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SLUMS AND SQUATTERS
IN SIX PHILIPPINE CITIES

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Aprodicio A. Laquian

Ottawa, 23 March 1972.

SUMMARY REPORT

Project: "Slums and Squatters in Six Philippine Cities"

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This is a study of squatters and slum dwellers in the cities of Baguio, Cebu, Davao, Iligan, Iloilo and Manila in the Philippines. It was supported by a grant of \$28,188 from the Southeast Asia Development Advisory Group (SEADAG) of the Asia Society. Research was conducted from July 1, 1970 to June 30, 1971. It focused primarily on (a) a survey of the slum and squatter situation in the six cities, (b) interviews in one slum/squatter community in each city, (c) an intensive analysis of life in the selected slum/squatter community, and (d) an analysis of governmental and non-governmental programs and activities designed to cope with the slum/squatter problem. As a policy-oriented research project, this study tries to draw recommendations on how to meet problems arising from squatting and slum dwelling in the Philippines.

Summary of Findings

1. Slums and squatters constitute a serious problem in all the cities in this study. The proportion of squatters and slum dwellers to the city population ranges from ten to 33 per cent, and is as follows: Baguio, 14.2 per cent; Cebu, 25 percent; Davao, 22.3 per cent; Iligan, 10 per cent; Iloilo, 32 per cent; and Manila, 33 per cent.

2. Squatting and slum dwelling promise to become more serious problems in the future as people who engage in these activities are increasing much faster than other segments of the city population due to

internal migration. The rate of increase of squatters and slum dwellers ranges from 6 to 12 per cent per year. The rate of job creation, housing construction and provision of urban services is only a fraction of the squatter/slum growth rate. With local and national government in the Philippines devoting only a small fraction of their resources to urban development, urban problems (especially squatting and slum dwelling) will most likely become worse before they improve.

3. Slum and squatter communities are found in the inner city and peripheries of the six urban communities included in this study. Generally, inner city slum/squatter areas tend to be older, more dilapidated, considerably more crowded and suffer from more serious problems (health and sanitation, fire, crime and juvenile delinquency, unemployment, etc.). With the exception of Baguio, the cities in this study are port cities, and old slum and squatter communities are usually in the vicinity of the port area. New low income communities are generally located in the city's outskirts. In the case of Baguio and to a lesser extent Cebu and Davao, squatting on steep hillsides has occurred in recent years. The location of these communities on steep slopes and their relative distance from the city pose various problems of urban services quite different from those required by port area slums and squatter areas.

4. Governmental and private sector efforts to cope with the problems involved in squatting and slum dwelling in the six cities have not been too successful. Generally, they have involved attempts to relocate people away from their present communities and move them to less desirable areas outside the city. In some instances, the government has been willing to provide assistance to relocate squatters such as transportation, building materials, food rations, providing water and other

facilities in the new area, etc. In most instances, however, squatters are treated as law violators and very little assistance is extended to them. The results of relocation have been wasteful and ineffective. In all the cities studied, such attempts have not served to solve the problem but to spread it as the squatters eventually return to other parts of the city when the impossibility of living too far from their place of work and other inconveniences involved in having relocated become apparent.

5. The study found that specific reasons were involved in the location of slum and squatter communities within the city. The most important reasons for location were: proximity to employment, availability of undeveloped land, availability of marginal land, and the availability of private land owned by "slumlords." The fact that these reasons were not taken into consideration when relocation programs were launched is a strong explanation of their failures. It is obvious, therefore, that if government measures for coping with squatting and slum dwelling are to succeed, the factors mentioned above should be taken into consideration.

6. The desire to own land is one of the strongest motivations of squatters and slum dwellers. Many of their actions (the ability to organize and fight eviction, their willingness to pay for the land, their readiness to resort even to violent actions when confronted with a threat), may be traced to their strong desires to own a piece of land. While economic considerations are strong in this desire to own city land, there is stronger evidence that it is a need for security which is responsible for the craving for land. In almost all instances, the struggle for the land has been a main preoccupation of the squatters and slum dwellers since they moved to the city. As such, they have developed not only the methods and techniques for coping with the threat of taking the land away from them. They have

also developed psychological and other defense mechanisms that result in their obsession with land ownership.

7. In policies for coping with squatting and slum dwelling, there should be some provisions for using this desire for land in a positive way. Most squatters and slum dwellers are quite willing to work for acquiring the land and to pay to the fullest extent of their capabilities. This willingness and ability, however, is tempered by cynicism, resulting from long years of broken promises on the part of government. In the communities studied, there are opportunities for land improvements which would make possible the sale or lease of some of the lands squatted upon for residential purposes. In terms of total societal costs (rather than the costs and benefits of the immediate transaction involving the sale of land to the squatters), there may be some justification for outright sale at liberal rates of lands squatted upon. The results from such an approach may also be optimized by community planning for the areas affected, which would result in their integration into city life rather than the isolation of such low income communities into ghettos. Thus, a sites and service approach should not be interpreted as providing facilities for slums and squatters only on land in the city's periphery. Even central city land, such as some of the areas involved in this study, are suitable for sites and service schemes.

8. Most squatters and slum dwellers in the six cities studied were rural-urban migrants. Furthermore, such migrants have little or no intention of returning to their rural places of origin. Thus, policies to reverse migration are of relatively little use in the attempts to cope with the slum and squatter problem. In some of the smaller cities, there were indications that some of the migrants would be willing to stay, if they would be successful in these cities. Policies of improving services

and amenities in smaller intermediate cities may be taken as a conscious measure of influencing city-ward migration, therefore. Perhaps, the planned development of such smaller cities along regional lines would add to their attractiveness vis a vis the capital cities.

9. Incomes of squatters and slum dwellers are low. However, living in the slum or squatter community helps a great deal in enabling squatters and slum dwellers cope with urban life. Generally, squatters express the opinion that their present lives in the cities were much better and preferable to the situations in their rural places of origin. Evidence from the six cities studied, therefore, points to the usefulness of slum and squatter areas as "zones of transition" where formerly rural people are able to smoothly make the transition into urbanites.

10. The study revealed that there are various resources and strengths in slum and squatter communities which may be tapped in finding solutions to the problems they pose. The capacity to organize and undertake communal action is one of these resources. Considerable economic resources are also within the command of these poor people, which are directly reflected in improvements in their homes and surroundings, contributions to communal affairs such as the fiesta, and donations to causes they consider worthwhile, such as schools, health centers, community athletics, etc. In too many instances, governmental programs for improving the lot of squatters and slum dwellers assume their economic and social bankruptcy and turn out to be instruments for doling out resources. If programs for coping with squatting and slum dwelling are to be successful, they must be based on respect for the integrity and abilities of the people involved. Otherwise, such efforts will only be in vain.

11. The study refelects the futility of relying on local efforts alone (community, municipal or provincial) to solve the problems arising from squatting and slum dwelling. The causes of the problem are deeply rooted to conditions in the countryside, in intermediate cities, and the largest urban centres. Very high natural population growth rates even in the cities, coupled with rural-urban migration, are the main variables behind the problems of the cities. These variables call for comprehensive solutions, covering not just substantive but geographical aspects. Only a national urban strategy involving population policy, investment allocation policies, central-local government relationships, and inter-agency coordination can provide lasting solutions to the slum and squatter problem in the Philippines.

SLUMS AND SQUATTERS IN SIX PHILIPPINE CITIES

I. INTRODUCTION

The population of the Philippines is growing at the rate of about 3.5 per cent per year and much of that growth is happening in the urban areas. ¹ Urban population growth, in turn, is due not only to the excess of births over deaths but to rapid rural to urban migration as well. Many migrants to cities are poor. They go to cities in search of fortune but they end up in squatter or slum communities. These communities, in fact, have become the most visible characteristic of cities in the Philippines and in other Southeast Asian countries.

Life in slum and squatter communities have been studied in the past. ² Such studies, however, have usually been confined to in-depth case studies of specific communities or to one-wave situation surveys involving a number of communities. Very few attempts at comparison have been done. Studies have usually involved methodological limitations confining them to a specific time or space.

Not surprisingly, individual studies have tended to show unique characteristics about each slum or squatter community. Very few generalizations could be made because of the prior limitations imposed by the methodology. The uniqueness of separate studies, on the other hand, has not hindered attempts to use comparative typologies in classifying slum and squatter areas. Such categories as "slums of hope" or "slums of despair" have been used; theoretical frameworks have been formulated

to compare conditions in various types of slum and squatter communities. Because of the gulf between the uniqueness of individual case studies and the generality of the theoretical models, however, the attempts to understand the real situation involved in squatting and slum dwelling have usually not been too successful.

This study looks at the slum and squatter situation in six Philippine cities. Included in the study were the cities of Zaguio, Cebu, Davao, Iligan, Iloilo and Manila. In each of these cities, surveys were conducted in cooperation with local persons and institutions, coordinated by Regional Development Centers of the Council for Regional Development Studies (COREDES) of the University of the Philippines. Field work was done between July 1, 1970 and June 30, 1971. Survey data were punched on IBM cards and transferred on tape at the University of the Philippines and analysis was carried out at York University in Toronto and Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada.

One of the reasons for making this study was to compare the slum and squatter situation in six Philippine cities to find out the extent to which each situation is unique and the extent to which it is similar or comparable to other situations. In general, the study assumed that there are many varieties of slum and squatter communities in the Philippines. However, it may be possible to find certain common features and characteristics that would make the situation in each slum or squatter community easier to understand.

The search for commonalities and differences, however, is not just the result of intellectual curiosity. This study is specifically oriented to policy action and interested in finding out what can be done

to improve the situation in slum and squatter areas. Obviously, what can be done is strongly dependent on how much of the situation we understand. If the situation in various communities is found more or less comparable, policies and programs to improve such situations may also have wider applicability.

Methodology

The main questions faced in the initial stages of the study were: which aspect of slum or squatter community life to look into, and what cities to include in the study. In response to the first question, the decision taken was to make the study as comprehensive as possible and not to arbitrarily limit the focus to economics, politics, sociology or anthropology of slum life. The broadness of the substantive focus, on the other hand, forced a limitation on the physical area to be covered. Time and resource limitations dictated that only six cities could be covered and that in each of these, only one slum or squatter community could be intensively studied.

The actual selection of the city was influenced by two factors. First, the city had to have a large number of people living in slum or squatter areas. The public authorities concerned must also have expressed concern about the seriousness of the slum or squatter problem and have attempted to do something about the situation. The second reason was an administrative one. In the grant for this study, one of the stipulations was that work should be done in cooperation with the Regional Study Centers of COREDES. Hence, the cities selected were those where such centers were located.

As previously mentioned, cities included in the study were Baguio, Cebu, Davao, Iligan, Iloilo and Manila. They were evenly distributed among the three main regional divisions of the Philippines -- two cities in each region (Baguio and Manila in Luzon, Cebu and Iloilo in the Visayas, and Davao and Iligan in Mindanao). Their populations ranged from 83,000 in Baguio to about 3.5 million for the Metropolitan Manila area. What was most important, however, was the proportion of squatters and slum dwellers in the cities' population, which was 10 per cent in Iligan; 14.2 per cent in Baguio; 22.3 per cent in Davao; 25 per cent in Cebu; 32 per cent in Iloilo and 33 per cent in Manila.

In each of the cities selected for the study, it was decided that only one slum and/or squatter community would be intensively surveyed. Selection of this community to be studied was done in the following manner: first, a comprehensive look was taken at all the slum and squatter communities in the whole metropolitan area. Using secondary information, personal observations, and interviews with knowledgeable government or private individuals, the various characteristics of all the slum and/or squatter communities were analyzed.

From the data gathered, the various squatter and/or slum communities in each city were classified. In the classification, the following variables were used:

1. Spatial location. This described the location of all slum or squatter communities within the metropolitan area. On a sketch map of the city, each community was plotted in accordance with its relative location. The zones in the city were roughly delineated as:

- (a) the central business district; (b) transitional zone;
(c) residential zone; (d) suburban zone; (e) peripheral zone.
2. Land ownership. The ownership status of the land where each community was located. This included: (a) national government; (b) local government; (c) big landowner; (d) owned by the tenants themselves; (e) partly owned by government and private individuals; or (f) other owners.
 3. Physical surroundings. The main aspects observed in this variable were the extent of physical deterioration of the houses and other structures in the community. The researchers looked into the types of materials used, the manner of construction of dwellings, etc. Various types of communities were described in the following manner:
(a) Relatively well ordered community, with houses of heavy or medium-weight materials and surroundings well maintained and orderly; (b) Relatively less orderly community, with houses of light and medium weight materials and surroundings not too well maintained nor orderly; (c) Somewhat deteriorated community, with houses of light or partially salvaged materials and surroundings showing some neglect and lack of maintenance; and (d) Very deteriorated community, with homes mainly of light, salvaged or cast off materials and surroundings showing extreme neglect and lack of maintenance.
 4. Size. Areal size of the community in hectares. Communities were classified into: (a) Small - less than a hectare; (b) Medium - from one to five hectares; (c) Large - from six to ten hectares; and (d) Very large - more than ten hectares.
 5. Population. Size of the population in the community. Communities were classified into: (a) Small - one thousand or less; (b) Medium - two to five thousand; (c) Large - six to ten thousand; and (d) Very large - more than ten thousand.
 6. Density of dwellings. From physical layout of houses within the community, the densities were described. Communities were classified into: (a) Low density - houses built apart from each other and usually had yards; open spaces available and shown; obvious room for more structures available; (b) Medium density - some houses clustered together while others were built apart some room for more structures available; (c) High density - most homes were clustered together, little room for physical expansion except through expansion of boundaries of community; (d) Very high density - almost all houses were clustered together, many wall to wall, no more room for expansion except for expansion of community boundaries or building upward.

7. Age of the settlement. Number of years the settlement had been in existence. Classification included: (a) Young - built five years ago or less; (b) Not so young - built six to ten years ago; (c) Old - built eleven to fifteen years ago; (d) Somewhat old - built sixteen to twenty years ago; and (e) Very old - built more than twenty years ago.
8. Value of land occupied. The estimated value of the land occupied by the community. Since peso values varied from city to city, the following categories were used: (a) Cheap - mainly marginal land not suitable for commercial, agricultural or industrial purposes because of location, terrain, flooding, proximity to nuisances, etc.; (b) Not so cheap - could be developed by considerable investment although not too close to business center and other productive activities, required special equipment for development; (c) Expensive - could be transformed into valuable asset if squatters and slum dwellers were removed and improvements made; (d) Very expensive - land of high value because of location, terrain, alternative useful activities. Needed little improvement after removal of squatters or slum dwellers.
9. Services and amenities. The availability of services and amenities such as water, electricity, medical assistance, sewerage, firefighting, police, garbage collection, tele-phones, social welfare, etc. Communities were classified into: (a) Seriously inadequate - even basic services such as water, electricity, drainage, medical assistance, fire and water protection were rarely or not provided at all; (b) Somewhat inadequate - basic services available but frequent problems occur or rates of payment too high; (c) Somewhat adequate - basic services available more or less on a regular basis; (d) Very adequate - all important services available on a regular basis and at reasonable cost.
10. Ethnicity. The Homogeneity or heterogeneity of the communities. Categories used were: (a) Very homogeneous - about 80 per cent of the people belonged to one ethnic, provincial, language or cultural group; (b) Somewhat homogeneous - from 60 to 70 per cent of the people showed the same characteristics; (c) Somewhat heterogeneous - about 40 to 59 per cent of the people showed the same characteristics; and (d) Very heterogeneous - no single ethnic, language, provincial or cultural group predominated, community of very mixed character.

11. Community Organization. The number of common and organized activities in the community, frequency of organized activities and regularity of organized activities. Communities were classified into: (a) Very unorganized - no apparent formal associations, community celebrations, or organized activities; people mainly family or self-centered; (b) Somewhat organized - a few formal organizations existed but people did not seem to be too enthusiastic; people attended community celebrations but not in great numbers or with great enthusiasm; (c) Somewhat unorganized - a few formal associations existed and were active, some regular community celebrations occurred, some people attended community affairs regularly and were obvious boosters; and (e) Very organized - a large number of community organizations existed, a set of officers and leaders regularly chosen, people acted as one group, they contributed funds to community activities and they attended most community functions regularly.
12. Crime and juvenile delinquency. From police records and the reputation of the community, what were crime and juvenile delinquency rates? Communities were classified into: (a) Very high rates - the police, social workers, newspapers and the general public knew that the place had high crime and juvenile delinquency rates. With actual regular outbreaks recorded; (b) High rates - community had a reputation for crime and juvenile delinquency but some improvements have occurred; (d) Somewhat low rates - some crime and juvenile delinquency but kept in check by community and the police; (e) Low rates - crime and juvenile delinquency rarely occurred.
13. Health and sanitation. Incidence of illness in the community. Physical conditions and availability of health and sanitation facilities. Types of diseases actually reported. With these data, communities were classified into: (a) Very poor health and sanitation conditions - high incidence of respiratory and gastro-intestinal diseases reported, community environment very unhealthy because of flooding, stagnant water, physical deterioration of structures, proximity of nuisance such as garbage dump, etc.; (b) Somewhat poor health and sanitation conditions - disease rates higher than normal and environmental situation quite poor; (c) Somewhat better - disease rates average in relation to city record, environmental situation somewhat adequate; (d) Good health and sanitation conditions - disease rates average, environmental conditions relatively good.
14. Employment and unemployment. The main economic activity of the people in the community and the extent to which they were economically employed or not. Categories used include (a) Very high unemployment - most of the people did not have regular employment because they were mainly unskilled or there

were few employment opportunities; (b) Rather high unemployment - unemployment above average, some of the people were skilled and could find jobs; (c) Rather low unemployment - many people employed, though only some had regular jobs; many had skills and found good opportunities; (d) High employment rates - most of the people employed, many had skills and education, economic opportunities were good.

15. Government activities and programs. Presence or absence of governmental activities or programs in the community. Such programs included social welfare, community development, vocational training, sanitation and health programs, low cost housing, cooperatives, etc. Categories used included: (a) Practically no government programs and activities at all; (b) Some government activities and programs but they were irregular and sporadic; (c) Governmental programs and activities provided but only some of them were regularly supplied; (d) Governmental programs and activities provided at regular rates with some degree of efficiency.

With the variables mentioned above, it was possible to get a good picture of the slum and squatter situation in each of the cities studied, without imposing some kind of preconceived notion of what slums and squatters were and the characteristics of the people living in them. With the various slum and squatter areas in the cities properly identified according to the variables mentioned above, it was possible to select the community for intensive analysis in each city.

Each community selected for intensive study was surveyed, using a questionnaire that was the result of a collaborative effort of participating researchers. This questionnaire was developed in a meeting held in Manila in June 1970 attended by participants from the six Philippine cities as well as foreign researchers involved in a parallel international study sponsored by the International Association for Metropolitan Research and Development (INTERMET). The names and positions of those who attended this meeting are in Appendix 1. A copy of the questionnaire is seen in Appendix 2.

In each community, it was decided that about 500 people (mainly heads of households) would be interviewed. No sampling was used in selecting interviewees. Most of the communities selected had about 500 families and a complete count was deemed more effective than a sample. After the surveys, it was learned that some communities were larger than others. Usable interviews totalled 2,943, distributed as follows: Baguio, 512; Cebu, 570; Davao, 470; Iligan, 500; Iloilo, 499; Manila, 392.

Aside from the survey data, it was also decided that more knowledge about each specific community was to be gathered. Using participant observation, secondary data and the survey results, reports were prepared on the nature of the community studied. Emphasis was placed in these reports on the community power structure, the physical condition of the community, main economic activities of the people, social activities and behavior, political participation and patterns of cooperation and conflict.

Finally, in the city as a whole and in the slum or squatter community specially studied, a report was prepared on the governmental and non-governmental programs and activities designed to cope with problems of squatting or slum dwelling. The intent of such programs and activities, the resources committed to them, and their relative successes or failures were looked into. Specifically, the relevance of such activities and programs to the problems arising from squatting and slum dwelling were studied, in an effort to understand how differences in perception between clients and administrators contributed to inefficiencies and ineffectiveness.

Significance of the Study

As is obvious from the objectives and the methodology used in this study, the intent is both academic and administrative-political. Squatters and slum dwellers constitute one of the main problems in the cities of the Philippines, and the problems they generate are bound to get worse before they get better. Solutions to the squatter and slum problem, to date, have been piece-meal, sporadic, and lacking in follow through. They have also been mainly copies of solutions tried abroad or continuations of old and outdated programs. Obviously, solutions have to be based on accurate information about the nature of slums and squatter areas and the people that inhabit them. To the extent that this study contributes to more and better information and helps in providing guidelines to public policies and programs, it should be significant.

II. THE SLUM AND SQUATTER SITUATION

Slums and squatters constitute a serious problem in all the cities in this study. As previously mentioned, the percentage of people living in slum or squatters areas ranged from 10 per cent in Iligan to 33 per cent in Manila. The rate of increase in the slum and squatter areas is also much higher than the city's population growth. It ranged from six to twelve per cent per year, while cities usually grew at the rate of four to six per cent per year.

The rapid growth rate of slum and squatter populations is fast outpacing the increase of productive and service facilities of cities. The rate of job creation, housing construction, increase of electricity production, provision of water and sewerage facilities, etc., is only a fraction of the squatter/slum population growth rate. With national and local governments in the Philippines faced with many other serious problems, the prospects for coping with the slum and squatter problem are not too bright.

The survey of the slum and squatter situation in all six cities which was based on the 15 variables mentioned above revealed that two of these variables were more important than others in describing the situation -- spatial location of the community and its age. These two factors were closely correlated with each other but more important, they also correlated highly with the other 13 variables.

In the six cities studied, slum and squatter communities were found to be scattered in almost all parts of the city and/or metropolitan area. However, communities in the central parts of the city were usually different from the ones in the suburbs or peripheral areas. Generally, inner city communities were older, more dilapidated, considerably more crowded and suffered more from serious urban problems (fire, crime and juvenile delinquency, health and sanitation, etc.). While they may have more services such as water, electricity, transportation or social welfare and they enjoy the advantages of being close to the work place, such communities also faced all the discomforts and dangers of overcrowding.

With the exception of Baguio, all the cities studied in this project are port cities. In Cebu, Davao and Iligan, communities very close to the port area were studied. An inner city slum was studied in Manila but although it was not close to the port, its location in the marshy banks of a badly silted stream (estero) gave it features that are very similar to the port area communities. In Iloilo, another inner city squatter community was studied. The community was close to an open market area (a feature shared by the community studied in Cebu and Iligan). In general, therefore, the characteristics of the communities made them more or less comparable.

Relatively newer slum and squatter communities were studied in Baguio, and to a lesser extent in Cebu and Davao. These communities were not in the central business district but they had adequate transportation means for easily getting in and out of the city center. In Baguio,

Cebu and Davao, squatting in the periphery has occurred in recent years -- usually on hilly areas on the outskirts of the city. Unfortunately, not a single community of this type was included in the intensive analysis part of this study.

To get a more vivid impression of the slum and squatter situation in each of the cities included in this study, the individual situations are described here one by one.

Baguio City

The City of Baguio, nestled in the mountains of Northern Luzon, is the "summer capital" of the Philippines. As early as 1903, the Americans, who liked Baguio's climate (average temperature: 64.4 F; elevation: 1,450 meters above sea level) declared the place a summer capital. A city master plan was prepared by the Chicago-based architect-planner, David Burnham, in 1905. City status was granted in a charter to the settlement in 1909. These favored treatments have resulted in what Baguio is today, a government center, and a tourist center during the hot summer months.

Transportation difficulties have hindered the growth of Baguio somewhat. The city is accessible only through three narrow winding roads that are very expensive to improve and maintain. The rail lines reach only to the foothills of the Cordillera. Air service has improved a lot but Baguio's elevation, low cloud covers and a short runway sometimes make service erratic, especially during the dangerous monsoon season.

Still, the presence of government services, tourism, gold mining, and trade and commerce, has made Baguio prosperous and attracted people from the lowlands and the mountain areas to settle there. Educational opportunities for people of Northern Luzon are excellent in Baguio.

The city also serves as the aggregating and shipping center for agricultural products, especially the vegetables that are such a large part of the production of nearby provinces. The population of Baguio has increased from 5,462 in 1918, to 35,177 in 1948, 50,321 in 1960 and 83,330 in 1970. These are the city's permanent residents. During the summer months, visitors and tourists flock to Baguio and swell the population to more than a million.

Of late, the attractiveness of Baguio's pine clad hills and Alpine scenery has been marred by the slow but sure growth of squatter and slum communities in all parts of the city. The City Planning Staff of the City Government pinpoints 36 places in the city's 23 districts affected by squatting or slum dwelling. Estimates of the number of squatters and slum dwellers vary. In 1967, a national government report estimated that some 3,161 families or 19,199 persons in Baguio were squatters or slum dwellers. A 1970 survey listed 2,500 families while the City Mayor of Baguio estimates 5,000. The City Planning Staff says that 14.28 per cent of Baguio's population is made up of squatters and slum dwellers (about 18,995 people).

National and local government officials in Baguio worry a lot about the adverse effects of slums and squatters on the "city beautiful" image and tourist potentials of the city. At the national level, therefore, a Presidential Proclamation (No. 232, issued July 14, 1967) has set aside some 18.9 hectares of public lands close to the center of the city for subdivision and allocation to people who were squatting on the land.

A "Squatters' Committee" was set up in the Mayor's Office, to control and supervise the awarding of lots to individuals. Local "Barrio Councils" were also mobilized to help the government in its attempts to do something about squatting and slum dwelling.

Governmental attempts to cope with the slum and squatter problem seem to be based on the belief that providing tenure and legitimacy to the land claims of squatters will encourage them to improve their houses and their lot in life. As such, Executive Order No. 75, (July 17, 1967) has set aside some 100 hectares located in five parcels in the city for "relocation sites". In these places (which are located from one to two kilometers from the city center), bona fide squatters are given the option to buy the land they are squatting on at liberal terms (down payment of 10 per cent of purchase price; prices ranging from Pesos 3.50 to 12.00 for land where commercial value can be as high as Pesos 25.00; ten years to pay full cost). The Development Bank of the Philippines has also offered long term housing loans for residents of one relocation site although it has been found that middle income people were the only ones who could take advantage of these loans as many of the poorer families could not afford the repayment schedules.

As in other Philippine cities, conditions in the slum and squatter communities in Baguio are grim and deplorable. Essential city services, such as water, sewerage and electricity are sadly lacking. Baguio's hilly and mountainous terrain, its relatively cold climate, and lack of employment opportunities make conditions for the urban poor

quite miserable. The hordes of tourists and sightseers during the summer months provide some means of income but they also tax the city's already inadequate services to the breaking point.

Still, Baguio's status as the government's summer capital and the reliance of the local units and business sectors on the tourist trade has meant the taking of positive efforts toward solving the city's slum and squatter problem. The National Government extends an annual subsidy to the City Government to help it in providing essential services. The realization that deterioration and decay arising from squatting and slum dwelling will make the city less attractive to visitors prompts the local government and business sector to do something. Thus, in spite of its many problems, Baguio is one of the few local units in the Philippines that has tried to do something about the slum and squatter situation.

Cebu City

Cebu City is the second largest urban concentration in the Philippines. Its history even antedates that of Manila as the intrepid navigator, Ferdinand Magellan reached Cebu in 1521 and was, in fact, slain there. The city proper has an area of 28,091 hectares and a population of 346,926 (1970 Census). However, the urban agglomeration of Cebu includes four other local units (the cities of Mandaue and Lapu-Lapu and the municipalities of Talisay and Cordoba), which raise the land area to 44,885 hectares and the population to 534,176.

Analysis of the 1970 census shows marked metropolitanization in Cebu. The city proper has grown only 3.8 per cent per year since

1968 while the whole metropolitan area has grown at 4.5 per cent. The neighboring city of Mandaue, in fact, which lies between the city proper and the international airport on Mactan Island, has been growing at the fantastic rate of 10 per cent per year!

The economic and social development of the Cebu metropolitan area can be traced to its central location in the Visayas and Northern Mindanao and the excellent port which is protected from typhoons by Mactan Island. Cebu is the country's main inter-island port, clearing 14,954 local vessels in 1968-69 alone, in addition to 643 foreign ships. Collections from the port within the year exceeded Pesos 41.2 million. Since Cebu's agricultural production is quite low, trade and commerce, manufacturing and packaging and cottage industries provide the main incomes to Cebu residents. Cebu is also a large educational center for the Visayas. About 60,000 students are enrolled in four universities and nine colleges in the city. Prosperity (and some problems) also arose from the location of an American air base in Mactan Island, which, fortunately or unfortunately, has been phased out with the gradual American withdrawal from the Vietnam War.

Traditionally, the Province of Cebu has been an out-migration point. Migrants currently found in Mindanao and in the poor districts of Manila usually speak Cebuano. The Cebu metropolitan area, however, seems to be a point of in-migration, mainly of movements from rural to urban areas. This fact is borne out by studies in slum and squatter areas in Cebu, where a considerable proportion of residents are usually from outside the city.

It has been estimated that about 18 per cent of the city's population and 11 per cent of the metropolitan area are squatters and slum dwellers. A survey conducted by the City Government's Department of Housing and Development in October 1970 estimated the number of squatters and slum dwellers in Cebu at 60,220. A survey made by the Peoples Homesite and Housing Corporation in 1967 pinpointed 13 squatter areas in Cebu and set the number of squatters even then at 66,120. These squatters occupied some 10,600 dwellings, 410 of which were occupied by more than one family. Average number of persons per family was 5.9. About 71 per cent of families owned their houses. About 56 per cent of the dwellings were semi-permanent in construction (mainly of wood and tin) while 40 per cent were makeshift houses called barong-barong.

As in other cities, squatter and slum dwellings in Cebu were mainly one-storey (78 per cent) and made of primarily combustible materials (81 per cent). Squatter communities were also located in undesirable areas, with only 26 per cent of dwellings built on dry and firm ground and the rest on swampy areas. In these latter communities, pathways and catwalks take the place of streets, drainage is practically non-existent, there is no garbage collection as no trucks can come in, the police are rarely seen, and only 13 per cent of families surveyed had piped water into their homes (the rest relied on public faucets or even bought drinking water from water vendors).

Most of Cebu's slum and squatter areas are located near the port area and the central business district, although newer settlements are already starting to crop up in the more hilly lands toward the interior. Main means of employment among males are unskilled jobs as laborers or stevedores at the piers. For those in the business district, many men earn their livelihood from the open markets, again as load carriers, transport workers or petty traders and hawkers. The whole family usually works, with wives engaging in market trading, taking in washing, etc., and children selling cigarettes, shining shoes, or otherwise picking up small change doing odd jobs.

Squatters and slum dwellers are mainly Cebuanos. The survey of 13 communities done by the PHHC found that three-fourth of the squatters were from Cebu, seven per cent were from Leyte, six per cent were from Bohol and the rest were from other islands (Misamis, Samar, Panay and Luzon). Another study of squatters in the water front area found that 43 per cent were from Cebu, 29 per cent were from Leyte and the rest from other provinces. Most surveys revealed, however, that while there is a preponderance of Cebuanos among squatters and slum dwellers, the proportion of people born and reared in Cebu City and its environs is relatively small. Most migrants are from other parts of Cebu Province.

The slum and squatter problem in Cebu has caught the attention of city and local officials but there is still relatively little that has been done to adequately cope with it. Government action has been

mainly prompted by crises. Most dramatic of these have been the costly fires that have repeatedly razed down squatter and slum communities. The history of governmental action for slum dwellers and squatters in Cebu, in fact, reads like a log from the Fire Department.

In 1956, a big fire destroyed makeshift homes along F. Ramos, D. Jakosalem and R. Landon Streets. The fire victims were rehoused in barracks-type buildings in Barrio Luz, some three and a half kilometers north of the city proper. In 1962, another fire destroyed some 500 houses and rendered about 600 families homeless in the slum section called Murio-Murio. The government offered to resettle the squatters in Buhisan, a hilly village some five kilometers southeast of the city or in other outlying villages (Pardo, 8 kilometers away and Liloan, 19 kilometers away). Not surprisingly, the squatters refused, and the government provided some 200 houses within Ponce Compound, only one and a half kilometers north of the pier zone. Those who could not be accommodated here were moved to Pasil, two kilometers west of the pier.

With the opening up of these areas, squatter settlements mushroomed in Pasil and the nearby places of Suba and Sawang-Calero. In 1965, another big fire hit these areas. This time, even the National Government came to the aid of the fire victims, with President Diosdado Macapagal himself allocating Pesos 200,000 for relief. Some public lands were also supposedly set aside for the squatters but nothing came out of this action.

The government's answer to the slum and squatter situation in Cebu City seems to be mainly relief for disaster victims and, in less troubled times, relocation to places far from the city center. Both approaches, of course, have been sadly inadequate. Laws and regulations providing for demolition of squatter and slum housing become ineffective in the face of unified and political opposition from squatters and slum dwellers. Since squatters and slum dwellers are highly organized and pit one group of politicians against another, they usually get their way.

Davao City

Davao City in Southwestern Mindanao still has many characteristics of the frontier boom town even with its population of almost 400,000. Though located in Mindanao, its population is largely Christians, mainly from the Visayan islands. In the legislative charter that gave Davao official city status in 1936, its jurisdiction was extended to an unprecedented 244,000 hectares by the simple expedient of lumping together the relatively urbanized town of Davao and the more rural town of Guianga. To date, the joke still runs that Davao is the only city in the world that still has unexplored virgin forests.

Of the city's total land area, only 1.4 per cent (about 3,394 hectares) may be considered urban. About 41.8 per cent is rural and 56.8 per cent is still classified as forest land. Davao's population is clustered in the narrow flood plains along the coast of Davao Gulf and the mouth of the Davao River. About 77.9 per cent of

the people live in the coastal areas of the city proper (30.8 per cent or 119,808 persons); Bunawan district (25.0 per cent or 97,188 persons), and Moril district (22.1 per cent or 85,845 persons). The interior districts of Calinan and Tugbok account for only 22.1 per cent of the population (55,055 persons live in Calinan and 31,416 live in Tugbok).

Davao City's population is mainly made up of migrants from the Visayan Islands and elsewhere. A government survey revealed that 67.1 per cent of the people had Cebuano as their mother tongue. Other languages spoken at home were: Davaoeño, 7.6 per cent; Ilongo, 4.2 per cent; Waray-Waray, 2.3 per cent; Mandaya, 2.3 per cent; Tagalog, 2.2 per cent; Maguindanao, 2.0 per cent; Bagobo, 2.0 per cent; Manobo, 1.8 per cent; Bilaan, 1.8 per cent; Tagakaole, 1.0 per cent; and others, 3.5 per cent. All in all, only 18.5 per cent of the people in Davao spoke a language originally spoken by people who were "native" to the place. Other languages were introduced from the outside.

As in other Philippine cities, many of the poor migrants who moved to Davao City are now living in slum or squatter areas. In 1970, it was estimated that 22.3 per cent of the city's population lived in such areas. Within the city proper, two general types of poor settlements are found: those that are located on the coast and banks of the Davao river, and those that are relatively inland, towards the foothills. Belonging to the former settlement types are Piapi, Bolton, Bucana, Agdao and Lanang while the settlements located in the Manila Hotel and Manila Railroad sites, Buhangin and to some extent, those living in the Wireless transmitter site belong to the latter.

In a study of slum and squatter communities in Davao, the Mackenbergs gave the following as reasons behind the phenomenon of squatting: (a) the influx of poor migrants from the countryside and places outside Davao; (b) the availability of land which could be squatted upon, such as those formally owned by Japanese businessmen before the Second World War, public lands, easily flooded lands that no one was using, etc.; (c) the machinery of urban politics, which gave squatters the protection they needed; (d) the motive power of social justice, especially among Filipino jurists who believe that squatters should have more in law as they have less in life. ³

Squatter communities in Davao have been established mainly after the Second World War. The community of Bolton Riverside, for example, started in 1956, while Lapu-Lapu Extension, which is located in the low income community of Agdao, was settled in the early 1950's. Squatting was rampant in marginal areas that were easily flooded and where ownership claims were unsettled. Houses in Bolton, for example, are usually built on stilts, and people move about on plank bridges or catwalks as the land never gets dry, even during the long dry season.

Urban services in Davao City are quite inadequate and conditions in the slum and squatter areas which are often the last places to be serviced are sometimes critical. Most residents of Davao depend on rain water for drinking -- people gather rain from the roofs and store it in large tin containers. There is a piped water system with Malagos Creek as its source but its rated capacity is enough to serve only

33,000 people. Water is also provided by 28 spring developments, 672 artesian wells, open wells and streams. In the more rural places outside the city proper, mountain streams still serve as the main sources of water. As people inhabit these places at higher densities, however, these primitive sources are proving insufficient.

Since Davao does not have too many industries, employment and underemployment are usually serious problems. A survey of the Bayanihang Manggagawa, a private city-improvement group found that out of a sample of 4,000 persons studied, nine per cent were unemployed and 24 per cent were underemployed. In July 1970, the Bureau of Labor office in Davao estimated that about 113,323 persons in the city were in the labor force. Of these, 53.6 per cent (61,050) were employed in agriculture; 38.4 per cent were engaged in non-agricultural work, (43,667) and 8.0 per cent were unemployed (9,106). Of the employed persons, however, about 26.1 per cent were underemployed, that is, they did not work regularly for eight hours a day, five days a week.

As Philippine cities go, Davao has a good record as far as crime and juvenile delinquency are concerned. For 1968-69, the police department in Davao listed 5,187 cases of crime. Most of these (47.2 per cent) were crimes against property while the second largest type of crime (23.5 per cent) involved crimes against persons. Crimes in Davao City, however, tend to be concentrated in specific areas, especially the areas where slums and squatters abound. The police department has divided the city into six areas. Highest crime

rates (36.0 per cent of all cases) were observed in Area V, which covers the squatter areas of Bolton and Padre Sulga. The second highest crime rates were observed in Area II (24.1 per cent) which included the squatter areas of Piapi, Bucana and Sta. Ana. The third highest rates were also found in the squatter areas adjacent to Laurel Avenue (Area III), where 14.2 per cent of all crimes in the city were committed.

To cope with the problems posed by squatters and slum dwellers, government officials and private citizens in Davao have two main approaches: eviction and relocation of squatters, or the subdivision and sale of lands squatted upon. Other less common approaches attempt to improve the employment chances of squatters, provide pre-school education for children in slums and squatter areas, extend medical and sanitation assistance, etc.

As in other cities, natural calamities tend to focus attention on the squatters who usually suffer the most from these events. In 1970, a strong typhoon cut a swathe through Davao City and many homes were destroyed by strong winds, rain, and floods. Hardest hit were the squatters in Talomo, where practically all the houses were blown down. The government initiated emergency measures and tried to set up a more rational way of redeveloping the community. About 250 lots were offered to the typhoon victims. Houses costing Pesos 1,500 each were offered, and long term payment arrangements were proposed. However, at the time of writing, nothing concrete had come out of the scheme and squatting in the area has resumed.

Two other relocation sites exist in Davao City -- Barrio Obrero and Agdao. The former had 34 hectares while the latter only had five. Residential lots were purchased by the government at the price of one peso per square meter and they were being sold at the same price. However, both relocation sites have not been fully developed. Many original receivers of the right to own the lots have sold these rights. In general, it is estimated that only 20 per cent of the original receivers actually moved to the relocation sites.

Government financing institutions such as the Government Service Insurance System, and the Development Bank of the Philippines have set up residential subdivisions in Davao City. However, the houses offered and the rates of payment are really meant for middle to upper income families. Houses in the GSIS project cost from Pesos 14,543 to Pesos 17,000 and land cost is Pesos 22.50 per square meter. At these rates, a person has to pay Pesos 210.00 per month over a period of 15 years to pay for the house. This is obviously beyond the capacity to pay of most squatters and slum dwellers.

The DBP project is located in Matina, three kilometers away from the city proper. Rates are lower here -- about Pesos 5,000, payable in ten years. However, the location is properly within suburbia and is not well serviced with transportation. For squatters and slum dwellers who work downtown and who cannot afford high transport costs, the DBP houses provide no solution either.

All in all, therefore, the slum and squatter problems in Davao City have been getting more serious through the years. Some

private citizens in Davao, notably those who belong to the Davao Development Foundation, have tried to cope with these problems. The DDF runs an excellent job training and placement service for squatters. It also offers a house in a relocation site in Las Arenas, about fourteen kilometers away. The new community entails transport costs but the selling price is cheap (from Pesos 40 to Pesos 100 per month). It is also located in a satellite town, where educational, market, health and other facilities are available.

Even with the problems of Davao, however, there is some hope that something positive can come out of government and citizen efforts. For one, more rational planning in Davao is not a problem in the future as the city has ample room to expand in and the government owns a lot of land which can be developed at relatively low costs. The people of Davao, especially those in the business and civic sectors, are sincerely concerned about the slum and squatter problem and are trying hard to find solutions. With this partnership between the government and the people, things may look brighter in the future.

Iligan City

Iligan City is the future industrial center of the Philippines. Cheap power, coming out of the Maria Cristina Hydro-electric Power complex is the main reason for the clustering of industries around Iligan. When fully developed, Maria Cristina is expected to generate 750,000 kilowatts.

At present, about a dozen large firms involving millions of pesos in investments have located in Iligan City. Largest of these is the

Iligan Integrated Steel Mills, Inc., a government owned corporation. In addition, there are two cement factories (Iligan Premium and Mindanao Portland), two rubber plants (Goodyear and Mabuhay Rubber) and other industries (Pillsbury Flour, Iligan Oxygen and Acetylene, Bluch and Son Lime Plant, Marcelo Fertilizer, Rustan Pulp and Paper, and Maria Cristina Chemical).

With all these industries coming in, Iligan City has had a population boom. From 58,433 persons in 1960, the city's population has gone up to about 83,000 in 1970. It has been estimated that the population of the city has been growing at about 7 per cent per year. With the development of more industries, it is highly possible that this rate would accelerate in the future.

As is to be expected, Iligan City's growth has been mainly due to internal migration. Not that this phenomenon is new in Iligan City. Historically, Iligan has been the oldest Christian settlement in traditionally Muslim Lanao Province. In the early 1600's, Spanish missionaries subdued the Maranao village of Bayug and transformed it into the settlement of Iligan. This pueblo became the staging area for Spanish attempts to conquer the Maranao. With Christian pressures, the Maranao retreated to settlements around Lake Lanao. The Christian-Muslim split is seen even to this day, in the fact that Iligan is the capital of largely Christian Lanao del Norte while Marawi City is the capital of mainly Muslim Lanao del Sur.

Iligan City, like Davao, has a large territory. The city charter of Iligan defines its boundaries as comprising eight barrios

(villages) and the población (city proper). These cover a total of 73,053 hectares, of which 639.3 hectares (barely .8 per cent) are considered developed. The city proper has an area of 3,262 hectares, of which 2,642 hectares (80.5 per cent) are undeveloped. The developed portions of the city hug the coast along Iligan Bay, and people are concentrated along the mouths of the Iligan River.

So far, the employment opportunities generated by industries have attracted mainly technically qualified and relatively highly educated persons. Increasingly, however, poorer persons are being attracted to the city as well. Lacking skills and not able to find employment in the industries, these people are forced to live in slum and squatter areas, where they often join less fortunate "native" residents of Iligan, who have clung to their subsistence way of life based primarily on small scale farming and off-shore fishing.

Iligan city has the smallest percentage of squatters and slum dwellers among the six cities in this study. Of the people who live in low income settlements (about ten per cent of the population), about 60 per cent are squatters and 40 per cent live in slum areas (mainly single family makeshift dwellings on the outskirts of the city). Conditions in the slum and squatter areas in Iligan are akin to those experienced by most low income rural folks. In squatter areas near the waterfront which is close to the center of the city, however, many urban ills such as social and personal disorganization are already observable.

Squatter settlements make up about 14 hectares, roughly 2.2 per cent of the total land area of the City of Iligan poblacion. These settlements are easily identifiable into six communities. The largest settlement is Saray, with a population of 3,060, located on the sandy shores of Iligan Bay, adjacent to the causeway of the harbor's main pier. Known by the city residents as "Salvage Zone", most of Saray is actually made up of two sitios (settlements) within the Barrio of Saray -- named Salabao and Kanawai. This squatter area started out as a fishing village after World War II. In 1962, a fire razed down most of Iligan City and residents transferred to Saray, augmenting the community's population immensely. Since the land is owned by the government, there have been many petitions to subdivide and give the property to its occupants. The "Saray Home Defenders Association" an organization of residents, has been very active in negotiating for transfer of land to the squatters.

Other sizable squatter areas in Iligan City include Suarez, with about 800 persons; Tominobo, with about 600; and other smaller settlements (Maria Cristina, Tambacan, and Bayug). All these communities are located on the foreshore of Iligan Bay. Some of them are quite far from the city - Bayug, for example, is about 10 kilometers away.

A survey carried out by Jaime Balacuit for this present study reveals the social and personal characteristics of most people who live in the slum and squatter areas of Iligan. The survey revealed that only 28.6 per cent of the squatters were native to Iligan, the others were migrants. Of the migrants, people from Cebu predominated

making up 25.6 per cent of the total slum and squatter population. Migrants from Leyte were next, about 11.9 per cent; Misamis Oriental, 8.8 per cent; Camiguin, 5.4 per cent; Misamis Occidental, 4.7 per cent, etc. Significantly, migrants from Luzon made up less than 3 per cent of the city's slum and squatter population.

Migrants who live as squatters and slum dwellers in Iligan have arrived in the city quite recently (Balacuit estimates the median age of squatter settlements at ten years). Of the migrants surveyed, 71.4 per cent had moved to Iligan within the last five years. Migrants tend to be young, the move being often made between the ages of 20 to 25. Families tend to be young, also, with high dependency ratios (more than 56 per cent of the slum-squatter population is less than 15 years of age). Life is hard with so many mouths to feed and incomes so low (average family income in the survey was Pesos 160.00 per month). About 46.7 per cent of the heads of families admitted to having no regular means of livelihood or as being "self employed" (mainly fishing and odd jobs). Prospects for jobs, even in the midst of industrial development in the urban area, are slim mainly because of lack of education and skills (more than 20 per cent of household heads were illiterate, only a third finished elementary grades, and 13 per cent reached high school).

With the national and local governments in Iligan engrossed in industrial development, very low priority is given to solving the squatter and slum problem. There is talk of a low income housing

project in Iligan City awaiting the release of Pesos 200,000 from the central government but there is little realistic expectation that this will be carried out. Most of the clamor for improvement in the slum and squatter areas is coming from the squatters themselves, who have organized into "home defenders associations". For some time, the government will most likely relieve pressures from these quarters by subdividing public land squatted upon and distributing lots to the people. In November 1968, in fact, President Ferdinand Marcos promised the people of Saray that they would have the land they were occupying, on the occasion of a visit to Iligan City. In May 1969, a presidential directive to the Bureau of Lands ordered the survey and subdivision of the land and its distribution to bona fide tenants.

As in other cities, solutions to Iligan's slum and squatter problem are made more difficult by piecemeal and uncoordinated approaches that are primarily responses to political pressures. It has been pointed out several times that coping with the problems of Iligan calls for a rational plan for the whole community, perhaps, within the context of the Iligan-Cagayan de Oro-Marawi City region. However, up to the time of writing, there is no master plan for Iligan and the city does not even have a subdivision code, a building code or planning rules and regulations. For a city so dependent on planned growth, it is ironic that Iligan is growing without any visible planning.

Perhaps, as the growth potentials of Iligan City are recognized and industrial, commercial and other needs become critical, the central

and local authorities in the area will do something about planned growth. At the moment, however, the slow growth of slums and squatters in the city (relative to the total population) is postponing the crisis. If no rational approaches are introduced soon, however, the city may start to deteriorate and attract more poor people. Then, the vicious cycle of poverty attracting more poverty may come about and the developmental momentum in Iligan may be hampered.

Iloilo City

The City of Iloilo on the southeastern coast of Panay Island is one of the oldest urban settlements in the Philippines. Before the Second World War, it was the principal port for the sugar industry but since then, the city has stagnated and has lost out to the more prosperous City of Bacolod in Negros Province. Iloilo Province, and its capital, Iloilo City has been a point of out-migration, mainly of people who have moved to Manila and Rizal in Luzon Island or to urban and rural centers in Mindanao. Migration to Iloilo City has come mainly from other areas of the province and other provinces in Panay Island.

The metropolitan area of Iloilo City is made up of the city proper and five municipalities. These six local units cover an area of 11,070 hectares and have a population of 209,410 (1970 Census). About 57 per cent of the city's land area is devoted to residential, commercial and agricultural purposes while the remaining part is used for public and other uses (roads, parks, building sites, etc.). The city proper, which has the smallest land area among the six local units in the metropolitan area (only 294 hectares), has the largest population (61,356 persons). Area and population for the other local

units are as follows: Arovalo, 465 hectares, 11,798 persons; Jaro, 4,620 hectares, 40,606; La Paz, 1,090 hectares, 59,393; Mandurriao, 4,179 hectares, 15,543; and Molo, 420 hectares, 39,004 persons.

Like other Philippine cities, Iloilo grew on the coast at the mouth of a river (three in this case: the Iloilo, Jaro and Batiano rivers). As such, most of the city area is reclaimed swamp and is easily flooded. The presence of many swampy and marginal areas combined with the population densities, has resulted in squatting and slum dwelling.

A survey conducted by the Iloilo Center for Regional Development Studies for this project looked into the slum and squatter situation in 142 of the city's 162 barrios. This study estimated that about 32 per cent of Iloilo's population lived in slum or squatter areas. Squatting and slum dwelling was most serious in the city proper, where 55 per cent of households lived in slum or squatter conditions. It was also critical in other areas, where the percentage of squatters and slum dwellers to total households was as follows: Jaro, 20 per cent; La Paz, 27 per cent; Molo, 43 per cent; and Mandurriao, 16 per cent.

Most slum and squatter areas in Iloilo line the shoreline and the riverbanks. Some shanties, in fact, are constructed on stilts right in the rivers and streams (a total of 176 cases in Iloilo City courts involve "illegal construction" of homes in rivers and streams). Many squatter dwellings, however, are on marshy or easily flooded areas, where people get around on plank bridges. There are also communities on government land, located near the piers, market places, dumps, and the central business district.

Construction of barang-barongs is often due to the acute housing shortage in an old city like Iloilo. In 1970, it was estimated that while there were 32,988 households in the city, available dwelling units only totaled 23,577, leaving a housing deficit of 9,411 units. This deficit has been aggravated by a number of disastrous fires that have hit Iloilo City, especially the conflagrations of 1961 and 1968, which rendered thousands of people homeless. The types of building materials used (mainly bamboo, nipa thatch or galvanized iron sheets for roofing) also results in fast decay and dilapidation, aside from being obvious fire hazards.

The sad housing situation in Iloilo closely parallels the inadequacy of other urban services. For example, Iloilo's waterworks system was constructed in 1927 and has barely been improved since. The system can supply about 4.5 Million Gallons Daily while a conservative estimate of the city population's need is set at 12 MGD. The City Engineer believes that to upgrade the system to adequate capacity requires more than Pesos 28 million. Since there is little hope that this amount can be raised, people make do with what little water is available, sometimes with disastrous results (if there was enough water pressure, for example, the cost of fires in Iloilo City could be significantly decreased).

An index to the social situation in Iloilo is crime statistics. In 1969, police records showed that 4,627 crimes were committed in the city. Of these, 2,390 or 51.7 per cent were crimes against persons; 2,190 or 47.3 per cent were crimes against property; and 47 or 1.0 were crimes against chastity. In terms of where these crimes occurred, the

records showed that 76.8 per cent of all crimes were committed in the central city area, most especially in the squatter and slum areas close to the harbor and the riverbanks.

With all the problems confronting Iloilo City, the authorities have tried to use the law as a control measure. As early as 1966, the City Engineer has brought court complaints against squatters occupying public properties. He relied especially on Republic Act No. 2056, which prohibits taking possession of public navigable rivers and obstructing natural waterways. However, the squatters brought to court claimed that they were too poor to build houses on decent lots (they also said they were too poor to hire counsel). The social justice issues they raised were picked up by the mass media and the public and the cases were "provisionally dismissed" but never brought up again.

Iloilo City is typical, in many ways, of how old urban areas stagnate and deteriorate as main industries and more productive populations move out and poorer and less educated and skilled persons move in. With the shifting of the locus of the sugar industry, there was little productive capacity left in Iloilo. True, the city remained an educational and cultural center for the Visayas. However, with practically no industries, low agricultural productivity, and declining governmental income relative to growth of service needs, the City of Iloilo is faced with a serious dilemma. To cope with its many urban problems, it needs human and financial resources. Its continued decline, however, in relation to other nearby urban centers, results in the flight of these

very resources to more promising areas. Obviously, central government intervention is needed to break Iloilo's downward spiral. However, the present political situation in the Philippines (Vice President Fernando Lopez, the main political leader in Iloilo has broken with President Ferdinand Marcos) does not provide for optimism even in this area.

City of Manila

Manila is the Philippine primate city and it reflects both the problems and promise of urbanization in that country. Metropolitan Manila is nine times larger than the next largest metropolitan area, Cebu. Even though Manila has reached a population of 3.5 million, the metropolitan area still continues to grow (Quezon City, the capital of the Philippines, which is part of Metropolitan Manila is growing at 12 per cent per year).

The Philippine Bureau of Census and Statistics defines Metropolitan Manila as composed of four cities and four towns (the cities of Manila, Caloocan, Quezon and Pasay; the towns of San Juan, Mandaluyong, Makati and Parañaque). However, this definition of the metropolitan area is badly outdated -- an actual delimitation based on such variables as telephone service, water distribution, public transportation and the extent of the built-up area will include 21 local units (four cities and 17 towns in three provinces).

Much of Metropolitan Manila's growth, of course, is due to in-migration. The City of Manila itself, which has about reached saturation point, has declined in growth from 4.8 per cent per year in 1939-1948 to 1.33 per cent in 1948-1960. However, this was due to outmigration from Manila

to suburban areas such as Quezon City, Makati, Caloocan and other outlying places.

Since 1948, about two-fifths of the people who have moved to Metropolitan Manila have come from the Visayan Islands. Another fifth came from Central Luzon. In-migration is also seen in the fact that about two-fifths of migrants to Rizal came directly from the Visayas.

A serious result of the massive movement of people to Manila is the problem of squatting and slum dwelling. Based on the most recent data available, there are about 127,852 squatter families (769,112 persons) and 55,907 families (335,442 persons) living in slum conditions in Metropolitan Manila, a total of 183,759 families or 1,102,554 persons. Some 43.8 per cent of these squatters and slum dwellers live in the City of Manila proper. Another 17.8 per cent are in Quezon City and 13.1 per cent in Caloocan City.

The District of Tondo within the City of Manila has the highest number of squatters in proportion to its population. An estimated 46,297 of the 80,436 households living in squatter or slum areas in Manila are found in Tondo. There are various reasons for the concentration of Manila's urban poor in this district. It is close to the piers, where most poor people earn their living as laborers, stevedores and loadcarriers. There are large parcels of public land, reclaimed from Manila Bay either by natural silting or dredging, and these open spaces are strong temptations for squatting. Tondo is marshy, with a network of badly silted esteros (estuaries and streams), and people

build their stilt shanties over these marginal places. Tondo is close to open markets and transport terminals, where most of the fresh produce from Central Luzon are transferred to local distribution networks, and the markets provide employment opportunities for unskilled individuals. Finally, whether as cause or effect, the Government has located activities that create nuisances within Tondo (the matadero or slaughterhouse, glass factories, heavy equipment depots) and these have tended to drive more selective people out and attract poorer people in.

Next to Manila, the city with the largest group of squatters in the metropolitan area is Quezon City, the national capital. Most Quezon City squatters have invaded public lands, such as the Quezon Memorial Park, roads rights of way in the West Triangle area, vacant lots near the Veterans Memorial Hospital, etc. A report on the slum and squatting situation prepared in 1968 estimated the number of squatters in Quezon City at 32,747, roughly 17.8 per cent of the total metropolitan area squatter population. Since then, the national government has accelerated a program of evicting squatters from public lands and transferring them to relocation sites outside the metropolitan area. However, many squatters have anticipated the relocation crew and have moved out before their eviction. Others allowed themselves to be relocated but abandoned these sites soon after and trickled back into the city.

Some squatters in Quezon City have invaded private lands as well. As a largely undeveloped part of the metropolitan area, Quezon City has many private subdivisions that often sell lots to future

homeowners and/or speculators. There have been charges that squatters purposely invade private subdivisions to force subdivision owners to pay them to move away from these sites. On the other hand, leaders of squatters have denied these charges and claimed that subdivision owners and speculators should not be allowed to reap such profits from land resources not used, adding that they were merely putting these lands to some use for the time being.

From the discussions mentioned above, one can glean that squatters and slum dwellers in Metropolitan Manila exert quite a political and social influence on city life. As such, it is instructive to find out what reasons they give for choosing particular areas to squat upon. In the 1968 report mentioned above, the most important reasons given were the following:

- a. Proximity to employment. Squatters like to locate in places where they can walk to and from work. The squatting in Tondo, close to the piers and markets, as well as the squatting around factories in Quezon City, Caloocan and other suburban areas, can be explained by this.
- b. Availability of undeveloped land. Squatters usually choose government land which is not yet developed (park sites, road rights of way, unused railroad tracks, reclaimed land) or private land set out for subdivision and/or speculation purposes. Most of the squatting in suburban communities is due to this reason.
- c. Availability of marginal land. Squatters occupy lands which would ordinarily not be used for residential purposes because it is marginal (flooded, dangerous, smelly, far from the city, close to nuisance sources). Slums and squatter areas in Manila, Pasay, Caloocan, San Juan and Makati usually involve marginal lands. The marshy nature of much of Metropolitan Manila, the many streams and estuaries that have been badly silted, and the hilly regions in the interior have invited squatters.

- d. Private land owned by slumlords. In the older sections of the metropolitan area, especially where streets and alleys are narrow, densities are high, houses are packed closely together and services are poor, slumlords do a thriving business of renting out houses, rooms or even bed spaces to poor people. Technically, people living in these areas are not squatters. On the other hand, they live in virtual slum conditions with decaying surroundings, unhealthy conditions and even physical danger. Central city slums are generally beset with these negative conditions, especially in the Chinatown areas of Binondo, the market areas around Calococan and Pasay, or the poor residential places in the Sampaloc district of Manila.

The government has recognized the problem of squatting and slum dwelling in Manila but policies and programs to cope with it are still grossly inadequate. Most programs stress eviction and relocation. Since the early 1950's, squatters from the inner city (districts of Intramuros, F.B. Harrison, Malate, Ermita and Tondo) and from outlying areas (Quezon City park site, Calococan, the railroad tracks in Makati and Taguig) have been transferred to relocation sites (Bago Bantay, Novaliches, Sapang Palay, Carmona, and San Pedro Tunasan). However, as previously mentioned, many of these relocated squatters have come back. In fact, in Sapang Palay where close to 10,000 people were relocated, barely 20 per cent of the people stayed in the place.

When conditions in the relocation areas are looked into, the reason for the back to the city trek becomes obvious. In Sapang Palay, the people have no means of employment. Most heads of families go to Manila on weekdays to work and just rejoin their families on weekends. Maintaining two households at the low salaries they get

become an additional burden. The extra cost of transportation cuts into meager earnings too. Basic services such as water, health and sanitation, education, firefighting, police and others that inner city dwellers take for granted are grossly lacking or not available in the relocation sites. In fact, in the words of one aid administrator delivering relief to people in the relocation sites, the government's action has only transformed economically productive individuals to welfare cases by transferring them to outlying communities.

Of late, the government has tried sites and service schemes and low income housing. Even the cheapest housing the government can build, however, is still beyond the capacity to pay of most squatters. Sites and service schemes have mainly been due to pressures from the squatters. Thus, Barrio Magsaysay in Tondo has been ordered subdivided and sold to bona fide tenants, after years of lobbying on the part of squatter associations. Residents on the abandoned railroad rights of way in Mandaluyong, Marikina and Pasay have also clamored for subdivision of the lands squatted upon, with considerable success.

Low cost housing using four-storey row houses have been successfully introduced in Manila as rental units. However, the seven story tenements in Tondo, Santa Ana and the South Superhighway sites have not been too successful. For one, the tenements had no elevators and the tenants have found the ramps and stairs too difficult to negotiate. Manila's water pressure is also extremely low, so that no water could get up to the upper floors.

Another proposal for coping with Manila's slum and squatter problem involves the mass production of low cost houses and their sale at liberal terms to people. The National Housing Corporation has been created, a factory to produce the houses has been bought, constructed and geared up on a turnkey basis from West Germany, and the financial institutions of the country (GSIS, SSS, DBP, PNB) have been asked to extend low interest loans to house buyers. It is possible that this scheme will attract people with modest means (each unit costs Pesos 6,000 to build). They may construct their own homes, free some of the low income dwellings they are presently occupying, and the housing situation may be eased somewhat. However, there is already considerable doubling up in most middle class homes. Thus, the hoped for "trickle down effect" from this approach may not significantly alter the housing situation in Metropolitan Manila.

In the final analysis, solving Metropolitan Manila's slum and squatter problem does not depend on the authorities in Metropolitan Manila alone. The roots of this problem are national and regional. So long as there are no alternatives available to able and ambitious people except going to Manila, people will continue to flock to Manila. In this sense, solution to Metropolitan Manila's problems really calls for a national urban strategy that would spell out what to do with metropolitan problems, how to deal with rural problems, and how to link the rural and urban sectors together in a rational way.

III. CHARACTERISTICS OF SLUM AND SQUATTER AREAS

As previously stated, it was decided in this study that a closer look at the characteristics of slum and squatter communities would be taken by selecting one area in each of the six cities and conducting an intensive survey of households there. While not necessarily representative of slum and squatter conditions in each of the cities, the communities selected were chosen with the idea that the data they yield would give an accurate picture of the physical, economic, social and political conditions in similar low income communities.

The communities selected for closer study were the following:
City Camp-Rock Quarry (Baguio City).- This is a community of about 600 households located a kilometer away from the center of Baguio City. It occupies an area of 18.9 hectares, concentrated around the motor pool complex of the City Government where many of the residents are employed. The residents identify three natural communities in the area: City Camp proper, Lower Rock Quarry, and Upper Rock Quarry. The community started being squatted upon in 1945, when low income persons settled on the abandoned rock quarry reservation. Other people were attracted to the place because of its closeness to employment and the city center. In 1967, pressures from the squatters resulted in a presidential proclamation ordering the subdivision and sale of the lots to the squatters. A land survey made in late 1969 and early 1970

defined boundaries of lots and most residents are now paying installments on their future properties. Strictly speaking, therefore, many of the residents of City Camp-Rock Quarry are not squatters anymore.

Pasil (Cebu City).- This community of about 3,654 persons is located on the shoreline of Cebu City, less than a kilometer from the city center. The area known as Pasil is large but the community itself covers only 10 hectares, of which about four are slummy areas occupied by private landowners and six are squatted upon. Pasil is mostly reclaimed land -- first reclaimed by garbage dumping and later by actual dredging operations. Ownership of the land is under legal dispute as several presidential proclamations have ordered the subdivision and distribution of the land while several business concerns have acquired land titles to large parcels. The main economic activities revolve around the open market, which is a favorite source of fresh fish in Cebu. The people recognize two communities in the Pasil area -- Barrio Lawis and Barrio Mahayahay though most Cebuanos lump both these places under the name of Pasil. Pasil is a barrio in the legal-administrative sense. It has its own Barrio Council and local government, which is very active in trying to get the land for the people.

Bolton Riverside (Davao City).- The Bolton Riverside squatter community is just a part of the large squatter settlement near the center of Davao City (other communities include Piapi and Bucana). It hugs the banks of the Davao River and is marshy and often flooded.

A recent census showed 1,677 households (about 9,845 persons) living in the community. People live in tall houses with wooden stilts. Houses have mainly galvanized iron roofs. The community is about 10 hectares, three hectares on the western side of Bolton Street and seven on the eastern side. There are legal disputes on the ownership of the land, which used to be owned by Japanese businessmen and was confiscated by the government after the Second World War. There are some titled lands in the community but most of the residents are squatters battling for the right to own the land they are occupying.

Saray (Iligan City).- The land occupied by Saray was formed by sandy accretions on the shores of Iligan Bay. People often call it "Salvage Zone" though it is formally known as Barrio Saray. The community covers some two hectares and is peopled by 1,194 households. Actually, the community is divided into two natural settlements (called sitios). Residents are mostly workers at the piers, fishermen, laborers and other low income individuals. Houses are typically rural -- mostly wood and bamboo with galvanized iron or nipa thatch roofs. Some portions of the community are easily flooded especially at high tide. Tenure on the land is unsettled as the squatters are lobbying hard to gain ownership of the land and the President of the Philippines has promised to give the land to them.

Barrio Concepción (Iloilo City).- The community of Barrio Concepción is located on government land which belongs to a former United

States military reservation (Fort San Pedro). The early settlement was made up of families of soldiers who wanted to be close to their menfolks. A number of fires in Iloilo City, however, greatly augmented the squatter population so that by 1970, a survey revealed some 598 houses, 870 households and a population of 5,736 occupying a third of 17 hectares which was Barrio Concepción's formal territory. The rest of the barrio is peopled by private landowners. Most of the houses in the squatter area of Barrio Concepción are made of light materials and a survey indicated that about 81 per cent were valued at less than Pesos 1,000. People are mainly unskilled laborers and petty traders who work in the nearby open markets. There are organized efforts to get the land from the government and sell it to the squatters but these have not flourished. The barrio is very highly organized for community and religious celebrations, especially the town fiesta.

Isla de Kokomo (Manila).- This is a slum community of about 500 families about five kilometers from the center of Manila. It straddles a badly silted estero and is, therefore, flooded all year round. People get around on catwalks and plank bridges. Houses are built almost wall to wall and the danger of fire is ever present as building materials used are mainly wood and galvanized iron sheets. The community occupies less than a hectare in what was formerly abandoned rice fields on the outskirts of a traditional village. Residents are mainly former squatters from Manila who were evicted from the

inner city in the early 1950's. The land is owned by a private landowner who charges rent ranging from Pesos 3.00 to 10.00, depending on the size of the house.

Summary of Findings

While the communities intensively studied in this project may not be representative of all squatter and slum areas in Philippine cities, they do provide certain data as to the nature and characteristics of such low income communities. Using the main variables described on pages 4 to 8 of this report, we can describe and compare the six communities in an effort to find common or different characteristics.

Spatial location

Almost all of the communities studied were located very close to the center of the city or peripheral area, in what may be roughly described as the "zone of transition" between the more heavily built central business district and the apartments or single family dwellings in the residential area. The study shows that the main reasons for the location of the communities were: closeness to markets, closeness to work, and the availability of marginal land.

Interviews with heads of families revealed that most of them worked "in the community or within walking distance from home". These accounted for 37.7 per cent in Cebu, 42.6 per cent

in Davao, 50.0 per cent in Iligan and 39.1 per cent in Iloilo. In Baguio, 53.9 per cent of respondents worked "outside the district but within the city", while 31.9 per cent of Manila respondents worked "outside the city but within the metropolitan area".

When asked how the respondents usually went to and from work, the advantages of the location of the community became apparent. The percentage of respondents who walked to and from work was 26.8 in Baguio, 53.7 in Cebu, 25.7 in Davao, 60.0 in Iligan, 40.9 in Iloilo and 12.5 in Manila. Walking or taking a vehicle to work, of course, is both a function of distance and the availability of transportation. Thus, 46.1 per cent of Baguio respondents took the relatively inexpensive jeepney to work, compared to 43.8 per cent in Davao, 30.8 per cent in Iligan and 36.9 per cent in Manila.

Even for people who have to take the bus or jeepney to work, the location of the community close to the center of the city provides many benefits. When asked how long it took them to get from home to the place of work, 59.2 per cent of Baguio respondents said less than 20 minutes. The percentage of similar responses in the other cities was much better, with the exception of Manila (76.1 per cent for Cebu, 59.2 per cent for Davao, 85.6 per cent in Iligan, 49.7 per cent in Iloilo and 38.0 per cent in Manila).

The cost of transportation to and from work, of course, is of great significance to squatters or slum dwellers who already have small incomes to begin with. Interview results showed once again the advantages of the community's location. In Baguio, 21.9 per cent of respondents paid 20 centavos or less for transportation per trip. Those who paid 30 centavos or less made up 36.2 per cent of the respondents. The proportion of those who paid 30 centavos or less per trip was about 21.2 per cent in Cebu, 32.4 in Davao, 19.8 in Iligan, 12.2 in Iloilo and 25.0 in Manila. In the assessment of the respondents, such rates were either very low, somewhat low, or low, except in Davao and Manila where 46.3 per cent and 36.99 per cent of the respondents respectively said the rates were either somewhat high or very high.

Aside from closeness to work place which means considerable savings in both money and time, the location of communities near open markets also entails many benefits. In Cebu, where Pasil is centered around the open market, housewives can buy food and other goods cheaply, husbands can find unskilled employment, and even children are able to sell foodstuff and other things in the market. In the other communities, small markets (known in the vernacular as talipapa) usually do an excellent business within the community. In Barrio Concepción in Davao, the road leading to the community is lined with stalls and sheds of small vendors and hawkers. In

Manila, itinerant peddlers bring their wares right to the doorstep of the shanty dwellers.

Land very close to the city center, of course, is usually very expensive. Squatters are able to invade only marginal lands because of this. It is not an accident that the Baguio community is located within an abandoned rock quarry, those in Cebu, Davao and Iligan have grown along the shoreline or riverbanks and those in Iloilo and Manila are on low marshy places. Squatters were the only ones willing to live under the difficult conditions dictated by the place of residence. Others were either not willing to live under the unhealthy conditions found in the communities or to invest considerable sums in improving conditions therein.

Land Ownership

With the exception of Isla de Kokomo in Manila where the land is owned by a private landowner, all the other communities are located on government land. The national government owns most of the land in the communities in Baguio, Davao, Iligan and Iloilo while the local government owns most of the land in Cebu.

What is noteworthy about the land in almost all communities, however, is the indeterminate nature of ownership. In Cebu and Davao, there are court cases on the land question. In Baguio and Iligan, political promises have been made regarding the future distribution of the land to the squatters. Even when presidential proclamations have been issued specifying that the land

should be surveyed, subdivided and distributed to occupants, however, there have been political and other squabbles that have made the nature of the government's intent exceedingly vague.

The indeterminate nature of land ownership is often closely related to two social factors: the willingness and ability of residents to improve their homes and surroundings and the extent to which they are organized. In Baguio and Iloilo where the intent of the government has been relatively clear, people have built houses of heavier and more lasting materials. In contrast, the highly political nature of the land ownership question in Cebu and Davao has meant that people have been wary of investing funds in improving their homes. In Manila, where there is no hope of owning the land at all, most people have chosen to build makeshift barong-barongs. A few community residents, however, have built large houses which are out of proportion to either their needs or the suitability of the land. However, they argue that so long as they pay rent regularly, there is no threat to their homes, and that they want to have a home of their own, even in the relative discomfort of Isla de Kokomo.

Physical surroundings

In terms of physical structures (homes, streets, community facilities), almost all of the communities in this study showed some signs of disorder, dilapidation and decay. However, they range from

the relative order and good physical surroundings of City Camp-Rock Quarry in Baguio to the deterioration, smell and filth of Isla de Kokomo in Manila.

Building materials used were typical of those used in houses for low income urban dwellers in the Philippines. Most of the houses are made of wood, though in Cebu and Iligan, there are still some houses made of bamboo, very similar to the traditional huts in the rural Philippines. Roofing materials are either galvanized iron sheets or nipa thatch. The relative affluence of residents in the Baguio community is shown in the fact that 72.3 per cent of the houses occupied by respondents had new galvanized iron sheets while 26.4 per cent had old galvanized iron sheets. The percentages for other communities in the other cities were: 56.8 per cent new and 36.8 per cent old in Davao; 33.9 per cent new and 20.0 per cent old in Iloilo and 40.5 per cent new and 54.1 per cent old in Manila. In Cebu, Iligan and Iloilo, many houses had nipa thatch roofs (65.1 per cent in Cebu, 68.4 per cent in Iligan, and 43.5 per cent in Iloilo). Only 18.6 per cent of roofs in Cebu were of new galvanized iron sheets while the percentage in Iligan was only 3.4 per cent.

The fact that these communities were occupied by squatters has meant that relatively little order has been observed in the physical layout of streets, houses and community buildings. In

Manila, there is even no street network within the community -- one walks through catwalks that wind in and out and around the houses. Cebu, Davao and Iligan communities are string settlements hugging the shoreline or the riverbank. In sharp contrast is the situation in Baguio where the land has been surveyed, plots have been laid out, lot boundaries are clear, and a network of streets service almost all homes in the community. The rational allocation of the houselots in Baguio has meant a thinning out of the community residents, of course. This has been accomplished by moving the excess people to "relocation sites" where they could also own land.

Physical surroundings are made smelly and unhealthy by the fact that most of the communities are on low marshy places. In Davao and Manila, the communities are on flooded lands while in Cebu and Iligan, the proximity of the communities to the seashore also results in regular flooding, especially during the rainy season. Flooding is not prevented even in the mountain city of Baguio for the lower portions of City Camp-Rock Quarry borders a lagoon which overflows its banks after heavy rains.

Generally, with no order in the location of houses, water systems, roads, etc., the communities present a shabby and dilapidated appearance. With houses located too closely to each other, with garbage and waste thrown all around (the Cebu community was founded on the old city dump), with mud and rickety plank bridges

and the absence of open spaces and playgrounds, the communities do not look too inviting as places to live in. Still, most people state openly that they like the communities and they have no desire to leave. These communities are home to them.

Density of Settlement

The communities in this study ranged from a very small Manila slum area of less than a hectare to very large areas in Baguio and Iloilo (18 and 17 hectares respectively). Populations varied from Isla de Kokomo's less than 2,500 individuals to Bolton Riverside's 10,000. Density of dwellings and individuals is highest in Manila where all of the land area is devoted to dwellings and pathways and there is no open space for playground and other common purposes.

Where there is no land use plan of any kind to guide the settlement of an area (which is the case in all communities except the one in Baguio), squatters and slum dwellers are able to achieve very high densities. Houses are constructed next to each other. Little or no space is allowed for public uses (schools, community halls, playgrounds, markets, etc.). In the early days of settlement, some people may fence off certain areas as their own. However, as more and more people flock to the area, land gets filled in quite easily. Fenced areas are occupied by relatives or friends of the original settlers. Old houses are expanded and new living

quarters are added either for the squatter families' own use or for rent. Some people build on whatever land space is available and either sell or rent such houses. Before long, very high densities are achieved.

High densities are achieved even though houses rarely go beyond two storeys by doubling up of families and other means. Generally, houses in the slums or squatter communities are divided into rooms, which are then rented to others or occupied by relatives. The poorer the community, the greater is the likelihood that households will occupy only one room. Thus, the percentage of households occupying only one room in Iligan was 61.4 while it was 44.7 in Manila. In contrast, 22.5 per cent of households in Baguio occupied three rooms, 46.5 per cent in Cebu had two, 39.8 per cent in Davao had two, and 33.3 per cent in Iloilo had two. These densities must be considered in the light of the fact that the average family in Cebu, Davao and Iligan had five members while the one in Baguio, Iloilo and Manila had six.

Within the family itself, there may be some doubling up, too. The respondents were asked how many families were living in each household. It was found that among the respondents, 4.9 per cent in Baguio had more than one family in the household (ranging from two to five). The corresponding percentage for the other communities was much higher: 11.5 per cent in Cebu, 11.4 per cent in Davao, 3.8 per cent in Iligan, 10.2 per cent in Iloilo and 17.7 per cent in Manila.

Age of settlement

The present conditions in the communities studied are relatively new -- squatting and slum dwelling in the Philippines occurred mainly after the Second World War. The communities of Pasil in Cebu and Saray in Iligan are very old, dating back to the early history of the cities. However, they were mainly small villages then, peopled by low income fisherfolks and not really suffering from the high densities and other problems from congestion that the residents are going through now. Accelerated occupancy of every bit of space available was mainly due to the coming of squatters and slum dwellers displaced from their residences from the central city. In some instances, fires and other calamities were the reasons for the displacement. In most cases, however, displacement was caused by reconstruction and rehabilitation. In Manila, Baguio, Cebu and other cities, the Second World War resulted in massive destruction. Poor people who moved to cities immediately after the War set up slum and squatter communities. However, as rebuilding took place and land in the central city was used, many of the squatters were evicted from their former residences. In time, most of these present communities in the "transitional zone" were displaced as more and more people wanted to put even the marginal places they were occupying to some more economic use. In some instances, the many legal fights over the tenure and ownership of land noted in the communities may be due to this desire on the part of some entrepreneurs to use the lands for other uses.

With age, some of the communities, such as Manila and Cebu, have become more dilapidated. Old galvanized iron sheets have rusted away and natural calamities (typhoons, heavy rains, floods) have damaged or wrecked some houses. However, in other settlements (Baguio, Iloilo), the older the settlement, the better the physical and other conditions become. People rebuild and improve their houses, land use is made more rational, streets and open spaces are laid out and opened, and people start beautifying their community. As mentioned earlier, this tendency of communities to improve with age may be due to the clarity of ownership status over the land and the security of the tenant's tenure.

With time, communities show a tendency to sprawl and then to consolidate and achieve very high densities. Development of urban land close to the city center becomes more intensive with the growth of a city. As such, developers use better lands first, and when these become too expensive, they start using marginal lands which are the ones favored by squatters and slum dwellers. With less and less land close to the center available for squatting, communities become more dense and smaller in actual land area. In Baguio, Cebu, Davao and Manila, some squatter communities are already growing up in areas that are far from the city center (on hillsides, river banks, dumps, ravines, marshy places, etc.). In the future, it looks like low income communities would find it harder and harder

Electricity is used primarily for lighting and the operation of appliances such as radios, phonographs and occasional television sets. Respondents who had electric connections all admitted to using it for lighting but only 5.7 per cent in Baguio, .9 per cent in Cebu, 5.5 per cent in Davao, 1.4 per cent in Iligan and 9.9 per cent in Manila said they used electricity for cooking. Wood and kerosene are still the main fuels used for cooking: 86.1 per cent of Baguio respondents used kerosene, 77.7 per cent in Cebu used wood, 46.0 per cent in Davao used wood and 38.7 per cent used kerosene, 87.6 per cent in Iligan used wood, and 66.1 per cent in Manila used kerosene. While wood and kerosene seem to provide adequate fuel, they also pose grave fire hazards, especially because most squatter and slum dwellings are made of combustible materials.

Water for drinking and cooking is also available to many respondents although in limited quantities in certain seasons. Thus, 68.6 per cent of Baguio respondents, and 64.5 per cent of those in Manila said they had water piped into their homes. About 90.4 per cent in Cebu and 71.8 per cent in Iligan could get water from faucets in neighbors' homes or in nearby public sources. Water is a serious problem in Davao, however, where 54.5 per cent of the respondents have to rely on rain water, artesian wells, open wells and other sources. But then, this situation is also true of other people in Davao for the city's waterworks system does not provide sufficient potable water for all.

Medical assistance may not be immediately available in the community but most respondents said they could go to hospitals, health centers and private doctors when the occasion demands. To the question, "whom do you see or consult when you or a member of the family is sick", 74.0 per cent of respondents in Baguio said they went to the government hospital or clinic. The percentage for other cities was 14.2 per cent in Cebu, 21.3 per cent in Davao, 32.0 per cent in Iligan, 28.3 per cent in Iloilo and 18.11 per cent in Manila. In Cebu, 64.7 per cent said they consulted a private doctor, which was also the one mentioned by 32.1 per cent in Davao, 38.6 per cent in Iligan, 28.1 per cent in Iloilo and 23.21 per cent in Manila. Private hospitals and clinics were also important sources of assistance given by many respondents. For minor consultations, many respondents went to public health centers (48.7 per cent in Manila, 21.3 per cent in Davao and 13.2 per cent in Iloilo).

Even with these basic services provided, however, life in the slum and squatter communities was not easy. Other important services such as police and fire protection are rarely provided, if at all. In almost all the communities, therefore, there are volunteer associations (rondas) which try to provide these basic protective services. While education for most young people is readily available, playgrounds and recreation areas are often not found in the communities. Sewerage and drainage are also not fully provided. Garbage is rarely collected, if at all, leading to problems of health and sanitation.

The most serious lack in services and amenities in the communities studied were in basic protection and health and sanitation. The peace and order situation in the slum and squatter areas is often bad but the city police do not usually provide adequate services in these places. In the first place, the lack of roads, telephones and other facilities makes it difficult for the police to adequately cover the community. The people also usually show resentment for the police, whom they often accuse of thinking that all residents in the area are trouble makers. The same lack of roads and communication is also the main problem with firefighting. Fire trucks cannot usually get inside the slum or squatter areas. Even if they can, there are usually no fire hydrants in the place. Some firefighting authorities do not want to install fire hydrants in the communities as the people open them up and use the water for domestic purposes. As squatters on public property who are not entitled to public services, the people in the communities usually do not get served.

The marshy areas, high densities and lack of public services are often the sources of health and sanitation problems in the communities studied. Again, lack of roads prevents garbage trucks from entering these places to collect garbage. Only in Baguio, where 68.0 per cent of the respondents said the government collects the garbage, is this service provided. In the other places,

people throw their garbage in "streams, open rivers, other bodies of water and wherever people will not object". The percentage of respondents who disposed of garbage this way was 66.8 per cent in Cebu, 38.1 in Davao, 86.8 per cent in Iligan, and 53.5 per cent in Manila.

Health and sanitation is also a big problem because most squatters and slum dwellers do not have adequate toilet facilities. Respondents who admitted not having any toilets made up 93.2 per cent in Cebu. 56.0 per cent in Iligan and 40.3 per cent in Manila. In Baguio, Davao and Iloilo, most respondents said they had toilets (94.9 per cent, 96.4 per cent, and 89.0 per cent respectively). However, the toilets are often not sanitary enough. In Baguio, only 38.3 per cent said that they had flush private toilets within the house and 43.4 per cent had "pit toilets" which were usually open, smelly, and accessible to flies. In Davao, 31.5 per cent of respondents had flush toilets but 51.9 per cent had pit ones. The percentage for Iloilo was 19.4 per cent flush and 61.7 per cent pit.

For those who do not have toilets, conditions are most primitive. In Cebu, 66.0 per cent of respondents said they disposed of their waste in open rivers and streams. More than half of the respondents in Iligan (51.6 per cent) and 27.5 per cent in Manila did the same. In Davao, where 96.4 per cent of the respondents said they had toilets, it was admitted that 21.7 per cent of the

respondents disposed of their waste in open bodies of water, showing that some of the so-called toilets were really sheds built over water. In other communities where toilet facilities are scarce, respondents also disposed of their waste by using neighbors' toilets. Those who said they did this made up 33.8 per cent in Baguio, 24.7 per cent in Davao, 33.3 per cent in Iloilo and 16.1 per cent in Manila.

As far as services and amenities are concerned in the slum and squatter communities, therefore, the picture that emerges is a very mixed one. In some basic services (electricity, water and medical help), people do not seem to have too many problems. In others, however, especially in protective services and health and sanitation, conditions are not too satisfactory. If conditions are gauged using Western standards, they will appear to be deplorable, indeed. However, in the light of conditions prevailing in the cities where the communities are located, the basic service situation in the slum and squatter areas do not seem too bad.

Community organization

As previously mentioned, the lack of urban services in the communities studied is usually augmented by cooperative and communal efforts of the squatters and slum dwellers themselves. In almost all communities, associations and organizations were in existence, though many of these have been organized and mobilized for very

specific purposes (to celebrate the fiesta, provide fire protection, hold a social event). The number of associations mentioned in the various communities included four in Baguio, seven in Cebu, seven in Davao, three in Iligan, more than ten in Iloilo and four in Manila.

Community organization is usually related to very traditional motives and patterns of cooperation, which may be survivals of a rural way of life (most of the squatters and slum dwellers are migrants from rural areas). Rural Philippine values place a great deal of importance on community cooperativeness. It is not surprising, therefore, that when respondents were asked "Do you feel that people in this community are cooperative?" most of them said yes (86.7 per cent in Baguio, 95.6 per cent in Cebu, 70.4 per cent in Davao, 76.0 per cent in Iligan, 87.4 per cent in Iloilo and 89.8 per cent in Manila). To the additional question of how people showed their cooperative nature, most respondents said by "engaging in mutual assistance" and "joining in community activities". Neighbors helping neighbors is an important value in the communities. Respondents who said that people in the community engaged in mutual assistance made up 53.7 per cent in Baguio, 91.1 per cent in Cebu, 55.5 per cent in Davao, 74.8 per cent in Iligan, 64.9 per cent in Iloilo and 81.4 per cent in Manila.

Community organizations, of course, are needed for the holding of community-wide celebrations. The respondents overwhelmingly

said that there were many such celebrations in their communities ranging from a low of 59.6 per cent in Davao to a high of 99.3 per cent in Cebu. The most important celebration, of course, is the fiesta, which, while a religious celebration honoring the community's patron saint, is nevertheless an important civic occasion. To the question of "do people participate actively in community celebrations?" respondents also overwhelmingly said yes (a low of 76.2 per cent in Baguio to a high of 98.9 per cent in Cebu). The same pattern of responses was also shown to the question, "do these community celebrations promote the interests of the community as a whole?" Again, the percentage of yes answers ranged from a low of 76.6 per cent in Baguio to a high of 94.2 per cent in Cebu.

Aside from fostering community cooperation and mutual assistance, community organizations also perform a protective function for members of the community. It should be remembered that almost all the communities in this study are squatter or slum settlements where there are threats from without and within. The most important external threat is the possibility that the land being squatted upon will be grabbed by others or that the government will evict the squatters. From within, there are threats of peace and order and internal conflicts, which also need militancy and organization.

The use of community organization to confront external threats is seen in attempts to prevent other people from getting

the land that the squatters occupy. In 1968, for example, when there were attempts to turn over parts of the Pasil community in Cebu to private businessmen, the residents organized with residents of two other barrios also threatened to form PASUSACA (the letters stood for Pasil, Subha and Sawang Calero, the three communities threatened). The same organizational tactic has been used in Davao, where the squatters formed the Kapunungan ng mga Kabus (Association of the Poor) in 1958 to fight the private claims of big landowners. Another Davao organization formed afterwards indicated the nature of the peoples' goals. It was called the Davao Riverside Landseekers Association. In Iligan City, the purpose of the main association in Saray is also explicitly stated in its name: the Saray Home Defenders Association (SAHOMDA). The members and officers of this organization have been lobbying for the subdivision of the land squatted upon and sale to bona fide tenants.

In almost all communities, the organizational capabilities of the people have been harnessed through the Barrio Councils. Under Philippine law, barrio councils are the lowest levels of government. They are supposed to apply to rural communities only (the term barrio in the Philippines means a rural village, unlike in Latin America where barrio is commonly used to denote an urban community). Still, in all cities in the study except Manila, Barrio Councils have been formed in urban communities.

Barrio Councils elect their own officers. They are empowered to raise funds and perform specific services such as road repairs, construction and maintenance of schoolhouses, health and sanitation services, etc. The most important function of the barrio councils, however, is political. Through regular elections, people actually participate in the choice of their leaders. In periodic meetings, people also engage in policy making and administrative decision-making. Most important of all, the barrio councils serve as contacts to city, provincial and national politicians having dealings with the community. Thus, political demands and favors are usually channeled through barrio council leaders. In this way, the communities of squatters and slum dwellers are integrated into the larger body politic, and the legitimacy of their status is often assured.

IV. CHARACTERISTICS OF PEOPLE IN SLUM
AND SQUATTER AREAS

Policy makers who want to solve problems arising from squatting and slum dwelling have to take into consideration the social, economic, political and psychological characteristics of the low income urban dwellers themselves. Otherwise, they run the risk of proposing cures that may turn out to be worse than the ailments.

It is thought that squatters and slum dwellers pose a very serious problem. However, knowing more about the characteristics of these people reveals certain resources and strengths which are vital to policies and programs designed to improve their lot. In terms of the peoples' abilities to organize their activities, save and invest, use and manage labor, mobilize support, etc., social scientists may be able to help policy makers to fashion more relevant and effective programs.

The characteristics of the squatters and slum dwellers described here were gathered from intensive surveys in the six cities studied. Socio-economic and other data were obtained for all family members but attitudes and opinions were those of the interviewees who were usually heads of households or their spouses. In the presentation, brief descriptions of characteristics are stated and the recommendations related to such characteristics follow. Of course, recommendations usually arise from several complex characteristics of people. Only the most important of these are highlighted in the following discussions.

Findings and Recommendations

1. Squatting and slum dwelling in the Philippines is relatively recent. However, it seems to be irreversible. Squatters and slum dwellers consider their present life much better than their former situation. They see economic and other opportunities in the city and are unwilling to leave their present communities.

From the surveys, it seems that squatters and slum dwellers in the Philippines (at least in the six cities studied) are here to stay. While a great majority of these people became squatters or slum dwellers only since the Second World War, the process that they have started seems to be extremely difficult to reverse. People continue to move from rural to urban areas. While at first glance, such a move seems to be trading rural poverty for urban misery, most of the people interviewed for this study contradicted this.

Asked how they would rate their present life situation compared to the past, most of the respondents said that their present life is much better. Those making such a positive assessment made up 85.7 per cent of respondents in Baguio, 89.5 per cent of those in Cebu, 82.1 per cent in Davao, 80.8 per cent in Iligan, 68.3 per cent in Iloilo and 51.2 per cent in Manila. The relatively lower percentage of satisfied people in Manila provides an ironic situation in that this metropolitan area is the most progressive in the Philippines. It suggests that life in a larger and more competitive metropolis may prove harder and harsher in the long run. However,

the small size of the sample and the peculiar characteristics of the communities studied make the verification of such a generalization difficult.

Better economic conditions in the city seem to be the most important reason seen by the respondents for their assessment that their present life situation is better than before. Such reasons, which include better employment opportunities, improved prospects for themselves and their children, higher incomes, etc. made up the bulk of the answers to why the respondents found their current life situation better. The improved prospects for children is an especially important reason as a majority of the respondents expressed this. About 95.1 per cent of respondents in Baguio, 70.9 per cent in Cebu, 84.9 per cent in Davao, 86.0 per cent in Iligan, 51.7 per cent in Iloilo and 47.9 per cent in Manila felt that the present place of residence provided better economic opportunities for their children compared to the former one.

Chances for children, in turn, are seen as arising from better educational opportunities. This was mentioned by most of the respondents in Davao, Iligan, Iloilo and Manila, which are easily identified as educational centers. Education is linked specifically to better job prospects. Those who mentioned that jobs are more readily available in the new place made up 67.7 per cent in Cebu, 47.9 per cent in Davao, 61.4 per cent in Iligan, 31.1 per cent in Iloilo and 25.0 per cent in Manila.

Positive assessment of current life situation is not only related to city living. It extends to an appreciation of life in the slum and squatter community as well. An index to this was the pattern of responses to the question, "if you were given a choice, would you stay in or move away from this community?" Except for the respondents in Manila, a large majority said they would want to stay (75.8 per cent in Baguio, 77.5 per cent in Cebu, 74.7 per cent in Davao, 86.6 per cent in Iligan, 60.3 per cent in Iloilo and 38.3 in Manila).

When asked why the squatters and slum dwellers prefer to continue living in their communities, four types of answers stand out from among several given: (a) respondents were already accustomed to living in the community where they had their friends, relatives and neighbors; (b) the communities were close to their place of work; (c) respondents had invested considerable amounts in their homes, facilities and community services; and (d) it was cheaper to live in the slum/squatter community as they paid no rents and amenities were cheap. A mixture of social and economic reasons, therefore, accounts for the perceived advantages of the slum/squatter community. For the squatters and the slum dwellers to be encouraged to move to other places, these alternative places should offer better features compared to the ones already mentioned,

One policy implication of the findings mentioned above is obvious: programs designed to eradicate slum and squatter communities

by relocation techniques will not work. Relocating squatters will work only if the new areas will offer better conditions. It is evident that the advantages offered by the present communities are difficult to match. Programs to encourage squatters and slum dwellers to return to their rural places of origin seem to be the worst option of all. When asked whether they would be willing to return to their places of origin, a great majority of the respondents said no. The figures were 88.1 per cent for Baguio, 59.3 per cent in Cebu, 73.8 per cent in Davao, 75.6 per cent in Iligan, 65.3 per cent in Iloilo, and 53.3 per cent in Manila. Most of those who did not want to return to their places of origin said that there were no employment opportunities there, and that there was nothing there to return to.

2. The break with the rural place of origin at the time of migration seems to be relatively final. Most squatters and slum dwellers made the move to the city when they were relatively older and at a time, even, when some were already married. In the case of married migrants, the head of family usually went to the city first, but the number of families who moves to the city as a group is also high. All these point to the irreversible nature of rural-urban migration.

In agreement with other studies of squatters and slum dwellers, it was found in the surveys done in the six Philippine cities that most of the residents of low income places were migrants. The proportion of migrants to those surveyed ranged from a low of 42.6 per cent in Cebu to a high of 99.4 in Iligan. Most of the migrants came from rural areas quite close to the city, with the exception of Manila where many of them had traveled long distances.

The age of the migrant when the move to the city was made is relatively older, when compared to the findings in other countries. The modalities show that most of the migrants moved when they were between the ages of 21 and 30. It is not known how many of these migrants went to the city on an experimental basis before hand. Data are available only for the time of the final move.

Asked what their civil status was when the final move was made, a significant proportion of the migrants turned out to be married at the time. These married migrants made up 57.7 per cent of migrants in Baguio and 50.6 per cent in Davao. In the other cities, single migrants predominated, making up 68.9 per cent in Cebu, 58.2 per cent in Iligan, 54.3 per cent in Iloilo and 54.8 per cent in Manila.

In the case of married migrants, the head of family first went to the city, stayed there for some time to gain an economic foothold, and then sent for the other members of the family to join him. This pattern was followed by 48.3 per cent of migrants to Baguio, 15.8 per cent in Cebu, 60.2 per cent in Davao, 66.2 per cent in Iligan, 59.2 per cent in Iloilo, and 49.7 per cent in Manila. The second most predominant pattern is for the family to move to the city as a group. This happened in the following proportion of cases in the cities: 37.9 per cent in Baguio, 35.4 in Cebu, 17.6 in Davao, 15.8 in Iligan, 18.4 in Iloilo and 23.4 per cent in Manila.

The patterns described above suggest the finality of the rural to urban trek. Thus, hopes for encouraging the migrants to return to their places of origin or to other rural places have very

little chance of becoming realized. The age and civil status of the migrants when they moved correlate highly with their motivations for staying. It will be recalled that economic factors, as well as high hopes for the education and economic improvement of the children's status are the most important reasons for wanting to stay in the city. Since these hopes seem to be realized for the migrant squatters and slum dwellers, there is relatively little chance that they will move to other places.

From a policy viewpoint, therefore, programs that recognize the aims and motivations of squatters and slum dwellers for staying where they are have greater chances of success. On site housing, community improvement, "sites and service", and other schemes seem to have higher possibilities than relocation schemes either to rural or to other urban areas. Governments should recognize what squatters want out of life and fit their programs to these if they want their programs to succeed.

3. The "migration chain" seems to have played an important part in the movement of squatters and slum dwellers. Relatives and friends who preceded the migrants helped them make the decision to move and to settle down in the city. In this way, the adjustment of the migrants to life in the city became easier.

Though much of the city-ward trek in the Philippines is of relatively recent origin, it seems to be gaining momentum as people who have already made the move to the city often encourage others to join them in a human migration chain. The way in which migrants among the squatters and slum dwellers made the move bear this generalization out. Relatives, friends, and people from the same village or region

play an important role in the decision on whether a person in the rural area will move to the city or not. This role is especially important in the migration of single individuals.

Among unmarried migrants, the percentage of those who lived by themselves when they made the move to the city is quite small. Only 14.7 per cent of the single Baguio migrants lived by themselves when they moved to the city. The equivalent percentages in the other cities were 21.5 per cent in Cebu, 18.0 per cent in Davao, 33.2 per cent in Iligan, 9.5 per cent in Iloilo and 7.5 per cent in Manila. In contrast, the percentage of single migrants who first lived with relatives upon moving to the city was 75.4 per cent in Baguio, 44.2 per cent in Cebu, 68.4 per cent in Davao, 60.1 per cent in Iligan, 48.1 per cent in Iloilo and 69.2 per cent in Manila. The other individuals who did not live with relatives nor live by themselves either lived with friends or people from their hometowns or region.

Even among married migrants who moved to the city, the percentage of people who lived with relatives was quite significant though not as high as in the case of single migrants. Among married migrants, the proportions of those who lived by themselves was 72.0 per cent in Baguio, 55.5 per cent in Cebu, 44.4 per cent in Davao, 72.8 per cent in Iligan, 63.7 per cent in Iloilo and 58.4 per cent in Manila. Considering that many of these married migrants moved with their families (either travelling as a group or the families immediately following),

the proportion of those who did not live by themselves upon moving is relatively high. This only means that the social pressures on relatives to accept migrating kinsmen must be high and that social values encourage the virtue of helping relatives and friends.

The assistance of relatives and friends extended to the new migrant is an important resource in dealing with the problems that arise from rapid rural-urban migration. Surveys have shown that this feeling of kin and ethnic group solidarity is strongest in slum and squatter neighborhoods. And yet, in some governmental programs advocating the use of "reception centers" for migrants, this kinship or ethnic variable is not recognized at all. In some instances, it is even treated with disdain, as it allegedly encourages partisanship and even nepotism. However, the prevalence and the persistence of the migration chain should lead to a re-evaluation of so-called objective bureaucratic policies. Perhaps, the recognition of the kinship and ethnic ties in governmental schemes will go a long way in making them more relevant and successful.

4. Most squatters and slum dwellers have low education, lack technical and professional skills, and find employment in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. However, their aspirations for themselves and their children are high. This may make for progress or frustration, depending on what happens to them in the city.

According to the results of the surveys taken for this study, the average squatter or slum dweller who is head of a family received only up to six years of schooling. Those who finished studies up to

the elementary grade level made up 25.4 per cent in Baguio, 24.6 per cent in Cebu, 12.6 per cent in Davao, 34.4 per cent in Iligan, 30.7 per cent in Iloilo and 31.7 per cent in Manila. At this level, a person is usually literate but has not developed any particular skills. Thus, most of the respondents in this study worked at unskilled or semi-skilled jobs in private business or government. A considerable number are also "self-employed" which generally means that they do odd jobs, work sporadically, and have no regular means of income.

Compared to their fathers, however, the respondents seem to be relatively more progressive. In Baguio, Davao and Iligan, more than 50 per cent of the respondents had regular jobs where they were included in a payroll and were paid on a bi-monthly or monthly basis. As far as the fathers of the respondents were concerned, a large proportion of them were engaged in subsistence agriculture. The proportion of fathers engaged in agriculture and fishing was 80.3 per cent in Baguio, 72.7 per cent in Iloilo and 44.4 per cent in Manila.

When it comes to their aspirations for their children, the respondents have a very optimistic view of the future. Asked what they saw as the jobs of their children in the future (objective expectation as against subjective wishes), the respondents mentioned that their children will occupy professional or managerial positions, followed closely by private business, teaching, skilled labor jobs

and clerical positions. A full 35.7 per cent of respondents in Baguio, 29.5 per cent in Cebu, 61.7 per cent in Davao, 45.5 per cent in Iloilo and 33.4 per cent in Manila expected their children to become professionals.

There are indications that the high aspirations and expectations for the children of squatters and slum dwellers do not come from wistful thinking or idle dreaming. The Philippine society is a vertically mobile society. There are many examples of poor people who made good and they bear substance to the mythology of the society.

Most of the aspirations of squatters and slum dwellers for their children are pinned on education, which is seen as the main vehicle for upward mobility. This is why programs that are related to education, such as construction and maintenance of school houses, pre-school nurseries, adult education, handicrafts and vocational education and training, etc., are so popular in slum and squatter areas. In Davao, for example, "Project Hope" which is a school-related program aimed at improving the capabilities of pre-school children receives enthusiastic support. Squatters and slum dwellers find no problems in coming up with monetary, labor and other resources when these are being mobilized for the education of children. In introducing programs for squatters and slum dwellers, therefore, their priorities and aspirations must be taken into consideration so that they could become partners rather than clients in the venture.

5. Ownership of home and land are primary motivations in squattling. Considerable investments have been made in house construction and improvement by squatters and slum dwellers. These facts should be considered in any housing policy for squatters and slum dwellers.

An important incentive to living in a slum or squatter area is the possibility of owning your home. In most of the families studied, home ownership has become a reality. The percentage of families who owned their homes was 54.5 per cent in Baguio, 85.4 in Cebu, 55.7 in Davao, 65.4 in Iligan, 86.0 per cent in Iloilo and 47.2 per cent in Manila.

Considerable sums of money have been invested by squatters and slum dwellers in the construction and improvement of their homes. To find out the values of the houses in the communities, the respondents were asked how much they expected to get if they sold their homes. In Cebu, Iligan and Iloilo, where the communities studied were mostly made up of makeshift homes, the values estimated by the homeowners were relatively low. Those who expected a selling price of Pesos 500 or less made up 55.6 per cent in Cebu, 45.2 per cent in Iligan and 36.1 per cent in Iloilo. About 27.0 per cent in Cebu, 20.0 per cent in Iligan and 24.4 per cent in Iloilo said they could sell their houses at prices between Pesos 501 and 1,000.

In Baguio, Davao and Manila, however, relatively higher values were set by homeowners. Thus, 23.8 per cent of respondents in Baguio, 16.0 per cent in Davao and 8.9 per cent in Manila said they they could get more than Pesos 5,000 if they sold their homes.

While some of the differences in expected selling prices could have been due to variations in price structures, it is also true that the considerably more permanent nature of the homes in these cities and the relative benefits that could be gleaned by living in the squatter and slum communities raised the price of the houses in those places somewhat.

As mentioned previously, most of the squatter communities studied were located on land where ownership status was indeterminate. Most of the squatters and slum dwellers, therefore, have set their sights on owning the land they are squatting on. To achieve this, they have filed court cases, organized, acted in political groups, and lobbied extensively.

As a preliminary step in the recognition of their land claims, some respondents have managed to shift from squatters to land renters. In the community in Manila where the land is owned by a private landlord, a little less than 50 per cent of the respondents were paying rent. In the other cities where the lands were owned by the government, however, the proportion of renters is relatively small. Thus, 82.0 per cent of those interviewed in Baguio said they were not paying rent on the land. The equivalent percentages in other cities were: 99.5 per cent in Cebu, 73.2 per cent in Davao, 79.6 per cent in Iligan, 97.2 per cent in Iloilo and 55.1 per cent in Manila.

Amounts paid for land rental were relatively small -- usually less than Pesos 10 a month. There are indications, therefore, that

the rent paid is more symbolic than actual. The squatters are just proving their existence to the government and paying rent is one way of legitimizing their claims. Once the government recognizes their existence by accepting rent on the land, the squatters move on to demands for sale of the land to them on easy installment terms. In this way, the dream of the squatters for a lot of their own (a dream which some sociologists and anthropologists believe is rooted in their rural traditions that put a very high value on land ownership) becomes closer to being realized.

Selling or ceding of public lands to squatters and slum dwellers, of course, has many advantages and disadvantages. Of positive importance is the finding that once squatters and slum dwellers own the land their homes are built on, they tend to improve these and invest a higher percentage of their earnings in such improvements. On the other hand, as far as the government is concerned, selling the land makes it difficult to plan it and improve it for other uses later. This dilemma is a particularly difficult one for public authorities that do not have enough resources to build facilities on public land at present but they do not want to make it difficult in the future to provide these facilities because the land has been sold to squatters and slum dwellers and has to be repurchased at higher prices.

However, as far as home ownership and home improvement are concerned, public authorities should consider the fact that the

housing stock in most developing countries is seriously scarce and that any accommodation capable of housing a family should be counted. Razing down slum and squatter areas entails a large waste of peoples' resources. If such resources are not used to their fullest extent, the society as a whole suffers.

6. Incomes of squatters and slum dwellers are low. However, living in the slum and squatter areas helps in making both ends meet. Other family members work. Generally, the economic conditions of the squatters and slum dwellers is quite acceptable to them, at least, compared with their original condition in life.

Among the families studied for this project, the average monthly income ranged between Pesos 150 to 250. Since the minimum wage in the Philippines is Pesos 180 a month, most squatters and slum dwellers may be classified under the low income groups of Filipinos.

Data from the six cities revealed that the sample in Baguio had relatively higher incomes than those in the other communities. About 39.8 per cent of the Baguio sample received between Pesos 201 to 300 per month. About 36.7 per cent of Manila respondents and 35.5 per cent of those in Davao received equivalent levels of income. In contrast, only a quarter of Cebu and Iloilo respondents and a fifth of Iligan respondents received this much income. More than a third of Cebu and Iloilo respondents received less than Pesos 150 a month while 45.8 per cent of Iligan respondents were in the same income bracket.

It must be observed that the income figures quoted above are for the whole family. One thing that is common in the slum and squatter areas is the phenomenon of several members of the same family being employed. The percentage of families where other members were gainfully employed in addition to the head of the family was 20.7 per cent in Baguio, 43.3 per cent in Cebu, 30.5 per cent in Davao, 17.4 per cent in Iligan, 21.6 per cent in Iloilo and 31.1 per cent in Manila.

Even with low incomes, however, families in slum and squatter areas are able to tailor their expenditure patterns to their incomes. The most important savings are in housing. As previously mentioned, most squatters and slum dwellers owned their homes and a very small percentage of them paid rents on the land. Rents for housing of those who do not own their homes are also relatively low. Among the families studied in the six cities, less than a third were renting homes (about 32.0 per cent in Baguio, 10.9 per cent in Cebu, 40.2 per cent in Davao, 29.4 per cent in Iligan, 12.4 per cent in Iloilo and 45.4 per cent in Manila. Generally, the studies revealed that the proportion of renters in new slum and squatter communities is relatively low (Cebu, Iloilo and Iligan). In communities which have been compactly settled over a period of time where the opportunity to build one's own house is not available anymore, people are forced to rent houses, rooms or bed spaces in already established houses.

In Cebu, Iligan and Iloilo, the average renter paid between Pesos 5.00 and 10.00 per month, which is considerably lower than five per cent of the family's monthly income. Rents in Baguio, Davao and Manila are relatively higher, averaging between Pesos 15.00 and 20.00 in Baguio and Manila and between Pesos 20.00 and 25.00 in Davao. To some extent, higher rents in Davao may be explained by the location of the community, which is very close to employment places and the center of town. Still, even at these rent levels, very few renters among squatters and slum dwellers pay more than 10 per cent of their monthly incomes for rent.

Urban services in the slum and squatter areas are often lacking but when they are available, they do not cost too much. For example, one of the amenities usually available in most of the slum and squatter areas was water for drinking and washing. Except in Iloilo where most people had difficulty getting potable water, most residents in other cities did not have to pay too much for this service. In fact, to many of the residents, water was free. This was the case in 30.1 per cent of cases in Baguio, 21.3 per cent in Davao, 21.4 per cent in Manila and 7.2 per cent in Iligan. In Baguio, 24.2 per cent of respondents said they spent less than Pesos 2.00 per month for water as did 22.3 per cent in Davao, 65.4 per cent in Iligan and 16.6 per cent in Manila. In Iloilo where the public water system is badly strained beyond its capacity, about

a fifth of the inhabitants said they spent more than Pesos 10.00 per month for this amenity. This was almost the same percentage of income devoted to house rent among some of the squatters and slum dwellers in this Iloilo community.

In order to understand the economic habits of the squatters and slum dwellers, questions were asked on how they purchased their daily needs for food. An overwhelming number of the respondents said that they bought their food in small quantities, usually several times a day. This pattern of buying was reported by 75.0 per cent of the respondents in Baguio, 75.3 per cent of those in Cebu and 62.7 per cent of those in Iloilo. What makes this pattern of buying possible is the presence of many sari sari stores (corner variety stores) in the slum and squatter areas. In previous studies conducted by the author, this pattern of buying in small quantities has been found to have been dictated by meager finances. On the surface, it may be logical to the middle class individual that buying in bulk where discounts are possible may be more economical to the buyer in the long run. However, the housewives among squatters and slum dwellers explain that buying small quantities means that only the directly consumable quantities are available in the house, thus cutting down on consumption. In this way, food is consumed only when necessary and the expenses on "non-essential" items is curtailed, entailing some savings.

When asked what stores they patronize, many of the respondents said they go to some stores more than others. The percentage of those who did this was about 83.8 per cent in Baguio, 88.9 per cent in Davao and 90.3 per cent in Manila. This pattern follows the traditional custom of establishing a suki relationship between buyers and sellers in the Philippines. Generally, when a buyer patronizes a specific store repeatedly, a suki relationship gets established. Lower prices, special discounts, credit arrangements and other out of the ordinary services may be rendered by the seller to the buyer in exchange for the loyal patronage. To many squatters and slum dwellers whose income is usually not stable, it pays to establish a suki relationship. During lean times, the seller may extend credit to the buyer, which helps to tide him over. When the buyer has regular income, however, he repays this favor by patronizing the seller's store only. In this way, mutual advantages accrue to both buyer and seller, making life in the community not only economically satisfactory but socially satisfying as well.

7. Squatters and slum dwellers are generally denied services provided by the Government to other urban citizens. This may be due to the refusal of the government to recognize their "illegal" tenure. As a result, considerable cynicism is expressed by squatters and slum dwellers about governmental programs and they prefer to depend on themselves for services.

When squatters and slum dwellers in the six cities were asked if they knew of governmental programs designed to help them in the community, a great majority of them said "no". The percentage of those saying the government is doing nothing in their communities

was 61.4 per cent in Cebu, 61.1 per cent in Davao, 67.4 per cent in Iligan, 55.1 per cent in Iloilo and 66.1 per cent in Manila. Only in Baguio, where 72.7 per cent of the respondents said the government was doing something were the results quite to the contrary.

While the squatters and slum dwellers have seen little of governmental services, they generally admit that they expect little from this source. In fact, when the respondents were asked what they considered the most important programs and activities the government should pursue in their communities, the highest frequency of answers was "give the land to the people". The respondents were of the opinion that if only the government will give or sell to them the land which, as squatters, they keenly covet, they would be able to take care of other things. Most of the squatters and slum dwellers also said that the government should create opportunities for employment. They argue that they are willing and able to work. However, the government seems unable to create economic conditions that would provide them with employment and this is their most common plea.

Direct aid to poor people living in squatters and slum areas, with the exception of assistance in land, seems to be far from the squatters' and slum dwellers' minds. There is considerable pride in these peoples' attitudes and they are not asking for charity from the government. They have learned to be self-reliant, both individually and as communities, and while they view governmental

efforts with considerable cynicism, this is only one side of their sincere beliefs that given enough chances, they would be able to do things for themselves.

8. A feeling of community solidarity characterized the attitude of people in the slum and squatter areas. This is both a rural survival and a necessity in the urban world. People see this community feeling as a definite asset and are using it to improve their individual and common conditions.

As previously mentioned in the section on the community, the main asset of people in slum and squatter areas seems to be their feeling of community solidarity and their capacity to work in an organized and concerted manner. This feeling was highlighted in the discussions of community organizations, common activities, extent of popular participation in community affairs, etc. Further probes into these pattern of activities reveal that they are rooted in very traditional aspects of Filipino community life.

An important aspect of community feeling is kinship and friendship networks. When asked how they first heard of availability of land in the community, a considerable number of respondents pointed to relatives. The proportions were 37.5 per cent in Baguio, 31.2 per cent in Cebu, 42.8 per cent in Davao, 48.2 per cent in Iligan, 36.5 per cent in Iloilo and 40.5 per cent in Manila. Those who heard about land in the community from friends made up 27.7 per cent in Baguio, 22.6 per cent in Cebu, 45.3 per cent in Davao, 36.4 per cent in Iligan, 37.9 per cent in Iloilo and 32.6 per cent in Manila. With relatives and friends combined, therefore, an overwhelming percentage

of respondents reveal the pattern of communications among essentially traditional groups, even when they are already in an urban setting.

To the question of "do you have many friends in this community?", it was not surprising that 94.9 per cent of Baguio respondents, 99.3 per cent of Cebu, 95.3 per cent of Davao, 96.6 per cent of Iligan, 96.2 per cent of Iloilo and 97.7 per cent of Manila respondents said yes. In Davao and Manila, a majority of friends tend to come from the same place the respondent came from but in the other cities, the friendship seems to have developed from living together in the same community. There is a tendency, however, for ethnic identification to color friendship in the urban area. Thus, the proportion of respondents saying that their friends tend to be those who speak the same language or dialect, was 67.6 per cent in Baguio, 95.8 per cent in Cebu, 68.9 per cent in Davao, 87.0 per cent in Iligan, 77.6 per cent in Iloilo and 75.0 per cent in Manila. From the survey results, there seems to be a tendency for communities located in relatively homogeneous cities to have friendship networks formed along the same ethnic groupings. The more heterogeneous the community, the lesser is the tendency to choose on the basis of ethnicity or language.

The persistence and survival of traditional community patterns in the slum and squatter communities is an important asset to their continued survival and development. Through time, the

particularistic factors which underlie the feeling of community solidarity in the beginning may change. More organized activities based on functional rather than ascriptive needs may arise. In the early stages of the development of an urban community, however, it is good to keep in mind that the common threads that bind a community together should be used to their fullest extent, and that policies using this resource should be given more prominence in development policies and programs.

9. Living conditions in slum and squatter communities are seen as hard by the residents. However, they seem to accept such conditions and often consider them temporary.

To the outsider going inside a slum or squatter area in the six Philippine cities studied here for the first time, the initial impression is usually of dilapidation, decay, physical and even social disorganization, misery and poverty. To many of the squatters and slum dwellers who call these communities home, however, things do not seem too bad. When asked, they readily admit that conditions are difficult, even harsh. However, one senses from their responses that they consider the conditions tolerable -- perhaps, because they are seen as temporary.

When the question was asked: "what aspects of life in this community do you particularly dislike?" the respondents were quick to point out specific problems and difficulties. However, a high percentage of the respondents also said that they saw nothing they did not like about the community. The proportion of respondents

who could not state any problems was 36.5 per cent in Baguio, 35.6 in Cebu, 18.3 in Davao, 15.2 in Iligan, 13.6 in Iloilo and 12.5 in Manila.

In general, though conditions in the six communities varied greatly, most of the things disliked by the respondents were social in origin. Considerable numbers of respondents, for example, said that "people here are troublesome", "there are fights and quarrels all the time", "peace and order situation is bad", "there are unhealthy vices of old and young people alike", etc. Another major item of complaint is the lack of services such as water, sewerage, schools, playgrounds, police protection, recreational facilities, etc. There are also primarily economic reasons, such as complaints that the community is far from the place of work, transportation to and from work is difficult to get, or that prices are high in the community.

Some respondents also believe that the place is a bad influence on their young children. They claim that the young are exposed too early to vices and "bad elements", that the youngsters usually join juvenile gangs (barkada), jobs for young people are hard to find or that it is often difficult to get the young to attend school regularly because there are too many "interesting" things to do in the community.

In spite of all these criticisms of life in the community, however, people are still not willing to move out of the communities.

This unwillingness is expressed, even when certain hypothetical incentives that may be provided by the government are mentioned. For example, when asked if the respondents would be willing to move to another community if the government offered to pay their transportation costs, a considerable number of the respondents said no. The reasons they give for refusing are indicative of their satisfaction with many aspects of life in the community. A favorite reason is "my friends and neighbors are here and they are more friendly than people in other places". Others worried that the new place may be farther away from the central city and that they will be taken far from their work place. A large proportion of the respondents also said that they have invested in their homes and the improvement of their community and these will all be lost if they move.

Generally, a very high correlation existed between the respondents who mentioned things they disliked in the community and the willingness to move. Those critical of the place were very willing to accept governmental offers to help them move out. However, many of them smile knowingly and seem to say that the government will never come to their aid, anyway. Those who had a negative assessment of governmental efforts in the urban field generally say that "there is too much politics in government", "the government is controlled by property owners and is not interested in squatters", "the government has no money", "the government does not pay attention to the poor", or that "government knows us only during elections".

Cynicism about government motives and actions is rampant in slum and squatter areas. However, participant observation in the slum and squatter communities studied reveals the fact that the people are generally far from radical or revolutionary and that they are quite happy about conditions there. The squatters and slum dwellers do not see their present life conditions as permanent. On the contrary, they look at their present situation as only transitory and that in the very near future, their conditions will probably improve.

To the direct question of what type of residence the respondents would want if they were moved out of the community, a great majority of them said they do not want to move and they cannot conceive, therefore, of any other type of place to live in. The proportion of those who do not want to move was 75.8 per cent in Baguio, 77.5 per cent in Cebu, 74.7 per cent in Davao, 86.6 per cent in Iligan, 60.3 per cent in Iloilo and 35.5 per cent in Manila. Those who expressed a preference for another place of residence said any other place within the city, a government housing project, another slum area within the metropolitan area, or even "any better place", would be welcome. The percentage of people who wanted to return to their provincial places of origin was negligible, ranging from a low of .2 per cent in Baguio to a high of 2.4 per cent in Iloilo.

The persistence of people in the slum and squatter communities to stay where they are is often based on the belief that if they themselves cannot improve their lot in life while living in

the communities, their children would surely be able to do so. In this optimism, they are supported by the fact that while government has been slow in providing services voluntarily, some administrative or political response is usually elicited from the bureaucracy and the political authorities when the squatters and slum dwellers act in concert. The squatters and slum dwellers may complain about the fact that "there is too much politics" in government. However, they also know that they can use this politics to their own advantage and that sooner or later, their voices will be heard.

Nowhere is this optimism more apparent than in the squatters' and slum dwellers' fight for the land they are living on. In almost all of the communities studied, land problems have been generally decided in favor of the squatters, even when big landowners with good lawyers have been ranged against them. This ability to influence the political and administrative system lends a sense of capability to the squatters and slum dwellers. They know that if they just fight and struggle hard enough, their lot in life will improve and that they will be able to rise beyond their present situation in life.

10. The political and administrative system is open to squatters and slum dwellers. As such, they do not feel alienated from the larger political community and are capable of acting not only for coping with local problems but also within the larger political and administrative sphere. This gives them a strong sense of political efficacy.

Whether it is due to the need to protect themselves against external political and other pressures or to protect themselves against themselves, it is clear from the studies in the six

communities that the squatters and slum dwellers have a strong capacity to act as groups or as individuals. The section on community organization described the ways and means by which internal order is achieved in the community and how the leadership function is carried out by specific segments in the community. However, from the study, it is also apparent that the slum or squatter community is able to link up with other segments of the larger society, a fact which increases the peoples' capacity to act.

In the study, the respondents were asked the question: "If you need a favor from a government official or a politician, is there somebody in this community who can help you?" In almost all the six cities, the yes answers were overwhelming (70.5 per cent in Baguio, 69.1 per cent in Cebu, 56.2 per cent in Davao, 36.0 per cent in Iligan, 53.9 per cent in Iloilo, and 45.5 per cent in Manila).

In Baguio, Cebu and Davao, most of the respondents who said yes pointed to a "community leader" as the person they would go to for assistance. This was followed by a "government official", "a politician", "a relative", and a "townmate". Thus, most of the people knew that there were certain "influentials" in the community that one could go to in times of need. Such officials act as brokers between the bureaucracy or governmental system and the people and they provide access to governmental services which would otherwise be close to squatters and slum dwellers.

In spite of the lack of public services in the cities studied, therefore, most squatters and slum dwellers know that if the services are available at all, there is a chance that they would be able to take advantage of them. The political "machine" serves as the instrument of access to the government decision-making machinery. Whether the service needed involves schools, medical help, welfare rations, or any other benefits, the people in the slum or squatter area has about the same chance of taking advantage of it as the average urban citizen. In some cases, in fact, he may be able to get preferential treatment as his community is more organized, his leaders are more militant, the press and radio sympathize with him, and he "knows the ropes" and ways and means of getting the service. The squatter or slum dweller, therefore, does not end up being the marginal man who is denied access to the workings and benefits of government. He is able to devise various methods of helping himself and participating in the urban society of which he is a most vital part.

V. CONCLUDING NOTES

This report on the slum and squatter situation in six Philippine cities is only a preliminary submission to the Southeast Asia Development Advisory Group (SEADAG), of The Asia Society, which supported this study. A more complete report, embodying more detailed analysis and covering other aspects of slum and squatter community life is forthcoming.

From the present report, it is obvious that only the surface of this phenomenon of squatting and slum dwelling in the Philippines has been scratched in the analysis. This work does not reflect the results of other computations and more sophisticated statistical analysis which are currently underway.

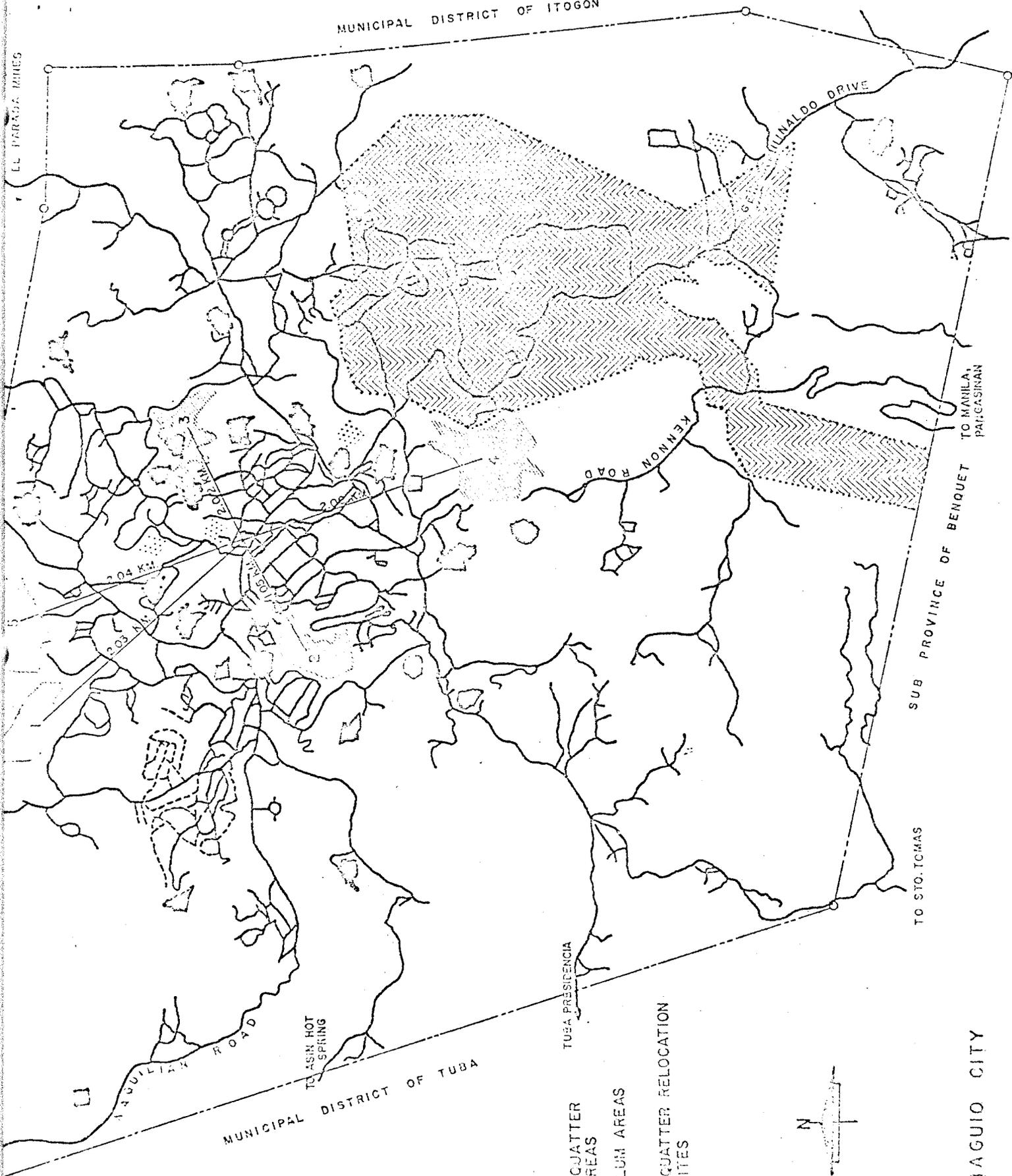
The analysis in this report was based on preliminary computer printouts, checked by tables made from laborious hand tabulation, which were the first results from the field work. While these data in combination with the field notes of the author and his co-workers were sufficient to draw out the main lines and patterns in the study, they do not probe deeply enough. However, to wait for the cleaning up of the computer tapes, de-bugging of the program, and completion of other operations necessary for a more exhaustive analysis would have unduly delayed the issuance of this report. This work, therefore, should be treated as the

tentative report on a complex and comprehensive study. It will be superseded by a more complete one which puts the phenomenon being studied in the larger perspective of Philippine urbanization and development.

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MUNICIPAL DISTRICT OF ITOGON

EL PARADO MINES



TO MANILA, PANGASINAN

SUB PROVINCE OF BENQUET

TO STO. TOMAS

BAGUIO CITY

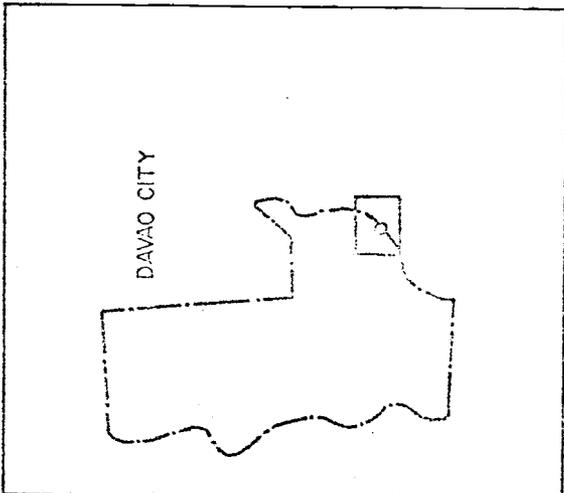
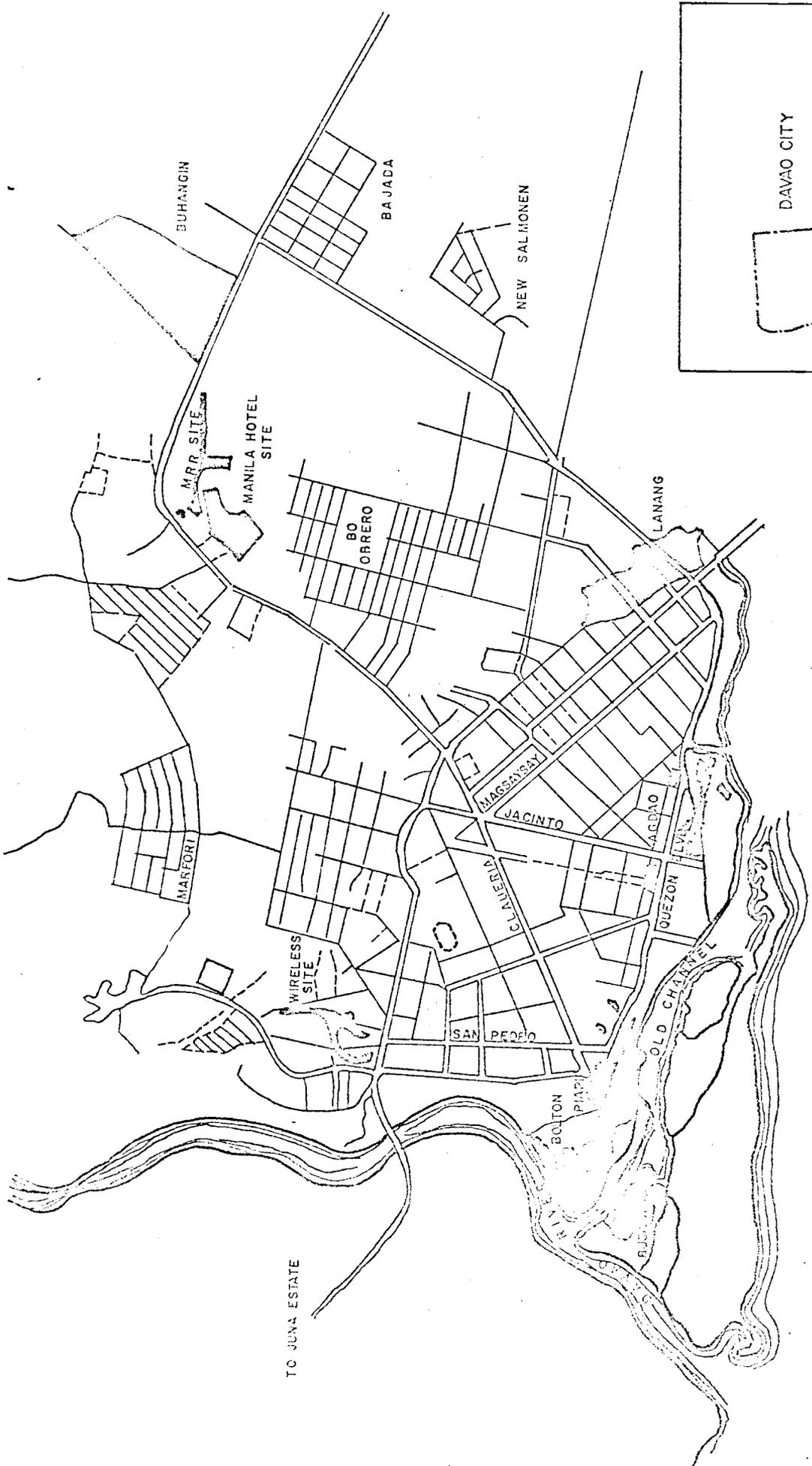
LEGEND

[Diagonal hatching] SQUATTER AREAS

[Cross-hatching] SLUM AREAS

[Dotted pattern] SQUATTER RELOCATION SITES

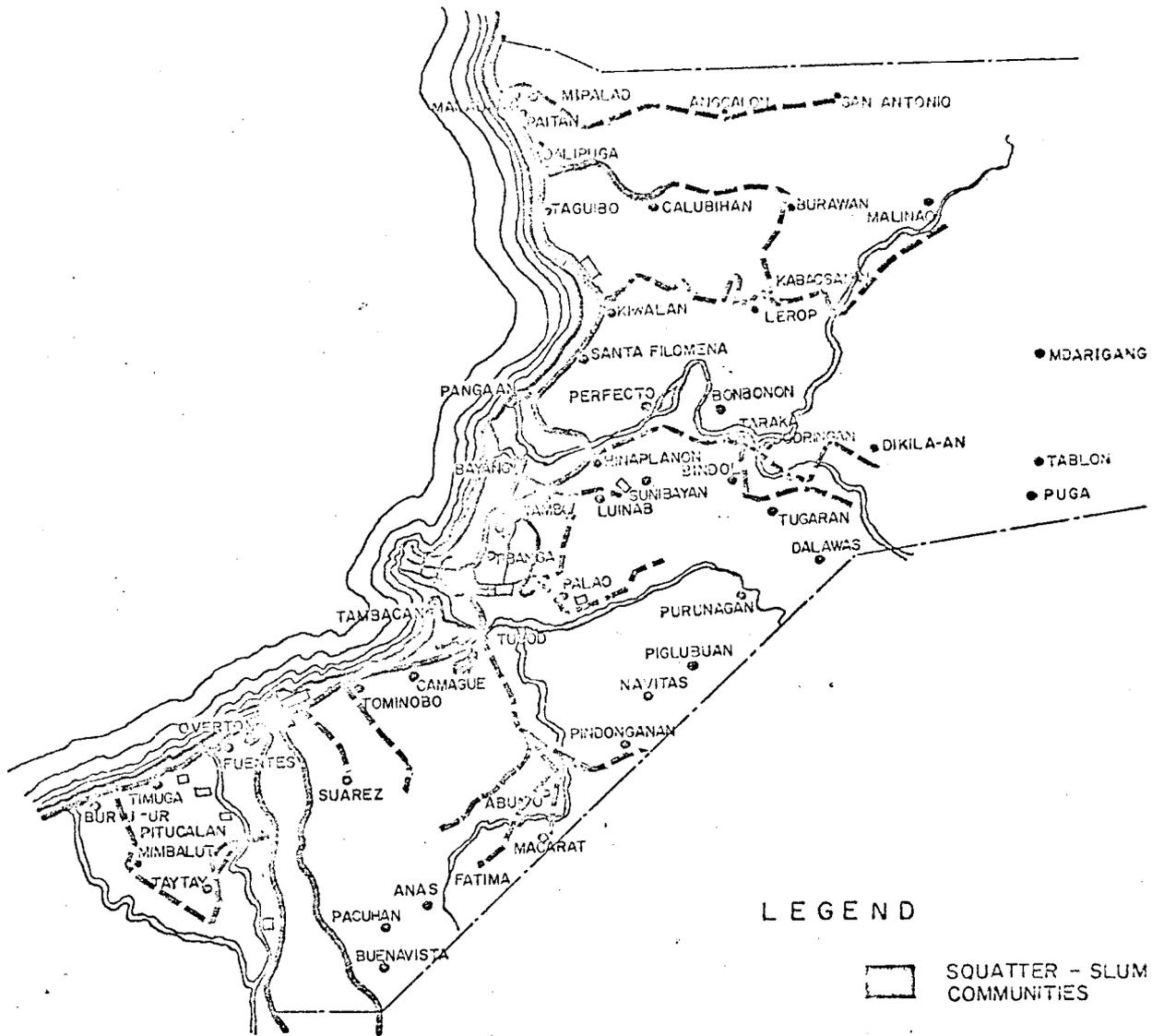




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☐ SLUM & SQUATTER AREAS

DAVAO CITY

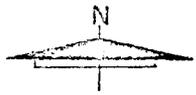


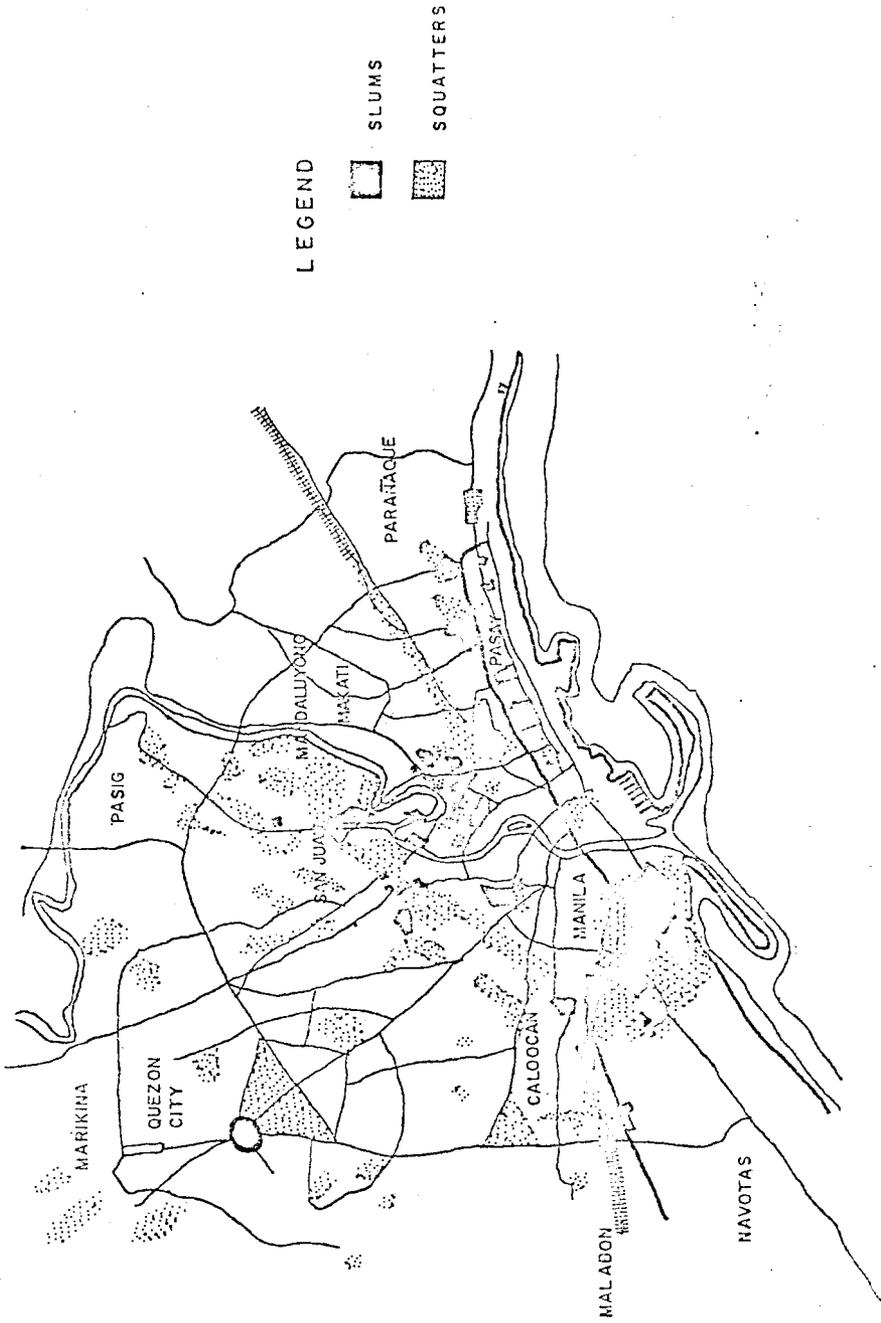
- MDARIGANG
- TABLON
- PUGA

LEGEND

-  SQUATTER - SLUM COMMUNITIES
-  ROAD SYSTEM
-  INDUSTRIAL FIRMS

ILIGAN CITY





LEGEND

SLUMS

SQUATTERS

LOCATION OF SQUATTERS and SLUMS IN METROPOLITAN MANILA
(1968)

PARTICIPANTS IN A WORKSHOP-SEMINAR
ON RURAL-URBAN INTERACTION AND
METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT

--ooOoo--

Manila, June 1970

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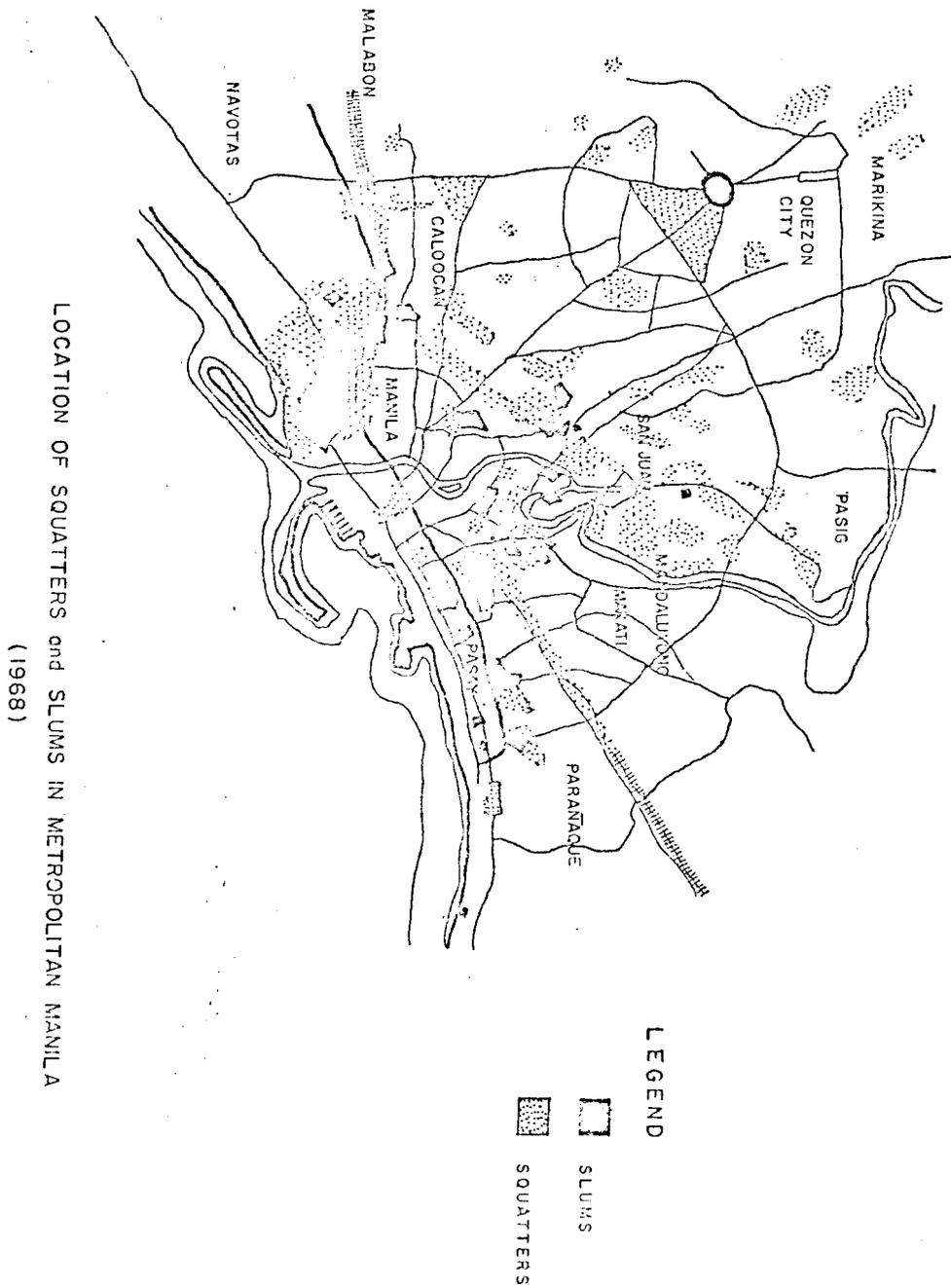
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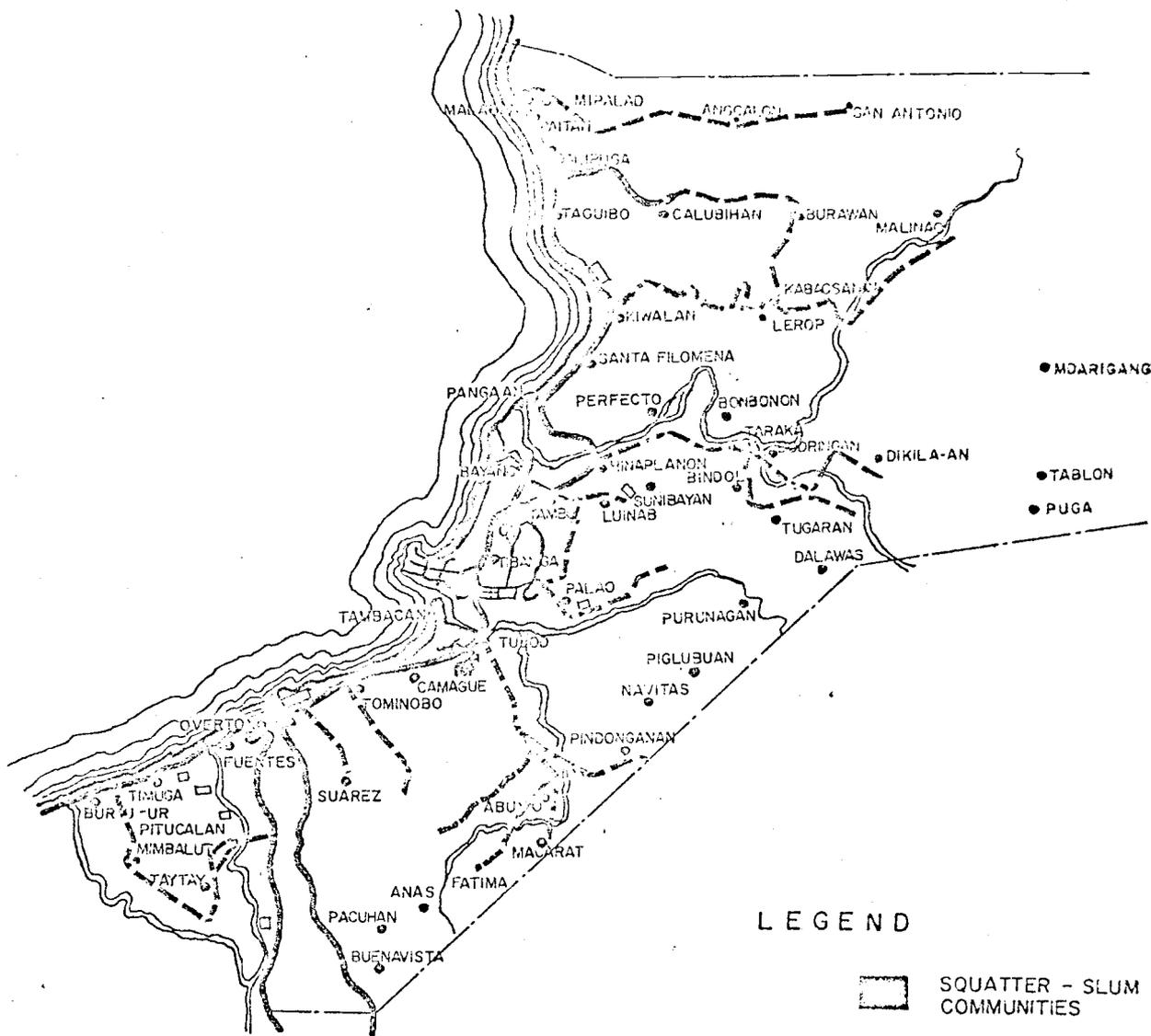
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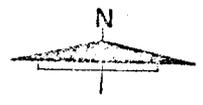
LOCATION OF SQUATTERS and SLUMS IN METROPOLITAN MANILA
(1968)

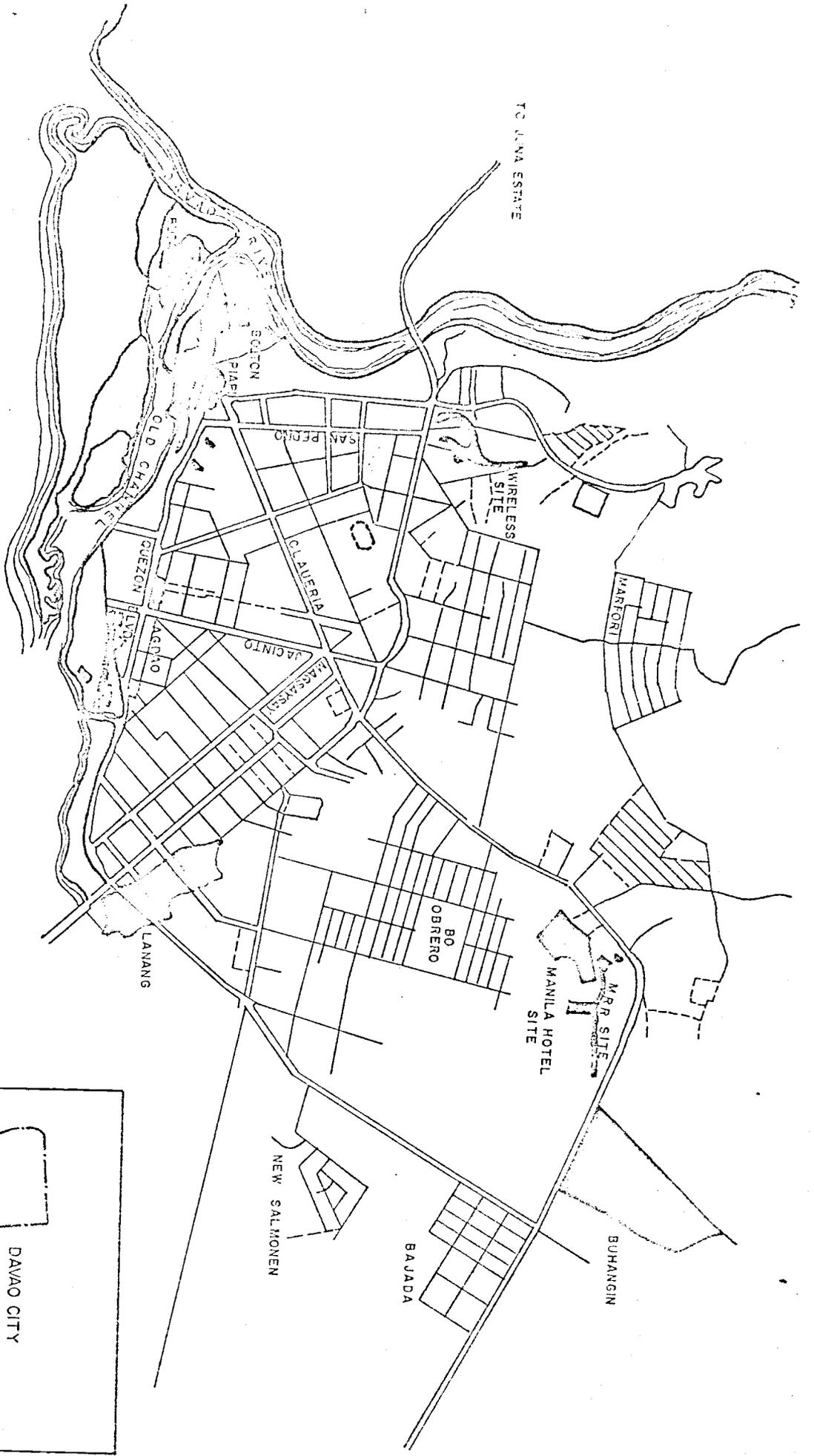


ILIGAN CITY

LEGEND

-  SQUATTER - SLUM COMMUNITIES
-  ROAD SYSTEM
-  INDUSTRIAL FIRMS

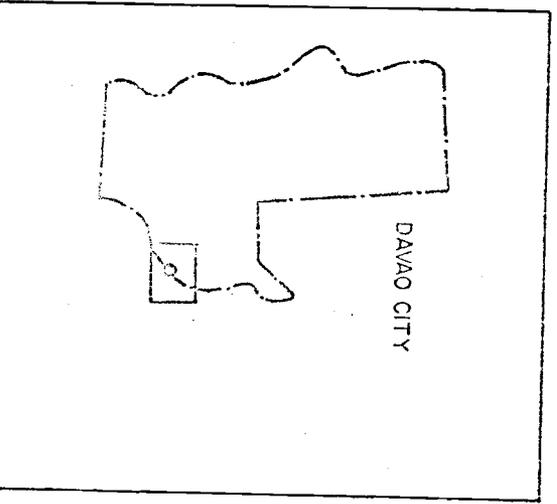




LEGEND

 SLUM & SQUATTER AREAS

DAVAO CITY



TO GOLD RIVER BRIDGE
MONTANA BRIDGE
EL PASO BRIDGE

MUNICIPAL DISTRICT OF ITOGON

BAGUIO CITY



- LEGEND
-  SQUATTER AREAS
 -  SLUM AREAS
 -  SQUATTER RELOCATION SITES

