversity, and stays open for change” (Groth & Corijn, 2005, p. 521). This suggests that public spaces in informal settlements can be considered as a form of differential space produced through the acts of everyday resistance. Like differential space, informal settlements

are characterized by the appropriation of abstract space and the production of a new counter-space (Lata, 2018) in the same way that “formality operates through the fixing of value...informality operates through the constant negotiability of value” (Roy & AlSayyad, 2004, pp. 14–15)

Lefebvre’s spatial theory provides a different way of exploring informal public space by focusing on the process of production. Much like the discussion on everyday resistance, the mode of production of informal public space is often underpinned by the interaction of two opposing forces: the abstract and differential space. But unlike everyday resistance, the spatial triad acknowledges the different actors involved in the production of public space and the different manner by which space is produced, either through how it is used, conceptualized, or perceived. The production of space therefore is not just limited to the producer but also the consumer/ user. This echoes de Certeau’s everyday resistance where he considers consumption as another form of production (Certeau, 1984, p. 31). What this suggests is that urban space is always in a constant state of production and should not only be defined through its physical or spatial quality.

3.3 Conclusion

The theories discussed in this paper have provided a theoretical framework from which the production of public spaces in informal settlements can be conceptualized through the informal socio-spatial practices. Everyday resistance provided a way of looking at socio-spatial practices as acts of resistance by informal settlers. These socio-spatial practices often reveal a dynamic interplay of power relations that are translated into the urban environment. Lefebvre’s spatial triad, on the other hand provides a holistic perspective on the production of space by acknowledging the different ways that space can be changed and transformed by different users. Lefebvre spatial theory also emphasizes the mode of production in understanding urban space.

But one common theme that runs through these theories is how contradiction and contestation play an important role in the production of informal urban space. The very existence of informal settlements seems to suggest it is a product of class

conflict when viewed through everyday resistance and quiet encroachment. The spatial triad on the other hand highlights the difference between formality and informality when seen through the contentious relationship between the conceived and lived space, or the dominating nature of abstract space over the adaptable nature of differential space.

While these two theories provide a different perspective on the production of informal space, they also complement each other. When viewed through the spatial triad, everyday resistances can be categorized as the expression of lived spaces over the conceived space. This dialectic relationship between lived space and conceived space can be characterized as acts of resistance that is meant to subvert the regulations imposed by the state to produce informal settlements. Even Lefebvre noted that space is “the ultimate locus and medium of struggle, and is therefore a crucial political issue” (Elden, 2004, p. 140). From an interpersonal level, the different ways that public spaces are used and appropriated in informal settlement could be conceptualized as acts of resistance between its residents, albeit at a smaller scale. Kärholm (2007, p. 10) refers to the unintended production of space through the “repetitive and consistent use of an area by a certain person or group who to some extent perceive this area as their own” as territorial appropriation. This concept of territorialisation can be mainly be observed in the streets of informal settlements where public and private boundaries are obscured by the actions and practices of the residents (Marriott, 2015). What underpins this discussion of resistance and Lefebvre’s spatial triad is the importance of informal practices in the production of space. These informal practices are what make up the socio-spatial processes observed in informal settlements.

Chapter 4 Research Methodology and Methods

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology and methods used for this research. This study seeks to explore how public space is produced in an urban informal settlement. As discussed in earlier chapters, urban space is in a constant state of production observed through the socio-spatial practices of its users. The methods used in these research aims to provide insights into these socio-spatial practices and understand how these practices produce public spaces in the informal settlement. The chapter is comprised of six sections. The first section outlines the underlying research philosophy that informs the research approach. The second section discusses the research design and explains the use of the case study strategy undertaken for this research. The third section describes the research method used; from the data collection methods and how the data were analyzed. The fourth section discusses the ethical consideration for this research. The fifth section revisits the research methodology and how it affected the research. It also discusses the limitation encountered during the research. The last section concludes this chapter.

4.1 Research Philosophy

The section discusses the underlying philosophical assumption that underpins the research design by establishing the ontological and epistemological position of this research. The research which focuses on the socio-spatial practices observed in Sitio Pechayan aims to explore how public space is produced in this informal settlement. This type of research involves observing the daily activities of the community and close interaction with its residents to be able to explore how these socio-spatial practices are translated into their urban environment. For this reason, interpretivism was identified as the framework for this research. In addition, a qualitative research method was adopted for this study because the type of data obtained from this research is descriptive and narrative from which interpretations and meanings are

derived. The applicability of interpretivism and the use of qualitative research method for this research are discussed in detail in the next section.

4.1.1 Interpretivism

The research was conducted from an interpretivist perspective that views the study of people as being distinct from natural science or other physical phenomena because of the “subjective meaning attached to social action” (Bryman, 2012, p. 30). Unlike positivism which seeks to explain social behaviour by adopting a scientific approach leading to an objective causal explanation. Interpretivism, from an ontological perspective believes that there are multiple realities because different people with their own experience and interaction create different meanings and experiences (Saunders et al., 2019). Therefore, the aim of an interpretivist study is not to generalize or generate a theory but to understand the meanings and interpretations attributed to a social phenomenon. This means an interpretivist stance acknowledges the richness and complexity found in these social actions. It also emphasizes the importance of context and the relationship between the researcher and the subject. For that reason, these socially constructed realities are often explored through social interactions or observations of the daily activities of the research subject (Saunders et al., 2019).

The interpersonal relationship highlights another important aspect of the interpretive approach which is the need for the researcher to have an empathic stance (Saunders et al., 2019). This means that researchers should be aware of how their own belief and value system influences how they interpret the data from within a specific context. From an epistemological perspective, the researcher is a participant observer who actively constructs knowledge through real-life experience and interaction (Bryman, 2012).

The rationale for adopting an interpretivist stance in this research is underpinned by the research questions that ask how public space is socially produced in Sitio Pechayan. The objective of this research is not to validate a theory on how urban space is produced but to understand and explore the socio-spatial practices involved in the production of public space in Sitio Pechayan. As discussed in earlier

chapters, informal settlements have been described as inherently complex and diverse from one another. The meanings and interpretations derived from interactions will vary according to different circumstances from the people interviewed, or the time and place that the interaction takes place. By veering away from generalities, this research acknowledges the importance of providing context to the public spaces being observed and the people being interviewed in Sitio Pechayan to fully understand the social phenomenon being studied.

This brings us to another aspect that favoured the use of an interpretivist stance for this study, the need for close interaction and cooperation with the study area and the research participants in Sitio Pechayan through observation and interviews. This type of approach can be seen in the two books of Perlman (1979, 2011) where her description of three favelas in Rio was the product of her close interaction with the residents of the favelas. The insights she got from her interviews provided an argument against the marginality of these communities.

Although close interaction with research participants can presents criticism of bias and subjectivity when one's own personal relationship and closeness to the research subject can influence the research process. But as discussed earlier, the researcher also plays an important part in the social construction of knowledge. The subjectivity of the research which allows for the creation of multiple realities means that the researcher's own interpretation which is informed by their own values and belief system is a crucial part of the research process. A later section on positionality discusses how my background from my nationality to my profession as an architect and academic informed the research process. The next section will discuss the use of a qualitative approach as a research strategy.

4.1.2 Qualitative Method

Qualitative research is defined as a "systematic empirical inquiry into meaning" (Shank, 2006, p. 5). As in this study, qualitative research is often used to understand a particular social phenomenon such as the production of public space in Sitio Pechayan by focusing on how the research participants make sense of their own experiences. These experiences maybe observed by how they use the public spaces and how they

remember the history of these public spaces. This means that qualitative research is both naturalistic and interpretive because it involves studying the social phenomenon in its natural environment and interpreting the individual experiences and the meaning attached by people to these experiences (Denzin, 2017). That is why qualitative research has often been associated with research that attempts to understand the social realities or lived experience of individuals. It is meant to answer the why questions in a research by exploring the perceptions or experiences of individuals in order to capture their thoughts or interpretation of meanings (Given, 2008).

Qualitative research has also often been defined by how it differs with quantitative research particularly the type of data generated. Numeric data being associated with quantitative research while non-numeric data with qualitative research. But the basic difference between quantitative and qualitative research lies in its epistemological and ontological perspective (Bryman, 2012). Quantitative research is often used to validate theories or generalize truth while qualitative research usually takes on an inductive approach by letting the data emerged from the study to generate theories (Bryman, 2012). While this study does not seek to generalize theory on how public space is produced, it nonetheless aims to build knowledge by exploring the socio-spatial practices involved in the production of the public spaces in Sitio Pechayan. This distinction between quantitative and qualitative research underscores the type of research methods and tools that were used for this study.

The qualitative approach has been described metaphorically as a “lantern” that shed lights to dark corners as opposed to a “window” looking in to observe a research subject (Shank, 2006). Unlike quantitative research, qualitative research requires close immersion or direct contact with the research subjects in their natural setting. This type of approach is often done through different data collection methods such as ethnography, observation, interviews, review of secondary data, and even personal reflection (Bryman, 2012; Saunders et al., 2019). Often, the unstructured approach of the data collection method in qualitative research results in unpredictable data that allows for flexibility in the research design (Pultz, 2018). This sometimes lends to the richness and depth of data that is often associated with qualitative research. This

study used both observation and interview as its primary research tools. The data produced from these methods were both descriptive and narrative.

This approach is exemplified in the ethnographic study of Jocano (1988) on the coping behaviour of an informal community in Sta. Ana, Manila. In his book, Jocano narrates the everyday activities of the residents in order to understand their behaviour and the conditions that brought forth this behaviour. He also gave a descriptive narrative of the community in order to provide context on how the residents utilize available resources in their coping strategy. Another similar ethnographic approach adopted by Neuwirth (2006) in his book drew upon his own experiences in four informal settlements to provide a rich description of these communities.

Qualitative methodology has also often been associated with the interpretivist philosophy (Denzin, 2017) which is why most of the justification mentioned earlier for adopting an interpretivism still holds true for qualitative research. The type of inquiry being conducted for this research calls for a study of the socio-spatial practice found in Sitio Pechayan. This type of research can provide the descriptive data needed through the observation of the public spaces found in Sitio Pechayan, while the narrative data can be derived from the individual experiences of the residents through semi-structured interviews. Finally, qualitative research can give the depth and richness necessary for understanding the complexity of the socio-spatial practice that produces the public spaces in an informal settlement. The next section will discuss this study's research design.

4.2 Research Design

Research design has been compared to a roadmap "for getting from here to there, where here may be defined as the initial set of questions to be answered, and there is some set of conclusions about these questions (Yin, 2003, p. 20)." Another analogy that characterizes research design is when it is compared to an architectural plan and the research methods as the tools use for construction (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010).

Research design can then be defined as the overall framework or roadmap that outlines the plan, structure, and execution of the research to "maximize the validity of

the findings” (Mouton, 1996, p. 107). But what guides the research design is the research questions that defines the research parameter and from which the objectives of the research are derived (Saunders et al., 2019). From these research objectives, the type of data is determined including where and how it will be collected and analyzed. But research objectives must also be attainable and feasible as Moulton expounded on the function of research design as “aligning the pursuit of a research goal with the practical considerations and limitation of the project” (Mouton, 1996, p. 32). That means that the research design should take into account factors such as time constraint, financial limitations, and other variables that may affect the research.

For this research, the main objective is to understand how public space is socially produced in Sitio Pechayan and identifying the socio-spatial practice involved in its production. This includes how the different public spaces were initially produced and eventually used by the residents. These questions point to a type of research that is both exploratory and descriptive. The next section will discuss why the use of a case study strategy is best suited to answer these questions.

4.2.1 Case Study Approach

Case study is defined as an “empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context” (Yin, 2003, p. 14). What the definition suggests is a level of study that aims to provide a detailed examination and exploration of a particular phenomenon. The use of “case” refers to a specific location like a “community or organization” (Bryman, 2012, p. 67). Stake emphasizes the focus of the case study when he states that “the object of the study is a specific, unique, bounded system”. What this suggests is that the choice of using case study is defined “by interest in an individual case, not by the methods of inquiry used” (Stake, 2008, p. 443).

The use of case study for this research can be outlined in three key points. First, the type of study being conducted and the type of research question. Yin (2003) regarded case study as being relevant to “how” and “why” research questions. This is certainly true for this research that aims to understand the social production of public space in Sitio Pechayan. This is also consistent with a descriptive and interpretive case

study approach that characterizes this research. Descriptive case study is used to provide a rich description of the phenomenon (Merriam, 1998). Secondly, the “case” or the bounded system in question for this research can either refer to Sitio Pechayan or it can also refer to the public spaces within the informal settlement. For this research, the public spaces are the defined “cases”. One way of looking at it is that Sitio Pechayan only provides the context from which the study is located on but the important unit of analysis are the public spaces and the corresponding socio-spatial practice responsible its production. This distinction highlights an important point when analyzing the data and also points to the third factor in choosing case study as the research strategy. To be able to study social production of informal space, the research needs to provide an in-depth narrative and interpretation of the socio-spatial practice. This certainly fits with the “intensive examination of the setting” that defines case study research (Bryman, 2012, p. 67). This allows the research to provide a rich, holistic, and detailed account of the phenomenon being studied. The next section will discuss how the case study approach will be adopted through the use of different data collection method.

4.2.2 Setting for the Case Study: Site Selection

As discussed in Chapter 2, Sitio Pechayan long history as a vegetable farm to its growth as an informal settlement provided the research with a rich backdrop in which to study the socio-spatial practice involved in the production of public space. From a spatial standpoint, the community has a number of public infrastructures used as public spaces built and developed throughout its 50 years history. This includes spaces that were built by the community like the water well and public market area. There are also government sponsored public spaces that revealed a varying degree of community and state involvement. The diversity in public spaces found within the community represents an opportunity to explore different socio-spatial practices that are involved in its production.

Another important factor is the social organization found in the community. Due to its longevity, the community also has been able to establish a well-developed social and power structure. This can be observed in how local politicians and religious

leaders gravitate towards the community. While this situation is not unique to Sitio Pechayan, local politicians often rely on informal settlements to deliver votes in exchange for public infrastructure (Devas, 2001). In Sitio Pechayan, this can be seen in the number of public infrastructures and ad-hoc improvements that local politicians have funded for the community using public funds. The strong political involvement is also an indication of a strong social network that can be seen in the number of community-based organizations found in Sitio Pechayan.

Another positive quality of the study area is the availability of key informants. This includes local barangay leaders and long-time residents of the community. Access to these key informants provided me with a way of obtaining valuable data despite the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions enacted in the community. Through these key informants, the research was also able to identify research participants who could provide valuable narratives about the history of the community. The next section will discuss in detail the research methods used for this research.

4.2.3 Research Participants

The research participants were long-time residents of Sitio Pechayan who had considerable knowledge on the history of the community. A total of thirty-two semi-structured interviews were conducted through a two-month period. These included long-time residents, business owners, community-based organization members, and barangay personnel from the community. The interview only included participants who are of legal age and can freely give their consent. A majority of the research participants were adult male and self-employed business owners. Most of the interviews were conducted mid-afternoon when business activity was its lowest. This would account for the willingness and availability of some participants to be interviewed.

The participants were recruited through the help of key informants. One of the key informants acted as a research assistant during the pandemic lockdown when outsiders were barred from entering Sitio Pechayan. The research assistant played a crucial role in identifying the initial research participants. The succeeding research participants were identified through a snowball sampling method which mostly

consisted of acquaintances and family members of the initial respondents. Once the immediate contacts of the key informants were exhausted, a random sampling method was used to select the remaining. The total number of research participants was determined by data saturation.

The interviews were conducted through the help of these key informants. The interviews varied in length from five to thirty minutes. The duration of these interviews were dictated by the level of engagement of the participants with some content on just providing simple answers while some were more inclined to elaborate on their answers. An informed consent, as seen in the Appendix B was communicated verbally to all participants before starting the interview.

4.3 Research Methods

The primary aim of the research is to understand the production of public spaces in an informal settlement. This required identifying the socio-spatial practices and understanding the process of production. Table 1 shows how the research methods and data type are aligned with the research questions.

Table 1 Determining the Research Methods

Research Questions	Data Type	Data Source	Research Method
1. How are public spaces being produced in Sitio Pechayan?	Observed activity/ Narrative and anecdotal data	Observation and research participants	Field observation, semi-structured interview
2. What are the types of public space being produced in Sitio Pechayan?	Descriptive spatial data	Observation	Field observation
3. What are the socio-spatial practices being utilized to produce these spaces?	Observed activity/ Narrative and anecdotal data	Observation and research participants	Field observation, Semi-structured interview

4.3.1 Data collection Method

The research adopted several data collection methods that were aligned with the research objectives and consistent with the stated research philosophy. The data for the research were obtained from two different time period collected from October 2017 to January 2018 and during the first quarter of 2021. The earlier data were taken from a previous research of the same community that documented the spatial properties and observed activities of the different public spaces within the community. The use of previous data was necessitated by the constraints brought on by the pandemic lockdown. The impact of COVID-19 is further discussed in the Limitation and Challenges of the Study section. The latter data taken during the PhD period was mainly focused on the obtaining the background of the community through semi-structured interviews from long time residents of Sitio Pechayan who had considerable knowledge on its history of the community. This part of the research was conducted with the help of research assistants from the community.

4.3.1.1 Non-participant Observation

The main purpose of observation in research is to record and observe the behaviour and interaction of people. It involves viewing, recording, describing, analyzing, and interpreting of people's behaviour at a given setting (Saunders et al., 2019, p. 378). Observation can be classified according to how it is structured, and the type of data produced. Structured observations are often associated with quantitative studies because it involves observing behaviour in a systematic and sequential manner. The recording process is guided by a predetermined and standardized schedule of categories known as the coding scheme (Bryman, 2012). On the other hand, unstructured observation is not guided by a coding scheme but aims to record as much detailed observation on the behaviour of people.

For this research, a semi-structured approach was adopted guided by a predetermined set of categories, namely: the physical attributes of the space, the type of people using the space, and the type of activities observed. The first two categories helped give context to the observed activities while the last category was used to understand how space is used. The main focus of the observation exercise was to

record the people's activities in each of the key public spaces. The objective of this observation is to understand the socio-spatial practice involved in the production of public space. This includes observing how the public spaces are used and the social interactions that take place in these spaces. The observation also noted the physical characteristic of the spaces to understand how the physical feature affects their use. This includes understanding how resident appropriate public spaces for private use through the physical transformation of the space. This will help the research understand how spaces are produced and reproduced through the actions and interactions of its users.

The initial part of the observation exercise was producing a rough map of Sitio Pechayan. The use of remote satellite images from Google Earth was used as a basis for establishing the boundary of the community and its road network. This was then converted to line drawings in AutoCAD. After the completion of the map drawing, site fieldwork were conducted with the help of a key informant to verify the accuracy of the map and update any changes not reflected in the satellite images. This was also intended to get a sense of familiarity of the surrounding and to identify and locate the key public spaces. During this initial part of the observation exercise, the spatial characteristic of the public spaces, the adjacent structures, and road network were also documented.

The second part of the observation exercise involved conducting a total of twelve site visits. As mentioned earlier, this observation exercises were conducted during the first phase of the research. The observation exercises were conducted during three different periods: morning, early to mid-afternoon, and late afternoon. The purpose was to observe the different levels of activity that takes place in the key public spaces. Observation for this research was done through a combination of note taking and photo-documentation. Photo-documentation from a key informant also complemented the data in terms of recording the activity during the evening.

The focus of the observation exercises was limited on the main road network and the identified key public spaces. The inner pathways formed by the spatial pattern and clustering of the houses were excluded from this study because they were determined to be beyond the scope of this research. None of this area exhibited

considerable public space activity and were mostly used as passageway by the residents.

4.3.1.2 Semi-structured Interview

Research interview is described as a conversation between the researcher and participant to obtain valuable data and “to explore points of interest, clarify, and confirm meaning” (Saunders et al., 2019, p. 434). The type of interview can vary according to the structure or standardization of the questions. For this research, semi-structured interview was used because of the exploratory and descriptive nature of this study. Semi-structured interview uses a more flexible line of questions that is guided by a set of themes from which the questions are derived (Saunders et al., 2019). Unlike in structured interview where the interview is directed by a standardized questionnaire to ensure the reliability and validity of the data; a semi-structured interview uses an interview guide that outlines the topics that need to be covered. This allows more leeway and flexibility in the interview process where answers that stray from the original line of questioning is encouraged (Bryman, 2012). This allows the interviewee to guide the direction of the interview which can reveal insights on their perception and sentiment on the topics being discussed. This type of approach was suited for what this research needed, in terms of obtaining rich and detailed data from the individual stories and lived experiences of the research participants. The interviews for this research were conducted to explore the participants’ experiences and the underlying meaning they attached to the community and its public spaces.

The questions for the interviews were conveyed in a semi-structured approach that revolved around two subject matters: their personal information and their personal knowledge on the history of the community. The former was to determine the participant’s point of view and establish context from which to analyze their response to the questions. The latter was to understand how the public spaces were initially constructed and how these spaces changed over time. Before the start of each interview, the participants were made aware of the objective of the research and assured of their privacy and anonymity. The conversations were mostly done in an informal manner and conducted within Sitio Pechayan, either just outside their homes

or in their workplace. The language used was mostly Filipino except for one instance where a local dialect was used.

4.3.2 Data Analysis

There were two sets of data collected during the course of this research: observation fieldnotes and interview transcripts. The observation fieldnotes included the spatial quality of the public spaces and documentation of the general activities seen in the public spaces. The interview data were a combination of notes and audio recording of research participants. To analyze these two sets of data, both the observation fieldnotes and interview transcripts will be analyzed thematically.

4.3.2.1 Thematic Narrative Analysis

Riesman defines narratives as stories of events told in a sequential manner that are “selected, organized, connected, and evaluated” by the speaker to be “meaningful for a particular audience” (2008, p. 2). What this suggests is that stories are often told by the speaker with a “purpose of mind” or to have an “intended effect” to the listener (Bryman, 2012, p. 582). That is why narrative can either be analyzed by how it is structured or by its content. For this research, the emphasis will be on the latter. Thematic narrative analysis focuses on the content of the story or “what” is being narrated. Bryman (2012, p. 582) expands it further to “how do people make sense of what happened and to what effect?”.

While narrative analysis is not considered a distinct analytical method but “a collection of analytical approaches” (Saunders et al., 2019, p. 674). The main advantage of using narrative analysis is that data can be preserved and analyzed without breaking it down into individual categories and codes (Bryman, 2012). This is especially important for this research where the focus is on understanding the process by which public spaces are socially produced in Sitio Pechayan. This means that the sequence of events and the context by which these events occur are preserved. The element contained within these events may vary from whole life story to segment of speech. This means that thematic narrative analysis can be applied to a diverse range of data like life stories, short interviews, archival data, observation fieldnotes, and

even visual data (Riessman, 2008). The important thing is to try to find meaning in the stories the participants are trying to tell. In a sense, this plays to the strength of qualitative research, where the unstructured approach allows the participants to deviate from the intended question and allows them to tell their own stories in their own way.

While there is no standard process by which thematic narrative analysis is conducted, Riessman (2008, p. 60) offered four examples of how thematic narrative analysis was used. All four examples used different kind of data derived from lengthy and short interviews, archival documents, and ethnographic observations. The focus of all four examples was on what was being narrated rather than how it was being told. Another similarity between the four examples was the use of prior theory to initially guide how the data was interpreted while at the same time looking for new themes to emerge from the narratives. All four examples also preserved the sequence of the narrative rather than breaking it down into coding segments.

For this research, the initial step involved organizing the two sets of data: observation fieldnotes and interview transcripts. For the observational data, the relevant themes that initially guided the analysis were the description of the spatial quality of the public spaces and narration of the observed activities in these public spaces. The analysis of the data from the non-participant observation revolved mainly on how the spatial features of the urban spaces were able to facilitate the everyday activities of the residents. This includes identifying patterns and themes in how the different urban spaces were being used and adapted by the residents. The observed activities are also compared with the intended function of the urban space. For the interview, the predefined themes revolved around the history of these public spaces, from how they were built, the actors involved in its production, and how these public spaces changed over time. These predefined themes were derived from the theoretical framework of this research: Lefebvre's social production of space and everyday resistance. The next section will discuss these predefined themes and their relevance as a unit of analysis.

4.3.2.2 Spatial Quality

In urban studies, urban form refers to the tangible element that shapes or defines a city, from the buildings, open spaces, lots, and streets (Oliveira, 2020). In informal settlement studies, the study of the spatial form often can be classified into two types: graphical and narrative approach or a combination of the two. A graphical approach usually involves a detailed analysis of the urban pattern of an informal settlement through illustrations and maps (Alcazaren et al., 2011; Rybczynski, 1984). While a narrative approach involves a textual description of the informal settlement's built environment (Jocano, 1988; Perlman, 1979). For this research, a combination of the two approaches will be used. This includes the map of Sitio Pechayan, photographs, and a descriptive narration of the spatial quality of the public spaces. The descriptive narration will include the overall form of the space, materials used, special features, and the adjacent structures. This will allow the research to understand how the different physical components found in these public spaces shape the use of the said space and vice versa. Therefore, the focus is not on the spatial quality of public space itself but on the observed activities. The spatial analysis is only meant to complement and give context to the narrative data obtained from the observation fieldnotes and interviews in order to get a holistic interpretation of how public spaces are produced in the informal settlement.

4.3.2.3 Observed Activities

As discussed in the theoretical framework chapter, lived experience is one of the elements in the social production of space. The practice of everyday life as termed by de Certeau (1984) is defined as the way consumers/users are able to change or transform things through their everyday actions. What this means for this research is that the everyday activities obtained from the observation fieldnotes of the residents of Sitio Pechayan plays an important role in the production and reproduction of its public spaces. The use of public space is part of the socio-spatial practice involved in the production of space. Therefore, the unit of analysis focuses on understanding how the everyday activities of the residents in the public spaces of Sitio Pechayan lead to the production of space.

4.3.2.4 History

In urban studies, urban morphology refers to the study of urban forms and how they change over time (Oliveira, 2020). Therefore, time is one of the basic elements in urban morphological analysis since it allows us to understand the “continuous transformation and replacement” of urban form (Moudon, 1997). For this research, the focus of historical analysis is on understanding how the public spaces were established and subsequently developed over time. Since very little archival data were available, much of the history of Sitio Pechayan and its public spaces were obtained through the interviews of long-time residents.

4.3.2.5 Emergent Themes

Once the data has been classified according to the predefined themes, the next step is to look for emergent or new themes within the data. Some of the themes were derived from the research questions such as socio-spatial practices and changes in the public spaces. Once the analytical themes have been identified and organized, the research searches for patterns, relationships, similarities, and differences in order to formulate a cohesive narrative of the findings.

4.4 Ethical Considerations

This section will discuss the different ethical issues that are inherent in this type of research. The section is composed of four subsections; it begins with a general discussion on the ethics of conducting interviews and concludes with a more detailed discussion on the ethical issues that are particular to this study.

4.4.1 General Ethical Issues for Interviews

The use of interview as a data collection tool for this research raises two major ethical concerns, the informed consent and the right to privacy of the research participants. Since this research requires close interaction and the active participation of the residents the community, their right to privacy and informed consent were of the utmost importance. Before the start of the interview, the research participants

were first asked for their consent including their permission for recording the interview. They were also briefed on the nature and objectives of the research and informed they were free to stop the interview at any time should they feel uncomfortable and that they could choose to be excluded from the research altogether.

Protecting the rights to privacy and confidentiality of the interviewees, especially coming from an informal settlement, involved ensuring that they were aware that any information they shared shall be used for research purposes only. This entailed the use of pseudonyms and the exclusion of any personal information of the participants. To further maintain the anonymity of the participants, identifiers were either removed or aggregated. Direct identifiers such as names were not included while identifiers such as age, employment, official title, and type of business were grouped into general categories. Aside from the research participants, residents that were photographed during the documentation process will have their faces blurred once the manuscript is published.

Another important ethical consideration is how to ensure the safety of the researcher and the participants when conducting interviews during a pandemic. This meant that the researcher has to follow health protocols to minimize the spread of COVID-19. Safety measures include ensuring that both researcher and participants are wearing face masks and maintain a safe distance from one another. The research also avoided focus group discussion and all interviews were done individually. Finally, the setting of the interviews also needed to be considered which is why all the interviews were conducted outside.

There is also a question of reciprocity with regards to recruiting potential research participants. The usual practice when conducting research in informal communities in this country, especially when conducting on-site focus group activities, is to prepare foods for the participants. But since this research study was done through the help of a key informant, no incentives, either in kind or money was given to the participants. What the research did was look for willing participants and ensure that the time of the interview did not impede on their work. The nature of the

research was also explained beforehand to manage the expectation of the participants regarding the outcome of the research.

4.4.2 Ethical Implication on the Community

Aside from the research participants, there are also ethical issues on how this research may affect the community. One such issue is the one-sided nature of the research which treats the community as a mere study area. This raises the question of how the community can benefit from the research. While this research does not provide any design recommendation that would result in some practical contribution to the community, it nonetheless allows the participants to tell their stories and the history of the community. In some ways, this research hopes to document and preserve the history of Sitio Pechayan. By telling their stories and that of the community, the research also hopes to bring awareness to their situation that may lead to meaningful policy discussions on informal settlement in the Philippines.

4.4.3 Ethical Consideration for the Key Informant and Respondents

Since this research sought the help of a key informant when conducting the interviews and fieldwork, ethical concerns regarding the role of the key informant must also be addressed. The key informant, acting as a research assistant, can also be exposed to a number of risks such physical risks, psychological risks, and social risks (Naufel & Beike, 2013). For this research, the threat of physical risk is one of the main concerns. Physical risk refers to any physical harm that may occur during the course of the research. To ensure the physical safety of the key informant, a number of protocols were established. First, the key informant was briefed on how to adhere to the previously discussed health protocols to minimize exposure to COVID-19. Second, the key informant was also briefed on how to approach potential participants and guided on how to explain the research to willing participants. This was to ensure that the participants felt secure in sharing information and were aware of the objectives of the study.

Another concern would be the possible repercussion from barangay officials or other residents for respondents if they divulge anything controversial or adversarial.

To avoid this possibility, the questions were designed to focus on their personal and the community's history. But a majority of the respondents' answers were guarded and only answered the questions directly. But there were instances where respondents would disclose practices that were not allowed by the UP administration such as how they build their houses or offer side comments about barangay officials. On this instance, the respondents were reassured that their identity will not be disclosed to anyone.

4.5 Reflection on the Research Methodology

Since this research adopted a qualitative approach, most of the criticism or the apparent limitations of said approach will be discussed in this section. As mentioned in the earlier section, this research used an open-ended and semi-structured approach rather than relying on standardized tools for measurement or quantification. This underpins the importance of "thick description" for this research where a rich and detailed account of these informal practices is critical in understanding and interpreting the socio-spatial practice involved in the production of space.

The non-structured approach often used in qualitative research means that the focus is "on greater generality in the formulation of initial research ideas and interviewee's own perspective" (Bryman, 2012, p. 470). This type of approach allows for flexibility to respond to any unexpected findings which in turn could provide clarity and guide the direction of the research. This is certainly true for this research where the focus is on the socio-spatial practice observed in the Sitio Pechayan. Another frequent criticism on qualitative research is its subjective nature where the "interviewee's own perspective" influences how the research is conducted, as well the interpretation of the data. But as stated earlier, the emphatic nature of qualitative study means that knowledge is socially produced between the researcher and the participants. This suggests a pluralistic approach where multiple meanings and interpretations can be discerned from individual experiences. To be able to obtain that kind of result for this study requires close interactions with the residents of the community. In summary, this study believes on the importance of context when

studying informal settlement hence the need for a research approach that focuses on the perspective of the participants and conditions of the study area.

4.5.1 Positionality

The subjective nature of qualitative research means that the researchers own background and culture often guides other aspect of the research from its objectives, methods, and interpretation of the data. Therefore, a discussion on my position relative to this research needs to be explored, especially how my background informed my relationship with the research participants.

From a cultural perspective, I am a Filipino-Chinese, sharing a lot of commonalities with the research participants in terms of social practices, belief system, and language. This similarity made it easier to communicate with the research participants and also understand some of their cultural nuances. This includes the need to establish personal connection first with potential participants rather than delving directly to the interviews. During the first phase of my research, cold approaches to potential participants were rarely successful. That is why establishing those connections remotely was a difficult task that required the personal referral from the key informant.

Aside from the commonalities, there were also two factors that had a negative effect on my research. First, as a Chinese, I stood out when I was conducting the fieldwork in Sitio Pechayan. It made it more difficult to go around the community without being noticed. In some ways, this affected the observation process of the research since the residents were aware of my presence which in turn affected their behaviour. The second factor is my professional status as an architect and a member of the academe. During the first phase of the study when I was conducting observation fieldworks and interviews, there was this assumption from some of the residents that my work would result in some practical contribution to the community like improved infrastructure or new facilities. This impacted the way that some of the participants perceived my questions. Some of the participants' answers were sometimes focused on recommending improvements on the public spaces. All the cited factors from my background to my professional standing all had considerable impact on the research

approach from how to conduct the interviews and asking the help of key informants to facilitate the fieldwork.

4.5.2 Limitations and Challenges of the Study

The main challenge in formulating the research design was the uncertainty caused by the pandemic. Lockdowns and restrictions on non-essential activities had a considerable impact on accessing the necessary data for the research. At the height of the pandemic, barangays in Metro Manila imposed micro-level lockdowns that limited the entry of non-residents. Restrictions on mass gathering was also instituted that made focus-group discussions unfeasible. Mobility and transport was also affected, limited only to essential activities. For Sitio Pechayan, restrictions imposed by the barangay officials meant that outsiders were highly discouraged from entering the community, more so conducting fieldwork. This meant that the research method had to undergo some changes and creative means of accessing the data were necessary.

To be able to continue with the research, several approaches were considered. One was seeking the assistance of key informants that were previously involved in the earlier research, to look for potential research participants. Interviews were conducted either remotely through phone or through the key informant. Interviews done by key informant were audio-recorded and sent to me through a messenger app. To ensure transparency and that ethical conduct was followed during the interview, the key informant had to undergo an initial briefing on how to conduct the interview including being clear with the objectives of the research, asking for informed consent, and ensuring the privacy of the participants. The key informant was given an interview guide as seen in Appendix A.

The restrictions brought forth by the COVID-19 lockdown meant that changes had to be made on the data collection method. Pre-COVID, the initial plan was to conduct participatory mapping activities and focus-group discussion. The intent of the former was to obtain how residents perceived the urban space in contrast with their everyday activities around the community. The focus group discussion was intended to allow the research participants to discuss the history and background of the Sitio Pechayan. But as discussed in the Data Collection Method section, these were

replaced with observational data of the public spaces and individual interviews of long time residents.

Another challenge in doing fieldwork during lockdown was the lack of activity in public spaces. As communicated by the key informants, children and senior citizens were not allowed to go outside their homes and non-essential activities like socialization were discouraged. This made it difficult to capture the socio-spatial practices seen in the normal day to day activities of the residents. To adapt to these changes, the research made use of data from the first phase of the study. The observation fieldnotes from the first phase of study had to be updated to reflect any changes on the spatial form of the key public spaces. Under my guidance and supervision, the key informant surveyed the identified key spaces and recorded any changes through photographs.

Another limitation in conducting research in informal settlement was the lack of archival and historical records from the local government on Sitio Pechayan. The archival records could have added depth by showing the urban morphology of the community. To account for the lack of official documents, the research made use of interviews to obtain the needed historical account on the development of the community.

Chapter 5 Findings

5.0 Introduction

For Lefebvre, space is a social product that is the result of the dialectical relationship between perceived, conceived, and lived space. When transposed for this study, urban space can be regarded as a product of the socio-spatial practices that occur in the everyday life of the people of Sitio Pechayan; facilitated by both the existing urban environment and the conceptualization of space by those in power. To understand how space is socially produced in Sitio Pechayan, this research needed to explore the three elements of the spatial triad. The public spaces identified in this research as key areas for study were obtained by observing the community and noting the areas that exhibited socio-spatial vibrancy, a high concentration of activities and users. Then this was further supported by the interview of the initial respondents which was necessary in making sure that no key areas were excluded that are considered important by the residents but not apparent through casual observation. A total of six key public spaces were identified. This included the five main streets inside Sitio Pechayan where the majority of spontaneous activities like socialization occurred.

This chapter presents the findings from the data obtained from key informants' interviews and field observation. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section, spatial practice presents the spatial characteristic and observed activities of the different public spaces within Sitio Pechayan. The second section, representation of space presents an account of how the local government regulate the use of public space. The third section, representational space presents instances of how the residents respond and adapt to regulations imposed by the local government.

5.1 Spatial Practices

As discussed in the theoretical section, spatial practice represents the physical element of space or the perceived spaces. For Lefebvre (1991, p. 38), spatial practice "embodies the close association, within perceived space, between daily reality and urban reality". Therefore, spatial practices can be seen as the material production and

reproduction of space through the everyday activities of the users. For this research, spatial practice can readily be observed through the everyday activities of the residents of Sitio Pechayan and how these activities are being facilitated by the built environment. This means understanding how the urban environment within Sitio Pechayan shapes the daily routine of the residents as well as how it is being shaped by the socio-spatial practices of its residents.

This section looks at the spatial characteristic and quality of the urban environment in Sitio Pechayan. It starts by presenting the urban form of Sitio Pechayan before focusing on the different public spaces. This section also presents the different socio-spatial practices of the residents as expressed through their everyday activities and interaction with the built environment of Sitio Pechayan. The aim of this section is to provide an account of the relationship between the public spaces and the residents of Sitio Pechayan.

5.1.1 Spatial Characteristic of Sitio Pechayan

Sitio Pechayan, with its nondescript entrance that belies the large community hidden from the main thoroughfare falls under the category of a “*looban*”. It is a term used to describe a closely-packed informal settlement with cluster of houses that is hidden from the general view of the city. The urban form of Sitio Pechayan can be characterized as generally exhibiting an organic urban layout from its street layout, neighborhood blocks, and distribution of open spaces and public infrastructures. This section presents the urban morphology of Sitio Pechayan which includes the description of its spatial form and the spatial pattern of its streets, neighborhood blocks, and public spaces.

The overall spatial form of Sitio Pechayan is one that is defined and limited by four different boundaries that surround the community. Three of these boundaries can be characterized as hard boundaries that limit the physical growth of the community. One boundary can be considered as a soft boundary where encroachment has already begun. These boundaries do not only serve to define the limits of the community but has also affected its urban morphology. (See Figure 2)

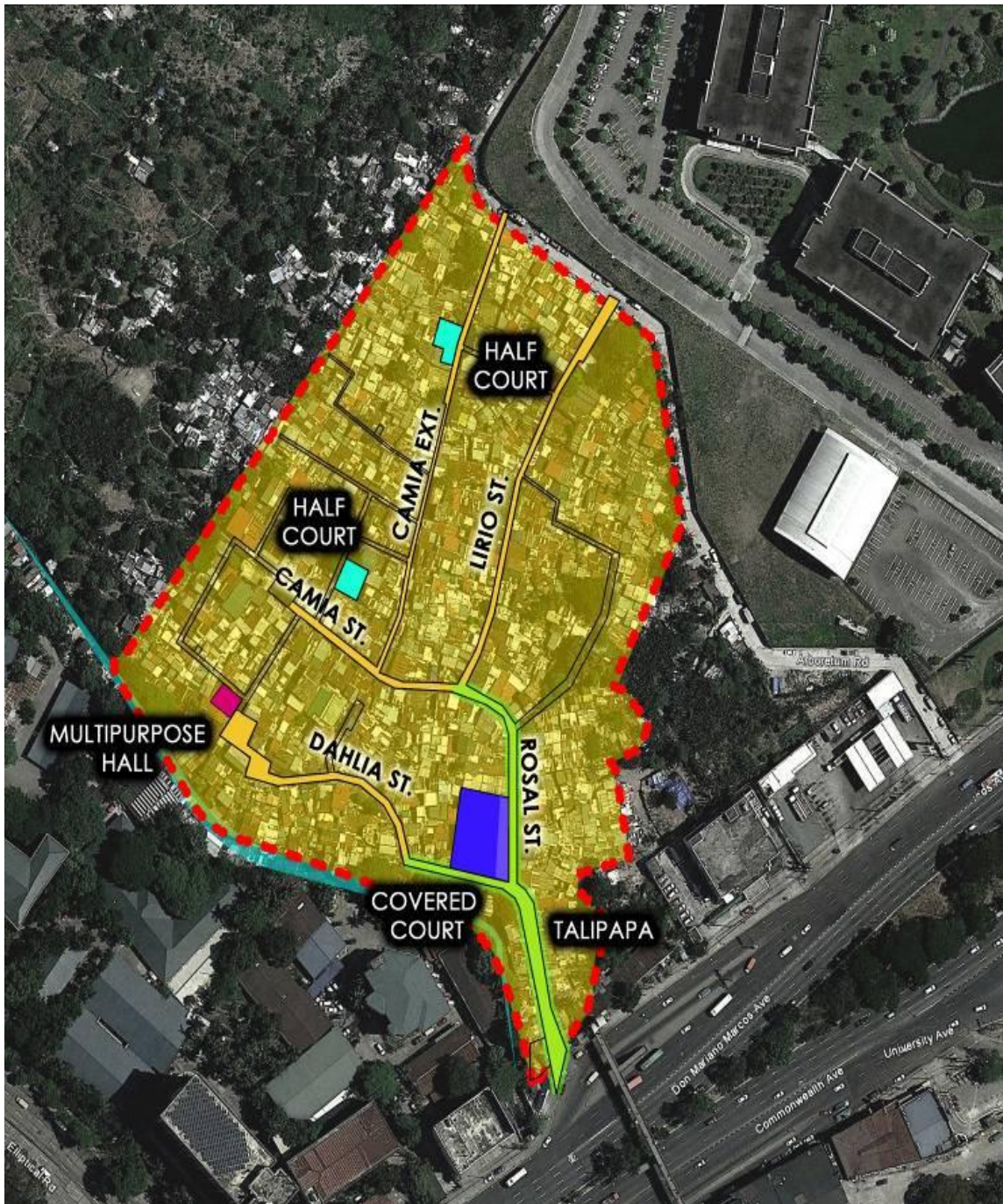


Figure 2 Map of Sitio Pechayan (Google Earth)

The southwest boundary is delineated by a small creek which separates the community from the adjacent government offices of the Department of Agrarian Reform, Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources and the Philippine Coconut Authority. The presence of the creek makes the area adjacent to this boundary prone

to flooding. Houses along the creek are densely packed. Opposite to the creek, a small road known as the Arboretum Road defines the northeast portion which separates the community from the UP-Ayala Technohub. There are two minor entry points to the community located along this side.

On the southeast portion of the community is a small patch of vacant land abutted by commercial buildings which includes a wet market and a bank. The commercial buildings act as a visual buffer that blocks the community from the main road. The only visible part of the community is the main entrance which is also located along this side. The entrance opens to a major thoroughfare; Commonwealth Avenue, regarded as the widest road in the country spanning a width of 18 lanes. To cross this road, the residents would need to make use of a footbridge because of the non-stop and large amount of vehicular traffic passing through this road.



Figure 3 Gateway Likod Pader

Unlike the other three aforementioned boundaries, the northwest boundary is more porous to encroachment. A botanical garden/ forest known as the University of the Philippines (UP) Arboretum Forest is located along this side. During the early part

of the research in 2017, the community was still separated by a concrete wall from the Arboretum forest. There was only a small opening that connected the community to the botanical garden; with some few houses spread out around the area. But over time, that small opening has slowly been breached leading to more houses being built inside the Arboretum Forest. The residents have even given the area a name, “*Likod Pader*” or “back of the wall”. (See Figure 3)

5.1.2 Layout of the Streets

The curvilinear form of the streets and lack of uniformity in width suggests an incremental and organic approach that developed over time. The street pattern shows a semblance of both organized and spontaneous spatial arrangement. The main roads usually connect with another perpendicularly, effectively defining the neighborhood blocks while the small alleyways break up these individual neighborhood blocks in a haphazard manner through a series of circuitous pathways. Access to the streets is limited to two-wheeled vehicles and pedestrian traffic. A barangay regulation enacted years ago prohibited four-wheeled vehicles from using the streets. This is to prevent a similar incident in the past where fire trucks were unable to enter the community during a fire because of parked cars. Although parked cars can still be seen along the streets inside the community which would suggest either some individual chose to purposely ignore the regulation or exemptions were given by barangay officials.

The five main streets within the community; named after local flowers, are Dahlia St., Rosal St., Camia St., Lirio St. and Camia St. Extension. Smaller footpaths (*eskinita*) that connect these main streets remain unnamed. Dahlia Street connects directly to Commonwealth Avenue and is accessible to all types of traffic from cars to motorcycle. There is a mix of commercial and residential structures located along the street. Most of the large infrastructures are also situated along this street which contributes to its high foot traffic. Notable areas along this road are the marketplace (*talipapa*), covered court, and a multipurpose hall known as the Suntay Hall. These areas exhibit high clustering of people that indicates high socio-spatial vibrancy and observed activities, despite the limited availability of space. Only the covered court can be considered as having the capacity to host a large amount of people while the

other areas use the street to host its activities. Other structures along that street contain a mix of both commercial and residential. (See Figure 4 to Figure 6)



Figure 4 Dahlia Street 2017



Figure 5 Dahlia Street 2022 (Trekker, 2022)



Figure 6 Houses along Dahlia Street 2022 (Trekker, 2022)

Rosal Street, located between Dahlia and Camia Streets, is the shortest street in Sitio Pechayan. The structures along this street are mostly commercial retail stalls. Although it is wide enough to accommodate cars, it is mostly used by pedestrians and two-wheeled vehicle because of the presence of exposed water pipes making it not conducive for heavier vehicle. The primary activity observed is similar to the talipapa discussed earlier in Dahlia St. and serves merely as its extension before connecting to Camia Street. (See Figure 7 to Figure 8)

Camia Street runs almost parallel to Dahlia Street and cuts through the middle of the community. It is accessible mostly by two-wheeled vehicles and pedestrian traffic. Structures along the street are predominantly residential with very few commercial spaces in between. Notable areas along the street are the bingo and garden area. The bingo area which mostly occurs during the afternoon is located in front of a commercial space. While the garden area, located at the bend of the street, is a small open area that serves as a secondary playground and passive leisure spot for the residents nearby. Houses along this part of the street are closely packed together, with some providing seating space in front of their houses. Recent developments in some portions of Dahlia, Rosal, and Camia Streets have significantly improved the

physical quality of these streets. The water pipes have been embedded, eliminating the water puddles that have been a frequent sight in these areas. (See Figure 9 to Figure 10)



Figure 7 Rosal Street 2017



Figure 8 Rosal Street 2022 (Trekker, 2022)



Figure 9 Camia Street – Bingo Area 2017



Figure 10 Camia Street - Play Area 2017

Lirio Street and Camia Extension are very similar in its spatial quality. They run parallel to each other and both streets connect directly to Arboretum Road. Lirio Street has a very narrow width and structures along this street are mostly composed of residential structures. Houses along this street are more compact and smaller with very few observed clustering of activities. The only notable portion of the street is the area where it connects to Camia Street. This portion of Lirio Street is mostly commercial in nature and observed activities become more robust and vibrant. (See Figure 11)

Camia Extension serves as the primary entry point for two important areas in the community: the half-court and water well areas. Similar to Lirio Street, it is also mostly narrow and only widens once it approaches the Arboretum Road. The street is only accessible to pedestrian with very few two-wheeled vehicles. The structures along the street are mostly residential with very few commercial stalls. (See Figure 12)



Figure 11 Lirio Street 2017



Figure 12 Camia Extension 2017

5.1.3 Neighborhood Blocks

Following the spatial pattern of the main streets, the spatial distribution of houses and lot size within the site can be described as asymmetrical and disproportionate in scale and shape. Most of the bigger houses are located on the main streets like Dahlia and Camia streets, while the smaller houses are mostly located in the inner alleyways. Houses near the entrance in Lirio Street and Camia Extension are often larger with open spaces within their boundary. This would suggest that most of the bigger houses were probably built earlier while smaller houses used what available space was left. The location of the houses would substantiate this assertion since most of the well-built and bigger houses are located near the entrance or they connect directly to Commonwealth Avenue and Arboretum Road. This would indicate that the development pattern of the houses started near its periphery and along major roads before slowly growing inwards.

The spatial characteristic of the houses can be described as having an eclectic quality. Bigger houses tend to be well-built and show some signs of incremental

additions while smaller houses are usually made out of recycled plywood and GI (galvanized iron) sheets. This incremental addition can be observed in the difference in materials used between the lower and upper story of the houses. The lower story would often be made out of concrete masonry blocks while the upper portion made out of lighter materials like plywood. There are also different levels of finishes that can be observed, some houses would have exposed concrete blocks while some would be plastered but no paint finish applied. Well-built older houses on the other hand would have painted walls but would often have traces of improvement that stands out from the rest of the house like aluminum framed windows and doors. (See Figure 13) Almost all the windows in these well-built houses would be protected by iron grilles. This level of protection and security is not seen in the smaller houses. There are even some instances where the whole house is fenced in with a steel mesh. One interesting thing to note during the recent fieldwork, these steel meshes were being used as a plant holder. Compared to the earlier fieldworks, residents have started adorning their houses with plants.



Figure 13 Contrasting Houses

The asymmetrical distribution of houses and spatial layout of the neighborhood blocks show no discernible pattern or shape. The form of the neighborhood blocks is only defined by the five main streets and broken up into smaller blocks by the footpaths. As previously discussed, the only discernible pattern is how some of the bigger houses are concentrated near the entrances and along the two main streets. Another particular characteristic of the community is the closeness and lack of setbacks between the houses. The limited space meant that any residual spaces are appropriated. But there are some houses that do have some type of open space within their property. These open spaces are often used by the homeowners as a storage area or if the space is big enough, as an outdoor living area. But most houses in this community are built side by side divided by a shared party wall to save cost and space. The only open spaces in these houses are the streets and alleyways. There are often no sidewalks or curbs to delineate the street from the houses except in the recently repaved portion of Dahlia Street. The lack of any defined boundaries between the houses and the streets means that it is common to see private activities spilling out from the house to the streets, where makeshift or plastic chairs are strewn outside to provide seating for the residents. It is also quite common to see different personal effects along the streets like furniture and home appliances. Sociologists have connected the physical proximity of the houses to the social closeness observed in informal settlements (Racelis-Hollnsteiner, 1976).

5.1.4 Public Spaces

There have been several infrastructure improvements implemented by both the government and private entities. Basic utilities like drainage and street lighting have been integrated on the concrete road. The water pipes supplying some of the individual houses were initially just haphazardly placed on top of the streets, exposed to the daily contact of pedestrian traffic. This has resulted to occasional leaks from the pipes. But the recent repairs on Dahlia, Camia and Rosal Streets have embedded some of these pipes underground. There are also other public infrastructures, these include a two-storey multipurpose hall, covered court, mortuary/ chapel, and two open half-

courts. There are also privately-built chapels, one of which was under construction during the time of my fieldwork.

YEAR STARTED	PUBLIC INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS
2005	Mortuary Chapel
2008	Half-Court A
2009	Suntay Hall
2010	Cementing of the Full Court
2012	Half-Court B
2013	Covered Court
2020	Barangay Hall Annex Renovation
2021	Repavement of Dahlia and Camia Sts.

Figure 14 Timeline of Public Infrastructure Projects

Although the local government made it possible to develop these public spaces, the initial establishment of these spaces was initiated by the residents themselves. The development of these public infrastructures can be characterized as a bottom-up approach where state intervention comes in last to provide the needed financial and construction capacity. The start of the state intervention in Sitio Pechayan brought with it changes in its built environment as well as the provision of basic services. Looking at the timeline of the public infrastructure projects, the first major building was the mortuary chapel which was built on 2005. (See Figure 14) From that first publicly-funded project came a slew of other public infrastructure projects. When considering the timeline of the community, state intervention only begun seventeen years ago which represents approximately less than a third of the whole community's existence. These projects are often finished mostly within a year or two when the construction is started. Recent projects include the conversion of the Suntay Hall into the barangay hall annex and the repavement of Dahlia and Camia Streets. The improvements on Dahlia Street included widening the width of the road along the

entrance which pushed back the stalls. (See Figure 15) A majority of the identified key public spaces are located in these publicly-funded infrastructure projects. A more detailed discussion on the different key public spaces is outlined in the next sections. This includes their spatial characteristic, history, and observed everyday activities.



Figure 15 Entrance to Sitio Pechayan 2017 – 2022

5.1.4.1 Covered Court

The covered basketball courts are a common sight in barangays and even in private residential subdivisions. Their ubiquitous presence in Philippine communities can be attributed to the popularity of the sport in the country but also to its ability to host different functions such as in the case of Sitio Pechayan. The covered court, with the attached mortuary chapel, is the largest government funded infrastructure project in the community. It is roughly around 700 square meters in area and is slightly rectangular in shape. It is a full size basketball court with an attached mortuary chapel along one of its side. It is located at the corner of Dahlia and Rosal Streets, making it highly visible from the main entrance along Commonwealth Avenue and also from atop the adjacent footbridge. (See Figure 16)



Figure 16 Covered Court 2017

The covered court is a simple arched roofed structure supported by steel columns and arched trusses. Enclosing the perimeter is a chain link fence that is about 2 meters in height. Access to the court is through the two small gates that are located along two of its sides. The surface material inside is made out of concrete with basketball lane markings. The mortuary chapel floor is slightly raised from the basketball court to provide some delineation between the two areas and also provide a seating area for spectators. There have been subsequent minor improvements added to the covered court. Polycarbonate sheets and tarpaulins have been added to enclose the upper portion of the structure as protection from the elements leaving only a small gap between the chain link fences. In some portion of the fence, a combination of wire mesh and nets cover this gap as a way of fully enclosing the structure. A makeshift seating area has also been added along one side of the court, using steel pipes welded into the columns. (See Figure 17)



Figure 17 Covered Court – Interior 2017

The mortuary chapel is a simple small, enclosed structure that is positioned alongside the length of the court. From the outside, the mortuary chapel has been blended to the covered court with the same color walls and roof and enclosed by the same chain link fence. The mortuary chapel is around 30 meters long with two small rooms in each of its ends. The middle part has been left open and functions as a space for visitors. A ramp is also situated on the center to provide access from the court to the mortuary chapel. (See Figure 18)



Figure 18 Mortuary Chapel 2017

The history of the covered court mirrors the development of the community. The site used to be an open basketball court before the subsequent improvements through the help of different local government officials. According to the respondents, the covered court was originally built by the younger members of the community during the early '90s as a half-court area which they eventually expanded into a full-court. They were able to transform the area from a hard packed dirt court to an open concrete court. They subsequently added a fence and a tiered seating area around the court with the help of the Sangguniang Kabataan in 2010. (See Figure 19) The Sangguniang Kabataan is a barangay council that is intended to serve and represent the youth of every barangay in the country. Although the construction of the mortuary chapel started in 2005, it took almost eight years before the covered court was also developed. It was only when flooding became a persistent problem in the community, the barangay council started to look for ways to convert the basketball court as a temporary shelter. Through the help of a local politician, the open basketball court

was eventually converted and developed into a covered court. According to a recent conversation with a key informant, there is a plan to renovate the covered court. The renovation would also affect the surrounding area such as the marketplace.



Figure 19 Old Full Court Area 2010

The main intended function of the covered court has always been for basketball activities. Its spatial quality and feature are all designed for that specific purpose. But because of its size and the availability of space, it also serves other ancillary functions. The markings on the floors also suggest that it is being used for other sports like volleyball and badminton. But aside from recreational use, the covered court has been used as a gathering area for different organized events like school, political, recreational, and religious activities. It is also where the barangay council organizes their general assembly meetings. For local politicians, this is where they often hold their charity events like a recently organized feeding program. For residents, they would hold zumba events during the weekends. Non-governmental organizations and religious groups also make use of the space for their events. But one of the important functions of the covered court is its role as a temporary shelter. A respondent mentioned that during the rainy season, the covered court is also used to

temporarily shelter the affected families especially those located near the creek and Dahlia Street. The local government would usually give the affected families a few days to occupy the covered court and longer for those affected by fire, before they are required to leave. During one of my earlier visits in 2017, the area was converted into a makeshift evacuation area for the families affected by a fire that occurred recently along Lirio Street. (See Figure 20) Lirio Street is one of the high density areas in the community and that fire affected a total of 60 families. During that period, the covered court was solely used as a temporary shelter and no other activities were permitted. A local politician was also seen visiting the covered court to dole out assistance to the affected families.



Figure 20 Evacuation Area 2017

While the use of the space is open to all residents of the community, it is often regulated by the barangay especially when there are scheduled activities. When it is free to be used by the community, the space gets to fulfill its intended function, as an

area for playing basketball. The predominant users would often be young adult males especially during the weekend and late afternoon. Children can occasionally be seen playing basketball especially when no one else is using the court. But despite the programmed nature of the space, spontaneous activities do occur in this space especially around the periphery. The area where the mortuary chapel is located is often used by small children as a play area. Bystanders and spectators can often be seen seated around the basketball court, either socializing with another or watching the ongoing basketball game. But compared to the activities outside the covered court, the level of socio-spatial vibrancy is more muted.



Figure 21 Distinctive Roof Profile of the Covered Court from the footbridge

For an outsider, the size and distinctive profile of the covered court in relation to other structures within the community allows it serve as a landmark and anchor point especially when navigating the community. (See Figure 21) But for the residents, the proximity of the covered court to the main entrance allows this space to be a focal point for the community. This is augmented by the presence of commercial stalls

around the area which also acts as a magnet for the residents and significantly contributes to the vibrancy of its surrounding area and adjacent streets. But for the covered court itself, the area is not quite as vibrant as the streets that surround it. This could partially be attributed to the physical barrier that encloses the structure. The chain link fence prevents direct accessibility from the covered court to the street itself, minimizing interactions between the two spaces. Adding to this barrier, the fence is besieged with tarpaulin posters making it a sort of makeshift bulletin board where various barangay announcements and commercial advertisements are posted. This has diminished visual accessibility of the covered court from the streets. But despite this limitation, the covered court is still regarded as one of the important spaces in the community. Most of the respondents when asked about the relevant public spaces in the community, they would always first mention the covered court which seems to suggest a symbolic importance to the respondents.

5.1.4.2 Half Court Areas

The presence of three basketball courts; one covered court and two half-court, speaks to the popularity of the sport in Sitio Pechayan. According to a barangay official, recreational activity like basketball was highly encouraged to prevent the youth of the community from falling into illegal drugs. This would probably be one reason why the barangay allowed the youths to build two additional basketball courts despite the scarcity of space. The barangay council through the Sangguniang Kabataan even gives out a yearly scholarship grant to those who are proficient in basketball.

There are two half-court areas within Sitio Pechayan, and they are both located along Camia Street, spaced less than 150 meters apart. Both half-court areas are roughly the same size, around 90 square meters in are, just enough to accommodate the free-throw line but not the three-point line. The size of the open space does not follow the standard for a basketball court. This means that the court cannot be used for a proper 5-on-5 basketball games but only pick-up basketball games. Unlike the covered court, the half-court does not have any kind of physical enclosure. Instead, the edges of the two half-courts are instead defined by the residential structures that enclosed the space. A nearby tree in one of the half-courts often serves as its only

provisional seating area where the researcher has observed most of the spectators are located. Although the immediate vicinity of the court is predominantly residential, food stalls are also located nearby that sometimes function as a social area for some of the residents. (See Figure 22)



Figure 22 Half Courts 2017

Like the covered court, the two half-courts were initiated by the younger members of the community and subsequently improved through the funding of the local government. The first half-court was cemented in 2008 while the other on 2012. Unlike the covered court, both these projects were constructed by the residents themselves with the local government providing construction materials and financial assistance. This includes the replacement of the basketball ring's backboard from wood to fiberglass. The backboard used to feature the name of a former mayor but that has since been replaced. This presents an interesting insight into how the changing political landscape is often reflected in the public space, even as something as trivial as a marking on a backboard. There has also been little improvement to the two half-courts except for occasional repainting of the lane markings which has since

faded. The concrete surface of the half-court areas is uneven and cracked in some portions. (See Figure 23 to Figure 24)



Figure 23 Half-Court A 2017 - 2022

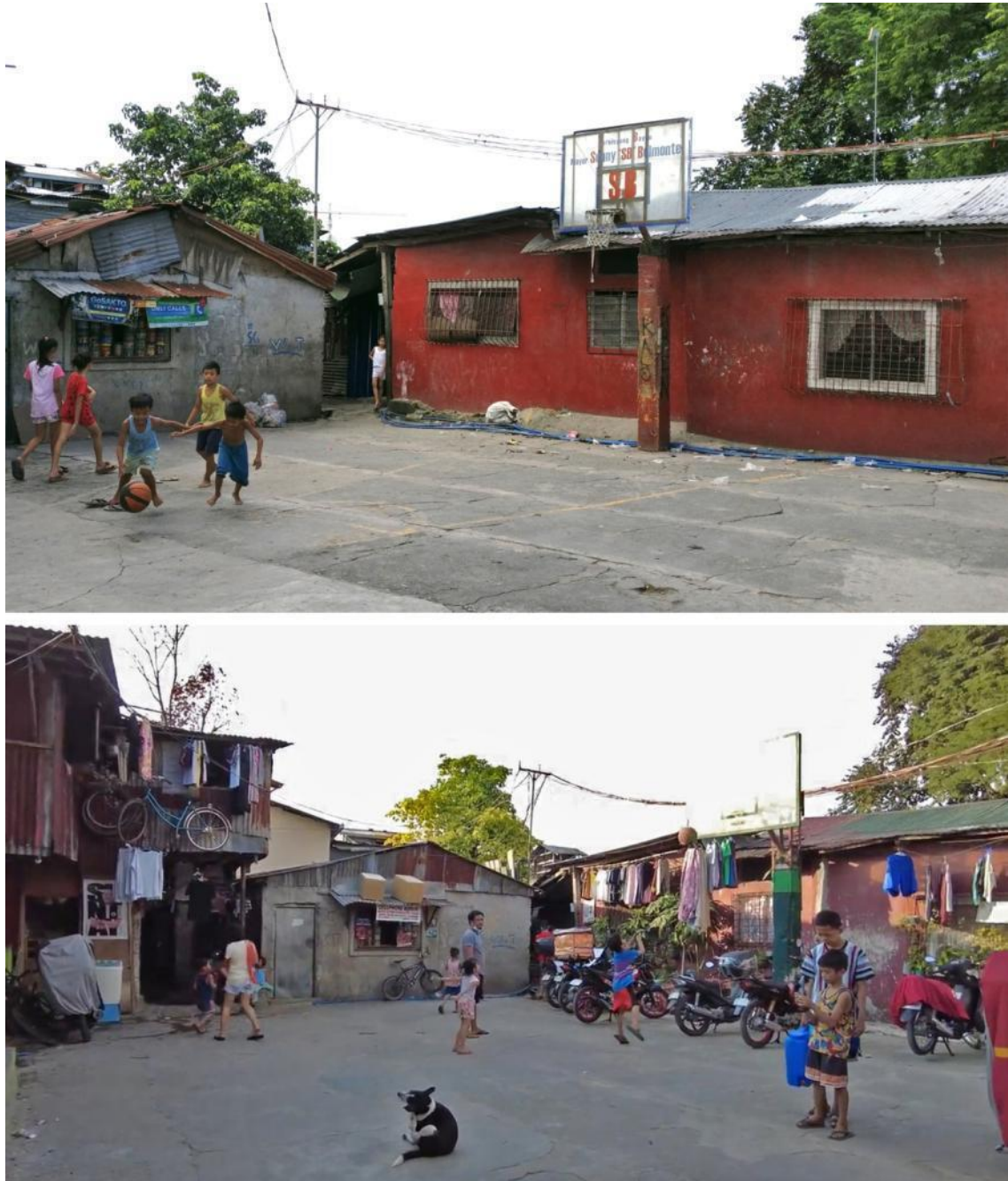


Figure 24 Half-Court B 2017 - 2022

But despite the inferior quality of its physical environment, there are more diverse activities observed occurring in the two half-court areas. Observed activities in these two areas ranged from socialization to work-related activities. It is often not unusual to see people using the space for other activities like doing carpentry work or people just mingling around the open space especially during the late afternoon. When it is being used for its intended function, the half-court areas are being used

predominantly by younger children for informal pickup basketball games. The high static activity of people along the two half-court areas creates a very vibrant space and adds spontaneity to the programmed space of the basketball court. The reasons could be attributed to two factors: its spatial characteristic and lack of regulation. The absence of any physical enclosure allows the space to remain accessible, physically, and visually. It also allows the interaction between the basketball court and the street. (See Figure 25)



Figure 25 Activities around Half-Court A

Unlike the covered court, use of the space is not regulated by the barangay, although at the height of the pandemic, the basketball ring was removed by the barangay to discourage use of the court. Also, during the pandemic, with the absence of any activity in these two areas, the space was appropriated by the nearby houses. At one point during the height of the lockdown, in one of the half-courts, a retractable tent was erected along the basketball ring by one of the nearby residents for drying laundries. This behavior is often regarded as the initial step towards staking a claim in an unused space in an informal settlement. It should also be noted that during the

time of the fieldwork when the lockdowns have already been lifted, the basketball rings has not yet been replaced by the barangay council. But people can already be seen socializing with one another, and children have started using the space and playing basketball despite the absence of the rings. The tent is gone but the laundries still remain, and several motorcycles have taken over its spot. In the other half-court area, the space also displayed the same level of social interaction and young girls can be seen using the space for playing badminton.

5.1.4.3 Water Well Areas

There are two water wells in Sitio Pechayan; one is located at the end of Dahlia Street, the other along a narrow footpath that connects to Camia Street. The areas where the water wells are located are relatively small in size compared to the other identified key public spaces. They both measure around 18 square meters in size and their boundary defined by the surrounding residential structures. The well itself is also rather crude and small, measuring just a meter in length and width. There are no mechanical pumps or pulleys to draw water from below. The walls of the well are made out of concrete hollow blocks that extend less than half a meter above the ground. The open space surrounding the well is also empty and bare except for some laundry and bathing implements. (See Figure 26)

According to one respondent, the wells are said to be the remnants from the National Hydraulic Research Center that used to conduct research in the area which the residents to adapted for their own use. Before the well, the only source of water that the residents had was sourced from a nearby gasoline station. It was only recently that the water utility company started to install water pipes for the community. But concerns raised by some respondents fear that with the growing population of the community and their reliance to the two wells, the water level and water quality has decreased significantly. Aside from the increased use of the well, the research also noted that the density of the houses and the use of impervious concrete surfaces could have contributed to this decrease level of water in the wells. Rainwater has not been able to replenish the groundwater that supplies the wells.



Figure 26 Water Wells



Figure 27 Water Well Activities

The two wells are mostly being used for laundry and bathing. To draw water from the well, the residents would use a makeshift bucket with a rope tied on one end. But there was one instance where a nearby resident used a hose attached to a motor to draw water into their house. The two wells are especially crowded during early morning and late afternoon. When asked how the community is able to regulate the number of people using the well during those peak hours, the respondent replied that

they simply waited for their turn when the area was too crowded. For some, like the housewives, they would plan their trips to the well during off-peak hours. For that reason, there is always a continuous stream of people using the well at different parts of the day. (See Figure 27)

Among the identified key public spaces, the wells remain one of the important spaces for the community. The added cost from utility bills and the difficulty in obtaining a legal water connection meant that a lot of the residents still rely on the well. Normally, utility companies like the water and electric company would require proof of ownership and occupancy permit for new applications. But since this is not possible in an informal settlement, the application for new connection is done differently that requires cooperation between neighboring households. Utility connections are shared between households and their applications are consolidated. Instead of the required documents, a certification of residence is provided by the barangay council. Since the utility connections are shared, sub-meters are used to determine the usage of each household, while the utility company's main meters are found on top of utility poles to prevent tampering. In some cases, because of the difficulty in applying for new service connections, some residents have resorted to selling electricity by providing another sub-connection to other houses. These types of arrangement, from the consolidated connection and sub-connection would require the cooperation from each of the household involved to ensure timely payment of the utility bill.

5.1.4.4 Talipapa (Market)

The talipapa or the market area is a row of commercial stalls that line the streets of Dahlia and Rosal, extending all the way from the main entrance to Camia Street. While there are other small neighborhood stores (*sari-sari store*) located all throughout the community, the concentration of commercial stalls is found in the talipapa. The size of the stalls varies depending on the width of the house it is attached to. The designs of the stalls also differ; some are designed as porch-like extension where one house would feature two or more small stalls. The bigger stores are often converted living spaces that usually take up the majority of the ground floor area of a

house. The retail stalls located along the entrance are simple small shed-type structures. (See Figure 28)



Figure 28 Talipapa (Market)

The commercial stalls sell different range of products like meat products, rice, and household items to name a few. Other commercial establishments include a bakery, water refilling stations, small eateries, and hardware stores. (See Figure 29) Aside from the stalls, ambulant vendors are also a frequent sight especially around the entrance and the area surrounding the covered court. These ambulant vendors would often locate themselves along the road with heavy foot traffic which barangay officials consider as obstructions. The barangay council, through the city government would often conduct clearing operations but the results are always temporary. The vendors would acquiesce with the mandate of the city government but return to their respective areas once the clearing operation ends. The talipapa often comes alive during early morning and late afternoon. During this time, there would be a rush of customers buying their daily grocery needs. By early afternoon, there would be a lull in retail activity where some shopkeepers would take their siesta or socialize among

themselves. This can also be observed in other retail stores and eateries within the community where people would often converge in these areas.

Before commercial businesses started sprouting around the area surrounding the covered court, the only nearby market was the UP Wet Market located along Commonwealth Avenue near the entrance to the community. But with the emergence of the talipapa which coincided with the redevelopment of the open basketball court into the covered court. As businesses around the covered court grew, more houses along Dahlia and Rosal Streets were readapted to retail stalls. This development severely affected the formal businesses in the UP Wet Market. Unlike formal businesses that need to be registered with the city, the commercial establishments in Sitio Pechayan instead are taxed differently. The inability of these businesses to legally register with the city is because they are unable to produce legal documents like lease contracts or tax certificates which are required for a business permit. Zoning and land-use ordinance would also bar these commercial establishments from being built in an institutional zone. Instead of being regulated by the city and national government, the barangay council is the one regulating the businesses. The regulatory requirement requires the informal businesses to secure an annual barangay permit as well as a paying a daily tax. When asked if an official receipt is issued for the daily collection, the reply was none.



Figure 29 Talipapa 2022 (Trekker, 2022)

5.1.5 Streets/ Footpath

As mentioned earlier, there are five main streets in Sitio Pechayan and a number of smaller alleys and footpaths connecting these main streets. The width and length of each street vary according to the structure that defines their boundary. Streets along the perimeter and main entry points from Commonwealth Avenue and Arboretum Road are generally wider since they are used as both passageway for cars and pedestrians. These wider streets were observed to have a clustering of activities because of its width and/or proximity to commercial shops and public buildings. While the narrower connecting footpaths and alleys were observed to have very limited activity. These narrow footpaths are primarily used for pedestrian activity except in some areas that has a small neighborhood store or sari-sari store. These footpaths usually received little static activity and are mostly used by the people living nearby as storage space or extension of their homes. (See Figure 30)



Main Street Width	
Dahlia St.	3.00 to 4.2 meters
Rosal St.	2.80 to 4.00 meters
Camia St.	2.30 meters
Camia Ext.	1.80 to 3.00 meters
Lirio St.	1.80 to 2.00 meters
Footpath	0.80 to 2.00 meters

Figure 30 Street Widths

The paved streets and footpaths, like the other public infrastructure, were government funded projects through the sponsorship of local politicians. One respondent narrated how difficult it was to go to work during the rainy season because the streets would become muddy from rain. Residents would need to have two pairs of footwear, a pair of boots for going to work and their shoes once they're outside Sitio Pechayan. The improvement of the streets also included the provision of a sewage system which is still an ongoing process. While it could be said that the paving of the streets and footpaths made it easier for the residents to walk around the community, it also allowed the production of spaces that goes beyond its intended function.



Figure 31 Activities on Dahlia Street

The streets in Sitio Pechayan present an interesting study on the production of space especially when looking at the myriad of observed activities that occurs in its space. Streets by design are meant to facilitate movement and provide access from one area to another. Lefebvre refers to these linkages as the “routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, ‘private’ life, and leisure” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38). But streets are more than just pathways, they also play an important role in facilitating public life (Jacobs, 1961; Lynch, 2005; Whyte, 1980). This is certainly true for Sitio Pechayan where the streets have become an integral part of the daily lives of the residents. In a way, the streets in Sitio Pechayan are not only linkages but also spaces where the everyday activities of the residents are conducted. (See Figure 31)

5.1.5.1 Street as Spaces for Livelihood

As discussed in the previous section of talipapa, public spaces in Sitio Pechayan play an important role in the livelihood of the residents. While the concentration of businesses is found in the talipapa area, various pockets of economic activities have

also been observed all throughout the community. There are a number of examples of how the street in Sitio Pechayan became spaces for livelihood from the mini arcade-like computer rental shops (pisonet) to pop-up food stalls selling grilled barbecue to hamburgers. (See Figure 32) There are also transitory instances where the street is used to conduct work related activities such as carpentry work or repair services. During the lockdown, several pop-up fruit and vegetable stalls were put up along the streets. But the most common example of how the street is used for livelihood activities in Sitio Pechayan is the sari-sari store.



Figure 32 Pisonet

A sari-sari store is a small neighborhood store selling all kinds of basic necessities from canned goods, rice, medicines, prepaid mobile phone loads, etc; hence the name sari-sari which means sundry or assorted. The sari-sari store would often sell items by pieces (*tingi*) like one stick of cigarettes or a sachet of shampoo which makes it more affordable for daily wage earners. Even items such as cooking oil, carbonated drinks, dried fish, sugar, or salt are sold in plastic sachets, enough for a day's use. The *tingi* culture is especially prevalent in Philippine society and it is best exemplified in the sari-sari store. In some ways, this is what makes the sari-sari store

essential to poor families because it reflects their economic capacity buy in small amounts.

The sari-sari stores have a long history in Sitio Pechayan and are one of its earliest types of retail stores. They are also spread throughout the community with different iterations from small hole in the wall type to shed-type store that extends from a house. But all of the sari-sari stores in Sitio Pechayan can be characterized as makeshift stores that often occupy a portion of a house, usually the living space. It is also mostly operated by members of the household. There are some sari-sari stores that would often have a wooden bench or table extending out to the streets where people would stay to drink soda or smoke cigarettes. (See Figure 33)



Figure 33 Sari-sari Store

Other less dynamic examples of spaces for livelihood are the use of the streets as a storage space. Most often, business owners would use the spaces in front of their houses or shops for storing items such crates of soda bottles or iceboxes. In areas that had enough space, chicken coops can be seen along the streets. This appropriation of space shows a different production of space shows where the public and private realm often becomes indistinguishable in Sitio Pechayan. (See Figure 34)



Figure 34 Storage Space

5.1.5.2 Street as Spaces for Social Interaction and Recreation

The streets of Sitio Pechayan provide a space for the residents to socialize and interact with one another. Most respondents would point to the lack of space and the heat as to why they would rather be outside their homes. The narrow width of the streets, lack of vehicular activity, and the close proximity of the houses makes the streets conducive for social interaction. One respondent shared how her daily morning routine would often involve taking her cup of coffee while chatting with her neighbors in front of her house. It is a common sight to see plastic chairs along the streets. Most often, these social interactions were observed in conjunction with recreational and leisure activities. (See Figure 35) There are some notable areas around Sitio Pechayan where these activities are often seen.



Figure 35 Street as a Social Space

Aside from the covered court and half-court areas, there are two areas in Sitio Pechayan that turns into a playground around the late afternoon. One area is located just outside the multipurpose hall or formerly known as the Suntay Hall. The Suntay Hall, named after a local politician, was originally a two-story building with a lot area of around 50 square meters. The ground floor was used as daycare, while the second floor was used as a function hall for different events from birthday celebrations to wake. Since the Suntay Hall used to serves as the primary daycare center of the community; children have made that space into their own playground during the afternoon. Currently, the Suntay Hall has been converted into a three-story barangay hall annex which brings into question if the area around the building will continue to be a play area for the children. (See Figure 36)



Figure 36 Suntay Hall 2017 to Barangay Hall Annex 2022

Other notable recreational areas are found along Camia Street, one is a play area and the bingo area (*bingohan*). The play area is located in a small stretch of Camia Street where the street widens enough to provide ample open space. This area is primarily composed of residential houses closely packed together. The width of the

street and the absence of any commercial activity allow this area to be shared by adults and children. The adults are often found seated along the side of the street conversing with one another while the children use the streets as their playground. On the other hand, the bingo area is located along a more commercial area of Camia Street. This space is dominated by women playing on a makeshift bench turned into a table while the bingo caller is situated inside her retail stall which has been temporarily adapted for the game. While the primary focus of the players is on the game, they are often seen socializing with other players.

5.1.6 Beyond Spatial Practice

The different ways that space is produced in the different public spaces in Sitio Pechayan shows the important role it plays in the everyday lives of the residents. These can be seen in how the different key public spaces within Sitio Pechayan are used outside of its prescribed function and physical features. Despite the limited functionality of the spaces, the residents have managed to adapt these spaces for their everyday activities. The constant material production and reproduction of space as seen in how the public spaces are adapted also points to another factor that needs to be explored. One such factor is how the use of public space in Sitio Pechayan is often mediated by those in power like the barangay council and the local government. The regulation of these public spaces presents another element in the production of space, the representation of space.

5.2 Representation of Spaces

Conceived space is the domain of planners, technocrats, scientists, and other intellectuals. It is also synonymous to abstract space which seeks to overpower and control space. It is often represented by a system of codes or signs that is related to knowledge. For Lefebvre, knowledge is dependent on power which is manifested through political practice and ideology (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 8). For this study, Sitio Pechayan was not a product of formal planning practices but through accretion and informal practices. This presupposes that the urban form and pattern of Sitio Pechayan was not conceived by planners and architects. One area where conceived

space is manifested in Sitio Pechayan is through the exercise of political and social power through the regulation of its public spaces.

This section presents how the state through the local government is able to assert its power and authority in Sitio Pechayan. It first starts by examining the current governance structure in Sitio Pechayan. Then it introduces the regulatory mechanism used by the state to control and regulate the urban spaces within Sitio Pechayan. It also looks at the role of the barangay council in shaping the public spaces. There is also a section on increased regulation during the pandemic lockdown. The aim of this section is to explore how the state through its regulatory power can affect the built environment of Sitio Pechayan.

5.2.1 Government Structure and the Role of the Barangay Council

The government structure in the Philippines is divided into the national government and the local government. The national government and their related agencies are the ones responsible in formulating policies focused on housing. But the impact of the national government has largely been unfelt by informal settlers in the Philippines (Shatkin, 2004). In Sitio Pechayan, the national government is rarely mentioned by the residents as having a role in the development of the community and its public spaces. Then there is the local government, which in the case of Quezon City includes the city government and the barangay council. Under the Local Government Code of the Philippines (1993), the control and responsibility in delivering basic services has been transferred to the local government unit. The devolution of powers includes delivering shelter to the urban poor. But local governments have often shown apathy towards informal settlements except during election period (Shatkin, 2004). But in Sitio Pechayan, local politicians do show a level of participation by conducting periodic feeding and livelihood training programs or giving assistance during times of calamity. The local government also has had a more direct influence in the development of the community mostly through the aforementioned sponsorship of public infrastructure projects. But the responsibility of the day to day administering of the community has mostly been passed on to the barangay council. This is akin to the practice of the UP administration on delegating the task of overseeing of the

community to barangay officials. Under the same Local Government Code of the Philippines (1993), the barangay's role is stated:

“As the basic political unit, the Barangay serves as the primary planning and implementing unit of government policies, plans, programs, projects, and activities in the community, and as a forum wherein the collective views of the people may be expressed, crystallized and considered, and where disputes may be amicably settled.”

This means the barangay council is tasked to implement the laws and regulations of both the national and local government. They are also tasked as a sort of arbitrator for conflicts or disagreements within their jurisdiction. But in Sitio Pechayan, the barangay council's role and authority has been expanded as a result of the delegation of responsibility by the local government and the UP administration. It has given the barangay officials more power within their jurisdiction. As presented in the earlier sections, the barangay council can regulate the use of public space like limiting the use of the covered court and multipurpose hall. This is accomplished mainly through the imposition of barangay ordinances aimed at regulating the use of public space. This included prohibiting cars from using the streets inside Sitio Pechayan, enacting curfews for minors, and banning alcoholic drinks in the streets. Limiting the use of the streets for pedestrian use and two-wheeled vehicles was prompted by the need to clear the streets of obstruction during emergency situations. As for the curfew for the minors, it was aimed at preventing disruptive and disorderly behaviors. One barangay official regarded the stubbornness and lack of discipline of the youth as one of the main problems of the community. But this power falls under the normal function of the barangay council as dictated by law. But the power to impose an alternative regulatory mechanism for businesses is not. The annual barangay permit and daily tax are not the usual requirements for registering a business in Quezon City. But in Sitio Pechayan, these two requirements are enough to give the business owners a semblance of legality. For some business owners, they view this arrangement as necessary since this the only way they could obtain some semblance of legitimacy for their businesses.

This informal regulatory mechanism implies a certain level of power and influence that barangay officials have over the businesses in Sitio Pechayan. This in

turn may have fostered distrust from residents towards barangay officials. During my earlier visit in 2017, a key informant narrated how the barangay captain was considering a proposal from a bus company to lease a portion of the community to put up a bus terminal. The key informant further added that the barangay captain had hid the letter from the rest of the barangay council. On the recent fieldwork, one respondent, when asked about the businesses located in the talipapa answered differently. Instead of talking about the different businesses, he pointed out that the current barangay captain owns a number of businesses that has grown since the start of his term. This includes a newly opened water refilling station located at the end of Dahlia Street. The respondent further shared that the barangay captain may have prioritized the repavement of Dahlia Street for this reason. It should be noted that some portions of the streets in Sitio Pechayan had fallen into disrepair that made these streets muddy during the rainy season. This has been a thorny issue for some of the residents who have continually lobbied the barangay council for the repavement of their streets. While the prerogative to dictate which areas needs to be prioritized for repair does fall with the barangay council, Dahlia Street is still one of the busiest streets in Sitio Pechayan which would make it a priority area. But while the statement is an exception from the other answers, it does imply a certain level of distrust from the respondent that barangay officials are using their political position for their own benefit. It also speaks of the influence that barangay officials have, not just in the businesses around Sitio Pechayan, but also on how public infrastructure projects are initiated and implemented.

5.2.2 Implementation of Public Infrastructure Projects

The process by which public infrastructure projects are started begins with the residents of Sitio Pechayan who gives suggestions to the barangay council on possible improvements for the community. The local barangay officials then determine what improvements need to be prioritized. The chosen project is then coursed to various local government officials either formally or informally. Formal channels are done through a barangay resolution and transmitted to the relevant government agencies but for informal channels, personal relationship takes precedence. Most often, instead

of going to the relevant government agencies like the Department of Public Works and Highways (DPWH), barangay officials use their personal connection to lobby favors with local politicians to facilitate these infrastructure projects. A barangay official once narrated that instead of going to the Quezon City mayor, he opted to seek the assistance of a congressman, who himself was a former mayor of the city. When asked why, he answered that he had a good personal relationship with the congressman and has always sought the latter's assistance in the past. Almost all public infrastructure projects within the community were initiated through this informal process. A single project may involve one or more sponsors. But there was one case where the local politician was the one who initiated the project. The construction of one of the concrete roads was implemented by a campaigning local politician, who upon seeing the condition of the street, offered to sponsor the project.

The implementation of these public infrastructure projects is often undertaken in two different manners; top-down approach and through sweat equity. For large projects like the covered court, concrete roads, and multipurpose hall; the local government handled both the planning and construction. For smaller infrastructure projects like the half-courts and road extension, construction was undertaken by the residents themselves with the construction materials and financial assistance provided by the local government. Community participation in these types of projects means the responsibility of building is passed on to the residents and building standards are foregone in exchange for quicker resolution. Upon completion of these projects, the local politicians would always claim the credit by labeling their names along the walls of the structure.

5.2.3 Increased Regulation of Public Space

At the onset of the COVID19 pandemic during the first half of 2020, restrictions were implemented by the barangay council of Sitio Pechayan to limit movement of the residents and prohibiting social gatherings. These restrictions had a considerable impact on the use of the public spaces inside Sitio Pechayan. The basketball rings in the covered court and the half-courts were removed which changed the use of these spaces. The half-court was largely unused and unoccupied during that period. The

covered court, on the other hand, was used mainly by the local government for handing out financial assistance (*ayuda*) and relief goods to the residents of the community during lockdown. On times that it was not being used by the barangay council and the local government, the covered court was closed. When asked why such measures were undertaken by the barangay council, one respondent shared that it was to ensure that no one would use the basketball courts again during the lockdown, adding that the younger residents are often too stubborn. This implies a certain level of resistance from the youths that has also been observed with other members of the community. As noted in the previous section, the barangay council has yet to replace the basketball rings despite the ending of the lockdowns. It would be interesting to see in the future if the basketball rings are put back or the space will eventually be reclaimed by the barangay council.

Like the basketball courts, the streets in Sitio Pechayan were also changed at the height of the lockdown. The two entry points to the community were closed to outsiders and a curfew was imposed. While the streets remained open for residents during the day, there were still restrictions on the type of activities permitted and health protocols to be followed. The bingo games were discontinued, and some businesses were forced to close down during the lockdowns. Video karaoke or “*videoke*” was also banned even during daytime in consideration to those working and studying from home. Residents were also required to wear face masks and face shield which was not always followed by residents. To help with the enforcement of health protocols and curfews, the barangay council requested the help of the community to report violators through the barangay facebook page. By enlisting the help of the community, the barangay council may have created a panoptic environment (Foucault, 2014) that resulted in distrust and suspicions among the residents. This was observed during the course of the fieldwork where a change was noted in the willingness of the residents to have their picture taken. One resident even asked if the photographs are for the barangay council. This reluctance was borne out of their suspicion that they were being reported to barangay officials.

These instances of heightened restrictions and increased regulations show how abstract space manifested through political practice can influence the built

environment. But the discussions also highlighted how these regulations and restrictions on the use of space have resulted in acts of everyday resistance. These acts of resistance, often exhibited in informal practice have produced a different kind of space, the lived space. The next section will discuss how representation space is produced in Sitio Pechayan.

5.3 Representational Spaces

Lived spaces as defined by Lefebvre are the realm of “images and symbols” that are passively experienced. These images and symbols often represent the desire and imagination of the users seeking to change space putting it at constant conflict with the conceived space (Lefebvre, 1991). These images and symbols are often associated with the social values and the aspirations of the users of the space. In Sitio Pechayan, lived space is manifested by how residents change the urban spaces according to their needs and aspirations. This change often happens through the appropriation of urban space. And because of the agency that residents have over their urban environment, lived space is more persistent and lasting.

This section aims to present the informal practices utilized by residents of Sitio Pechayan that allows them to effect changes in the urban space through its appropriation. These informal practices are often a response to state intervention through their regulatory power. The first section presents the socio-spatial practices used to appropriate public space. It also presents the different ways that acts of everyday resistance are used by some of the residents. Then also explores an alternative perspective on state intervention which produces symbol of formality.

5.3.1 Appropriation of Public Space

The community of Sitio Pechayan begun as a small plantation farm but for its caretakers, they also saw it as a home. Through a slow accretive process, the plantation farm was transformed into a community. When seen through the lens of Lefebvre’s social production of space, Sitio Pechayan can be regarded a manifestation of lived space. In the same way that the different public spaces in Sitio Pechayan can also be seen as a representation of the collective aspirations of the community at the

time it was built. A majority of these public spaces were initiated by residents with the exception of the Sunray Hall. From a simplistic perspective, the basketball courts were envisioned by the youth as a space for them to play, transforming a patch of dirt into the basketball courts we see today. Similarly, in the talipapa, the residents of the community saw an opportunity to turn their houses into a source of livelihood. In these instances, lived space was produced through an informal process that involved the appropriation of space that eventually leads to its transformation. Exploring this informal process can help us understand how lived space is produced in Sitio Pechayan.

The accretive process by which vacant or idle spaces are claimed in Sitio Pechayan mirrors that of how public space is appropriated for private use. One respondent shared that new houses are still being built around Sitio Pechayan despite the pronouncement of the UP administration against new construction. These new houses are found beyond the walls that separate the community from the UP Arboretum Forest. The encroachment of the nearby area follows the same process that residents also used before in Sitio Pechayan in circumventing the restriction imposed by the UP administration. To enforce the restriction on new houses, the UP administration would rely on the barangay officials to inform them of any potential violators. The university's security personnel or the blue guards as they are commonly called by the residents would then carry out the demolition. To avoid suspicion and discreetly claim a space, the prospective builder needs to be patient. The initial step requires establishing a physical presence on the space such as erecting a temporary structure like a makeshift tent. A barangay official referred to this as "*madiskarte*". These terms are commonly used to describe a creative Filipino trait in solving a problem. It has been characterized as involving "divergent thinking, making remote associations, and flexible cognitive control", to come up with a solution (Morales, 2017, p. 133). When a barangay official reprimands them for occupying a land, they would simply reason that they are simply resting from the heat or taking a nap. This non-confrontational approach means that they will readily comply if asked to leave but they will be back the next day. This process repeats until such time the barangay official gets accustomed to their use of that space. Only then will they start building

the first iteration of their house. Often times, the first house will be made out of flimsy recycled material since they know that it will eventually be demolished. The barangay officials often give them a chance to leave the land before calling in the blue guards. When their initial house is demolished, they will start rebuilding until such time they can come to an arrangement with the blue guards. Once an agreement has been reached, only then can they start building a more permanent structure.

The appropriation of public space in Sitio Pechayan also involves nearly the same process. It would often start with the everyday use of a space or establishing a physical presence on an unused or idle area. Marriot (2015, p. 273) refers to this process as pragmatic territorialisation where the continued use of space eventually leads to its appropriation. The actors involved in this process are often just limited between the neighbors. Conflicts rarely arise since the neighbors are able to settle any disagreement among themselves. Only when there is a blatant encroachment of space does conflict arise and would require the intervention from barangay officials. A respondent mentioned the importance of "*pakikisama sa kapwa*" or getting along with one another as a factor in avoiding disputes. This informal negotiation and constant communication among neighbors again reveal the role of social relations in the appropriation of public space that allows the community to self-regulate.

5.3.2 Spaces of Everyday Resistance

The previous section on representation of space details the power of the state to regulate and control the use of public space in Sitio Pechayan. This puts it at conflict with how the residents of Sitio Pechayan want to use their public space. To subvert the regulation of the local government, acts of everyday resistance are utilized by the residents. These acts of everyday resistance are both persistent yet yielding. One such example would be the proliferation of informal businesses in the talipapa that led to the eventual closing of legally registered businesses can be seen as a form of everyday resistance. By putting up businesses that directly competed with those found in the UP Wet Market at a more favorable and accessible location to the community, the talipapa storeowners were able to slowly cannibalize their competition's share of the market. Additionally, the talipapa can also be viewed as spaces of everyday resistance

because of the extra-legal manner by which they are able to operate their businesses. The businesses are not registered with city government and relevant government agencies which means that they do not have any regulatory oversight. They also do not pay taxes to the national government but instead the taxes are paid in the barangay level.



Figure 37 Ambulant Vendors

But not all acts of everyday resistance are lasting; lived space can also be fleeting, like differential space it is open to temporary appropriation. The persistence of the ambulant vendors in coming back despite being forced out off the streets is another example of everyday resistance that is manifested in the public space. (See Figure 37) There is no outward hostility from the vendors, and they would readily vacate their position, only to return once it is safe to do so. Another example would be the continued curfew violations by the youths of the community that has fostered a feeling of animosity among barangay officials towards the youths. One barangay official was quoted as saying *“ang titigas ng ulo nila”* when commenting on the continued curfew violations by the youth. That quote when translated means “they are so stubborn” but it also carries it a sense of exasperation. The barangay official would then go on to blame the parents for not looking after their children calling them

“*pabaya*” or negligent. When caught, these violators are briefly detained so that the barangay officials can call their parents to pick them up. But acts of resistance in the continued use of public space were also observed in other members of the community from the children to the adults. This disregard for authority was manifested through the noncompliance to health and safety protocols during the lockdown period such as the continued social gathering and improper use of mask in the public spaces within Sitio Pechayan. But acts of everyday resistance are not just directed towards the state. The use of the covered court is determined by authority, where the barangay officials then the adults are considered as the dominant actors of that space. So, the children would need to navigate around that hierarchy by using the space only when no one is using it or adapt by using the open area of the mortuary chapel when adults are using the basketball court.

Acts of everyday resistance are also not just limited to the resident but also to state actors. This can be observed through the informal regulatory mechanism established by the barangay council like the fees and permit levied to the businesses. Like the *cabeza de barangay*, barangay officials are given the responsibility by the city government to oversee their barangay. Under the guise of formality, the barangay council institutes their own informal regulatory mechanism, thereby circumventing the formal regulations instituted by city and national government. These actions could be seen as a form of everyday resistance whereby they utilize the machinery of a higher authority to achieve their objective.

But lived space is not just expressed through the changing quality of the public space but also to the meanings and representation attached to these spaces by residents. The next section explores what the public infrastructures represent for residents of Sitio Pechayan. It also looks at the effect of state intervention at a different perspective.

5.3.3 Production of Formality

When asked why they felt the need to build these different public spaces, most respondents would mention the value and utility these spaces provided. But one respondent stated that he felt happy that they have these spaces inside the

community, similar to what he sees in other barangays. This response can be interpreted as either a feeling of pride of what they have accomplished as a community or that they have achieved a semblance of formality with these public spaces. When the comparison to the other barangay is emphasized, the latter interpretation seems more plausible. When looking at the different public spaces inside, a majority of these key public spaces are also the same public infrastructures found in formal communities. While these spaces were built to address the needs of the community, they can also be regarded as symbols of formality, especially when the government-funded developments of these public spaces are viewed by the community as signs of support and recognition.

When asked about their thoughts on the different public infrastructure projects, a majority of the respondents would always mention these spaces along with the local politicians who sponsored its development. They often hold these politicians in high regard, associating their competence by the number of projects they have initiated within the community. When asked about who was responsible for paving the streets, a respondent readily stated:

“Si Congresswoman nagpagawa niyan dati nung nagpunta siya dito para magkampanya, mapakagaling nyan, dami niya nagawa dito para sa amin.” (It was the Congresswoman who started the project when she was campaigning here. She’s very capable; she has done a lot for the community)

It is not surprising to see the same names plastered on the walls of the public spaces and even at the houses. (See Figure 38) These same politicians are often the ones who are active in the community through their various programs and events. This would probably explain why barangay officials often prefer the informal channels in soliciting funding for their projects. To some extent, these projects can be seen by the residents as manifestation of political support for their community. There could be supported by the belief that the local government would not plan to evict them if they were undertaking all these public infrastructure projects; especially when these projects bear the names of the politicians in its walls or named after an influential politician like the Suntay Hall. Therefore, the development of these public spaces could

be perceived by the residents as a step towards security of tenure and formal recognition by the state.



Figure 38 Posters of Local Politicians

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented the different ways that space is socially produced in Sitio Pechayan. In the first section, discussion on the urban morphology of Sitio Pechayan reveals an urban environment that is overcrowded and densely packed. There is not enough open space and facility to accommodate the number of activities taking place within the community. But despite this limitation, the community has continued to function and persist. This can be attributed to the resourcefulness of the residents to adapt the built environment for their needs. And these changes, through the material production and reproduction of the urban space, were strongly associated with the everyday activities of the residents. Since a majority of the spaces has already been used for informal housing, the streets, and the few open spaces available within the community become the primary locus for these everyday activities. The constant transformation of the streets and other public spaces becomes a common occurrence. These spaces while fulfilling their intended programmed function are also being used for other activities.

In the second section, the different levels of state intervention in the urban spaces of Sitio Pechayan were presented. The current governance structure reveals that the task of delivering basic services to the community has been delegated by the national government to the local government. The local government, in turn has given that responsibility to the barangay council who acts as a middleman between the state and the people. This has given the barangay officials considerable authority in influencing and regulating the built environment within Sitio Pechayan. In the last section of this chapter, the production of lived space was equated to the appropriation practices and acts of everyday resistance observed within the community. The residents would often appropriate public space for private use, revealing an informal accretive process that involves negotiation and persistence. The process of formalization through the construction of state-funded public infrastructure projects was also presented, exploring a different side of state intervention.

Chapter 6 Discussion

6.0 Introduction

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section, Spatial Practices, discusses the production of space through the everyday activities of Sitio Pechayan residents. It also discusses the type of spaces that are being produced and its implication to studies of public space and informal settlements. The second section, Representation of Space, discusses the type of spaces that are being produced by those in power. It focuses on how the state asserts its authority and reclaims control of public spaces within Sitio Pechayan. The third section, Representational Space, discusses how the collective aspiration of the community leads to the production of lived space. It focuses on two aspects; how the residents adapt to the regulatory mechanism of the state and what the built environment represents for the community.

The findings described in Chapter 5 presented the different ways that space are socially produced in the public spaces within Sitio Pechayan. This revealed a number of socio-spatial practices that were used by different actors and for different reasons. Although these socio-spatial practices were highlighted in specific public spaces, it does not preclude that these practices do not occur in other spaces within the community. The chapter discusses these socio-spatial practices and the spaces it produces. It also discusses how the different socio-spatial practices are interlinked with one another which reveal the social and power dynamics of the community.

6.1 Spatial Practices: Material and Social Production of Space

Informal settlements have often been described as a product of the adaptive and coping practices of its residents (Cabalfin, 2014; Dovey & King, 2012; Roy, 2005). Rather than being seen as an urban blight, Jocano (1988) considered the slums as the manifestation of the adaptive process and coping strategies of rural migrants to utilize the urban environment for their survival. The adaptive process can be observed in the organic and incremental quality of the urban form of Sitio Pechayan. From the

fragmented street pattern and uneven neighbourhood blocks, all points to an accretive process that has taken place over a long time. The eclectic quality of the houses also suggests an incremental building process. This adaptive process can also be observed in the socio-spatial practices of the residents which are often interlinked with their daily activities. This in turn is manifested in the changing quality of the public spaces in Sitio Pechayan where residual spaces are adapted to facilitate different type of activities. This is why the streets often become the primary venue for the community from socialization to livelihood activities despite the spatial limitation. This section aims to discuss these adaptive socio-spatial practices.

This section is composed of five sub-sections, beginning with a discussion on the relationship between urban reality of Sitio Pechayan and the everyday reality of its residents. It also explores the reason behind the constant material production and reproduction of public space. The second sub-section continues with the theme of everyday activities but focuses on the production of livelihood assets. The third sub-section focuses on the social dimension of space and the production of social capital. The fourth sub-section brings together the three previous sections to explore the definition of public space in Sitio Pechayan. Finally, the last sub-section explores the lessons that can be learned from these informal practices

6.1.1 Material Production of Space

The material production and reproduction of the various public spaces within Sitio Pechayan reflects the adaptive practices and coping strategies that residents have employed to utilize and shape the built environment to address their different needs. We see this from the repurposing of the water wells to the transformation of the streets; it shows a production of space directed towards addressing their needs by using available resources and space at their disposal. This changing quality and function of the urban space can be observed in the different public spaces from the Suntay Hall to the streets.

The development of the covered court exemplifies how the adaptive practices of the residents of Sitio Pechayan shape their built environment. The different iterations of the covered court can be regarded to be representative to the needs of

the residents at that specific period in time. The evolution of the covered court from a hard packed soil half-court area to its present form speaks to this material production and reproduction of a public space. When it was originally built, its primary function was to fulfill the recreational needs of the younger members of the community. During that time, the population of Sitio Pechayan was still small and a lot of vacant spaces were still available. But as the community grew, so did their needs which were reflected in the material reproduction of the basketball court. Traditionally, burial wakes are held in the home of the deceased but because of the lack of space in the houses, the community was granted with a mortuary chapel built alongside the basketball court by the local government. When flooding became a perennial problem as more houses started occupying the available vacant land beside the creek, a covered court was requested by the community through their barangay captain. With these changes, the space's function also expanded from a basketball court to a type of multipurpose hall. Among the identified key public spaces, the covered court has the most number of major changes in its physical characteristic and these changes were intended to benefit the community as a whole.

Another example would be the talipapa. Like the other public spaces, the talipapa was a space produced to address the needs of the community. As a way of obtaining a source of livelihood, the homeowners along Dahlia and Camia Streets took advantage of the high foot traffic and strategic location of their houses. These homeowners adapted their residential spaces into commercial spaces leading to the growth of the area and its transformation into the talipapa. For the rest of the community, this provided them with an accessible source for their household needs. The same process can still be observed today although in a much smaller scale and spurred by the pandemic. One respondent noted the increased growth of home businesses in the form of pop-up stalls, during the pandemic which he said was to compensate for the lost income because of widespread unemployment. These pop-up stalls are just tables put up in front of the owner's house selling a range of products from vegetables and fruits to snack foods.

The development of the talipapa and the pop-up stalls could also be regarded as opportunistic. This approach can also be observed in the other spaces. The removal

of the basketball rings in both half-court areas presented an opportunity for some of the residents to occupy the space and change its function. Even though the same activities can still be observed in these half-court areas; like socialization and recreational play, the space is slowly undergoing change. Motorcycles have taken up a portion of the court and nearby residents have been using it as an extension of their houses. This encroachment could eventually lead to the material reproduction of the space which often follows slow and accretive process discussed in the findings chapter.

This capacity to change and adapt the built environment contributes to the assertion that informal settlers are not passive actors. Both Lombard (2014) and Turner (1967) refuted the misconception that often associate informal settlements with the culture of poverty by exploring their place-making and self-help housing activities. For this study, the focus was exploring their socio-spatial practices and the corresponding social production of space in their urban environment. Informal settlements have largely been defined in the past by what they lack (Dovey & King, 2011). By exploring these adaptive practices, the focus is shifted towards their capability rather than on their helplessness. It also provides another lens on which to get a better understanding on informal settlement. Their socio-spatial practices are inherently linked to their condition and circumstances which is context-specific. Contextuality has often been used to characterize the urban form of informal settlements. Lejano (2018, p. 202) noted that the “logic of informal settlement was not found in any formal code or plan but embedded in the norms, practices, and relationships found in the place.” This gives informal settlements their distinct characteristic and complexity. This means that the urban form of informal settlements will vary depending on their geographical, social, cultural, and economic conditions. The adaptive nature of informal settlements also means that its urban form is never static but always changing. This highlights the agency of informal settlers in shaping their urban environment by utilizing available resources at their disposal. Rather than just relying on financial capital, they also use other forms of assets to build their urban space.

6.1.2 Production of Livelihood Assets

The capacity of informal settlers to leverage different types of assets to build their community brings to light the concept of assets for the urban poor as discussed in the previous chapter. Chambers' (1991) outlined assets as either being tangible and intangible in his sustainable livelihood concept. This concept is further elaborated in the asset vulnerability framework that emphasizes the agency and capability of people, especially the urban poor to utilize different kinds of assets for their livelihood (Moser, 1998). This is particularly important for informal settlement since it recognizes their complexity and local realities. This complexity, as discussed in Chapter 5 is apparent in the informal process used to construct the built forms of Sitio Pechayan. This informal process often involves the efforts of multiple actors utilizing various informal socio-spatial practices. These informal practices do not always rely on the exchange of monetary resources to build the urban spaces but on negotiation using social and political connections. Expanding the definition of assets to include intangible assets underscores the transactional aspect of the social production of urban space in Sitio Pechayan. There are many instances where this happened in Sitio Pechayan. The initial residents used their position as caretakers and the exchange of produce to build their homes inside the plantation farm. Kinship and social network played a big part in the subsequent growth of the community; new residents often rely on relatives or acquaintances to be able to obtain entry and acceptance to the community. Once the community was big enough, the residents were able to leverage political connections as a way of gaining access to state institution. In the production of space, social capital can help resolve conflict among neighbors and vendors or prevent it altogether from happening. Human capital is also important for businesses in Sitio Pechayan who often rely on their kinship network to provide manpower. The sari-sari store is mostly manned by members of the household or whoever is available when the main proprietor is not present.

The production of assets also plays an important role in the everyday livelihood activities of the residents in Sitio Pechayan. As discussed in the findings chapter, livelihood activities often occur in the public spaces from the talipapa to the streets. These livelihood activities can often come in different types based on their location,

level of activity, or operating time. Some of these livelihood activities operate in a fixed location like the retail stores and some are mobile like the street vendors. It should also be noted that not all livelihood activities are conducted full-time like the bingo games and barbecue stalls, operating only on certain times of the day. What can be gleaned from the different ways that livelihood activities are conducted in Sitio Pechayan is that it shows a mix of both formal and informal practices. Micro-businesses in Vietnam have been observed to employ different strategies from planned, opportunistic to reactive (Hiemstra et al., 2006). This can also be seen in Sitio Pechayan, where those with fixed retail stores can generally be characterized as planned. But for the ambulant vendors and pop-up stalls, their strategies can be interpreted as opportunistic and reactive. One example would be how the ambulant street vendors would cluster around certain areas within Sitio Pechayan that have heavy pedestrian traffic like the entrance and the covered court. These areas represent an opportunity for the vendors to capture potential customers. But these activities, either planned or reactive are all aimed towards the production of tangible assets. These same retail stores and eateries attract a different type of activity which points to another kind of social production of space.

6.1.3 Social Dimension of Public Spaces

Society and space has always been interlinked with one another, space influence society and vice versa (Carmona, 2003). This means that “people, events, and relationship” are very much part of the urban space as its physical dimension (Madanipour, 2014). In Sitio Pechayan, the social dimension of public space plays an important role in the social production of space. The programmed function of the retail stores and its other iteration in Sitio Pechayan were intended for commercial activities. But often these local stores become area for social gatherings which Oldenburg (1999) refers to as the third place. A third place is a locally-owned commercial establishment like pubs or cafes where people socially interact in a familiar environment. The third place acts as an informal gathering place for the community and even allows outsiders to get acquainted with community and meet the residents. This informal social interaction contributes to the social cohesiveness of the

community. The proprietors of these third places were often regarded as the informal news bearers.

This type of informal gathering has been observed in the small eateries, bakeries, and mini-grocery stores in the talipapa area. Most often this socialization would occur during the off-peak hours. But these activities were not just only observed in the talipapa, the small neighborhood stores (*sari-sari stores*) spread around the community often plays an important role in fostering social interaction. The sari-sari store has a long history in the country and its ubiquitous presence in every barangay has ingrained it to the daily life of Filipinos (Silverio, 1975). During the fieldwork, one of the sari-sari stores was the main source of data for this research. A majority of the interviews were conducted in that small sari-sari store owned by one of the key respondents, who is a long time resident of Sitio Pechayan and whose family was one of the original caretakers. The comings and goings of different people would often result in exchanges of stories among the customers and the storeowner. This type of social interaction happens on a daily basis because of the importance of the sari-sari stores in the daily life of the community. The "*tingi*" culture or buying in small amounts means that residents visit these stores every day to buy their foods or other needed household items. Its ubiquity within the community means that residents would often prefer to buy from these stores because of its proximity to their houses. Therefore, it could be said that the role of this sari-sari store as an informal gathering place was built through time and frequent interactions with the storeowner. The sari-sari stores in Sitio Pechayan are not just for hearing and exchanging stories, but also for disseminating news. On one instance, a representative of a local politician was stationed in one of the sari-sari store waiting to give out Christmas invites to certain members of the community. To some extent, this speaks to the social significance of that space to the community and how important the sari-sari stores are for social interaction and cultivating social relations.

Within Sitio Pechayan, informal socialization is the most commonly observed activity, often occurring simultaneously with other activities. Some point to the spatial form of informal settlement as a contributing factor to the prevalence of social activities (Racelis-Hollnsteiner, 1976). This could also apply to Sitio Pechayan; the lack

of space in the houses and their proximity with another has forced the residents to adapt their streets and any residual spaces as social spaces. That is why despite the limited availability of open spaces and the absence of any leisure spaces like parks within the community, there is still an abundance of social spaces within Sitio Pechayan. These social spaces are often repurposed spaces that tend to have overlapping functions such as the talipapa, streets, basketball court areas, and water wells.

Another way of looking at it would be to understand why socialization forms an important part of their everyday activities. According to Webber (1963), social relations have been facilitated by technological advancement making “spatial location and physical proximity” less of a factor. Innovations in telecommunication have made it possible for friends to talk with another and maintain their friendship regardless of distance. But Webber also noted that not all have the same access to technology and those with limited means still need close connection with their acquaintances and friends. In Sitio Pechayan, this is less about access to technology since cellular phones is the most common household device even among the urban poor (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2020); but more on the importance of social interaction in the daily lives of the residents. This can be observed in the other public spaces in Sitio Pechayan where social interaction is interlinked with its intended function.

The water wells are one of the most important spaces in the community because of the utility it provides for the residents. But it is also a space that fosters social interaction through the occasional chatter among its users. From a daily routine standpoint, the social dynamic that plays out on how they are able to share the space presents a different kind of spatial production. Despite the lack of any formal administration from the barangay, the residents of Sitio Pechayan are able to regulate themselves even at peak hours to accommodate anyone who needs to use the space. This produces a space where social norms and rules are communicated, not through verbal means, but through their daily interactions. This sharing of resources is also mirrored in how the residents of the community avail of utility services from water to electricity by allowing informal means of sub-connections to their neighbors.

Another example would be the manner by which the ambulant vendors organize themselves along the streets. According to one respondent, the vendors would talk among themselves on how they can allocate the spaces. This type of constant communication and cooperation seem to suggest that the informal process by which they appropriate space also results in strengthening their interpersonal relationship. The same practice, "*pakikisama sa kapwa*" or the act of getting along; was also observed in how neighbors appropriate and share the streets. The "*pakikisama sa kapwa*" approach reveals the role that social dynamics play in the production of space in Sitio Pechayan. The transformation and adaptation of public space is often facilitated by social interaction.

The importance of social interaction in these different public spaces would suggest that these spaces play an important role in producing social capital. Putnam (2001) refers to social capital as the connection among individuals that in turn form social networks. It is defined as the norms and networks that enable collective action. It helps ensure stability and allows cooperation between diverse groups of people. Since public space has the ability to bring people together, it helps create social capital by allowing them to interact and share mutual experience which in turn strengthens their bond (Ijla, 2012). For Sitio Pechayan, this can be seen by how neighbours are able to share the streets with another or how the ambulant vendors are able to organize themselves around the community. The manner by which the residents are able to cooperate and share common resources like water and space speaks of the importance of social relations. Even the dissemination of news is rooted in social interactions like how the sari-sari stores function as the third place in the community. The relationship cultivated by the barangay leaders and local politicians can also be seen as how social capital is used to shape the physical infrastructure of the community. To some extent, this speaks to the importance of social capital to informality. Social relation is deeply rooted in the everyday production of space in Sitio Pechayan, and its underlying socio-spatial practices are rooted in social relations. This seem to suggest that without a strong social bond, the informal practices and processes observed in Sitio Pechayan would be expressed differently; possibly relying more on state intervention than on mutual cooperation and negotiation.

6.1.4 Learning from Informality

The marginalization and negative characterization often attached to informal settlements are the result of the prevailing “epistemologies and methodologies in urban studies” that regard this community in an “apocalyptic and dystopian” manner (Roy, 2011). Rather than emphasizing the “informality” in informal settlements which often points to its extralegal nature, this study has shown they are functioning communities that are defined by their own socio-spatial practices and informal processes. This type of informal urbanism is not a new concept since cities of the past have been a product of unplanned and organic urban development. What differentiates informal settlements from the modern city is the agency given to residents in shaping their community. Modern cities have often been criticized for the lack of correspondence between the people and the actors involved in planning the urban spaces. The deliberate design of our cities also seems to contradict the natural instinct of humans to express their own socio-cultural behaviour in their spaces; especially the capacity to self-organize (Mumford, 2016). For the formal city, with its top-down planning approach, the spaces are demarcated, and the functions defined by urban planners and decision-makers. But for informal settlements, the residents have more input in shaping their built environment. While informal settlements have often been characterized for its disorganization and chaotic appearance, the adaptive practices of its residents have managed to produce a functional urban environment. Some urban theorists even have regarded informal settlements as an emerging model for urban development (Gouverneur, 2015). This is often attributed to its capacity to adapt and respond to contextual, geographic, social, and temporal conditions. Other qualities that are strongly advocated by urbanists such as walkability, social vibrancy, compactness, mixed-use, and conducive to social interaction (Jacobs, 1961; Whyte, 1980) are often found in informal settlements. While the physical qualities like compactness or walkability are easily replicated; the intangible qualities like social vibrancy and cohesiveness are more nuanced and complex. To some degree, two public spaces within Sitio Pechayan represent the difference between formality and informality.

Both the covered court and the two half-court areas were initially intended to serve as a recreational space for the youths of the community. But the subsequent development of the covered court through state intervention resulted in its “formalization”, while the half-courts received little intervention from the state. But between these two spaces, the half-courts are more socially vibrant. The formalization of the covered court is manifested through its defined boundary that surrounds the space, disconnecting it from the streets. The regulation of its use means that its function has been defined by the state. On the other hand, the half-courts still retained its informality. There is no distinction between the streets and the play area. The space also remains unregulated despite the removal of the basketball rings. Despite the difference in spatial quality, the half-courts are more adaptable and responsive to the needs of the community. This difference can be characterized as urban spectacularization versus urban improvisation. The spectacularization process is characterized by standardization and regulation while urban improvisation is more inclusionary and “encourages improvised activities” (Jacques, 2013). This makes urban improvisation very similar to the production of differential space; open to temporary appropriation and its function is determined by its users. The half-courts exhibit this quality, allowing more spontaneous activities and more interaction with the space surrounding it. Therefore, it could be said that what facilitates social vibrancy in the half courts is the production of differential space which is rooted in the socio-spatial practices of its users. In a way, this makes it difficult to be replicated in other spaces since the socio-spatial practices are also based on social relation which takes time to cultivate such as in the sari-sari store. And informal practices are not always compatible with spaces that have prescribed function and regulation as observed in the covered court. The prescribed function and regulation of a space leads to the production of conceived space. The next section discusses the state’s role in the production of space in Sitio Pechayan.

6.1.5 Redefining “Informal” Public Space

The discussion in this section explored the relationship between public space and the everyday reality in Sitio Pechayan, highlighting its importance in the livelihood

activities of the residents in Sitio Pechayan. But the manner by which public space is produced and used also shows its informal quality that differentiates it from “formal” public spaces. Because the public spaces in Sitio Pechayan are limited in function, the residents often appropriate and transform these spaces to adapt through informal socio-spatial practices. These informal practices are what give these spaces their unique characteristic and quality that does not always correspond with what is generally expected in a “formal” public space. In its simplest term, public space is defined by boundaries, the “inside-outside” (Carmona, 2003; Madanipour, 2014), or the separation between private and public realm. But in Sitio Pechayan, this distinction is blurred. The streets are occupied and appropriated for personal use. Then there’s the arbitrariness in the functions of the public spaces. Public spaces are often defined by its accessibility, use, and ownership (Carr et al., 1992), but the streets in Sitio Pechayan are not just for pedestrians but also functions as workspaces or playgrounds. The basketball courts are the de-facto park or social gathering place for the community. Even a small neighborhood store like the sari-sari store can have an important social significance to the community. Despite the ambiguity in its boundaries and function, these spaces still retain the qualities of a public space, especially in terms of accessibility and ownership. The inherent complexity in informal settlements is also mirrored in how to define its public spaces. That public space can also take on a different informal configuration than its formal counterpart. In a way, this emphasizes the difference between formal and informal urban spaces; where informal is considered “as outside of normal urban consideration” (Lombard, 2014). While informality may not fully follow the prescription of formality, it does function in its own way which speaks of its value in urban studies. Instead of having public spaces that are defined through its function; what we see in Sitio Pechayan is a generic space that is being continually produced and reproduced through its everyday use.

6.2 Representation of Spaces: Implication of State Intervention

The findings chapter presented the power of the state in influencing the production of space in Sitio Pechayan. By adopting their own socio-spatial practices, the state attempts to control and regulate the urban spaces in Sitio Pechayan through

its formalization. But top-down intervention or formal practices can often affect the long-term sustainability of informal settlements when it fails to account for existing social practices (Marriott, 2015). Jacobs (1961, p. 15) cautioned against applying incompatible planning practices that promoted “pretended order...by ignoring or suppressing the real order that is struggling to exist”. Soto (2000) also echoed this sentiment with regards to the informal economy. He argued that informality was a result of incompatible formal practices that forces the informal sector to adopt informal practices because they found it difficult to comply with regulatory requirements. For the informal sector to thrive, he states that they needed less regulation and state intervention. This section aims to discuss the implication of state intervention to Sitio Pechayan.

The formalization of the covered court can be seen as a disruption against informality since the space was initially established through informal practices but was changed by state intervention. The discussion on representation of spaces allows this research to explore what happens when informality is disrupted by formality. It also allows us to look at the socio-spatial practices employed by the state to impose control in Sitio Pechayan. As discussed in the findings chapter, conceived space in Sitio Pechayan has mainly been manifested through regulations and restrictions imposed on the use of public space within the community. This section is composed of three sub-sections; it starts by discussing the history of intervention in Sitio Pechayan. The second sub-section delves on the meaning of state intervention, while the last sub-section discusses the power of the barangay council.

6.2.1 History of Intervention

Examining the history of Sitio Pechayan shows how conceived space has influenced the built environment of Sitio Pechayan and the socio-spatial practices of the residents. During the early 1970’s when the land was still a plantation farm, the Philippine Tobacco Administration (PTA) was the producer of conceived space, it dictated how the land was used which was mainly limited to agricultural purposes. When that was disrupted by the influx of new residents, the PTA exercised their authority by demolishing illegal structures on the property to regain control of the

community. But once their lease with the UP ended, a power vacuum was created. This resulted in an absence of regulation which then led to the considerable increase in the population of the community. But this power vacuum was filled by the UP administration who only exercised their power when the community started spilling-over to nearby areas. To stem the growth of the community, the university conducted a census to limit the community's population to existing residents. Since then, the UP administration has delegated this responsibility to the local government and under the governance structure discussed in the findings chapter; the barangay council has been tasked to oversee the community.

The local government, through the barangay council exercises this power through barangay ordinances. While barangay ordinances like the imposition of curfew and the ban on alcoholic drinks in the streets were only directed towards keeping the peace at night. Other restrictions such as prohibiting four-wheeled vehicles were aimed to allow access to fire trucks and fire-fighters and also not impede evacuation. These regulations, while used to restrict access to public space can mostly be seen as safeguards for the community. But not all areas in Sitio Pechayan are similarly regulated for safety. The use of the covered court and Suntay Hall are both dictated by the barangay officials. In terms of similarity, both these spaces often are used for community events and mass gatherings. The fact that both these spaces figure heavily on barangay-related activities may account for the increased regulation. Another similarity is that both these spaces are the product of a top-down intervention approach. These two spaces are the most developed public infrastructure within the community and also the most regulated by the barangay officials. It could be said that these two spaces represent the formally planned spaces in an informal community. When seen through the lens of the spatial triad, state intervention through public infrastructure projects can be interpreted as the production of conceived space.

6.2.2 Symbols of Power

For Sitio Pechayan, political patronage plays a major role in the material production of space. Public infrastructure projects are mostly accomplished in a piecemeal basis which suggests there is no long-term plan since the prioritization of

projects is dependent on the request of the barangay council. This gradual approach in providing basic infrastructure to the community seems to mirror the accretive practice of the residents in adapting their spaces. This type of ad-hoc improvements of public infrastructure in informal settlements have often been described as unbeneficial and costly in the long-term because of its shortsightedness (Banerjee, 2012). But for the residents of Sitio Pechayan, it nonetheless represents progress and has provided the community with various spaces for their livelihood, recreation, and socialization activities. This type of informal practice of soliciting infrastructure projects from local politicians is regarded as a form of quiet encroachment where the “weak” are able to take advantage of their circumstances from those in power to obtain what they feel they need (Bayat, 2010). In a way, the lack of long-term planning and the way that some projects were left to the community to build like the half-courts, seem to suggest that the purpose of these projects is towards appeasement by local politicians in order to obtain political support from the community.

But it could also be suggested that the development of these public infrastructures can be seen as a way of regaining control of a space by the state. By transforming an open basketball court into a covered court, the local government was able to reclaim that space for its own use. While the original intent was to upgrade an existing facility so as to provide a multipurpose space for the community, its development also led to the creation of a space for the state. The spatial enclosure afforded the barangay officials a way to restrict access to the space and define its function. And power has always been manifested in space through territories and boundaries; using classification, delineation, and division as their strategies (Certeau, 1984). The covered court is also the usual venue for local politicians to hold their political events and be seen by the community. Another example would be the conversion of the Suntay Hall into a barangay hall annex. The transformation of that space from a multipurpose hall to a seat of power for the state can be seen as an intentional act by the local government, to not just regain control of a specific space but to extend their authority over the whole community. The reason given by a barangay official for building the annex was to make it easier for residents to access the barangay hall’s services. But one respondent mentioned that it will also allow

barangay officials to easily keep watch over the community. This suggests that public infrastructure can become symbols of power for the state, a way of asserting their dominance and reminding the people of their authority.

Aside from the infrastructure itself, local politicians also devised subtle means to display their power. The markings and brandings left by politicians on the walls of public infrastructure can be regarded as a constant reminder to the community. One politician even had her name etched in one section of a street. Their physical presence in the community either in times of calamity or in the conduct of political events can also be seen as a display of political power. Like the recent inauguration ceremonies on the repairs made on Camia and Dahlia Streets and the completion of the barangay hall annex renovation, the city mayor and her party supporters were all in attendance. (See Figure 39) Therefore, it could be said that the city government through the local politicians use political patronage or clientelism to display their power and gain political capital, albeit in a subtle and non-dominating manner. Although this does not apply directly to Sitio Pechayan since it was not part of the findings; but it could also be argued that public infrastructure projects are also a tool for corruption (Colmenares, 2017). Aside from the local politicians, another actor that represents the state is the barangay council.



Figure 39 Inauguration of Dahlia and Camia Streets

6.2.3 Formalizing Informality

The role of the barangay council, as presented in the findings chapter has been expanded because of the delegation of authority by both the city government and the UP administration. This expanded power is a result of the ambiguity in how laws and regulations can be implemented in an informal community. In Sitio Pechayan, regulation of the public spaces so far has been minimal and only limited to specific areas. The public spaces have remained accessible to residents and have not hampered their everyday activities. The state has also given concessions such as allowing the livelihood activities within Sitio Pechayan to continue operating without a business permit. Access to basic services has also been made easier by changing the documentary requirements as dictated by the utility companies for new connections.

But the state actors involved in Sitio Pechayan have been able to produce a different kind of abstract space that is both pliant and dominating. The concessions that are afforded to residents reveal a subtle way of obtaining power and influence. To understand how this type of abstract space is produced, one needs to look at the governance practice that exists in Sitio Pechayan. The annual barangay permit and the daily tax, in lieu of the city's business permit, give the barangay officials quasi-legislative powers to control and regulate the businesses in Sitio Pechayan from retail stores to street vendors. The collection of daily tax and the lack of an official receipt also imply unaccountable revenue. But this exercise of political power from the barangay council is not just limited to regulating public spaces; they also play an important role in the material production of space. As the go-between the people and the local politicians; they can leverage their personal relationship with local politicians to fund their priority projects in exchange for political support from the community. They can also influence what projects need to be prioritized and hereby control the access to basic services. In a similar tone, their task as overseer for the university and the local government means that they hold considerable power in evicting new residents or conducting clearing operations simply by reporting it to the blue guards or the city government.

To some extent, the power that the barangay council yields lie between formality and informality. These two overlapping practices underscore a soft power

approach by the state. As the primary agent of the state, the barangay officials are responsible in implementing the rule of law, but they are also residents of the community, which predisposes them to giving concessions. This can be observed by how clearing operations are conducted which presents an interesting insight into the relationship between the barangay officials and the residents. By not conducting the clearing operation themselves, the barangay officials are able to deflect the blame to the city government. The barangay officials would also warn any violators first before calling the city government. If the clearing operation does happen, the barangay officials can also shift the responsibility to the violators for not heeding their warnings. This is the same action that they would use when requesting the help of the UP security personnel for dismantling newly built houses inside the community. Their role as the middleman allows them to negotiate and seek compromises from the city government and the university for the community. These concessions often come in the form of regulatory and governance practices that is specifically tailored for Sitio Pechayan. This type of governance practice from state actors, that is embedded in ambiguity and creates exceptions that are contradictory to the established rules, results in what is known as informality from above (Chen et al., 2016).

According to Roy (2005), the state has the power to determine what is acceptable or not, thereby giving them the capacity to construct and reconstruct categories of legitimacy and illegitimacy. But for the barangay council, this power is not absolute but delegated since they officials are still accountable to the city government. This creates a precarious situation for both barangay officials and residents. The dual role of barangay officials means that they have to toe the line between advocates of the law or as protectorate of the community. As for the business owners and vendors, their “legitimacy” is not grounded in law but is the result of the formalization of informality. But despite the concessions and the imposition of regulatory practices that acknowledges the nuances in informality, there are still moments of resistance. These acts of resistance exemplify the conflict between conceived and lived space. The next section discusses the spaces of resistance produced by the residents and the meanings attached to the public spaces.

6.3 Representational Space: Social Meanings of Informal Public Space

The findings chapter presented how lived space is socially produced in Sitio Pechayan through the appropriation of public spaces and acts of everyday resistance. The residents used their own informal socio-spatial practices to achieve these actions. This section expounds on that discussion by exploring the meaning behind these socio-spatial practices. This section is composed of three sub-sections; the first focuses on the meaning behind the acts of everyday resistance used by the residents in Sitio Pechayan. The second sub-section explores the sense of ownership that residents have with the public space; and the last sub-section discusses public infrastructure as symbols of formality.

6.3.1 Acts of Everyday Resistance

The growth of Sitio Pechayan into an established community and the everyday activities that takes place within its confines can be regarded as a production of lived space. The residents are able to use and experience space as they wanted and intended it to. But because of the presence of the state and despite the concessions it has afforded to the residents, there exists moments of resistance within Sitio Pechayan. The contrasting relationship between formal and informal practices can be equated to the dialectical interaction between conceived and lived space. Conceived space is the domain of the powerful while lived space is the realm of imagination and desire (Lefebvre, 1991). This dialectical interaction can be equated to the production of differential space which is a space that arises from contradiction and contestation. Therefore, it can be said that differential space is a product of acts of everyday resistance. As Lefebvre (1991, p. 23) noted, "...the rationality of the state, of its techniques, plans and programmes, provokes opposition. The violence of power is answered by the violence of subversion".

Public space has always been regarded as an area of conflict that can be mediated when it is properly structured and allocated (Mehaffy et al., 2019). But for Sitio Pechayan, conflicts in public space are often mediated through negotiation among neighbours, not through structure and boundaries which is a tool used by the state. But when conflicts are not mediated especially when it involves the state and

other actors in power; acts of everyday resistance are often employed by the weaker party. This tactic of the weak is characterized by consumption; the use and manipulation of space like walking or dwelling in space (Certeau, 1984). These spatial tactics allows ordinary users to “appropriate and use urban space and make spatial meanings and reproduce urban space breaking the planned order” (Lata, 2018, p. 168). While the focus on the earlier two sections of this chapter was on the production of public space through adaptation and transformation; consumption of space is equally as important. The social production and consumption of space are interlinked processes (Low, 2016), in the same way that consumers are also producers (Certeau, 1984). In Sitio Pechayan, acts of everyday resistance are both manifested in the production and consumption of space.

To understand why acts of resistance occur in Sitio Pechayan, one needs to return to the discussion on spatial practices. While intent is not always discernible since “there are strong incentives to conceal one’s intention” (Scott, 2008, p. 53), the reason behind such practice can be identified since it is often limited to the act itself and not motivated by ideological reasons. And what are observed in Sitio Pechayan are acts that are intended towards addressing their various needs. The examples cited in the findings chapter such as the establishment of the talipapa or the continued use of the street by the ambulant vendors are meant to address their livelihood needs. The repeated curfew violations by some youths or the continued social gathering during the lockdowns are also acts of resistance that is aimed towards fulfilling their need for social interaction. What these acts of resistance reveal is the functional aspect of the public spaces in Sitio Pechayan where the aspirations of the residents are manifested by the practical use of a space. Therefore, what is seen as acts of everyday resistance are the expression of the residents’ needs and aspiration for their public spaces.

To some extent, these acts of everyday resistance can also be seen as an expression of their right to the city. Expounding on the writings of Lefebvre, Harvey explained that the “right to the city is not merely a right of access to what already exist, but a right to change it after our heart's desire” (Harvey, 2003, p. 939). But the production of space has two aspects: functional and symbolic. The former is the everyday use of the space, which this sections argues are also expressed through acts

of everyday resistance, while the latter is the “experiential and representational interaction” with space (Hernández García, 2013, p. 171). By employing acts of resistance to transform and adapt the public spaces in Sitio Pechayan, the residents are revealing their desires.

6.3.2 Meaning of Place

Determining what meanings or symbolism are attached to a space can be a difficult task since it is very specific for each individual as well elusive since it is always changing, dependent on context and time, as well as the individual’s experience of a space. The persistence of the residents as demonstrated through their acts of everyday resistance as well their informal practices in appropriating space can be interpreted as a manifestation of their sense of ownership. The sense of ownership that residents feel with regards to the public spaces in Sitio Pechayan often results in the appropriation of said spaces, either temporarily or permanently. The appropriation of public spaces in Sitio Pechayan has been attributed to a range of factors such as the undefined function and unregulated state of the public spaces contributes to the blurring between what is private and public. Or the lack of resources is also a factor as residents must learn to adapt and appropriate any available space for their needs. The crowded environment and insufficient living space in the houses also lead to spillover activities on the streets. It has also been suggested that the role of the street as a mediator for social interactions is also a factor. But examining the history of Sitio Pechayan, we see a close relationship between people and place. This closeness can be attributed to the resident’s involvement in shaping the community which fosters place attachment. Other factors such as the cultural traits of Filipinos and social dynamics of the community can also play a role in this sense of ownership.

In his study of place, Relph (1976, p. 45) argued that identity of place, or the “persistent sameness and unity which allows that place to be differentiated from others” can be characterized through the place’s: physical quality, function, and meanings produced by people’s experience of that place. The appropriation of public spaces in Sitio Pechayan has mainly been associated with the everyday activities of the residents. This suggests a close connection between the residents and the public

spaces. Place attachment is defined as “the affective bond or link between people and specific places” (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001, p. 274). This can happen when a space continually fulfills its functions and thereby encourages frequent use and interaction. Place attachment has often been attributed to different factors from social, cultural, emotional, to economic factors (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015). For Sitio Pechayan, the public spaces are used for different functions; from social to livelihood activities, which means it is an integral part of the everyday lives of the residents. It is through these repeated use and routine activities that sense of place and place attachment are engendered (Lombard, 2014, p. 12). But in Sitio Pechayan, it could be also suggested that place attachment is not just rooted in its use but also in its material production. Community participation in the building of the public spaces creates a shared experience among residents. It creates a feeling of insideness, a concept that defines the relationship between people and place which is fostered by “the degree of attachment, involvement, and concern that a person or group has for a particular place” (Seamon & Sowers, 2008). This feeling on insideness then results in a stronger sense of identity with a place. The slow and incremental process of the construction in informal settlements also means that the built environment is instilled with meaning and memory (Kellett, 2002). The eclectic quality of the urban forms in Sitio Pechayan from the houses to the public spaces, with its varying levels of finishes and materials means that memories and experience are also embedded in these built forms. This suggests that place is a product and place attachment is a product of experience with a space; be it based on individual or group experience (Tuan, 2002). To some degree, it is this attachment and personal connection with the space that fosters the sense of ownership.

6.3.3 Transitory Ownership of Property

From a cultural standpoint, this sense of ownership is rooted in the Filipino’s value system. The anthropologist Stone (1973) observed a particular behavior in Filipinos with regards to their use of space; he referred to it as the private transitory ownership of public property. Ownership of a property, which could also apply to the use of space, is determined by who occupies a space first until such time when

someone with greater authority or legitimate claim to the space displaces the initial occupant. While this particular trait was used to describe the driving behavior of Filipinos; it does give an insight on how Filipinos perceive an unused space or an idle land. Stone (1973, p. 54) further elaborates that public property from sidewalks to public space; and even a political office or position is regarded as one's personal property. This concept is similar to what was discussed in Chapter 3 on the unintended production of space through territorial appropriation; where space that is constantly used by an individual leads to the perception of its ownership (Kärrholm, 2007). When translated to the production of space, it becomes the transitory use of space where space is constantly produced through social interaction, negotiation, and contestation. Although this can be observed not just in informal settlements, this is more common in informal settlements because of the limited space available and the lack of regulation. This behavior is motivated by need; those who need the space are also the first one to claim that space (Racelis-Hollnsteiner, 1976).

In Sitio Pechayan, this can be observed in how the function of a space changes along with its user. In this case, the use of the space is determined by those with higher authority. One example would be the use of the covered court where its changing function is determined by who is using the space. When the covered court is unused and unoccupied, it is often the children's opportunity to use the space as a playground. But when the older teens or adults come along, the children are displaced then the court reverts back to its programmed function as a basketball court. And when the barangay council schedules an event or activity, it ceases to be a basketball court and becomes an assembly hall or a function hall. This can also be observed in the relationship described between ambulant vendors and the local government.

This sense of ownership can also be observed in the attitude of some respondents with respect to the street in front of their houses, when asked if they have any recommendations on how to improve their streets. Since the streets have become their de-facto gathering place, there could be features added to it to facilitate social interaction such as benches. Almost all of them just wanted their space to be clean from trash. But one respondent said that she preferred her old plastic chair to any benches since this would only lead to other residents using the street in front of

her house. Somehow, this speaks to the power of representation, where ownership is represented through personal belongings. When the old plastic chair is replaced with a bench provided by the local government, the space ceases to be hers.

6.3.4 Parochial Realm

From a social standpoint, this sense of ownership and this perception of public property could be influenced by the social dynamics found in Sitio Pechayan. Lofland (1998) offers a useful framework in her classification of realms of city life that describes the shifting pattern of social interaction and social relations. This classification is composed of three realms: the public, parochial, and private. The public realm is composed of strangers, these are spaces that are inhabited by individuals who are personally unknown or only categorically known to one another. She noted that the public realm is characterized with fleeting social relations that involves little or no spoken interaction (Lofland, 1985). The parochial realm is composed of neighbors and acquaintances; these are commonly the neighborhood spaces that retain a sense of commonality among acquaintance and neighbors. The private realm includes families and close friends; it is characterized by ties of intimacy among primary group members who are located within households and personal networks.

In Sitio Pechayan, the public spaces exhibit a level of social interaction that is a combination of both parochial and private realm. This level of interaction can be observed in the streets of Sitio Pechayan and along commercial establishments. It is often in the transitional spaces like the arcades and loggias where the tension between public and private realm is mediated (Guaralda et al., 2011). For Sitio Pechayan, with the absence of sidewalks or arcades, the streets and the adjacent open spaces are the transitional space where line between private and public space is blurred. This can be seen in how the streets function as the main venue for social interactions. This added familiarity that the residents have with their neighbors also helps facilitate the sharing of spaces through negotiation. Then there is the Filipino characteristic of "*pakikisama sa kapwa*" which leads to the residents of Sitio Pechayan to be more accepting and amicable with one another. It could also be suggested that

since the level of social interaction resembles that of a parochial realm; public space is considered as common space meant to be shared and used by residents of the community.

The appropriation of public space, especially the streets, for livelihood activities tolerated and accepted by other residents also present an interesting insight into how spatial boundaries are defined in Sitio Pechayan. Malone (2002) elaborates on her study of street life, that boundaries are socially constructed. She further characterizes strong classified space as having highly defined boundaries while weakly classified space as having open boundaries and characterized by diversity. For Sitio Pechayan, the spatial characteristic of its urban form suggest a weakly classified space. As mentioned before, informality is characterized by unbounded and unstructured space. The eclectic quality of the houses and physical closeness of the houses all points to an ambiguously defined boundary. The lack of setback between the houses and the streets also means that the line between private and public space are blurred. The closeness of the houses and narrow streets also results in the constant interaction between neighbours. The ambiguity of the spatial boundary is why public space is not always for public use. This echoes the previous discussion on redefining public space and transitory ownership of property where public space takes a different meaning in Sitio Pechayan.

6.3.5 Symbols of Formality

The formalization of Sitio Pechayan through the publicly funded infrastructure projects suggests an attempt by the state to reclaim control of the community. But for the residents, these public infrastructures are seen as an acknowledgement by the state of their community. The rapid growth of Sitio Pechayan after the departure of the the Philippine Tobacco Administration (PTA) can be seen as a process of deterritorialisation that ultimately leads to the reterritorialisation as more families and migrants started to relocate to the community (Raharjo, 2010). This period between the rapid growth and the start of state intervention can be described as the self-building phase of the community. During this time, they were able to repurpose and adapt existing infrastructure like the well for their own use. Through their own

resources, they started to build the first iteration of the public spaces we see today like the covered court.

The start of the state intervention in Sitio Pechayan resulted in the upgrading of the different public spaces and the provision of basic services. But the formalization process of Sitio Pechayan cannot be characterized as a top-down approach; since a majority of these public spaces were initiated by the community. Therefore, this period of formalization can be seen as the materialization of the community's aspirations. These aspirations, before the start of state intervention, took the form of makeshift basketball courts or dirt roads. These makeshift constructions were replaced with more enduring and durable structures. From a semiotic perspective, the change in the built environment can be seen as a shift from precarity towards formality and permanence. Comparably, the sponsorship of projects by local politicians can be seen as acknowledgement and acceptance by the state of Sitio Pechayan. In a similar manner, the presence of local politicians either symbolically through their brandings or their attendance in inauguration ceremonies can also be interpreted by the resident as supporting the community.

To a certain extent, these public infrastructures provided the community with a sense of identity. Identity of a place is often derived from the physical and social quality of the built environment (Hough, 1990b). It is associated with how people perceived their environment. Identity then is a product of both the physical element of the built environment and the meanings attached to these spaces. Identity is also relational, "It is what a place has when it somehow belongs to its location and nowhere else" (Hough, 1990b, p. 180). Lynch (2005) also provides a way of understanding how urban space is perceived. He enumerates three qualities in identifying the image of a city: identity, structure, and meaning. Identity is the clear identification of the individual elements. Structure is the spatial relationship or pattern of these elements from one another. The meaning is the practical or emotional connection of the elements and the observers. For Sitio Pechayan, the changes in its built environment also brought with it a change in its identity; particularly in how residents see their own community. From the makeshift structures that used to characterize their community, these were replaced with new structures that

resembled those that are also found in other barangays which the resident associate with the “formal” city. This process can be seen as replacing urban “improvisation” with urban “spectacularization” (Jacques, 2013). Often these “spectacularized” spaces are more exclusionary and highly regulated than the improvised spaces. This holds true for Sitio Pechayan where publicly-funded public spaces are highly regulated by the local government. While the built environment alone does not translate to a sense of space, it does “influence the symbolic meanings of a landscape” (Stedman, 2003, p. 674). To some degree, the public space upgrades can be seen as the formalization of the identity of Sitio Pechayan. In the same way that the state sees public space upgrades as symbols of control and power; the residents of Sitio Pechayan also see these spaces as symbols of formality and security of tenure.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the different socio-spatial practices involved in the production of space in Sitio Pechayan. The first section focused on the spatial practices of the residents by exploring their adaptive practices that lead to the material production and reproduction of public space. The socio-spatial practices discussed in this section were focused on the everyday activities of the residents which are often aimed towards acquiring livelihood assets or strengthening social bonds. The discussion also highlighted the difference of informal spaces from its formal counterpart and how the distinction between private-public spaces is not as structured. It also opened the possibility of what lessons can be learned from informality especially from the context of urban improvisation which leads to socially vibrant public spaces. The second section explored the role of state intervention in the formation of Sitio Pechayan. It also discussed the meanings behind state-funded infrastructures, exploring these structures as symbols of control and power. It also discussed the socio-spatial practices of the state in regulating and reclaiming control of public space. Then it examined the role of the barangay council and how the role of the barangay council straddles between formality and informality, producing a different kind of conceived space. The third section discussed how lived space is produced in Sitio Pechayan by exploring acts of everyday resistance. These acts of

everyday resistance are seen as a product of socio-spatial practices that was borne out of state intervention. This section also explored the meaning and symbolism attributed to public spaces by discussing the social dynamics and cultural traits of the residents in Sitio Pechayan.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

7.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the concluding arguments for the thesis. It is divided into five sections. The first section returns to the background of the study and presents a summary of findings. It also addresses the research aim and questions. The second section discusses the implication and significance of the research on informal settlement and public space studies. The third section reflects on the limitations of the study. The fourth and last sections explore possible recommendation for future research and the concluding section.

7.1 Summary of Findings

While informality has been negatively perceived in the past, current discourse is slowly changing these perceptions. This shift in perception is the result of studies that focused on the autonomous capacity of informal settlements to build their own community and create their own livelihood opportunities. Far from being marginal communities, informal settlements have been shown to actively fill the gaps on services that the state cannot provide like housing, employment, economic opportunities, and social support (Perlman, 1979). The change in negative perception was also driven in urban studies where informal settlements are regarded as an alternate form of urbanization (Roy, 2005). What these current discourses on informal settlement show is that there is value in studying informality.

For that reason, the aim of this thesis is to understand the social production of public space in Sitio Pechayan, an informal settlement located in Metro Manila. The research aim was supported by the following objectives: exploring how public spaces are produced, identifying the type of spaces that are produced, and determining the socio-spatial practices involved in the production of public space. To go beyond the spatial quality of public space, this research made use of Lefebvre's social production of space as an analytical tool. This allowed the research to take into consideration the relationship between two different actors; the agency of the residents to produce

their own space and the power of the state that seeks to control public space. The research employed a case study approach that involved obtaining the history of the community and its public spaces through semi-structured interviews of key informants. A total of thirty-two semi-structured interviews were conducted with research participants. The current state of the different public spaces within Sitio Pechayan was also documented through field observation. A total of five key public spaces were identified during the study that became the focus of the fieldwork. The collection of data was aimed at documenting the process by which these public spaces were produced as well as identifying the informal practices that underpins their production.

Consequently, the research was able to explore the different ways that public space is socially produced in Sitio Pechayan. What the findings have shown is that this process involves multiple layers of production and actors. This is what allows the public spaces in Sitio Pechayan to have different functions and meanings. This speaks of the value of using public space in studying informal settlement since these public spaces can be regarded as a container of the community's shared experiences and aspirations allowing us to understand their social and power dynamics. Public space has long been regarded as the physical reflection of the cultural identity and social life of a city because it is "where people carry out functional and ritual activities that bind a community" (Carr et al., 1992, p. xi). This speaks of how the shared experiences of people in using a space can bring meaning to a space as well as a sense of place for a community. This holds true for Sitio Pechayan where different activities all play out in its public spaces. As a result of the agency of the residents in building their community, this sense of place is also a result of their production of public space. This means that public spaces in Sitio Pechayan have certain qualities not often found in other "formal" public spaces especially when viewed through its mode of production.

Other findings of this research have also demonstrated other aspects of public space not often found in its formal counterpart. The study of the public spaces in Sitio Pechayan has shown that the production of space encompasses not just the material construct of space but also its mental and social construct. Lefebvre's spatial triad was useful in unpacking these different layers of space which allowed the research to

consider the different actors involved in the production of public space. The research exploration of how the built environment is socially produced in Sitio Pechayan was able to contribute to our knowledge on informal settlements, public space, and to the academic debates on informal urbanism. The succeeding sections discuss the key findings in relation to the spatial triad.

7.1.1 Summary of Findings: Spatial Practices

The discussion on spatial practices found that the public spaces within Sitio Pechayan are not spatially adequate both in area and functionality. But despite the limitation, the public spaces figure heavily on the everyday life of the community. This can be attributed to the adaptive practices of the residents in materially transforming their urban spaces to address their needs. This is observed in the different public spaces within Sitio Pechayan from the transformation of the covered court, the adaptive reuse of their houses into commercial stalls, or the everyday production and reproduction of space seen in the streets. This is also seen in the appropriation of public space by the residents for their own personal use. This is what gives the public spaces their dynamic and informal quality; constantly being produced and reproduced without having a defined function or structure.

The material transformation of these spaces was also strongly associated with the daily routine and livelihood activities of the residents. These activities were often intended towards acquiring livelihood assets which does not only include material assets but also intangible assets like social capital. The use of the streets by the ambulant vendors and the retails stalls in the talipapa are examples of these livelihood activities. But assets are not just acquired in the public spaces but are also used in the production of space, such as how the community was able to leverage their political support into public infrastructure projects. This function of the public spaces in Sitio Pechayan underscores its informal and transactional quality; where value is not fixed but negotiated (Roy & AlSayyad, 2004).

The findings on the production of public space also reveal its informal side which is what differentiates it from its formal counterpart. The distinction is characterized by the unstructured and unbounded quality of public space where

boundaries between public and private space are blurred. The changing and arbitrariness of the function and use of the public spaces also contributes to its informality. To some degree, the informality of these public spaces is what allows it to conform to the everyday needs of the community. By not being limited to a defined function, it can be characterized as a generic space whose function is defined by its users. In some ways, this alternate mode of production of spaces can open up discussion on how public space can be defined.

7.1.2 Summary of Findings: Representation of Spaces

The discussion on representation of space reveals that the production of space is not solely the purview of the residents; the state and other actors also play a role in the production of public spaces in Sitio Pechayan. And because the role of the state is to regulate and control space, this often leads to conflict between the different actors on the use of space. In Sitio Pechayan, the state is represented by layers of authority: the national government, city government, and the barangay council. The legal owner of the property, the UP administration plays a limited role in the community. The national government has mainly been apathetic to the community which leaves the city government and barangay council as the sole representative of the state. The regulations on the use of public space have not been restrictive to a level that disrupted the everyday activities of the residents. But the state still has had a considerable impact on the public spaces from its production to its regulation. The regulations are enacted through barangay ordinances which are often intended to safeguard the community and maintain it free from disturbances. These practices are not different from what is also found in formal communities.

The other approaches that the state use in Sitio Pechayan to regulate and assert their authority over the public spaces can be characterized as informal. One is through political patronage, where public infrastructure projects are sponsored by local politicians. This sponsorship of projects can be perceived in two ways: providing basic services and infrastructure which benefits the community and as a way of regaining control over the community. The former could be plausible since it does bring improvements to the community, but it can also be argued that the latter is the

intent of the state. The ad-hoc improvement of public space suggest that there is no long-term plan for the community and including the manner by which the state has been able to impose more regulations into the two most developed and formalized public spaces; the covered court and the Suntay hall. Therefore, it could be said that state intervention in Sitio Pechayan is practiced through the formalization of its public spaces. It is argued that the development of the public spaces is a way for the state to remove the physical manifestation of the community's work and replace it with their own.

The other means by which the state is able to assert their authority is through the formalization of informality by the barangay council. While the role of the barangay council is well-defined under law, their unique circumstances in Sitio Pechayan allow them to have an expanded authority in regulating public space. This is the result of the delegation of power and the ambiguity in how laws are imposed in Sitio Pechayan which allows them to give concessions through informal regulations. While these informal regulations give a sense of legitimacy to the residents, it also gives the barangay officials more power and authority over the community.

To some extent, these two practices by the local politicians and the barangay council are similar in their approach. Their intentions to regulate are not often apparent and are designed to appease and give concessions that will benefit the community. But often the result of the state interventions to help the community also gives them more control over a space and additional authority. This is what gives the state's approach its informal quality; it does not always rely on force or the outright reclamation of urban space. The gradual manner by which they develop and control the public spaces has the same accretive quality that the residents used to appropriate them. The use of interpersonal relationship to advance a project instead of going through the official channels is also another example of informality. This makes informality not just the domain of the residents but also of the state.

7.1.3 Summary of Findings: Representational Space

The discussion on representational space explored how the socio-spatial practices of the residents of Sitio Pechayan can be used to reveal the meanings they

attached to the public spaces. While the residents of Sitio Pechayan have been able to express their ideals on what the urban spaces should be, the presence of the state has altered some of their socio-spatial practices which then lead to acts of everyday resistance. These acts of everyday resistance are observed in both the production and consumption of space which means it could either be permanent or fleeting. It is also often characterized either by the appropriation and transformation of a space or the use of a space. But what these acts of everyday resistance serve to do is to fulfill the needs of the residents. Therefore, these acts of everyday resistance are regarded as the expressions of the residents' needs and aspiration for their public spaces.

But public spaces are not just defined by its functionality but also their symbolic aspects. So while the residents, through their acts of everyday resistance reveal the practical quality of public space, it also shows the meanings they attached to these spaces. This thesis argues that the persistence and continued use of a space by residents despite the interdiction of the state can be interpreted as their sense of ownership of these spaces. This sense of ownership is attributed to three factors: place attachment, cultural traits and social dynamics. Place attachment is a result of the space continued fulfillment of its functions which encourages frequent use and interaction. In Sitio Pechayan, the close connection between people and place is also attributed to the residents' involvement in constructing and building these spaces. The participation of the community in producing their public spaces creates a shared experience and stronger sense of identity. Another factor is the cultural characteristics of Filipino where unused space is seen as an invitation to occupy and appropriate that space. Stone (1973) refers to this as the transitory ownership of property where use of a space is determined by who occupies it first until someone with greater authority displaces the initial occupant. The third factor relates to the social dynamic in Sitio Pechayan which can be compared as a combination of both parochial and private realm. This means that the appropriation of space is accepted and tolerated because public space is perceived as a communal area by the residents.

The symbolic aspect of public space is not just limited to the individual public spaces but also extends to the whole community. This thesis found that the various public space improvements that the state provided for the community can be seen as

symbols of formality by the residents. By removing the old makeshift spaces with new structures, the identity of the community is also slowly being replaced. This reveals two contrasting views between the state and the residents. While the state regards these spaces as symbols of power, for the residents of Sitio Pechayan, the gradual improvement of their public spaces can be interpreted as a show of support and recognition by the state for their community. To some extent, the discussion on representational space, which is underpinned by the social value, cultural characteristics, and the aspirations of the residents, helps bridge the gap between spatial practice and representation of space. It allows us to understand why space can easily be appropriated and transformed despite the intervention of the state.

7.1.4 Revisiting the Research Questions

The research objective to explore the production of public spaces in an urban informal settlement was guided by three research questions:

1. How are public spaces being produced in an informal settlement?
2. What are the types of public spaces being produced?
3. What are the socio-spatial practices being utilized to produce these spaces?

7.1.4.1 How are public spaces being produced in an informal settlement?

The first question focuses on the process of production. The public spaces in Sitio Pechayan, when viewed through the mode of production can be characterized as being dynamic and complex because of the number of different layers that make up its production. From the type of process involved in the production of space to the number of actors involved and their roles in the process, there are different factors that need to be unpacked to understand how space is produced. So to be able to answer this question, the research needed to explore both the material and social production of space.

In the material production of public space, the agency of the residents to produce their own space means that there is no pre-planning process or development stage. Instead, the process of production is contextual, adapting into the pre-existing

social and spatial conditions. This is why the process is often portrayed as urban improvisation (Jacques, 2013). This process does not rely on codified plans or drawings but adapts to the situation depending on the resources at hand which are assembled incrementally. That is why the development process is accretive and gradual, not bounded by a timeline. This can be observed in the varying level of wall finishes in some of the houses in Sitio Pechayan. The availability of resources is also a big factor in the building process. Instead of relying solely on financial assets, the residents utilized different types of assets from social to political capital. The number of actors involved also figures heavily in the process; with no central authority figure, this requires constant negotiation among neighbours, barangay officials, or local politicians. This means that social network, kinship, and political connection are assets. In terms of pattern, there is none since it continually adapts and improvises. Some spaces are constructed from scratch while others are reused spaces. Not all spaces required state intervention while some that did were executed differently. This is what makes the production of space in an informal settlement a complex process.

Public spaces in Sitio Pechayan are never static; they are continually changed and adapted either through production or consumption. The social production of space means that space is not just a physical construct but is also a mental and social construct; the production of space goes beyond its material production. Understanding this concept of social of production by Lefebvre helped recognize and differentiate the different process of production. As presented and discussed in the findings and discussion chapter, the social production of space is underpinned in social and power relations. It is also observed through the everyday use of the space by the residents of Sitio Pechayan. The agency of the people in shaping and using the public spaces means that they are primary actors in the social production of space with the state offering minimal restrictions. The importance of the public spaces means that it is also constantly being produced and reproduced each day through the daily activities of the residents.

7.1.4.2 What are the types of public spaces being produced?

Beyond the obvious typology such as how this research identified the different key public spaces as basketball courts or marketplace; the spaces in Sitio Pechayan are much harder to categorize when viewed through the social production of space. Instead of being bounded in place, the types of spaces produced in Sitio Pechayan are set in time, depending on the individual/s using the space. The spaces socially produced are not exclusive to one public space or area but are socially produced everywhere and sometime co-existing with other spaces in one place. The production of spaces is often related to the needs of the actors which they are produced in the first place. Therefore, the question deals with exploring the relationship between the actors and the spaces rather developing a typology of informal public spaces. Informality is too nuanced and complex to be categorized homogenously.

What we find in Sitio Pechayan are urban spaces from the houses to the public spaces that were initiated and enacted by the residents. And with the vital role that the public spaces play in the everyday life of the residents, there is a constant social production of space either through its use or its reproduction. The spaces that were initially materially produced by the residents were defined by their function like the water well, basketball courts, and the marketplace. But the demands of their everyday life and the limited space means that they also need to use these spaces beyond their intended function. The everyday use of the public space is what shapes and gives its meaning to the residents. For the business owners or the ambulant vendor; it is the production of livelihood space. For neighbours taking their morning coffee on the street; it is the production of a space for socialization. For the young adults playing basketball, it is the production of recreational space. There are even less apparent productions of space like how social norms are communicated non-verbally such as what occurs in the water well or the daily playtime among children while being watched on by their parents. Spaces can also co-exist in one place at a time like the sari-sari store; it is not purely a livelihood space but is also a social space. As a fixture of Filipino life for centuries, it can even be argued that it is a cultural space. Therefore, the types of spaces that are being produced are situational and respond to the everyday life of the community. Crawford (2008) refers to this as everyday urbanism

where space is defined by everyday activities rather than its aesthetic or design; leading to the production of everyday space. And everyday space is a space that is characterized by its banality and generality but is also a “zone of possibility and potential transformation” (Mehrotra, 2005, p. 19).

The local government also has a significant role in the material and social production of space. As such, they also produce their own type of spaces that are intended to control and regulate those produced by the residents. As discussed in Chapter 6, the state’s material production of space through the various publicly funded infrastructure projects are meant to formalize Sitio Pechayan. By formalizing some of the public spaces, the state can impose structure and order, as well as define the functions of these spaces. And by doing so, the state can disrupt and restrict the everyday activities of the residents through the production of hegemonic spaces such as the covered court. But like everything in informality, nothing is clearly delineated, the acts of everyday resistance of the residents produces a hybrid space where formality and informality converge. Despite the regulation imposed on the covered court, children still use the space as a play area when no one else is using it. What the discussion in this section has highlighted is that informal settlers produce their own urban space, and as such, the type of spaces they produce are defined by them, either through its everyday use or as a symbol of control.

7.1.4.3 What are the socio-spatial practices being utilized to produce these spaces?

Socio-spatial practices are also defined by the actors involved in the production of space. Instances of socio-spatial practices aimed towards the production of space in Sitio Pechayan include the waiting game that new residents employ to build their houses that eventually ends in negotiation with the blue guards, the arrangement on the sharing of utility connections, and the daily interaction among residents when temporarily appropriating a portion of the street. These informal practices are not just the domain of the residents; the state also utilizes their own socio-spatial practices to assert control such as the barangay council’s imposition of their own business permit or the use of an informal network to report health and safety violators during the

lockdowns. Another example would be the use of an unofficial channel to obtain public infrastructure projects from local politicians.

What underscores these informal practices is the importance of social and power relations. Interpersonal interactions pervade almost all aspect of the socio-spatial practices observed in Sitio Pechayan. This is especially important during negotiation when the actor(s) involved in the production of space needs the cooperation of another party to achieve their goal. In Sitio Pechayan, negotiations are sometimes done through informal means which includes social network, political connection, and kinship. These negotiations are also underpinned by the importance of assets in the production of space. The exchange of assets plays a crucial role in the informal practices of the residents, such as in the case of a new resident who uses financial, social, and human capital to build their homes.

Assets can take on different forms such as social and political capital. Social capital is especially useful during conflicts among neighbours that allow them to resolve their differences. While political capital is often used to leverage political favours from local politicians. To some extent, their use of different types of assets to produce space highlights their capability to improvise and adapt. And this ability to adapt and improvise is what defines their socio-spatial practices.

7.2 Contribution to Knowledge

The aim of the research was to explore the production of public space in an informal settlement as way of contributing to the growing discussion on informal settlement as a complementary mode of urbanization. The research has shown a different aspect to the production of urban space where social and power relations are embedded in the process. By seeing the public spaces in Sitio Pechayan as a product of social processes, rather than just a physical space, the research was able to provide insights into the everyday practices of its residents as well as its public spaces. Consequently, the new insights can be regarded as contributions towards the study of informal settlements and public space. The section outlines these contributions to knowledge by practice and to informal settlement study.

7.2.1 Contribution to Urban Planning Theories

The discussion at the start of the research identified a need to broaden our understanding of the city, especially with how we conceptualized informal urbanism. And what has often happened in urban planning practice and education is that informality has been marginalized. Therefore, there needs to be an acknowledgement that informality is an integral part of our cities. And what the research has highlighted is that formality and informality both co-exist in the production of urban space. Formality in Sitio Pechayan was a product of rules and regulations defined by the state as a central figure. Informality, on the other hand, arose from bottom-up processes and practices enacted by the residents. This informal processes and practices are often a result of structural inequalities that forces the residents to adapt and develop livelihood strategies. Often, these livelihood strategies rely on kinship, social network, and political connection. Therefore, what we observed in Sitio Pechayan is the role that social and political relationship has on the production of space.

What is also observed in Sitio Pechayan is how the concept of informality is defined by those in power. Marris (1979, p. 419) states that “slum is only a slum in the eyes of someone for whom it is an anomaly - a disruption of the urban form and relationships which to that observer seem appropriate to his or her own values and perceptions.” This idea of urban informality as a social and political construct by those in power is one this research subscribes to. We see how the state through the barangay officials is able to dictate what is restricted or allowed within Sitio Pechayan through informal regulations.

Instead of defining urban informality as an aberration because it goes beyond the norm of formality; urban informality should be considered as a different mode of urbanisation. Roy (2005, p. 148) railed against the formal and informal dichotomy and instead conceptualized informal urbanism as a “system of norms that governs the process of urban transformation itself” defined by “a series of transaction that connect different economies and spaces to one another.” Unlike formality which is defined by a set of rules towards an intended outcome, the processes take precedence in urban informality. And as observed in Sitio Pechayan, these processes are often underpinned in social and political relations where instances of negotiation and contestation are the

tools in the production of space. Therefore, what urban informality highlights are the dynamism and agency of the people in shaping the urban environment. What the research has taught us is that while the state's role in the community was more impactful in physical terms; the daily actions of the residents had also meaningful effect on the urban space. And as revealed in the research, observing the everyday activities of residents can provide valuable insights into the political and social dynamics of the community.

To some extent the research also has relevance to critical urban theory which "rejects inherited disciplinary divisions of labor and statist, technocratic, market-driven and market-oriented forms of urban knowledge" (Brenner, 2009, p. 198). Critical urban theory seeks to challenge the "mainstream" or prevailing paradigm on urban studies. Brenner (2009, p. 198) further states the need to explore a "more democratic, socially just and sustainable form of urbanization" which has been "systematically suppressed, within contemporary cities". This research has certainly shown an urban process that goes against the established concept of a city.

Therefore, what the research suggests is that there is a need to reframe the narrative on informal urbanism; one that challenges the hierarchal conceptualization of the city. When we speak of informal urbanism, it should not be in relation to formality. Informal urbanism should not be the anti-thesis to formality but considered as an alternate mode of urban development. For this research, informal urbanism is associated to the actions of the people in shaping their urban environment wherein the residents are active actors to the production of urban space. And when referring to the people, it should not only be confined to the urban poor or informal settlers, but to all city dwellers. By doing so, this opens up our understanding of the city, one that focuses on the collective actions where social and political relations are revealed.

7.2.2 Contribution to Filipino Studies

The contrasting perspective between the residents and the local government in the social production of urban space reveals an interesting insight into the power dynamics of Filipinos. This power dynamics is often underpinned in long entrenched cultural practices that harkens back on the colonial history of the Philippines. As

discussed in the Section 2.3 Historical Context, the relationship between the colonizing power and the native Filipinos can still be seen between the local government and the residents of Sitio Pechayan. This discussion is of particular significance to “*Sikolohiyang Pilipino*” (Filipino Psychology) of Virgilio Enriquez. Filipino psychology was borne out of the need to contextualize the “experience, thought, and orientation of the Filipinos, based on the full use of Filipino culture and language” (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000).

For Enriquez (1975), identified several themes in understanding *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*: *kamalayan* or experience knowledge and consciousness; *kalooban* or emotions; *ulirat* or awareness of one’s environment; *isip* or information and understanding; *diwa* or habits and behaviour; and *kaluluwa* or the soul or psyche of an individual. These themes are culturally ingrained in Filipinos especially its prominence in the Filipino language. From these themes, Enriquez was able to expand *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* into several concepts where some have relevance to this research. One of this was the concept of *kapwa* which Enriquez (1986) defined it as shared identity among Filipinos. One such example in this research is the sharing of the streets among neighbours. The social dimension of the public spaces in Sitio Pechayan was spurred mainly by this sense of “*pakikisama sa kapwa*”. This allowed the community to self-regulate and resolve differences among themselves. To some extent, the social interaction and everyday activities in the public spaces in Sitio Pechayan provides an interesting area to study Filipino psychology or *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*. While this research was not primarily aimed towards that objective, the multidisciplinary nature of the study and the subject matter provides an opportunity to learn more about Filipino psychology from the context of informality.

7.2.3 Contribution to Practice and Policy

The discussion on Section 6.1.5 Redefining “Informal” Public Space underscored the difference of the public spaces in Sitio Pechayan to its formal counterpart which has implications on the urban design and architectural practice. Design professionals often preoccupy themselves with how to design and create good public spaces. Good design was attributed to a range of factors related to its spatial

characteristics such as the quality of the physical environment or its location in relation to the city (Gehl, 2011; Sitte, 1889; Unwin, 1909; Whyte, 1980). In Sitio Pechayan, the socially vibrant public spaces were those that facilitated the everyday activity of the community and not the most developed and well-built spaces. In a way, the residents see their public spaces as a blank canvas that they can continually shape through their everyday use of the space. Even the process of construction is different, there the material production of public spaces in Sitio Pechayan is a community-driven process that mirrors how houses in informal settlement are built. While there are no design guidelines that can be derived from the study, it does teach us that creating urban space is not the sole purview of design professionals. To some extent, it opens up the discussion on what constitute a good public space.

What the study on Sitio Pechayan has taught us is that the residents themselves are one of the producers of urban space. They are able to shape their public spaces according to what they need. Applying this same paradigm to other communities, cities, or cultures will not guarantee the same results. The same could be said when applying urban design principles or practices to Sitio Pechayan would also achieve the same level of connection with the residents, be it functional or emotional. To some degree, the research can also be seen as a cautionary tale against architectural determinism. In fact, early literature on architecture linked the physical quality of space to morality; where squalid living conditions were seen as the breeding ground for illegal activities and immoral behaviour (Evans, 1997). This perception still exists today especially in the Philippines, where uncouth behaviour are labelled as “*squammy*”, or a slang for “manners of a squatter”; *iskwater* (squatter) being the commonly used word for informal settlers. And this is something that can be addressed by expanding our understanding of informal settlements.

Although the aim of the research was focused on theoretical discussion, it can also have policy implications. The caution against architectural determinism could also apply to the state as the primary policymaker, especially with regards to their upgrading strategy on informal settlements. The provision of public infrastructure should not be seen as the only solution towards improving the lives of informal settlers. This applies not just on public spaces but also to housing projects. The

national government agency concerned with informal settlement is the National Housing Authority (NHA) and its metric for accomplishment is the number of housing projects built but not how successful the relocation programs (Ballesteros, 2013). To some extent, the discussion on practice and policy underscores the importance of a people-centered approach and knowing what kind of help is really needed from both the design professionals and policymakers.

7.2.4 Contribution to Public Space Study

The discussion on Section 6.1.5 Redefining “Informal” Public Space highlighted the differences between the public spaces in Sitio Pechayan and the “formal” public spaces from its lack of boundaries to its expanded role to the community. In terms of its boundary, the public spaces in Sitio Pechayan can be described as both fleeting and malleable. Instead of being a “public” space for public use, its constant appropriation for private use gives it a communal quality. The discussion on Section 6.3.4 Parochial Realm credited this to the social dynamic present in Sitio Pechayan which has a parochial quality. But the close relationship between the public space and the residents is also a factor. The constant use of the public spaces and the direct involvement of the residents in building these spaces is what engender the attributes that is necessary to feel a sense of ownership.

Another aspect of the public spaces in Sitio Pechayan is its undefined function. What is observed are public spaces that are generic and dynamic; shaped by the everyday activities of the residents. The transient and malleable quality of its public space is attributed to the agency of the residents to shape their spaces in the absence of regulations by the state. This is then what gives the public spaces in Sitio Pechayan their urban vibrancy because it allows for the diversity of activities. The hierarchy of activities observed in Sitio Pechayan also contradict that of Gehl’s activity categorization framework as discussed in Section 2.2 Public Space Study. Instead of social activities being the resultant activity, it is the predominant and prevailing type of activity that is interwoven with all the other activities in the community as discussed in Section 6.1.3 Social Dimension of Public Spaces. Social activities are also not determined by the quality of the urban environment as theorized by Gehl but occur in

all public spaces. Therefore, the public spaces in Sitio Pechayan offers a different conceptualization of public space, one that is communal in terms of ownership, shaped by everyday urbanism, and steeped in social activities.

7.2.5 Contribution to Informal Settlement Study

The focus on the social process in the production of public space revealed two interesting insight that is useful in informal settlement study. One, the use of public space as a focal point for this research reveals its viability for studying informal settlements. The important role that public spaces play in an informal settlement meant that it could provide a rich source of data to explore the everyday life of its residents. For the research, it was the socio-spatial practices that the residents used in producing public space which also revealed the underlying social and power relations that underpin these practices. But this can also extend to other aspects of informal settlements such as their livelihood activities or their cultural and political practices. The importance of public space in an informal settlement means that it can be seen as the physical manifestation of its public life.

Two, the use of Lefebvre's spatial triad and acts of everyday resistance revealed an interlinked relationship between the state and the informal settlers in the production of space. Instead of falling into the formal-informal dichotomy in defining public space, Lefebvre's spatial triad allowed the research to see the production of space as a dialectical interaction between two contrasting spaces and practices: formal and informal. Instead of designating specific public spaces as formal or informal, what we see in Sitio Pechayan are hybrid spaces. It also shed light on the state production of hegemonic spaces, through the use of formalization practices to assert their power and authority over the community. These formalization practices were often hidden behind public space improvements that allowed the state to regain control of some spaces within Sitio Pechayan. It could be argued that the ad-hoc improvements by the state and use of political connections to initiate projects are also a form of informality. Therefore, informality is not just the exclusive purview of the residents but also of the state that is also revealed through the use of informal regulations by the barangay officials.

The findings from the research have revealed an interesting paradox between formality and informality which bring into question the use of static categorizations. As seen in the research, there are no clear lines delineating informality with formality. Sitio Pechayan is an informal settlement with formalized spaces and the formalization efforts by the state are conducted through informal practices. The discussion on Section 7.1.4.3 rejects the categorization of informal spaces to argue that prescribing a typology to informal spaces is a form of formalization. While this was not the original intent of the research, it does help to question the formal and informal dichotomy of communities in advancing the argument that informal settlements are simply another mode of urban development.

At the beginning of the research, questions about the use of the term “informal” were put forward. Some researchers argued that the term had a negative connotation that only emphasized their limitations but not their capabilities. Roy (2011, p. 224) points to the prevailing “epistemologies and methodologies” that paints urban development that differs from the dominant norm as being outside of contemporary urban studies. Robinson (2006, p. 5) amplifies on this further by arguing that urban studies have been limited by the categorization between the “wealthy global cities” of the West and the “poor mega-cities” of the Global South. What this seems to suggest is that informal settlements is a product of particular ideology on how cities should look like and communities that do not conform to those ideals are labelled as informal. Alfred Agache was a Beaux-Arts trained architect where order, hierarchy, and symmetry are valued (Underwood, 1991). Seeing the favelas with its “chaotic” appearance would certainly have repulsed him. And when looking at how informal settlements are defined, there seems to be a preoccupation to its spatial characteristic where spontaneous, unplanned, or organic are often used to describe these communities. Therefore, it could be said that there is a need to look beyond the physical environment of informal settlement to be able challenge the formal and informal dichotomy.

Looking back at the research problem, the research cited two important issues: gaps in our understanding of informal settlement and acknowledging informal settlement as a mode of urban development. This research argues that the way to

address those issues is to look at the social processes in informal settlements. Through the socio-spatial practices of the residents, we learn more about the community. And what the findings have revealed is that Sitio Pechayan is as much a social product as a spatial product. And by viewing the social processes as a mode of urban development, we begin to see Sitio Pechayan as another form of community. But when we consider the social processes that take place in Sitio Pechayan, there is nothing extraordinary about their socio-spatial practices. Formal and informal practices do occur in other communities. People in other communities appropriate public space every time such as using the streets or sidewalks as a parking spot. Acts of everyday resistance and political patronage can happen anywhere. Therefore, it could be said that there is nothing informal about Sitio Pechayan, it is just an ordinary community that is shaped by its own social processes.

7.3 Limitations of the Study

The research was designed to study one informal settlement and obtain data from two primary sources: interviews from key respondents and field observation. The interviews provided anecdotal data related to the history of the community and its public spaces. This meant that the data only offered a general narration of the community and its practices from the individual perspective of the respondents. The intermittent field observation and restrictions from the Covid-19 pandemic lockdown meant that the research was conducted in a short timeframe with limited access to other potential research participants. While the research was still able to obtain valuable data from these two sources; it was not able to capture the micro-level processes and prosaic aspects of the production of public space. This might have been possible in a more immersive ethnographic study of the community with a longer research period. Being in the community longer and as a participant observer would have allowed the research to experience first-hand how relationships are formed or the nuances of the socio-spatial practices and informal processes that takes place on a daily basis. A longer research period would have also captured the accretive process by which physical change occurs in the different public spaces. But due to the constraints of my personal circumstances, Covid-19 restrictions, and the limits of the

scholarship program, this is not possible but it opens the possibility for future research avenues to consider.

The research was also limited by the study area itself. Although Sitio Pechayan offered different public spaces to explore; it lacked a religious space. While there are privately built chapels within the community, they were small spaces often integrated with other residential structures. Having an established Roman Catholic Church would have provided another dimension to the research. After all, the Catholic Church is one of the most influential institution in the Philippines, be it in social or political affairs (Pangalangan, 2010). In one of my earlier fieldwork, a barangay official shared that one of his plans for the community was to put up a church in a lot that was still being occupied by a gasoline station. In one of the neighbouring informal settlements, Krus Na Ligas, the church had a role in establishing the claim of the community due to its historical significance. To some extent, having a church might have a symbolic importance in terms of their legitimacy as a community. It also adds another layer in the power structure because of the church's considerable influence on local and national politicians.

7.4 Recommendations for Future Research

During the course of the research, three key recommendations for future research were identified. These key recommendations were derived from the findings of this thesis and determined to be areas where future research may be considered.

1. The actions by the state in renovating the Suntay Hall into a barangay hall annex and the removal of the basketball rings in the half-courts are two areas in Sitio Pechayan that could be studied further to explore the outcome and its effect on the community. There are two possibilities with half-courts. One, the basketball rings will eventually be replaced since alert levels have been easing in the city. If it is replaced, it would be interesting to explore if the same pre-pandemic activities return or if the space retains its current configuration where motorcycles share the space with basketball activities. On the other hand, if the basketball rings are not replaced, could this be start of the state taking control over the space? This could present a fascinating contrast where

informal practices in Sitio Pechayan defined by adding personal belongings to claim a space coexist with the state's removal of objects like the basketball rings to replace it with their own structure like what happened in the covered court.

2. The barangay hall annex, on the other hand represents a more permanent fixture and symbol of the state. The open space around the building used to be dominated by young children because of the daycare center. With the building's function changed, will the open space still remain a play area? A more important question is the effect of the barangay hall annex on the community. As noted by a respondent, the annex was meant to allow barangay officials to easily monitor the community. It would be interesting to study if regulations become stricter or stay the same.
3. The barangay council's role in Sitio Pechayan was one of the interesting findings in this research since it represented informality from above. Barangay officials occupy a precarious position in the community as both the representative of the state and as residents of the community themselves. In terms of hierarchy, barangay officials are the least powerful within the governance structure but at the same time hold the most influence in day to day activities of the community. Future research could study other informal settlements and even formal communities to explore the role of the barangay council and compare the extent of their authority and power in those different communities.

7.5 Concluding Thoughts

This research started as an exploration into what lessons can be learned from informal settlements that could be used for "formal" communities. The initial objective of the research was to explore the social vibrancy that characterized the public spaces of informal settlements. But as the research delve deeper into informal settlement literature, it became clear that the research needed to look beyond finding patterns or order in informal public spaces. Informality is a hard concept to frame into a model or standard because it is defined by improvisation and spontaneity. And a lot

of the practices are embedded in social relations which cannot be simply replicated. Informal settlements are a type of urban development that is defined by its social processes; hence the need to be studied through its own context.

While this thesis can be seen as a conclusion of years of research, it can also be regarded as another step towards advancing our understanding of informality. I have known this community since 2017 and every time I return, there is always something new that can be observed. The narrow entrance to community has been replaced by a wide street and retail stalls are arranged in an orderly manner. Gone are the overlaid water pipes in Dahlia Street, replaced with a newly paved street with a small curb. A new learning center for preschoolers was also recently opened. It could be said that some parts of the community have started to be formalized if not for the activities in the streets. In some areas of the community especially in the inner portion, not much has been improved except for the houses. This is probably a reminder that despite the progress that Sitio Pechayan has experienced, it is still plagued by inadequate support from the state, and most are living in precarious conditions. But despite the poor quality of some of its public spaces, the residents have managed to make it work by adapting these spaces. And these spaces still display the same social vibrancy as observed in Dahlia Street. As Lejano (2018, p. 205) noted, "we observe a highly adaptive, deliberative, and context-sensitive mode of reasoning put into practice. Informal logic is the logic of narration over inscription. The rationality that emerges is an improvisational one, which emerges in situ from actors caught up in the act of fitting into a place." In some ways, this is what makes informality difficult to grasp especially for an architect. It is not guided by design rationality but by its own "informal logic".

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Guide for Respondents

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Getting to know the interviewee:
<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Age and occupation2. Saan po ang probinsya niyo?3. Paano po kayo nakarating dito sa Sitio Pechayan?4. Paano po kayo nag desisyon tumira ditto?5. Ano po ang nagustuhan niyo ditto?6. Ano naman po ang naging mahirap dito?7. Ano po ang naging impresyon niyo sa komunidad nung una niyo nakita?8. Ano po ang mga pagbabago ang nagustuhan at hindi nagustuhan?
History of the community
<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Ano po ang nalalaman niyo tungkol sa kasaysayan ng lugar?<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Sino po ang una na mga nakatira dito?- Paano po dumami ang tao?- Sino ang mga lider ng komunidad dati?2. Paano po nagbago ang iba't ibang lugar dito sa Pechayan tulad ng:<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Covered court- Well- open court- talipapa- Multipurpose hall/ daycare center- Daan3. Ano po ang impresyon niyo sa pagbabago nakita niyo<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Mas naging panalig po ba kayo?- Ano tingin niyo po sa mga politiko na nagpatayo4. Meron po ba kayo mga mungkahi sa barangay o sa mga politiko kung ano pa pwede idagdag o ayusin ditto5. Sino po ang nagbabantay o nagpapamahala ng barangay?<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Ano masasabi niyo sa kanilang pag mamahala?- Ano po mga nagawa nila?6. Kumusta naman po kayo ng pandemic?

Appendix B: Consent Questions

VERBAL CONSENT QUESTIONS FOR RESPONDENTS

The title of the thesis:

A Study of Public Spaces in Urban Informal Settlements

Introduction:

Ang pag-susuri na ito ay ginagawa para sa pag-aaral ng doctoral thesis

(This study is being conducted for academic purposes, for the completion of a PhD thesis.)

Purpose of the research:

Ang pag-aaral sa mga iba't ibang publikong espasyo sa inyong komunidad para malaman at masuri ang proses ng pag-gawa ng mga espasyo na ito.

(Studying the different types of public spaces in your community and understanding the process by which these public spaces are produced/ adapted by the residents.)

Consent questions:

1. Payag po ba kayo ma-interbyo?
(Are you willing to be interviewed?)
2. Magtatanong po ako tungkol sa kasaysayan ng Sitio Pechayan, kasama na ang personal mo na karanasan.
(During the interview I will ask you questions about the history of Sitio Pechayan, as well as your personal experience within the community.)
3. Humihingi po ako ng permiso mo mag record ng interbyo.
(With your permission, I would like to record the interview.)
4. Pwede po kayo hindi sumagot sa tanong ko at ihinto ang interbyo
(You can choose not to answer any questions. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time.)
5. Hindi ko po ilalabas ang pangalan mo at kung ano man na personal na impormasyon sa pag-aaral na ito.
(At every stage, your identity will remain confidential. Your name and all identifying information will be removed from the written transcript.)
6. Pagkatapos ng pag-aaral ko, itatago ko po ang inyong interbyo at itatapon pagkatapos ng tatlong taon
(The data will be kept securely and destroyed when the study has ended, which will be a maximum of 3 years from the completion of the research.)
7. Hindi po gagamiting ang mga nakuha na impormasyon sa ibang layunin, para lang sa pag-aaral ng doctoral
(The data will be used for academic purposes only.)

Kung may tanong po kayo, pwede niyo po ako tawagan sa 09991792825 (David Yu)

Appendix C: Barangay Information Sheet

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HAZARD AND VULNERABILITY ASSESMEMENT

Barangay Old Capitol Site

Profile

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS:

1. OLD CAPITOL SITE BIBLE CHURCH ✓
2. GRACE COMMUNION
3. JESUS IS LORD

EVACUATION CENTERS:

1. Coverd Court-can accommodate 500-1000 individuals
2. Daycare Center- Suntay Hall can accommodate 150 families
3. Barangay Hall- 2nd floor accommodate 150-200 families

HAZARD	DATE	DAMAGES	REMARKS
1. HABAGAT	August 6-9, 2010	All houses along Dahlia St.	80% house hold
2. ONDOY	September 26,2009	And Dahlia St. and Masaya Interior and Masaya St.	Affected, washed out
		All houses along Camia St.	
Yolanda	September 2013	And Dahlia St. and Masaya Interior and Masaya St.	10-12 feet water
Glenda	August 2014	And Dahlia St. and Masaya Interior and Masaya St.	Affected, washed out
Mario	September 2014	And Dahlia St. and Masaya Interior and Masaya St.	10-12 feet water
		September	ll houses along Masaya St.
3. Fire	March 6,2003	100% affected along Dahlia St.	70% affected

HAZARD AND VULNERABILITY ASSESSMENT

Barangay Old Capitol Site

Background

HISTORY

In witness of some resourceful and patriotic member of Old Capitol Site. It was then said that this small town has been recognized with only 779 population composed of farmers during 1945-1947 and used to keep and preserve weapons during world wars. The citizens of the small town has chosen through viva voice and hailed the first Teniente Del Barrio which is Mr. Alipio san Mateo seconded by Mr. Restituto Francisco. Until such time the Martial Law was declared. Mr. Perfecto Domingo, a soldier hailed as third Teniente Del Barrio.

During the Martial Law, the government formalized and ratified the Old Capitol Site from the term "Barrio" was replaced to "Barangay". Consequently the term "Teniente Del Barrio" was replaced as the term "Punong Barangay" or "Barangay Captain".

In 1982, the first Barangay Election held with the virtue and power of its district. Mr Perfecto Domingo resumed his position as elected first ever Barangay Captain of Barangay Old Capitol Site until 1989. In 1989, a synchronized election was held a competitive election for seven candidates. The candidates with higher amount of votes will be chair as the Barangay captain and the six candidates left will be composed of the Sanguniang Barangay.

At first, the population is only minimal, until the term of Mr. Alfonso alindogan the next Barangay Captain, voters has been arisen and so as well as the population rom less than 3,000 voters becomes thrice the number.

Today, the elected Barangay Captain was Mr. Mauricio C. Gutierrez, Sr. former kagawad. Barangay Old Capitol Site was developed into more civilized community. From a rural-depressed area is now become urbanized with its water and electrical facilities, (1) Barangay Hall, (2) multi-purpose hall, mortuary and the first ever Barangay Covered Court.

HAZARD AND VULNERABILITY ASSESSMENT

Barangay Old Capitol Site

Background

HISTORY

Barangay Old Capitol Site, Diliman Quezon City was a De-facto barangay in its origin since 1945 during the early days of Quezon City located at Diliman bounded by the Barangay Vasra on the North, Barangay San Vicente on the East, Barangay Up Village, TV West, and TV East on the South, and the Barangay Central on the West, all of Quezon City.

LAND AREA: 10.9 hectares, composed of six(6) sitios, two (2) at the barangay main name: Masaya Interior and Masaya Streets; four Sitios at Zone 6 namely Dahlia Street; Dahlia Extension Rosal Street, Camia Street Camia Extension and Lirio Street and Lirio Extension.

POPULATION OF BARANGAY: 6,837

NUMBER OF PRECINTS: 19

NUMBER OF VOTERS: 2,376

BARANGAY OWNED PROPERTIES

BARANGAY HALL

2 MULTI-PURPOSED HALL

1 BARANGAY MORTUARY

BARANGAY BASKETBALL COVERD COURT

HAZARD AND VULNERABILITY ASSESMENT

Barangay Old Capitol Site

Profile

RECOMMENDATIONS:

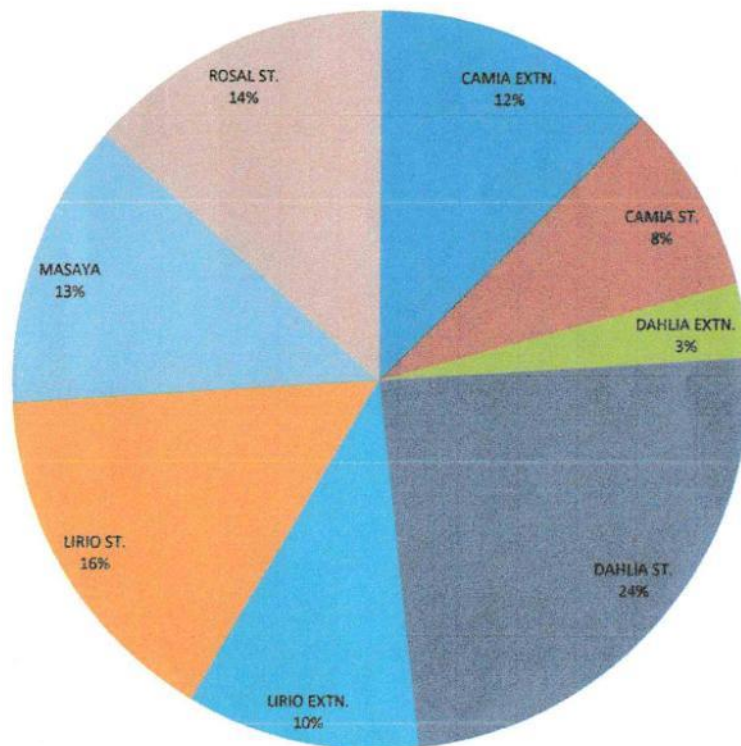
1. Synchronized clean-up waterways of all neighboring especially those beside the creek.
2. Engagement in various seminars and trainings.
3. Strict implementation of proper waste disposal.
4. Purchase of more rescue equipment's by the Barangay.

PROJECT CATEGORY	NAME OF PROJECT	DESCRIPTION
FLOOD		
PREVENTION AND MITIGATION	WATERWAYS CLEAN-UP	PURCHASE OF SUPPLIES AND MATERIALS
PREPAREDNESS	DRAINAGE DECLOGGING	
FIRE		
PREVENTION AND MITIGATION	REFILLING OF FIRE EXTINGUISHER	PURCHASE AND REFILL
PREPAREDNESS	MAKE FORUM TO EDUCATE FIRE AWARENESS	PURCHASE OF MATERIALS AND TRAINING NEEDS

Appendix D: Barangay Old Capitol Site Statistics 2011

AREA	NO. OF HOUSEHOLD	POPULATION	PERCENTAGE
CAMIA EXTENSION	204	809	12%
CAMIA ST.	136	551	8%
DAHLIA EXTENSION	53	265	3%
DAHLIA ST.	396	1642	24%
LIRIO EXTENSION	168	653	10%
LIRIO ST.	254	1080	16%
ROSAL ST.	221	953	14%
SUBTOTAL (SITIO PECHAYAN)	1432	5953	87%
MASAYA ST.	205	884	13%
	1637	6837	100%

Brgy. OCS Number of Household/Family per Area



BARAIGAY OLD CAPITOL SITE

Records of Inhabitants - per Age & Gender
Based on Barangay Census Conducted in Year 2011

LIFE STAGE	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Infant	139	108	247
Child	561	482	1053
Adolescent	657	674	1331
Young adult	727	766	1493
Adult	644	619	1263
Middle age	624	634	1258
Senior	80	112	192
TOTAL	3432	3405	6837

