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1992

Networks as Strategies of Survival in Urban Poor Communities: An Ethnographic Study in the Philippine Setting

Jesusa M. Marco
Loyola University Chicago

Recommended Citation

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

NETWORKS AS STRATEGIES OF SURVIVAL

IN URBAN POOR COMMUNITIES: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC

STUDY IN THE PHILIPPINE   SETTING

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

BY

JESUSA M. MARCO

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

JANUARY 1992

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

V I T A

Born in Manila, Philippines, the author, Jesusa M. Marco is the daughter of Pilar Martin and the late Vicente T. Marco.

She graduated elementary in 1967 and high school in 1971 from the College of the Holy Spirit, Manila (Philippines).

Ms. Marco obtained her degree in Bachelor of Arts in Sociology (Minor in Psychology) at Maryknoll College, Quezon City (Philippines). She completed her Master of Arts in Social Sciences major in Sociology at De La Salle University, Manila, in 1985.

She has been a full-time faculty in the Behavioral Sciences Dept. of De La Salle University since 1976.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the Philippines, as in many developing countries,
squatters constitute the bulk of the urban poor. "Squatting"
is an urban phenomenon that emerged in the process of rapid
urbanization.   Urbanization in Third World cities has pro-
gressed at unprecedented rates and favored urban growth at the
expense of agriculture and rural development.[1]   Southeast
Asia's urban patterns are characterized by the concentration
of its urban population in a few very large cities and by an
absence of a system of secondary urban centers (McGee 1969).
The rapid growth of Metropolitan Manila is largely a result of
in-migration to this center of major industries, culture and
education, with its well-developed transportation and commu-
nication systems, and its other social services like hospitals
and clinics. One major effect of this influx of population
was the growth of colonies and blighted pockets of squatter
areas.   Of all the urban centers which house these popula-
tions in Southeast Asia, the largest number of squatters and
slum dwellers are found in Metro Manila (refer to Table 1 in
Appendix B). Squatting was triggered by many factors, among

which were enforced migration of refugees because of fear, hunger, or rural depression, migrants' quest for subsistence in the burgeoning areas, and simple opportunism, that is, taking whatever chances there may be in the city and, through luck or hard work, may better one's present status in life. Squatters suffered extremely harsh conditions, especially due to shortages in the basic requirements of food, shelter, and water.

This is an ethnographic study of survival strategies of households in two urban squatter communities in Metropolitan Manila (Philippines). In this study, I examine how the thousands of Filipino people in these communities cope with their substandard conditions. In 1989, I studied two squatter communities in Metro Manila using field techniques, including informal and formal interviews with mostly women household heads, non-participant and participant observation, use of community facilities, and group meetings with my community residents to discuss and validate my findings (see Methodology, Appendix A). I studied the here and now conditions of squatters' lives to learn how they invent ways, legitimate and illegitimate, to improve their circumstances.

In Chapter I, I explained my view of urban poverty as a consequence of "unbalanced" urbanization in Third Word countries like the Philippines. I summarize the history of the growth of squatter communities, the systematic evolution of urban policy and the creation of institutions to enforce the

policy until the present. This chapter will show how the urban poor resist the power of the state to limit and regulate their access to basic "goods" such as land and services like water, electricity, and health. As part of this process, they build relationships that are crucial in the viability of their communities. These networks are built and activated by community members whose activities on behalf of their family's survival are the foundation of family life in squatter communities. The women's invisibility in the literature supports programs and policies for urban poor communities and other low-income settlements that take for granted their own needs and visions about the conditions of their existence.

In Chapter II, I describe the background and setting of the two communities I studied. I discuss the structure of basic services that are so important to determining the quality of life in the two communities. I highlight concerns prominent in their everyday lives. In Apelo Cruz, these needs revolved around the problems of scavenging as a way of life. In Bagbag, the focus of squatters' concerns and their political actions was the government's "City of Man" project.

Chapter III centers on the community organizations and groups that structured social action in the two communties. This chapter provides clear evidence of a network of sociopolitical groups and organizations which have become active in the public debates over the distribution of goods and services and which have wider implications for the meaning of citizen-

ship and private property. I reveal the vital and indispensable role of women who were most organized and active in acquiring and maintaining needs for their communities' survival. I focused on the active organizations and particularly those that came into play during my period of stay.

Chapter IV traces the everyday activities of women in squatter communities. For these women, achieving a good for the community was no different from work to improve the conditions by which they fulfilled their roles as wives and mothers. With inadequate housing and basic services, it is the women who suffer most as they take the primary responsibility of allocating limited basic resources to ensure the survival of their households.

Chapter V and Chapter VI examine the informal processes which underlie the social networks connecting households with a variety of community and kinship resources. In Chapter V, I show how Apelo residents harness both their informal social networks (family members, neighbors/friends) and their formal networks of organizations to respond to their everyday needs in an environment that seems to offer little hope of success. In Chapter VI, I describe Bagbag's multiple networks which sometimes are sources of conflict, but also function as the basis of resistance in the community when facing forces detrimental to its precarious autonomy. Having no security over land and basic services, the residents devise ways to deal cunningly with the threat of government agency representatives

and private landlords or their allies in the community. In both settings, women were at the core and heart of the networks, responding to the needs of their households and communities.

In Chapter VII, I explore the political struggles between squatter communities and city officials. I describe incidents and occasions where the people's networks functioned as a dependable source of security and goods that the city did not provide. In their action, the squatters make a fundamental claim for democracy, challenging the notion of property and the limits of citizenship in class society.

I conclude in Chapter VIII with a review which compares and contrasts the different survival strategies in these two communities. I conclude with a discussion of how these strategies might shape the future of these communities and suggest policies that will help to further the goals of these women and men.

Review of Literature

I began my research on squatter communities in order to understand how large populations of Filipinos in these communities manage to survive with no property and no skills except for their devalued abilities to labor. The studies I found provided some background on squatters in Third World cities like Manila, an outcome of growth processes imposed by and patterned after western development but which exacerbated urban poverty. The most dramatic mark of the increased urban poverty is the proliferation and sustained marginality of squatter populations in these cities.

It is against this background that I posed the specific question of survival for these large populations of Filipinos and Filipinas in these so-called blighted areas. Though much of the literature shows them as easy preys for exploitation by landowners and the state, most of these former peasant squatters have shown resilience and strength by means of which they flourish and assert themselves collectively. Data on urban poverty in the Philippines present squatters as a relentless sector in the urban arena. That squatters are socially disorganized and politically weak is an idea that is refuted by their long history and ongoing organizing efforts to empower themselves against consistently inhuman urban policies supported by the strong alliance between the state and the landed elite. Informal networks of friends, neighbors, and

relatives are their form of social organization that help them to organize their daily lives to meet their needs most effectively. The networks squatters build to survive in the city come from their backgrounds as poor peasants. Contrary to the general belief that these former peasants must divest themselves of their rural qualities for them to successfully become urbanites, I argue that it is their peasant backgrounds that contribute to their efforts to construct a humane kind of existence under the chronic conditions of poverty in the city.

In the two communities I studied, networks of women were at the heart of community life. It is women who play the most active roles in constructing and using these networks, but it is women who are least visible in most studies of urban poverty. For this reason alone we cannot understand how they survive.

In the next pages I will review studies of the history of urban squatters and of squatter communities, and indicate what research is now needed to fill the gaps in our knowledge.

A. Philippine Urban Growth

Cities in the Philippines evolved gradually. Although the urban population has grown 18 times since the first census in 1903, Philippine urbanization was uneven, showing spurts of growth from 1903 to 1939 and 1975 to 1980, and a significant decline in the rate of growth from 1948 to 1975 (refer to Table 2 in APPENDIX B). Since 1975, there have been rates of increasing urbanization (see Table 3 APPENDIX B).

American colonial policy on industrial development amd "Filipinization" were responsible for accelerated urban growth from 1903 to 1939 after World War I (Jimenez, et.al. 1986).[2] Both factors combined in building Metro Manila the center of political, economic, and social activities, which became a center of attraction to people from different parts of the country. Slower urban growth between 1948 and 1975 was associated with (1) the postwar baby boom which resulted in a high rate of annual growth of the national population outside urban centers (from 1.91 in 1948 to 3.06 in 1948-1960); and (2) the government's economic policies, particularly on industrialization and tariff which favored growth on the regional rather than the national level. The urban growth spurt in 1975-1980 was largely the result of the government's regionalization scheme which produced dispersion of industrial facilities to other parts of the country and its population program which brought down the rate of growth in the rural areas (Pernia and Paderanga, 1981; Raymundo, 1983).

In the present period, the greatest urban growth occurs in the Metropolitan Manila area. The primacy of urban centers such as Metro Manila is a familiar phenomenon in Southeast Asia. Even when urbanization was sluggish, Metro Manila accounted for a stable increase of the country's urban population from 30.3% in 1948 to 33.0% in 1980. Metro Manila was the only region that had fully transformed from rural to urban before 1970. Metro Manila's population increased four

times from 1.5 million in 1948 to 6 million in 1980, giving it a population that is four times bigger than the combined total of the next four largest cities of the country, Davao, Cebu, Zamboanga and Bacolod. By 1980, Metropolitan Manila's population was over 12 percent of the national population and one third of the urban population. Occupying a total land area of 636 square kilometers, the four cities and 13 municipalities constituting the metropolis have a computed density of 9,314 persons per square kilometer in 1980, 58 times the density of the entire country.

Thus, the general picture of the country is one of "unbalanced urbanization" that is, as Metro Manila became the center of industrial and development activities, it assumed primacy or dominance while there was at the same time disparity in the urban growth of other areas outside which differentially had a share in the industrialization and development inputs. Pernia (1976) concluded that the "problem to be coped with now in the Philippines is not rapid urbanization but unbalanced urbanization" because the swelling population in Metro Manila led to the growth of slums and squatter areas that are paralyzed greatly by inadequate and deficient basic services which the city should provide.

B. History of the Development of Slum and Squatter Communities

One of the outcomes of increasing urbanization in the country, particularly after World War II, has been the proliferation of slum and squatter areas. The numbers of squatters and

slum dwellers in Metro Manila rose after World War II. While slum and squatter are concepts which invariably connote poverty, congestion, dilapidated and unsanitary environment and poor basic services, these two terms do not exactly mean the same thing. Squatting is a legal concept, defined by law as the occupancy of public or private space without the approval of the owner.[3] But squatting, like the slums within which it takes place, is an outcome of poverty. It is most likely that squatters would be found in slum areas just as it would not be unlikely to find a slum area that is not highly populated by squatters (Makil 1983 in Jimenez, et. al. 1986). Among the reasons that encourage migrants to squat are: (1) proximity to employment (e.g., around factories, near piers); (2) availability of undeveloped public property (e.g., park sites, reclaimed land) and private land (e.g., subdivisions, land for speculation); (3) availability of marginal lands (e.g., near the creek, garbage dumpsite); and (4) privately owned land such as central city, dilapidated and congested surroundings where houses, rooms or even space are rented out by slumlords (Laquian 1972 as cited in Makil 1983). Potter (1985) referred to squatter settlements as "perhaps the most conspicuous and emotive sign of Third World urban poverty and social inequality".

The growth of these areas is largely attributed to the influx of people from the countryside in search of better opportunities. There are two general types of migrants who

are attracted to the city - One type of migrant are the highly educated and skilled individuals from the rural areas. A second type is those with little training and education who come to the city with few resources and prospects for employment (Hunt 1980). Because of their lack of skills and the limited number of industries able to absorb them, many of these migrants land in service-type jobs like domestic help, drivers, construction workers, and street occupations like food hawkers, newspaper/sweepstake sellers, scavengers, and beggars. Such jobs pay (except for beggars) only enough to allow them to live in the more depressed sections of the city.

There are no accurate counts of the slum and squatter population in the Philippines, but by 1989 it was estimated that the total number of squatter areas in the metropolis had risen to 591 colonies with a total population of around 2.5 million representing 31 percent of total population of Metro Manila. The National Housing Authority (NHA), however, gives a larger estitimate. According to these sources, a full third of the metropolis population are squatters, occupying 695.5 hectares of slum areas in the National Capital Region. Sixty percent of these lands are government property while the rest are privately owned (Makil 1983). In effect, these squatters are a majority of the urban poor (NCR-DSWD Planning and Monitoring Division Handout, 1990). By the year 2000, it is anticipated that Metro Manila will have four million squatters if the current housing trends continue (BBC as cited in Manila

<u>Bulletin</u>, October 3, 1990. Most of these people live on river banks and canals, in train stations, under bridges, or near dumpsites. Quezon City has the most number of colonies, while Manila has the highest number of squatter families.

Urban governments, particularly Manila, recognized the squatter "problem" as early as the late forties. Squatting then was viewed as a legal problem and the policy was to eject squatter families from their houses. Manila had been closed to any kind of migration during the Japanese occupation and upon its liberation by the American forces in 1946, it was declared an open city, stimulating massive movement into the area. In 1951, the city government begun to eject and relocate squatters in sites that were all outside Metro Manila.[4] In 1963, 7,274 families were relocated to these sites from Manila. This marked the first and largest ejection of this sector of the urban poor in Manila under the administration of Mayor Antonio Villeges. Dec. 2, 1963, a demolition squad removed 4,000 families in the historic district of Intramuros. The families were accompanied by military men as they were transported to Sapang Palay. The families were literally dumped in the area where they were left to build their shanties with whatever material they salvaged from their demolished houses and start anew. The site was 40 kilometers away from their places of work in Manila and had little or inadequate basic services. Successive demolitions were undertaken within the period 1963-64 in the other districts of Manila,

particularly Malate and Tondo. Houses were either burned or bulldozed. Out of an estimated 15,000 families who lost their homes, 4,500 only went to Sapang Palay. In 1968, another re-settlement area in Carmona (Cavite), 411 hectares of land space, was open as more and more poor were evicted from Metro Manila. By 1973, 400,000 squatter families have been evicted and relocated to these sites and the government planned to evict 125,000 more families will be evicted. Despite this policy, the squatter population in Metro Manila increased 150%. In part the reason for this increase was the return of many of the original relocatees to Manila, nearer to the source of their livelihood.

In 1974, 400 squatter families in Manila were transferred to Boy's Town in Marikina. In 1975, the Anti-Squatting Law was signed on August 20, 1975, known as Presidential Decree (PD) 772, by Pres. Marcos which made squatting after this date a criminal offense although this act was previously only re-garded as a public nuisance. Under this new decree, squat-ting is now punishable by imprisonment ranging from six months to one year, or a prohibitive fine of P1,000 to P5,000 (that is in Philippine currency or pesos, equivalent approximately to $50-250.00). In 1976, thousands of shanties along canals and railways were demolished. Some who had nowhere to go were transferred to different "emergency relocation centers" in-side or outside of Metro Manila. In 1976-81, 10,120 fami-lies were moved to either Sapang Palay or Dasmarinas.

The city government intensified its campaign against squatters in 1982. A task force, composed of mayors from the 4 cities and 13 municipalities of Metro Manila, was formed to implement the policy under the leadership of Imelda Marcos. This body, known as Metro Manila Commission (MMC) became an administrative body empowered to oversee and assume responsibilities in the provision of basic services, levy and colect taxes, and review/revise or revoke ordinance and resolutions of local governments. Its original structure was of the manager-commission type; it had a board of commissioners and was headed by the governor of the metropolis (Jimenez 1990).[5] The MMC decided to strengthen the campaign against squatters. The police and the "barangays" were mobilized. Areas in the Philippines are defined into geographical and political boundaries referred to as "barangays". A "barangay" was governed by a local council (called the "barangay" council) that is under the jurisdiction of the city government. Demolitions continued in many other districts in Manila heavily populated by squatters.[6] Other squatter communities were evicted to give way for commercial and industrial complexes of local and foreign investors. In spite the heightened economic and political crisis from 1984-86, the Marcos government continued its drive against squatters. Demolition activities continued even after a change of administration in 1986. Pres. Aquino declared a moratorium on demolition April 10, 1986, but the moratorium was broken a week later.

c. The Evolution of Urban Policy

There have been many explanations offered to account for the functionality of illegal settlements to the state. Gilbert and Ward (1985) claimed that the poor in illegal settlements constitute an important safety valve to social tension. Stereotyped as lazy, dishonest, immoral, and the like, the poor are often randomly identified as alleged or real deviants in order to uphold the legitimacy of conventional norms. Furthermore, since they lack political and cultural power, the poor in these communities provide permissible scapegoats for hostilities and agressions committed in society. Castells (1983) argued that because illegal squatter settlements rely on the state not only for services and for their very existence, there are opportunities for political patronage. What occurs is a vertical exchange occurs where the state makes claims on the poor's labor and support in return for their economic and social protection. What results is hardly an exchange at all since the state's claims are more willingly granted and the attitude of the poor becomes one of submission (Scott 1976). Finally, Roberts (1978) and Portes (1989) argue that squatter settlements perform an important function in the informal urban economy by lowering the social wage and providing for the cheap reproduction of labor power. Because they work for low wages, the poor function as a labor pool that is willing, or rather unable to be unwilling, to perform the many menial jobs of society at low cost. Consequently, by their

low wages, the poor subsidize a variety of economic activities that benefit the affluent (Gans 1971). In view of the functions of the poor, mostly found in illegal settlements, the government has tolerated squatting in a number of urban places which it has regulated mainly through its housing, relocation and resettlement program.

Immediately after World War II, the government took serious notice of the plight of the city's poor. Because the government regarded the slum and squatter phenomenon as a manifestation of the housing shortage in urban areas, its initial response was to develop low-cost public housing. Government entities, notably the Philippine Housing and Homesite Corporation (PHHC) was created to establish public housing for low-income families, to build shelters for the destitute, and to engage in the acquisition, subdivision, and resale of landed estates to low-income families.

Starting in the early 1950's, the government initiated the construction of multi-story tenement housing projects for low-income families ejected from squatter colonies that were being cleared. Until the sixties, the government envisioned projects providing shelter and services for slum dwellers. Nevertheless, Metro Manila was the only city in which such tenement projects were built. There were a total of six projects, providing 2,219 units mainly in high-rise (seven-story) buildings. The monthly rentals at the start ranged from P6 to P80 (equivalent to less than a dollar to around $4)

and were scaled according to floor levels, with the top floor being the cheapest. These were collected by the government for the management and maintenance of the buildings.

Under PHHC management the housing projects functioned mainly for the benfit of middle class families who could afford the rental charges on the units. In spite of this failure, there were sporadic attempts until the late seventies to provide more public housing particularly through the highly budgeted BLISS (Bagong Lipunan Improvement of Sites and Services) program of the Marcos administration. It was a program that was described to be designed for the poor of Metro Manila and featured medium-rise walk-up apartment buildings (Jimenez 1986). By 1983, the program, under the administration of a new government entity, the Human Settlement Development Corporation, had developed 11 BLISS estates in Metro Manila with a total beneficiary population of 1,600 families. As of 1983, the lowest monthly rental on a BLISS unit was P150 (around $5.00) and the highest was P500 ($25.00).[7]

As did earlier government housing projects, BLISS did not benefit the squatters, its intended beneficiaries, because of the financial and stringent requirements. Like other housing programs, BLISS catered only to the middle class (Makil 1983). Meanwhile, the slum dwellers and squatters continued to crowd into every space in the city. The price they paid was unceasing harassment and threat of eviction.

During the 21 years of Marcos rule, 1965 to 1986, laws

against squatters were enforced with an iron hand. The declaration of martial law in 1972, which lasted until 1981, heightened the opposition to squatters. Under the law, policies of slum clearance and resettlement were swiftly carried out leading to violence. The resettlement of squatters, however, was not the only policy adopted by the government during the martial law period. Within a short time since it undertook the large-scale relocation of squatters, the government started to engage in the development and upgrading of a number of squatter colonies under the Zonal Improvement Program (ZIP). Adopting the on-site development concept, and receiving substantial financial assistance from the World Bank, the government embarked on this alternative strategy. The project involved the reblocking of existing lots to create a better-ordered settlement pattern, the installation of basic services, the provision of low-cost building materials and the eventual transfer of the ownership of the homelots to their occupants. This approach is one of the two methods espoused by community groups in one area (Bagbag) I studied. The other is the "socialized" housing strategy which means the construction of standard government housing projects in squatter occupied areas. This, therefore, means greater dislocation compared to on-site development which was designed to cause less severe dislocation. Nonetheless, Karaos (1988) contended that both alternatives meant the "regularization of the tenure of selected colonies and the incorporation of the

squatters into the institutional control of the government through the National Housing Authority". Together with the relocation program, these strategies were attempts of government to gain control and regulate the proliferation of squatter settlements.

This pattern of establishing greater institutional control and active state regulation of the growth of squatter colonies were the prominent features of urban poor policy throughout the authoritarian period until the last important policy adopted by the regime, namely the Urban Land Reform (ULR). The way Urban Land Reform legislation developed under the Marcos administration illustrates quite clearly the underlying motives of urban-policy making under the authoritarian regime. After Urban Land Reform was first proclaimed (P.D. 1517, June 11, 1978) and the Metro Manila area declared an urban land reform zone, land development activity momentarily slackened as developers delayed the implementation of planned constructions. In the absence of a new development plan and zoning regulations for Metro Manila in view of the new law, and the requirement to obtain clearances from the government, there was some uncertainty on the part of private developers. The instability in the land market generated by the Urban Land Reform Act was promptly remedied by the proclamation in May 14, 1980 of 244 specific sites for ULR coverage. These areas were identified as Areas for Priority Developmet or APDs. With the effect of the law limited to these 244 sites, exis-

ting zoning regulations could continue to be in force with no significant change in the availability and price of commercial land. Apelo Cruz and a great portion of the area I covered in Bagbag for my research are APDs.

A certain continuity in the policy framework of the state regarding squatters and urban land is seen in the recent attempts of the new government to operationalize, with some modifications, the ULR law (Karaos 1988). This continuity is accounted for not so much by the maintenance of the same institutional set-up and of the technocracy that continues to control policy formulation as by the persistence of the same conditions and requirements of economic growth that impinge upon the process of urban development. The change of government in 1986 was expected to produce a realignment in the policy formation of government, given the generally perceived populist nature of the new leadership. According to Karaos (1988), these changes, however, were not forthcoming for a number of reasons:

First, while the new government is definitely more democratic than the previous one, the fact that it represents a broad coalition of political and economic elite interests make the process of policy formation more complicated but still inclined toward conservatism, that is, to the preservation of property rights with regard to land in general. Second, the financial resources of the state remain limited to foreign sources and to exchange earnings dependent on the world commo-

dity market. Indeed the "policy space" of the government is severely constrained by the structure of national production which is dependent on the international system for markets and capital. Moreover, the state, burdened with enormous foreign debt, heavy military expenditures, and the need to carry out political reforms which are also financially expensive, is not about inclined to pursue urban policies that will add to this burden.

Third, there has been no substantial change in the policy framework of the technocracy that is responsible for policy formulation. There is a discernible change toward encouraging greater private sector participation but the general structure of distribution in the urban system is not being called to question. The drift toward "less government and more private sector involvement" could easily blur the question of responsibility for the provision of collective consumption needs as well as provide a smokescreen for government inefficiency and private sector vested interests. While it can be considered an improvement that the technocracy appears to be more sincere and concerned with more efficient service delivery (as in the provision of social housing), Karaos (1988) underscored in her analysis the apparent failure of the present government to recognize the structural class bias of the urban market system which could ultimately work against the interests of the poor.

D. The Institutional Set-up

With the change of government in 1986, there have been some changes in the institutional set-up for urban policy-making and service delivery. The Ministry of Human Settlements was abolished, its component agencies either absorbed by other ministries or completely eliminated. The NHA was retained as the mechanism through which the national government exercised effective and direct control over urban poor communities since responsibility for areas brought under NHA projects (ZIP, re-settlement areas, and other development projects) was vested on the NHA from local governments.

The delivery of urban basic services remained primarily the responsibility of local governments. In Metro Manila, the Metro Manila Authority (MMA), formerly the MMC, still main-tains that responsibility . Two new institutions established under the new government reflect an ambivalent populist-tech-nocratic conservatism government policy at present. The Pre-sidential Commission for the Urban Poor (PCUP) was created in December 1986, a government unit under the Office of the Pre-sident which is mandated to coordinate with government agen-cies and the private sector regarding policies and programs that would affect the urban poor. This agency holds regular trisectoral consultation meetings with urban poor organiza-tions and non-government agencies to elicit their views and suggestions to improve and develop appropriate government programs. One of its most problematic roles has been media-ting between government agencies and local governments in

cases of squatter demolitions, a task made extremely frustrating by its limited legal powers and the lack of institutional support.

A week after the PCUP was created, the President established another office, the Housing and Urban Development Coordinating Council (HUDCC) designated to be the sole regulatory body for housing and urban development as well as the broad strategies for their implementation. It is supposed to function as an "umbrella" organization to subsume the different regulatory, financing and implementing agencies involved in urban development and the provision of housing. The abolition of the Ministry of Human Settlements created an institutional vacuum which the HUDCC, judging from the definition of its functions, is apparently designed to fill.

In a dialogue late last year with the heads of MMA and HUDCC, the newly created Urban Poor Coordinating Network (UPCN) sought measures to stop continuing inhuman and improper demolitions being conducted, i.e, without a court order, notice, and a ready relocations site. The MMA passed a resolution creating an Inter-Agency Committee to ensure orderly demolitions. The UPCN asserted that since 1986, when Aquino's government was installed, demolitions of over 20,000 families where illegal demolitions which have never been punished. The Inter-Agency will ensure that the clearing of over 51,000 urban poor failies in Metro Manila occupying the danger zones and national government projet sites are in accordance with th

guidelines of just relocations.

Last, the other trend that was cited by Karaos's (1988) in her analysis that is worth noting in the development of urban policy is the role being given to the private sector in urban development and the provision of low-income housing. The HUDCC has consistently favored a big role for private developers in meeting the housing backlog in Metro Manila as well as the provision of low-cost social housing. Under the rubric of private sector-government cooperation, private sector involvement is being encouraged. A look at the composition of the HUDCC, especially the private sector component, shows the heavy representation of big business or capitalist commercial interests in the council. With the government seriously lacking in financial resources, with the country heavy in debt and levels of domestic investments remaining low, greater public sector involvement in the provision of collective consumption, particularly housing, has often been justified.

In conclusion, the development of urban policy under the present government reflects a tension between the increasing pressures for urban poor participation in policy-making and the need that technocrats see to structure the system of distribution toward the promotion of broad development objectives. It is this tension which conditions the evolving relationship between the state and the urban poor and at the same time provides the political space for urban struggles in the present time.

E. Urban Poor Organization

Squatting is the most common form of land acquisition by the urban poor in Manila. Although access is relatively easy because of the relative abundance of urban land, security of tenure is much more difficult to obtain. Nevertheless, there have been many stable illegal as well as legal settlements in the urban area where community organizations have formed.

Focusing on very specific and concrete community issues and demands, many community organizations gained skills in mobilizing, strategizing and negotiating with government agencies for the delivery of basic services. As the authoritarian state stepped up the relocation of squatters in the mid-seventies, many urban poor organizations began to take a more adversarial posture relative to the state, especially as the resettlement policy provoked the urban poor to resist evictions. In the late 1960's and and early 1970's, collective efforts were concentrated in Tondo, which was then the major urban blighted area that government had to grapple with. They were primarily protectionist in nature, fighting against the threat of eviction by governmental agencies that endangered their very survival. The earliest and best known of the groups in this category is the Zone One Tondo Organization (ZOTO), famous for its residents' long history of organized militant resistance against the government removal activities in its area (Makil 1983).

In mid-1982, a renewed and determined effort at slum clea-

rance and relocation was initiated by then Metro Manila gover-
nor Mrs. Imelda Marcos. Squatters living on the banks of ri-
vers and canals were the main target although several thousand
families in other sites were also imperiled. Again, the pro-
mise of a developed relocation site was not kept by the go-
vernment and relocatees were dumped in old relocation areas
and the new one of Bagong Silang, Tala Estate in Caloocan
City.

Organizations of the urban poor quickly surfaced and alli-
ances among them were formed to counteract the so-called "Last
Campaign" (Makil 1983). In July, 1982, the PAMALU or Pagka-
kaisa ng mga Maralita sa Lunsod was formed. That same week,
a bigger federation of squatter organizations was created.
The Alyansa ng mga Maralita Laban sa Demolisyon (ALMA) in-
cludes seven groups: PAMALU, PAMANA, ZOTO, Nagkakaisang
Samahan ng Maralita ng Lunsod (NAGKASAMA), Marikina People's
Assembly (MAPA), Ugnayan ng mga Samahan sa Tala (UST), and
Pagkakaisa ng mga Mamamayan sa Bagong Baryo (PAMBIBO). The
alliance has cooperated with other organizations to map out
stategies and share experiences, presented position papers and
held press conferences to inform authorities and the general
public of their plight, and organized marches to the NHA.

Still another better known community organization is the
Samahang Maralita para sa Makatao at Makatarungang Paninirahan
(SAMA-SAMA) of Barangay Commonwealth adjacent to the Batasang
Pambansa Complex in Quezon City. While the initial demolition

attempt was successfully resisted by the group's human barricade, later confrontations resulted in violence and brutality that injured several persons from both sides. The organization has successfully publicized its plight and worked for the filing of a bill in the former legislative body under Marcos, Batasang Pambansa, which proposed that barangays within the SAMA-SAMA area to be declared a slum upgrading area instead.

There is also the DAOP-PALAD, an alliance of 214 urban poor organizations from metro Manila and regional cities. More recently, the Coalition of Urban Poor Against Poverty (CUPAP) was organized in June 1984 by eight member organizations representing Tondo, Quezon City, Las Pinas, Novaliches, Bagong Barrio, Pasay, and Marikina. The alliance initiated various intensified forms of mass action (e.g., lakbayan or walk for a cause, anti-demolition barricades and other mass assemblies) in its struggle against government repression, militarization and gross violation of the people's basic right to a humane and decent way of living. While these organizations exist primarily in order to fight for security of tenure in their present homes, a few seem to have been able to also improve certain aspects of their communities. The best example is ZOTO, which has succeeded in making the Tondo people's voice heard in the development plans affecting them. With the help of the Catholic church in the early 1970's and up to the present, ZOTO has been able to get job placements for a number of its unemployed members and, with some assistance from NHA and

other benefactors, obtain certain services (e.g., upgraded housing, a deep well and basketball court) for some barangays. ZOTO also helps survey relocation sites prior to residents' transfer there, and has been very active in channeling relief from various sources to the families most needing aid both in Tondo and in resettlement areas. Where certain member-communities have been forced to relocate, ZOTO continues its work of community organizaing in the new settlements toward the goal of self-help or self-reliance. That the expansion of ZOTO's activities goes beyond mere geographical spread is also evident in its involvement even in national issues.

Like ZOTO, SAMA-SAMA has been able to participate in NHA decisions affecting their communities located adjacent to the National Government Center in Quezon City. This organization was recently given authority by the NHA to conduct an official census of its area together with the public works ministry and the Metro Manila Commission, and has worked for the provision of electricity to residents within its boundaries. It also takes pride in its activities regarding national issues, particularly during the February 1986 elections and the subsequent EDSA uprising. A third example is the PAMANA Federation which has also initiated income generating projects to assist its members during the long stalemates in its dialogues with the NHA.

Another organization of urban poor residents is the Samahang Damayang Pilipino Inc. (SDP) a non-stock, non-profit

national organization of 165 mass-based organizations or four million landless and homeless urban poor families. Sitting in its board during the Marcos era were prominent government officials, including the Deputy Ministers of Human Settlements and Local Government, three assemblymen, and a presidential assistant (Makil 1983).

Except for the SDP whose funding source is not specified, all these urban poor associations are self-supporting. They survive on their own resources and occasionally with the aid of sympathizing non-government organizations (both Philippine-based and foreign) and individuals. Notable among these organizations are the Share and Care Apostolate for Poor Settlers (SCAPS) established in 1973 by the Catholic Bishop Conference of the Philippines, Justice and Peace Council, National Council of Churches in the Philippines-Human Rights Desk, the Religious of the Virgin Mary or RVM Sisters, Free Legal Assistance Group, the Concerned Action for Squatter Assistance (CASA) made up of professionals, the Concerned Citizens for the Urban Poor (CCUP) comprised of employees, professionals, students and community organizers, the Philippine Business for Social Progress (PBSP), Community Organization Philippines Enterprise (COPE) that is involved in building people's organizations and land purchasing projects, the promary health care organization AKAP, and Freedom to Build, Inc. (F to B). While most of these provide assistance in community organizing, housing schemes and land tenure, others help in information dis-

semination, fund raising, generation of livelihood opportuni-
ties, upgrading of micro-entrepreneurs of organizational and
credit management skills, extending credit facilities, and
promotion of health care. With a change to a more consulta-
tive or participatory oriented administration, the trend for
active self-help within urban poor communities where there are
active local community organizations is more evident now.

The long history of squatters' struggle over land contra-
dicts the prevalent image of squatters as politically weak and
unable to influence the government on a national level.
Though the urban poor in the Philippines remain disadvantaged
in the political arena, their history of struggle against the
state's urban policy generated some positive results for the
urban poor. Whereas before they dealt with their community
problems through individualistic and localized groupings, the
urban poor have realized that alliances with other urban poor
groups and sectors (e.g., religious, professionals, students)
in the metropolis who shared their goals strengthened them as
a pressure group. Moreover, they developed linkages and
worked out mechanisms of networking with governmental and non-
governmental agencies to expedite the needed assistance to
their common problems, particularly those related to their
land tenure status and delivery of basic services. This
parallels the strife of urban poor in other societies where
land distribution remains the most important domestic issue.
For example, Herbst (1989) explained the success of Zimbabwe's

squatters' quest for land to a number of combined factors: (1) their determination and innovative tactics, (2) the particular characteristic of land as a political good, especially in that it can be siezed and immediately put to use without further state aid, and (3) the initial success of the government bureaucracy charged with carrying out the resettlement program and the willingness of the national politicians to circumvent that bureaucracy on the behalf of the settlers was critical. In Herbst's analysis, he underscored that an understanding of the importance of the government's structure is also essential to understanding why the tactics of Zimbabwe's squatters, perceived to be weak, were successful. The central point, according to Herbst (1989), is that "political power cannot simply be judged in a vacuum by the organizational characteristics of the pressure group but must be assessed in light of the insti-tutional arrangements on the part of the government that the pressure group group is trying to influence". In this connection, Castells (1983), referring particularly to his case studies of squatter movements in Latin America, pointed out that despite the transformative potential of urban movements, the direction and continued impact of movements depend on the nature of the political system at a given moment in which the state is a central actor. Castells wrote:

> In all cases, the explanation of the dynamics and orien-
> tation of the squatter movement, as well as the level and
> meaning of their community organization, are essentially
> determined by the political system and by the characte-
> ristics of the political agent to which squatters relate.
> This is the most important social trend to consider for our

analysis, namely the dependency of squatter settlements upon state policies and the heteronomy of the squatter movement vis-a-vis the political system. (pp.210-211)

In the Philippines, the development of a squatter movement as an urban social movement was greatly facilitated by the change to a more democratic government. The general direction of political change in the Philippines after authoritarian rule parallels in broad terms the process of democratization in Brazil and Argentina as described by Mainwaring and Viola (1984). According to them:

> ...As the political arena opens up, the question changes from challenging authoritarianism to constructing a demo-cratic system. The movements need to define their place in a system which, in contrast to the authoritarian regime, allows their existence. In the process, new questions such as the role of parties and linkages to other social move-ments come into play. At this point, the rejection of politics and the lack of sophistication can be very limiting. ... All of the social movements have faced new dilemmas during the process of political liberalization. ... During the period of authoritarian rule, there was some convergence between radical and liberal democrats in the opposition to the authoritarian regime... With political liberalization, a redefinition of positions occurs, and the difference between the radical and the liberal democrats surface more clearly. (pp.44-45)

Mainwaring and Viola (1984) identified 4 broad possibili-ties for social movements while the democratic regime is defining its nature. The first is an authoritarian involu-tion. Both Brazil and Argentina are characterized by cyclical fluctuations between authoritarian and democratic regimes, even though these cycles are much shorter and involve more rapid alterations in Argentina. The second possibility is that the movements will be isolated, repressed or marginalized within a restricted democracy. Despite their dynamism and po-

litical impact during the authoritarian period, these movements have involved a small part of society. This possibility implies the most conservative redefinition of the democratic regime. The third possibility is cooptation. In this scenario, the new social movements would be incorporated into the democratic system and partially lose their autonomous identity, thus giving up their radical criticisms of the system. In this scenario, the democratic regime would incorporate some peripheral demands of the new social movements on its own terms. For the new social movements, this outcome will produce ambivalence and accommodation. The fourth possibility is that the radicals would establish strong alliances with liberals, but maintain a separate identity while changing the liberal's identity in a progressive direction. In this scenario, existing social movements will grow and new ones will emerge, sometimes undergoing redefinition as the political and social struggle evolves. This alternative implies the construction of a progressive, more participatory democracy.

These possibilities describe in a general way the alternative paths of political change in the Philippines under the present democratic transition. The relative fluidity of the institutions at the present time provides a minimum of political space for movements to develop a self-identity in the political arena. Political parties are in formation and are cultivating power bases. The political leadership and the technocracy are redefining the country's development strategy.

The bureaucracy is increasingly being forced to allow for greater community participation. At best, the removal of the dictatorship-repression issue from the center stage of political struggle has allowed social movements, like those among the urban poor, to focus back on more basic social problems and demands. While squatter communities or movements have now refocused on immediate "collective consumption" issues like land, housing, services, which the state has a monopoly to provide, they still inevitably relate with the state in ways that conform to the institutionalized means of access to these "goods".

F. Depleting Public Services and Urban Poverty

Castells characterized contemporary urbanization in the Third World countries of Latin America as follows: the extreme dominance of one city within national urban networks; the accelerated population growth of cities; an inflated service sector; the increasing segregation of social classes; and a widening gap between the living standards of rich and poor (1977: 49-63). This urban process is not unique to Latin America since analyses of the urban process in other regions of the Third World, like Asia, show the same patterns. Studies almost invariably show that the urban poor in the Philippines perceive their problems to revolve around their socio-economic status, inadequacy of basic services, and insecurity of tenure (e.g., Abueva, et.al. 1972; David and Angangco 1975; Hollnsteiner 1975; Lopez 1975; Angeles 1984; Convenors Group

1986). Based on 1988 data, the Foundation for Development Alternatives (FDA) reported that from a total national population of 54 million, around 20% or 11 million, constitute the urban poor. FDA reported that a survey of basic urban services in urban poor communities across the country indicated that: 63% haul water, 28% have water from the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System (MWSS) and 8% depend on public faucets; 66% have no toilets, 34% have; 78% have electricity, 21.6% have no electricity; and 191 hospitals, 326 health centers, with a ratio of 246 patients to one bed. Partial findings of a quick response survey conducted by the Development Academy of the Philippines (DAP) in 1981 with 500 respondents from various income levels in Metro Manila stated the following (Mangahas 1981):

> The access to public utilities is highly uneven, except for electricity. Water is the highest priority problem: only 56% have a direct water connection, 43% are dissatisfied with the services; those who say the service has worsened outnumber those who say it has improved and the unfavorable unbalance of opinion is most strongly held by those in class E (based on socioeconomic status or SES, this is the "very low class") among all classes. In contrast, electricity, aside from being almost universally available in Metro Manila, is rated unsatisfactory by only 19%, is popularly rated as having improved since 1980, and gets even better ratings from the lower SES classes than from the higher SES classes. (p.8)

In most other large cities of the Third World, there is also a severe shortage of public services. Roberts (1978), in his study of urban poverty in Latin America, described an analogous situation. Many city roads, especially on the outskirts are unpaved; public water supply reaches low-income

areas of the city through public hydrants serving a large number of families; and adequate sewage disposal systems serve only a small proportion of the urban population. Health facilities are unevenly concentrated in the richer areas of the city; in low-income areas, a clinic with one doctor may serve over 10,000 people. Educational facilities are also unevenly distributed with the higher-income areas having private schools and better state school facilities; low-income areas such as shanty towns have rudimentary school buildings and overcrowded classes. Irrefutably, the situation of the urban poor in underveloped countries is appalling. Larissa Adler Lomnitz (1988), in her study of a shanty-town in Mexico City, described the shanty-town dwellers as follows:

> The settlers of Cerrada del Condor may be compared to the primitive hunters and gatherers of pre-agricultural societies. They go out every day to hunt for for jobs and gather the uncertain elements for survival. The city is their jungle; it is just as alien and challenging. But their livelihood is based on leftovers: leftover jobs, leftover trades, leftover living space, homes built of leftovers.

G. Social Relationships and Urban Poverty

While life in the slums is far from ideal, studies reveal that residents nevertheless draw satisfaction from certain aspects of their community life. Roberts (1973) provided a case study of a Guatemala squatter settlement in which, over a period of 8 years, neighbors, through their own initiative, succeeded in building a church, a community center, a small school, and in installing sewage disposal and piped water. They were helped by the municipal and national governments of

Guatemala and also by the North American Agency for International Development; this assistance was granted after considerable and sophisticated lobbying from squatters. Neighbors often arranged individually to install electricity, where necessary bribing a company employee to let them install a light meter; then the person with the meter runs a large number of independent lines to other houses in the settlement, charging for this service and making a profit on the whole undertaking.

Seventy-two to 90 percent of Laquian's (1972) samples from six urban sites in the Philippines also felt that people in their communities were cooperative in community association activities. According to Laquian, this perception of community unity and cooperativeness is one of the main sources of strength in slum life. Plagued with the everyday problems of livelihood opportunities and basic urban services, the poor, individually and collectively, employ various ways by which they manage to survive in the city in the face of multidimensional deprivation. Lopez (1975) study of a depressed area in Sampaloc, Manila, found various ways:

1. Employment of the household labor force, i.e., slightly more than half of the households contained two or more working members - 64 percent of household members 10 to 64 years of age were employed. This step was necessary because of the high dependency rate: every working member supported four dependents.

2. Long working hours beyond the minimum of 8 hours per day and including weekends which, however, did not mean overtime payment but merely time-intensive work.

3. Dependence on relatives, neighbors, friends, government institutions and civic organizations for aid, repayment of which is not obligatory.

4. Use of "sari-sari" (small variety) store credit which, however, was generally not extended to the very poor who are seen as high risks.

5. Informal or spontaneous credit mechanisms (e.g. pawning such as local money-lenders for basic needs and emergency expenses.

6. Purchase of food in small quantities in order to extend the use of small and often irregular incomes.

7. Utilization of low quality, cheap or free goods and services to meet their needs in nutrition and health, housing and utilities, education, clothing, transportation and recreation.

In brief, to earn a minimum level of subsistence, the urban poor spend less but maximize the use of available financial and human resources. Furthermore, to reduce the constraints brought about by their living conditions, they utilized strategies that will minimize the effects of their disadvantaged positions. Through these individual and/or collective strategies, they manage to survive and persist. Roberts (1973) in his Guatemala case found that certain variables, such as the

age of the settlement, average income of the residents, and the size of the settlements, contribute to a community's cohesiveness. Social relationships have an important utilitarian function for surviving urban poverty. Most studies in a wide variety of settings show how important networks are for an individual's survival (Perlman 1976; Stack 1974; Peattie 1968. Claude S. Fischer (1977) explained:

> Individuals are linked to their society primarily through relations with other individuals; with kin, friends, coworkers, fellow club members, and so on. We are each the center of a web of social bonds that radiates outward to the people whom we know intimately, those whom we know well, those whom we know well, those whom we know casually, and to the wider society beyond. These are our personal "social networks". Society affects us largely through tugs on the strands of our networks - shaping our attitudes, providing opportunities, making demands on us, and so forth. And it is by tugging at those at those same strands that we make our individual impacts on society - influencing other people's opinions, obtaining favors from "insiders," forming action groups. Even the most seemingly formal of institutions, such as bureaucracies, are in many ways, to the people who know them well, frames around networks of personal ties. In sum, to understand the individual in society, we need to understand the fine mesh of social relations between the person and society; that is, we must understand social networks.

Studies have shown that inherent in marginal populations like the urban poor are mechanisms that provide them the requisites of survival in the city. Living under conditions of multidimensional deprivation and insecurity, they manage to subsist and flourish by capitalizing on informal resources based on kinship and friendship. It is how this system of non-material resources is operated as a network and how these networks are translated in the everyday lives of two squatter communities, making them viable in spite of conditions of de-

privation and perpetual insecurity, that I specifically probed in my study.

H. Networks and Urban Survival

In the earliest sociological work on urbanism, urban life destroyed community (Wirth, 1938). Wirth forwarded the view that urbanization eroded primary relationships (family, friend, and neighbor) while enhancing secondary relationships (organizations, bureaucracies). A number of studies influenced by Wirth depicted the urban resident as primarily oriented toward assistance organizations in times of need for reasons of both choice and necessity. Necessity reflects the presumably greater lack of alternatives for the urbanite; that is, in the absence of a sufficiently strong network of relatives, friends, and neighbors, urbanites are forced to seek assistance from organized sources. Choice refers to the supposition that social networks in cities are less likely to be viewed as sources of help; that is, urbanites choose to seek help from an organization rather than an informal source. This assumption, however, is largely contradicted by more recent data.

A study done by Korte (1983) in a medium-sized southern city (Raleigh, North Carolina) demonstrated significant variations in social ties for the residents of four neighborhoods varying in class and race. Overall, these results indicate significant variation within an urban environment in the degree to which people are provided with relationships

that would be useful avenues for seeking help if needs were to arise. The results of the study showed that although personal types of help were generally more frequent than organizational ones, the level of help obtained from various assistance organizations was considerable. On most of the problems currently being dealt with by the respondents, relatives were the most prominent sources of help; this was especially true in the case of financial problems and transportation problems. Yet, for respondents dealing with stress or depression problems, professional and organizational assistance was the primary source of help. In addition, organizations played a role in the assistance obtained by a considerable number of respondents with financial problems (43% of all 120 respondents) and those in single-parent situations (55%). On the whole, the white and black middle-class neighborhoods were quite similar in their utilization of both organizational and persornal sources of assistance. However, when asked whether they were getting as much help as they needed from organizations on an existing problem, they differed considerably in their satisfaction with the adequacy of the help they were receiving: the white middle-class neighborhood were most satisfied (53%), followed by the apartment complex (44%), the black lower neighborhood (40%), and finally the black middle-class neighborhood (26%).

Though the neighborhoods differed somewhat in the extent of social ties, given the choice, however, between informal net-

works and organizations, the urban residents of the Raleigh study more often chose informal networks, unless the problem was a stress or depression one, in which case they were more likely to seek assistance from a professional organization. Neither necessity nor choice impelled urban residents to seek help from assistance organizations rather than from social networks. Further, within the informal networks, help was sought primarily from relatives though proximity was not strongly related to utilization of relatives in help-seeking. The greatest inclination toward help-seeking from informal networks versus assistance organizations occurred in the white middle-class apartment-complex and the black low-income neighborhood, the former finding being a very unexpected one (Korte 1983). To many, the erosion and weakness of family ties in an urban environment is epitomized by life in an urban apartment-complex. Yet these residents were most likely to seek assistance from their informal networks, primarily family and relatives, and least likely to turn to assistance organizations.

Though urban residents did not seem to lack in the kind of social networks, the Raleigh study found these were weakest among neighbors. Neighbors assist more prominently with everyday needs, for example, watching each others homes and caring for pets and plants during vacations. Neighbors were rarely utilized for assistance except in some cases of single headed households and the elderly. Because personal relationships play the major role in finding assistance, Korte (1983)

suggests intervention strategies should be based on an analysis of different types of relationships that are potentially significant sources of help including relatives, friends, and neighbors, in the hope of harnessing these networks to increase the level of help available to people.

On the other hand, Donald I. Warren (1981), in his study of neighborhoods in the Detroit area, found neighbors to play a vital part in the helping network. When asked if they had been helped by a neighbor during a life crisis in the past year (such as personal injury, serious illness, death of a close family member, change of job, crime victimization), a high 56 percent said they had. Beyond directly helping, neighbors also referred individuals to other helpers, formal and informal. Warren called this as the gatekeeper function. Suzanne Keller (1968), who has explored the idea of neighboring perhaps more fully than any other researcher, points out that what a good neighbor is depends a great deal upon the perceptions and social norms of people. A good neighbor is not necessarily the good Samaritan who comes over to be friendly and is very sociable. Instead, a good neighbor may be a person who simply minds her or his own business. Keller also distinguished neighboring from close friendship; a good neighbor is not usually as close as a good friend. If you become good friends with your neighbor, the friendship relation usurps the neighbor relation: "... The neighbor, like the relative, is somehow an objectively given, inescapable pre-

sence in one's life space. However, some choice exists, here, too, as to what one decides to make of this relationship, how one feels about it, which resembles the selectivity characterizing friendships.[8] The concept of social network, thus, has been useful in comprehending a community's social structure or organization. Barnes (1954) defined a network as a social field made up of relations between people. Peattie's study of La Laja (1968), an urban neighborhood in the interior of Venezuela, a typical developing country, depicted the social structure of the barrio as the social networks of a series of individuals, forming a number of conspicuous large clusters, and leaving some relative isolates. She observed kinship as the main way inwhich these social networks are built, but the element of "choice" usually implied in the making of a sociogram is not absent in the field of kiship. As in the Raleigh study, people usually choose kin, but which kin are chosen for continued association is a matter to a considerable extent open to choice. Moreover, the choice possible among biological kin is increased by adding to these real kinsfolk a group of fictive kinsfolk through "compadrazgo" or "compadrinazgo", a ritual kinship where a formal social contract of important functions is forged in sacred ceremony. The result is the creation of rather personalized social networks, rather than the creation of large corporate social groups.

Peattie (1968) found other sorts of informal network formation still less formalized within the barrio. The people

whose houses are adjacent to each other or fronting each other
on the same street (neighbors) often form loose social grou-
pings, especially of women. These groups are visibly present
in the evenings, when people move their chairs onto the paved
strips along the front of their houses and sit together tal-
king while their small children play. The proprietors of the
community's small businesses become the centers of informal
communication networks. They know many people in the barrio,
establish relationships of "compadrazgo" with many, are impor-
tant in opinion formation and organization of such communal
efforts as community parties and the tree plantings in public
spaces. As shopkeepers, they experience considerable strain
in maintaining social relationships where the giving of credit
becomes an important factor. More important according to
Peattie was the vital role of community organizations which
develop among members of the community the capacity "to solve
its own problems by its own efforts". These attempts were not
wholly successful since for a community like La Laja, it has
only limited power to solve its own problems. The community
was able to build a water line, a baseball field, and a center
for giving children free breakfasts not just "by its own ef-
forts". But by defining these activities as "the community
solving its own problems," Peattie concluded that the "organi-
zing leaders in each case were able to mobilize enough group
pressure to establish new channels of connection with the
centers of power outside the community, and new skills in

making such connections." These became a valuable component and source for help in the community's helping networks. Nevertheless, though the aforementioned studies differed in the significance of family, neighbors, and formal organizations in the networks of the communities they studied, what was common is their observation that these networks emerged, are used, and maintained through highly personalized ties.

Closer to the context of my study is Lomnitz's (1988) research on the shanty-town of Cerrada del Condor in Mexico. With nothing to fall back on, the chance of survival among the shanty-town dwellers depends on the creation of a system of exchange entirely distinct from the rules of the market-place, a system based on his resources in kinship and friendship. This system follows the rule of reciprocity, a mode of exchange between equals, imbedded in a fabric of social relations which is persistent in time, rather than casual and momentary as in market exchange. The three basic elements of reciprocity are: (a) "confianza", an ethnographically defined measure of social distance; (b) equivalence of resources (or lack of resources); and (3) physical closeness of residence. What are exchanged in the networks range from information, job assistance, loans, services like care and errand-running for neighbors and minding children for working mothers, sharing facilities, and moral and emotional support. These networks of reciprocal exchange among the shanty-town dwellers constitute an effective stand-by mechanism whose purpose is to pro-

vide a minimum of economic security under conditions of chronic underemployment.

These systems of reciprocal exchange dominated Morais' (1981) findings in his research about social relations in Tanay, a Philippine municipality located 55 kilometers southeast of Manila. It is a Tagalog lowland community with a small upper class composed of professionals (e.g., lawyers, business men and women, government employees) and a larger, lower class composed of farmers, fishermen, drivers, vendors, tailors and dressmakers, laborers, teachers, etc. The most significant finding of his study was the utility of viewing Filipino social relations as a set of personal bonds which are merged in everyday life. The personalistic nature of Filipino social organization was manifested most in the personal alliance systems of his respondents which enabled the lower class particularly to cope with their limited resources. Social relationships were described as foundations for social exchange. Such highly personal exchanges are found in commercial or market contexts in the form of what is called the "suki" bonds.[9]

Using a psychosocial perspective, Morais added further documentation to the long traditional literature that explains the system of social relationships in the Philippines primarily as an interplay of values that emphasize smooth interpersonal relationships (e.g., debts of gratitude, reciprocity) and social relations (Nydegger and Nydegger 1963;

Nurge 1965; Guthrie and Jacobs 1966; Barnett 1966; Guthrie 1968, 1970; Guthrie and Azores 1968; Jocano 1969; Lynch 1973; Bulatao 1964). Values and sentiments, such as generosity, appreciation, and trust, were viewed as primary aspects of social relations in Tanay for they influence the initiation, maintenance, and deterioration of personal bonds. In Tanay, Morais found sentiment as a primary factor in relationships and the basis for many forms of reciprocity. The bonds and the associated norm of reciprocity which pervades life in Tanay entail powerful affective and normative motiva-tions that encourage the exchange of resources. For the poor of Tanay, these exchanges are crucial for coping with daily life (Morais 1981).

In "Slums are for People" (1969), a study of Barrio Mag-saysay in Tondo, one of the toughest and most troubled in Manila, Laquian offered to provide a fresh perspective on squatters in developing countries. According to Laquian "life in the slums is more warm, people know each other, they assist each other in many traditional ways, and above all, it is cheaper than living in apartments or other middle-class environment" (p.198). Laquian's work supported the intensive studies in Metropolitan Manila which show that slums retain many of the traditional characteristics of rural life: a feeling of community solidarity; intensive face-to-face dea-lings by which closed communication systems, characterized by local gossip, are formed; grouping according to ethnic and

kinship ties; and a strong "we feeling" felt against the outside world. Slums are an oasis of personal warmth and security. Laquian sees squatter communities as "transitional societies" in which "most slum dwellers are rural migrants in the process of becoming urban" (p.198). Laquian further wrote:

> The only lasting solution to the slum and squatter problem, therefore, is to hasten the transition of both the squatters and slum dwellers as persons - and the slum and squatter areaa as communities - from their present disruptive state to a more developmental level. The transition of the rural-urban migrant from a personality type characterized by authoritarianism, dependence, fatalism, low achievement motivation, and other configurations typical of traditional picture to a personality type possessing other-directedness, independence, saliency, efficacy, and high achievement motivation should be hastened. This process will help to make the migrant an asset rather than a liability to the urban society which he has joined. (p.7)

Though I completely support Laquian's humanistic view of the slums, I argue with his perspective, a popular perspective at that, which tends to ascribe and prescribe to urban slums or squatters that the only mode of existence to manage survival in the city is to adapt in order to fit; thus, if they are not able to adapt, they are considered unfit for the big city. I suggest instead that there is something extraordinary about squatter communities that enable them to in fact resist being transformed by the city, yet survive at the same time, as capitalist development continue to define urban life. That most of these urban poor dwellers are rural migrants, mostly peasants, contribute in fact more to their resilience that city living demands. Their continued resistance account for

their role as protagonists in urban politics. Against the passive view that people in slums and squatter communities are forever in a process of becoming urban in order to fit according to Laquian (1968), I aimed through this study to forward and bring to light the potential of the urban poor, that is, the squatters and slums, to shape their own fate in the city through "everyday forms of resistance" (Scott, 1986).

Furthermore, in spite of the increasing concern and despite the abundance of literature on the problems and the more active role of the urban poor in generating urban change, the fundamental issue of the role of women and their needs in human settlements like slums and squatters remain taken for granted, far less attended to or completely invisible and left out. What I hope to show in my study is the indispensable role of women in these communities of the urban poor. In my research, it was the women who were most active and what they did were the sources for either collective action or resistance. More embedded in their communities, they formed, shaped, and sustained interactions in informal ways - interactions that connect and become "coordinated" when the good of the community is at stake.

Furthermore, in view of the absence or lack of importance given to the plight of urban poor women in the literature and solutions to poverty in spite of their vital work in these communities, I argue that an examination of the problems and needs of women, or gender in general, and human settlements,

especially in the provision of infrastructural and basic services, must be addressed for any solution or policy to be effective. For example, in some countries the provision of sanitation is a low priority issue because men, unlike women, do not require the same privacy to perform ablutions (Moser in Moser amd Peake 1987). In the slums of Bombay, women without private toilets have to perform their ablutions in isolated locations where they are particularly vulnerable to rape and molestation (Agarwal and Anand 1982) while case studies on Bangladesh have shown that without adequate private toilets, women can relieve themselves only before sunrise or after sunset, causing severe medical problems. The International Women's Tribune Centre (in Moser 1987) reported that in low-income communities in Latin America, water pumps, introduced to provide clean water, have broken down because handles were designed by men, and women and children (the principal water-bearers in the community) broke them through their inability to operate them correctly. My research is not only a study of the harsh realities and zeal for survival of urban poor communities; it is as well and more concretely an examination of the plight and social action of women whose conditions constitute much of the harsh realities.

What these studies have successfully shown then is the appalling situation of the urban poor. However, many of these studies have fallen short in viewing the urban poor and in presenting the realities of their lives on two major points:

(1) They have underestimated the potential and resourcefulness of the poor to improve their situation by themselves because they believe that change, i.e., adopting mainstream life-styles, originates externally or from the above. (2) As a consequence of this short-sightedness, they have paid little attention or no attention to the nature of the processes that account for their survival in the city and crucial here is the role of women in these communities. The situation of the urban poor is indeed a volatile one because of their capacity to find ways of interpreting the uncertainties of their economic and social position which are compatible with their active attempt, usually of and by the women, to cope with the day-to-day problems of urban living.

It is in this regard that I highlight these two points in my study. In the next chapter, I present the living conditions and daily concerns that make up the tenacious objective reality in squatter communities. It is this tenaciously maintained objective reality that shape the everyday course of events and activities in these communities. More importantly, too, it is this same objective reality that give impetus to the everyday activism of squatters to master the urban environment and live out their lives even more tenaciously.

NOTES

1. By the year 2000, the majority of the world's urban
   population (66%) will reside in the Third World. Between
   1950 and 2000, it is anticipated that the urban population
   of the Third World will grow by a factor of 7.7, which
   translate into a factor of 10.9 in Africa; 6.9 in Latin
   America; 7.2 in East Asia (excluding Japan); and 7.5 in
   South Asia. In comparison, the urban population of the
   more developed regions is expected to grow by a factor of
   only 2.4 during the same period. The antipated growth in
   the global urban population between 1950 and 2000 is ex-
   pected to yield a distribution of 74% in the Third World,
   with a breakdown of 13% in Africa, 16% in Latin Amrica, 18%
   in East Asia and 28% in South Asia (United Nations 1980).

2. A drive to "Filipinize", that is, open more opportunities
   and positions in the political, economic, and social
   spheres, was initiated by the postwar American colonial
   policy. This was a mechanism to accommodate the clamor
   of citizens who had limited representation and involvement
   during the previous colonial government in the political,
   economic, and activities that were concentrated in the
   Metropolitan Manila area.

3. Abrams (1977) classified squatter tenure into nine general
   types:
   (1) The owner squatter owns his shack, though not the
   land; he erects the shack on any vacant plot he can find.
   Public lands and those of absentee landlords are the most
   prized. The owner squatter is the most common variety.
   (2) The squatter tenant is in the poorest class, does not
   own or build a shack on any vacant plot he can find. Many
   new in-migrants start as squatter tenants, hoping to ad-
   vance to squatter ownership.
   (3) The squatter holdover is a former tenant who has ceased
   paying rent and whom the landlord fears to evict.
   (4) The squatter landlord is usually a squatter of long
   standing who has rooms or huts to rent, often at exorbitant
   profit.
   (5) The speculator squatter is usually a professional to
   whom squatting is a sound business venture. He squats for
   the tribute he expects the government or the private owner
   to grant him sooner or later. He is often the most elo-
   quent in his protests and the most stubborn in resisting
   eviction.
   (6) The store squatter or occupational squatter establishes
   his small lockup store on land he does not ownm and he may
   do a thriving business without paying rent or taxes.
   Sometimes his family sleeps in the shop.

(7) The semi-squatter has surreptitiously built his hut on private land and subsequently comes to term with the owner. The semi-squatter, strictly speaking, has ceased to be a squatter and has become a tenant. In constructing his house, he usually flouts the building codes.

(8) The floating sqautter lives in an old hulk or junk which is floated or sailed into the city's harbor. It serves as the family home and often the workshop. It may be owned or rented, and the stay may be temporary or permanent.

(9) The squatter "cooperator" is part of the group that shares the common foothold and protect it against intruders, public and private. The members may be from the same village, family, or tribe or may share a common trade.

4. The first relocation sites were Bago Bantay, Bagong Pagasa, San Gabriel Estate and Sapang Palay in Bulacan.

5. Only recently (1990) the body was renamed Metro Manila Authority (MMA) with basically similar functions and structure. However, its taxation and legislative powers have been greatly reduced (Jimenez 1990).

6. Some of the areas consistently targeted were Tondo, Navotas, Dagat-Dagatan, and Malabon which were areas near the International Port and Philippine Fish Port.

7. There is a perpetual lease agreement over the land between the government and the Bagong Lipunan Community Association, a required organization of beneficiaries of a BLISS estate. A beneficiary is an automatic member of the association; his membership dues are equivalent to the monthly rentals of his unit. The dues increased by 10 percent annually and levelled off on 14th year until the maturity of the payment period on the 25th year (Samonte and Valera 1983).

8. Keller (1968) distinguished relatives and friends. Neighbors differ from both relatives and friends, however, in that physical distance does not destroy these relationships whereas a neighbor, by definition ceases to exist as a neighbor once spatial distance intervenes. ... The neighbor replaces - but does not displace - the distant friend or relative by performing tasks that the friend or relative is unable to perform. But to be a good neighbor is not all the same as to be a good friend. If you become good friends with your neighbor, the friendship relation usurps the neighbor relations (1968:24-25). Keller identified various dimensions of neighboring (1968: 44):

1. Neighboring is a social defined relationship ranging

from highly formalized and institutionalized rules and obligations to highly variable, voluntary exchanges.

2. In essence, neighboring involves exchanges of services, information, and personal approval among those living near one another, however nearness is defined.

3. The needs prompting these exchanges may be divided into four categories:

   a. The daily, unexpected occurrence that is unforseen yet recurrent, such as running out of bread or needing to post a letter.

   b. The big emergency, such as fire, illness, or death.

   c. The significant collective event - marriage, birth, a holiday.

   d. Cyclical collective needs - as at harvest time, during economic depressions, and during job layoffs. The aid exchanged among neighbors is both material and spiritual.

4. Neighboring exhibits varying degrees of intensity and frequency although knowledge here is extremely meager. In consideration of these, it is understandable why neighbors are maintained as a valuable component in informal social networks.

9. A "suki" refers to both the buyer, who regularly buys, and the seller who gives to a regular buyer benefits like reduced price or buying on credit. This relationship is maintained as long as the buyer keeps a good record and the seller continues to extend benefits.

CHAPTER II

Lasting First Impressions

One common image of slum and squatter communities is the
deteriorated physical habitat. In this chapter I describe my
first encounters with the communities of my study. What I
first saw and learned reflected a first picture of the ob-
jective conditions in both communities. As a researcher,
these conditions were the external circumstances within which
I conducted and managed my study. For the residents, these
conditions were not just external since these are the very
conditions within which their consciousness is formed and
shaped.

Barangay Apelo Cruz

Formerly known by the poetic name of Pulo de Gallena, Apelo
Cruz is more than just a street in Pasay City, one of the four
cities that comprise Metropolitan Manila. It was an open
swamp land before it became a dumping ground for the garbage
of the City and neighboring municipalities. From the mountain
of garbage grew a slum settlement. The present community of
Barangay Apelo Cruz is therefore literally built on a landfill
of garbage.

Apelo is bounded on the east by Tripa de Gallena creek, on

the south by an Island Gas outlet, in the north by Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (EDSA), and on the west by the Philtranco bus terminal. Coming in from the highway, the slum dwellings appear almost immediately after Philtranco. This large bus company plays a major part in Apelo residents' lives, as many residents work as drivers, conductors/conductresses, porters, and cleaners. Significantly, the company is that it is one of several private groups interested in purchasing the land where Apelo squatters reside.

The 1986 survey of the NHA reported that 1,000 families resided in the area although at present, the population is said to have reached 5,000 families. Among the thirty household heads I formally interviewed, 73.33% own their shelters and the rest are tenants who pay rent to a landlord who, in most cases, was a squatter owner residing in the community. Renters pay a monthly rent of P150.00-200.00 (equivalent to $10). There are only about 500 houses or"barong-barong" (shanties), most of them two-story type with an average household size of six. In most of the houses, three households are squeezed into rooms no bigger than averaged-size bathrooms. The NHA identified Apelo Cruz as an Area for Priority Development (or APD). Its lot area is approximately 40,000 sq.meters.

From the highway, the road leading to Apelo Cruz is paved and the street is usually swarming with people. Side cars and cabs wait for passengers alighting from the buses inside the terminal. Vendors and makeshift side eateries serve the crowd

of people due to depart or who have just arrived: travelers, migrants, drivers, conductors, porters, and local residents. Two established businesses are located along the street a few meters past the terminal: the factory of Philips Foods and a rattan manufacturer. There are small stores made of scrap metal selling cooked food and snacks. A concrete bridge over a dead river is a major landmark not only because it sets the boundary of what is known as Apelo's squatter community but for the residents, the bridge is where they get their only clean source of water. The river's green slime of standing water gives off an unpleasant odor because it serves as the immediate depository of the community's garbage and chemical wastes for many years. Along the river bank are lines of makeshift collapsible shacks. Most of the shelters are made of scraps of wood and iron sheets. Houses are built close to one another, making for producing narrow passageways between them. A number of small variety stores, called "sari-sari" stores, can be seen along the partially paved passageway by the river and in the interior parts. Drinking (and drunk) groups of men, in-house bingo sessions, small boys playing "cara cruz" (the street side gambling of young boys), teenaged boys playing billiard, and a bounty of children running and playing around are everyday scenes. Precy, one of my key informants, lamented this rampant gambling among young children who gamble away hard earned money. There is one nearby public school, Apelo Cruz Elementary School, two

daycare centers, a consumer cooperative run by SAMAKANA (a women's organization), two chapels (or "kapilyas") and the church of the "Iglesia ni Cristo" (a Christian sect). The Church's standard fine architecture stands out in contrast to the blight of the community.

An indicator of the residents' meager incomes is the limited or no appliances the residents own except for television sets and electric fans. Most women use wood for cooking though some use fuel/gas. Residents often buy cooked food to save time and energy.

A. Apelo Cruz's System of Basic Services

In Apelo Cruz, the most frequent problems experienced by the 30 household heads I interviewed were (1) unemployment and underemployment, (2) water and electricity, (3) problems of sanitation and cleanliness, (4) uncertainty over land, and (5) the lack of a health center within the community.

Apelo residents are gripped by a basic two-fold insecurity that is caused by their unstable street work as scavengers and having no tenure on land. That the residents possess no valued skills is indicated by the high seventy-five percent who labor as scavengers. The remaining 25 percent are in in non-permanent or casual jobs that are poorly paid and offer little or no benefits. Their marginal jobs in the city further locks them into their squatter status, unable to move out and own or rent better housing. I learned that a portion of Apelo is owned by the government while a portion is privately owned by

just one family. The family is of common knowledge among the squatters who are aware that it would be with this family that they will someday have to negotiate with about selling to them their space at an affordable cost. But, for the present, residents live their lives threatened everyday by possible eviction.

Furthermore, I looked at a range of specific basic services that any human community must be provided with. These services are so essential for most squatters since their access or non-access to basic serivices can facilitate or further handicap their entry and survival in the city.

Water and Electricity

During my four and a half months stay in Apelo, residents fetched or hauled water from bored holes in a huge pipe under the bridge. It is their only free source of potable and clean water. Some residents pay 50 centavos to have their water hauled to their homes. Nonetheless, the pipe has become such an invaluable source of water for the residents to the extent that residents will defend it en-mass and with physical force as they demonstrate against the water authority agents who threatened to close the pipe permanently. This illegal water source is an improvement over what was once the community's only source of free water, a rusty pump half a kilometer away that had to be boiled to prevent sickness. Two commercial establishments outside the area sold water to Apelo residents at 15 centavos a gallon.

The history of electricity in Apelo is a short one, that is, it has always been illegal. In Apelo, there are three resident "owners" of meters who run and maintain independent lines to other houses, by use of jumpers, and charge residents for the supply they get. A household with just the most basic appliances, like a television and fluorescent, is charged P25.00. Residents pay as high as P50.00 for their electricity a month, depending on the appliances they own. However, the monthly fee they pay for their illegal power supply is still much preferred by the residents who are aware of the continuing increase of electricity if it were to be legal.

Sanitation

The present congested housing condition of Apelo makes it now almost impossible to install sewerage and drainage facilities. Because of the absence of sewerage lines, the river has become the most convenient dumping ground of sewage; thus, giving off foul odor. Furthermore, during strong rains, the dead river with its accumulated trash and chemical wastes through the years easily overflows onto the shanties by the bank and this portion of the community is flooded by the river's standing water.

In this connection, households have no toilet facilities. They have open-pit toilets that are not connected to a depository structure. Another method of waste disposal is the wrap and throw, called "flying saucer" whereby the river serves as the target ground. Though the Metro Manila Commis-

sion, through its Refuse and Environmental Sanitation Center,
is in charged of solid waste management in the metropolis
through dump truck facilities, Apelo's garbage are more often
not collected by the city government's dump trucks. Because
of this, households resort to dumping their refuse into open
pits, burning them, pitching them into the river, or indis-
criminately disposing them on gutters or any open space. This
practice leads to clogging and consequent   flooding.

Health Care

In view of the absence of sewers and drainage, toilet,
garbage collection and diposal facilities, the state of
sanitation and cleanliness in the community aggravates the
filth endemic in a scavenging community like Apelo. This
condition contributes to the occurrence and easy contamination
of diseases, especially among children. In a survey conducted
by women health trainees of the lower Daycare, it was found
out that stomach and respiratory illnesses were the leading
health problems. The nearest public health facility, a kilo-
meter away, is the Dona Marta Health Center which is run by
the city government's health unit. Since it is a public
health center, the residents can avail of free medical check-
up or consultation and free immunization. However, residents
complain about the waiting time they have to spend to be
served; thus, many are forced to go to private clinics or
doctors at the plaza, especially for emergencies. In more
serious cases, they have to go to public hospitals. In any

case, they have to buy the medicines for themselves since they are just issued prescriptions. But because of health and medical projects undertaken by active women organizations like SAMAKANA and the Samahan ng mga Nagkakaisang Magulang ng Barangay 157, residents not only benefit from free medical check-ups but also from free medicines that they are able to get immediately. Often, the residents are able to obtain a supply of medicines enough for them to save for future situations. Another free health service that many residents avail of is the indigenous "hilot" whose service is called particularly to assist at birth and for sprained or broken bone conditions. Some residents call on a midwife who may be from the community and whose service is not totally free. A fee, still much less than the regular hospital fee, is paid for the service.

<u>Education</u>

Along with medical services, it is education that residents cited as an area that has improved due to the availability of support or assistance programs and projects provided particularly by outside groups or organizations in the community like Foster, an international program which funds indigent children's schooling, i.e. tuition, books, and other educational needs like supplies and uniform from elementary to high school, and the Educational Resource and Development Assistance Program or ERDA, a community program extended to the area by a local socio-civic group. Nevertheless, these two

programs are not sufficient to provide education to all school-aged children or individuals in the community because of the rising cost of education. Public education is not totally free since parents have to pay some minimal fees that when added up, eats up a substantial amount of their meager incomes. For example, in the case of Apelo Cruz Elementary School (the nearest school to the community), total expenses for a whole year for a grade one child reaches around P300.00 which includes P70.00 for miscellaneous and extra monthly payments in the amount of P10 - P15.00 for projects, books, PTA. Thus, the daycare centers in the community are valuable for the preschool education of children in the community. Because of the increasing cost of education, many parents, especially those solely dependent on scavenging, are not able to send their children for continuous education.

Police and Fire Protection

Police and fire protection services are minimally used by residents because of the greater role assigned to the community's "barangay" council for the maintenance of peace and order in the community. The "barangay" serves as a local civilian police for troubles within the community. In Apelo, residents cite their peace and order to have greatly improved specifically because of the demise of two criminal brothers in 1987 who sowed fear among the residents in the early 80's. Fire protection service has not been availed by residents because residents themselves have been successful in control-

ling the occurrence and consequent spread of fire. There was complete unanimity among my respondents about the unity of residents in a possible fire outbreak. As one of them described, and resonated in many ways by others:

"It is very difficult for people here to naturally unite for the interest of the whole community even if we help one another, our neighbors for example. But, the history of Apelo will show that no fire has ever destroyed our community, no matter how congested we are here. The only reason here is that residents act immediately even at just a distant site of smoke that can turn into fire. Residents all over the area will come running with blankets, pails of water, and whatever to help control the spread of a possible fire. That is one thing I am proud to say about Apelo.

However, on the whole, 56.3% (18) of the 32 respondents[1] believed that the range of basic services they had a right to as urban dwellers in the past three years (1986-1989) have generally been the same as before, that is, there has been no substantial improvement.

Scavenging: Apelo Cruz's Way of Life

The area was first inhabited in 1950 by people who made their living by scavenging from the garbage dumped in the area. The area attracted the poorest rural migrants, those who could not afford other housing in the metropolis. As migrants poured into the neighborhood, they built their shelters on top of the mass of garbage. Many of the current residents come from the provinces of Bicol, Leyte, Negros, and Samar, most of these have become poverty stricken and/or militarized during the former authoritarian regime of Ferdinand Marcos. They came to Manila to find a job, or simply to

"better our fate". It is easier to find jobs in the city, they report, than in the provinces where jobs other than planting are scarce. With an average educational attainment of elementary graduate (grade 6), the people do not have the required skills for the higher paying skilled jobs; thus, other than scavenging, the residents are anything from drivers of cabs, sidecars, or a driver/delivery person of a commercial establishment, carpenters, construction workers, mechanics, security guards, factory workers, laundrywomen, casual employees, vendors or hawkers as well as casual laborers. Given this, there is hardly anyone who has job security that ensures his household or family's everyday needs will be met tomorrow.

Scavenging was, therefore, the main economic activity available to the residents. It is evident anywhere I turned. There were lines of carts along and even at corners. There were the mountains of accumulated garbage outside the warehouses and pieces of trash scattered on the streets or passageways. Sun-beaten and scarred children, men, and women continuously came and went from the dilapidated shacks they call home.

That there are six warehouses in this relatively small community indeed indicate how 75% of the residents eke out a living, from scavenging. Aling Fatima, who owns a warehouse and employs scavengers in Apelo for eleven years explained the work system of scavenging.[2] She said that because scavenging depends on what people throw out, the working hours vary.

scavenging hours can start as early as three or four in the morning as children, both girls and boys, take to the streets early. When the young children return from their rounds at around seven in the morning, older groups of scavengers, teenagers and adults, begin their day. Some of them start treking back from 11 in the morning or by noon to any time in the afternoon. The next big and last batch of scavengers then go out at four or five in the afternoon and are due back by nine or ten in the evening. They are often the parents (father or mother) of those who have gone out earlier. The parents will meet up with the children and return together. By that time, the children are so exhausted that they sleep on the carts while the parent/s continue to scavenge until he and/or she is exhausted and so heads back to Apelo. There are some who scavenge till one in the morning. An individual may scavenge as long as he or she wants and as many times as he or she wants within the day. The only prop that they need which Aling Lourdes provides for them is a cart or "kariton".

Weighing of the junk collected starts at nine in the morning. Aling Fatima has regular employees who weigh and count bottles and gets extra helpers in tying-up piles of say paper, boxes, etc. The scavengers themselves clean or wash the tin cans or bottles and sort the junk to facilitate the weighing. After the weighing and counting, she issues the scavengers a receipt that indicates the weight of their collection and their day's pay. According to Aling Fatima, in

the business of scavenging, the adults earn more than the children because the adults are "more serious" about scavenging and, thus, persevere while children mix play with the work of scavenging. The children usually earn a maximum of P30.00 (equivalent to around a $1.30) for 4 to 5 hours scavenging. The older ones earn from P40.00 - 60.00 (equivalent to $2-3.00) after 6 to 7 hours of scavenging. Prior to an occasion like Christmas where people or establishments buy and dispose a lot of junk, they may earn as high as P80.00 (around $4.00). If they want to earn more, they can go out again and scavenge. Aling Fatima emphasized that scavenging is a job that depends on the scavenger's industriousness or hard work. The most profitable scrap is plastic which she can sell for P8.00 (less than 50 cents) a kilo and scrap metal. However, prices have gone down and her buyers have stopped buying despite the fact that there is a lot of junk being collected.

I asked then the consequence of this "stop buying". She said:

> It does not affect the scavengers. They keep on scavenging and I continue paying them for whatever they collect. I, as their employer and buyer, is the one who is affected since money keeps on going out on my part but there is no money coming in or replenishing it. So far I have managed. This year (1989) has not been a good year and it is ending real bad. But I have to keep paying them (the scavengers) because if they stop working because I cannot pay them, even for a day, it would mean no three meals for them. I cannot do that. I scavenged for many years in my life and I know what it means since my family's survival depended on my scavenging. That's the irony now: the scavengers are having a heyday in scavenging but the real big buyers of junk, not me, are not buying.

That the buying has ceased for a period of time was evident in

Aling Fatima's warehouse with the piles of accumulated junk already parked outside the path leading to her house. Also, I noticed during my period of residence that I saw the truck which collect her tin cans and papers only two times at the most. It is hard not to see the truck since it occupies much space at the entrance of the paved street which is by the river that leads to the inside of Apelo.

I concluded my inquiry about scavenging with a question regarding its hazards because at that very moment we were engaged in our conversation, Aling Fatima was quite concerned about the news, which a male friend of hers conveyed during that time I was with her, that the Dept. of Public Works inspectors are becoming vigilant about violations committed by savengers and are tightening their penalties. In terms of the hazards, the scavengers have to look out for themselves against street vehicles that have little consideration for them. Accidents do happen and sometimes either the scavenger or the cart are bumped. These happen more frequently with children. In both cases, Aling Fatima says "I am responsible for them even if it is their fault. They don't pay anything." Sometimes, carts get lost or stolen while, say, the scavenger is inside a market getting something and leaves the cart by a corner. Aling Fatima informed me that a cart now is worth P500.00 (around $25.00) and is getting more expensive. There are also the physical and health hazards caused by the wea- ther, when it rains and floods or even when it gets extremely

hot. The nature of the job does not protect the scavenger from these. The nuisance about the business of scavenging is the system of bribery that someone in Aling Fatima's position has to maintain to protect her scavengers who violate a law, e.g., littering or throwing garbage not needed (which the children often commit) on the street, example, food from a box. Another occurrence for which scavengers are caught is when they trespass the boundaries for scavenging because they are limited within certain boundaries in the city. The street scavenger is the "little person" in the business and hierarchy of the junk business. It is no different from their status as a city dweller since the city streets, as they experience, is part of what makes the city a jungle.

Barangay Bagbag

Bagbag occupies a bigger land space in the country's former capital city, Quezon City, than does Apelo Cruz. According to early residents of this community, Bagbag was once an area of rice paddies.[3] A busy market lies at the entrance of Sauyo Road, the road which leads to the thickly populated part of Bagbag. This explains the usually dirty and muddy asphalted path one must travel alongside vehicles in and out of the road. The sidecar is the main mode of transportation for those whose destiny is the more remote interior areas of Bagbag.

Many houses on Road 3, known also as Abby Rd., are made of adobe and are only partially completed as a result of the fire

that devastated a large portion of the area in February 1988.
Traces of fire damage can be seen in some of the houses, which
are mostly of the one-story type, and efforts of rebuilding
and reconstruction have been suspended due to lack of funds.
There is, on the whole, still a predominance of shelters made
of wood and aluminum-sheet roofing.

There is a proliferation of "sari-sari" stores and hawkers
who peddle a variety of items - from bananacue, "malagkit"
(glutinous rice) and fried "lumpya" (a Chinese dish made of
shrimps, pork and vegetables wrapped in rice starch paper), to
plastic wares, rubber slippers, and hangers. There are a num-
ber of other small businesses such as capiz-making, chlorox-
making, clip and headband making. For extra income, there are
enterprising women who sew ribbons for brassiers (for which
they would get P4.25 for 100 ribbons) and others who cut up
thongs for rubber slippers (for which they are paid P3.50 for
a bunch of 10 rubber thongs). On Road 3, there are makeshift
stalls (just a table and chair) where cooked food and snacks
are sold. Besides their commercial function, these stalls are
locations where both young and old women and men sit around
and spend time for their everyday interactions.

The average educational attainment for 50% of my 30 house-
hold heads completed an elementary education and the remaining
had some high school. Twenty-two of the respondents consi-
dered themselves migrant, from Samar, Bicol, Romblon, Negros,
Aklan, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, Pangasinan, and Isabela. Eighty

percent of them cited cheap rental rates as the primary reason for settling in Bagbag relative to other areas they came from even within the same city, Quezon City. Three cited proximity to husband's job and three others cited various reasons, such as availability of a good source of income like selling due to the large population and having relatives in the area who offered rent to them. Most of the men's jobs ranged from maintenance work (repairs), construction, carpentry, driving, security guards, factory workers, and rank-and-file office job. For additional income, the women sell snack drinks (iced filled sweet native juice) or food by a makeshift stand or peddle food around the area. Five of the women I interviewed managed small variety stores and four were engaged in sewing ribbons for brassiers and one cut up thongs for rubber slippers. Bagbag is located near large factories and manufacturing plants, among which are Rubber World, Manila Paper Mills, Starlite Plastic and Industrial Corporation, and Allied Metal.

There is one elementary public school within the area, Bagbag Elementary School, 4 daycare centers (2 are government supported; 2 are private), a "kapilya" (chapel), a church or "parokya", and SAMAKANA's sewing cooperative. Because of its vast territory, the daycare centers are found in different parts of Bagbag. The daycare is vital in Bagbag, and for many urban poor communities, because it is where they send children for preschool education (until around six years old) and the presence of a daycare in the neighborhood enables the women

particularly to do part-time extra income jobs away from home like washing clothes or hawking. In Road 3 or Abby Rd., there is a staff house that the Foundation for Development Alternatives (FDA), a non-government organization working in the community, is maintaining for use of the organizations it works with. Like Apelo Cruz, Bagbag has a reputation of being a rough area; thus was described as the "Tondo of Quezon City" in the 70's and 80's because of gang wars and its reputation as a refuge of criminals.[4] However, the war that Bagbag residents are waging today is no longer among themselves (except in isolated cases). Their war now is against the powerful forces that are more than ever threatening to uproot their community in view of an impending major facelift of this human settlement to a commercial and business center that is part of the national masterplan and infrastructure project to transform Metro Manila to a "City of Man".

B. Bagbag's System of Basic Services

Like Apelo's residents, residents in Bagbag perceived unemployment (lack or under), electricity/water/garbage, and the absence of a health center in the community as their important problems in the community. However, it was insecurity of tenure that they identified as most pressing.

in Apelo, Bagbag has had a long history of illegal electricity even though there is an increasing number of households who have chosen to make it legal, that is, have their own meters or share meters. There are still numerous house-

holds dependent on illegally connected lines with the use of jumpers. Similar in Apelo, electricity has been a source of extra income for enterprising individuals who connect residents illegally to their own line, charging residents from P30.00 - 50.00 a month which to residents save them from the unaffordable cost of legal electricity. Unlike Apelo, the water problem has been improved with the legal entry of MWSS into some areas in 1986, making clean water more accessible to more areas and households ; thus, providing more sources of water for other residents to buy. However, residents had to pay a large amount of around P680.00 plus a P100.00 deposit to legalize their water because they found out that the pipes installed in 1985 was illegally done by a syndicate; thus, they had an illegal source of water. Prior to 1985 and MWSS' entry in 1986, the main source of water in Bagbag were privately owned artesian wells. They had to pay a small amount for the unpotable water they obtained. At present, majority of the residents buy clean water ranging from twenty to thirty-five centavos for a container and P2.50 - P3.50 for a drum. Some residents pay a fee ranging from P30-50.00 a month for their month's water supply to owners of water meters.

Though garbage in the community is collected by the city government's dump truck, residents still dispose most of their refuse on a landfill in the community that has become a sore sight and source of foul smell. The inconsistent frequency of collection by the dump truck forces them to rid of their gar-

bage on the landfill which the "barangay" has prohibited. This has affected sanitation and health conditions which, in turn, only exacerbate the absence of a health center within the community. Residents have to go to health centers of other nearby "barangays" that are at least a kilometer away. According to Councilman Roman, "A health ceter is what we need most here but there is so much bureaucracy for the resources needed that has long delayed its establishment." Thus, the medical and health projects conducted by SAMAKANA and BIKTIMA, under the sponsorship of supporting outside organizations, and these groups' connections with doctors and hospitals have been most helpful, according to the residents, because these are usually provided or extended to them free. Nonetheless, the neighboring health centers are still the primary venues of residents for their medical needs because of the free servi- ces. A private doctor is sought in emergency cases while some residents still prefer to go to a farther public hospital because it is free. For other medical situations like birth delivery, most mothers go to a public hospital or stay home and avail of a midwife or the traditional "hilot" who they pay a minimum amount for the service.

Parents in Bagbag are more able to send their children for at least some years of education in Bagbag Elementary School or in other elementary schools nearby and to a nearby academy or institute for their highschool. As in Apelo, their peace and order situation is maintained by the "barangay" which has

been assessed unsatisfactory by my respondents because, "They (referring to "barangay" officers or civilian police) come to a (trouble) situation when the perpetuators are already gone." However, peace and order has improved relatively through the years in spite the contiued presence of syndicates who are said anyway to have connections with "barangay" officers themselves or with "landed" families in the community. Nevertheless, personal contact with the "barangay" (referring to the captain or other members of the council) has been cited as helpful by some residents in cases when a member of the family is in trouble with the local police. For non-criminal offenses, the "barangay" officer's help is sometimes sought to mediate with the police.

Lastly, residents did not have favorable words for the city's fire servants who had to be bribed to control the spread of the 1988 fire and destroy more houses. A longtime and active resident attributed the big devastation caused by the fire to the firemen's demand for money for them to save their houses: "You see that house (pointing to a neighboring house), that wasn't destroyed because the owners had the money to pay the firemen. They, i.e., the firemen, were just standing and waiting to be approached. If you had the money, they will put their water hose to kill the fire. If you did not have the money, they said they ran out of water...so sorry. Our own efforts couldn't control anymore the spread of the fire so what many of us did was to save as many of our be-

longings as we can from being destroyed. The firemen were no help." Hence, it was one blatant situation where many residents in this depressed community saw themselves truly powerless in an emergency situation.

On the whole, 50% of the 28 household heads who expressed an opinion about the system of basic services believed that the services during the three years of the new administration (1986 - 1989) have remained the same as they were before that period. What was of gravest concern for them was the uncertainty of their tenure in view of their diminutive place in the "City of Man" Project.

"City of Man"

Unlike Apelo, Barangay Bagbag is located in a former capital city, Quezon City, that had vast areas of sprawling land, mostly owned by private individuals or families. Quezon City is situated at the heart of the metropolis and to date, it has the most number of slum colonies, 142, though Manila has the highest figure of squatter families, 90,916 families (Business Day, 1982 in Makil 1983). When migration of rural people was highest in the seventies, private landlords, in their fear, begun selling their lands to other individuals, families, and the government. For lack of affordable housing in the city, the new urban poor squatted on any available free land, not having any idea at all about these transactions. It was out of these often undocumented transactions that land disputes and cases arose between private individuals/families

or between private individuals/families and the government, or
between these private individuals/families against the squat-
ters who found themselves caught in an unfamiliar legal mess.

Novaliches is reputed to have an abundance of such cases
because of the proliferation of notorious land syndicates to
whom private landlords either sold their land or they (i.e.,
the syndicates) managed the land of the landlords and then
rented out the lands at prohibitive costs, frequently to
squatters, illegally. The squatter was allowed to erect his
or her own shack on a limited vacant plot but pay rent for the
land. It is frequently in these cases the government takes
over the land because of the illegal use and it is the un-
knowing and powerless squatters who find themselves most
disadvantaged. Bagbag in Novaliches is reputed to be control-
led by land syndicates. Nonetheless, much of these land
controversies, particularly in Bagbag, will inevitably be
resolved unilaterally by the national government's "City of
Man" project. This Project, conceived in the early 60's, was
aggressively implemented during the Marcos regime. It is a
massive infrastructure project that aims to further develop
Metro Manila, being its leading metropolis. It is designed to
facilitate the development of business and commercial esta-
blishments (e.g., hotels, shopping malls, offices) along the
target areas. In the case of Bagbag particularly, there will
be three points which will be affected in different degrees:
(1) Republic Ave., (2) Roxas Circle (Rotonda), and (3) Minda-

nao Ave. In these three sites, hundreds of families will be affected, the largest at Roxas Circle. Believing that they have right of ownership particularly among residents who have been there for at least ten years, community groups and organizations have coaleasced and lobbied for measures that will minimize the massive dislocation the Project will create. As one officer of the urban poor alliance group called ALMA-NOVA (Alyansa ng Maralita sa Novaliches) remarked: "We are not asking anything for free and we know we are not in any position to stop the Project. All we are negotiating for is one, for government to look at alternative ways that the construction of the Avenues that will hit heavily populated areas be diverted or the wideness be reduced and second, that we, the residents can negotiate with the government or private owners to sell the land to us at an affordable cost." Because of the unrelenting organized pressure mounted not only by Bagbag residents but other urban poor groups whose areas in Quezon City are covered in the Project, substantial changes have been made to reduce the dislocation in thickly populated areas.

Though the community made substantial strides as a result of the changes, the Project continues to hang like a Damocle's dagger over their heads. In the very own words of the Quezon City Mayor during an audience with officers of urban poor organizations, "The Project will be implemented as conceived. All I can assure you is that you (referring to the residents)

will be sufficiently helped in light of the consequences of the Project." One of the fears that continue to nag the ordinary resident is that the changes have been announced by the Urban Road Project Office (URPO), under the national government's Dept. of Public Works and Highways, and not by local or city offices which is the implementing arm. On that occasion, the Mayor stressed that it is his office which will have the final word. Thus, like anything else, the changes announced by URPO are no guarantee that they are final in the same way that they were informed that being an APD is no guarantee that they will not be touched by the Project. Thus, unlike Apelo where people may come, leave, and only be replaced, Bagbag is enveloped in a fear that very little of their community will be retained, if not, totally displaced by the Project.

Besides this mass insecurity, the Project has created conflict in the community as residents, in their hope that a vast portion of their community will be retained, prepare plans for their desired housing development particularly for areas that will not be hit. The residents are torn between two different options esposed by two alliances of community groups and organizations that are dominating the land discourse in the community. One approach is what is termed as "socialized housing" that is said to be in line with the city's overall housing program. It is thought to be a low-cost housing strategy, funded by a government financing corporation, and to be

implemented by the city government. Uniform rows of concrete housing units will be rented out in the range of P256 to P301.00 ($10-15.00) for 25 years with 6% interest every year. The other strategy is self-help housing, also called "on-site development". As discussed in the preceding chapter, this scheme is synonymous with slum upgrading that was undertaken in the 1970s. This approach leaves the residents to fix their houses according to their means or economic abilities. It is the cost of land and community improvement, like installation of services, that will be loaned from a government agency through a community home mortgage that should be paid within 25 years with 6% interest every year. The one difference pointed out in this approach is that houses presently built in the areas not affected will be retained unlike in the former where present houses will be destroyed to pave the way for the government designed shelters.

This is the background against which the everyday lives of the residents in Bagbag moved during my stay in the community. It was important for an outsider like me to comprehend the primacy of land not only in the daily concerns of residents but in their dynamics as a political community. It was here that I best understood land both as a private and public issue. Though land, due to its economic value, is traditionally defined within the domain of men, its allocation for public and private use primarily affects women. Women, in their roles as wives and mothers, are the primary users of

space both in their houses and in the local community (Moser in Moser and Peake 1987). One of the difficulties of the mothers in Bagbag was maintaining sanitation and hygiene in their homes which is aggravated by the absence of a sewerage system and flush toilets. What happens is waste accumulated underground overflows and seeps through the ground of their makeshift "toilet". This becomes a major problem during the rainy season. The provision of infrastructural services in squatter communities is largely dependent on land use; hence, the women have taken it as their "natural" responsibility to be actively involved in the current land and housing issues arising from the "City of Man" Project.

In the next chapter, I then relate how squatters, with no organizing skills, manage to provide and work out for themselves their needs of collective consumption. Significant in all the organizations in the two communities is the prominent role of women whose resourceful efforts continue to bridge the inadequacies of their households and community.

NOTES

1. The N here was more than 30 because there were couples who expressed differing opinions to the question which I considered separately. However, there were some respondents who refused to express their opinion.

2. Except for the names of organizations or institutions in this study, names of individuals have been changed to maintain their anonymity and protect their identity.

3. Bagbag is bounded on the north by the Parokya ng Pagkabuhay St.(which runs through Quirino Highway), on the south by Bgy. Talipapa, on the east by Bgy. Sauyo, and on the west by Kingspoint Subdivision. Bagbag covers a vast territory though the particular area I largely covered is the one located by what is called Sauyo Road which leads to the main Quirino Highway. Sauyo Road is a long stretch (at the end of which is another "barangay", Bgy. Sauyo), the left side of which is known as Road 3 with a population of around 1,000 families. It was identified as an Area for Priority Development or APD No. 3. On the right side of the road is a poorer portion called Richland with approximately 3,000 families. These combined areas alone have been identified by officials as the "barangay's" largest voting population, with 8,000 registered voters. Bagbag's voting population is roughly estimated at 14,000.

4. Tondo, with its vast squatter settlement, has the highest density in Manila and was synonymous with riots, gang wars, pier pirates, and thrill killings. For many years, especially in the '70's, it had the highest crime rate in Manila (Laquian 1969).

CHAPTER III

Organizations of the Urban Poor

Although Apelo's scavenging activity and Bagbag's land issue are the dominant backgrounds that preoccupied these communities when I entered, members of these communities are nevertheless busy with a variety of community groups and organizations. While running children, billiard playing teenagers, and drinking men are everyday sights in both communities, ongoing, too, are a variety of activities like meetings, assemblies, workshops, or a community event taking place in some part of the communities everyday.

One of the myths about the marginality of the poor propagated by the Center for Latin America and Social Development or DESAL (in Perlman 1976) is they are socially disorganized, incapable of organized cooperation, and unable to fit into the larger urban poor environment. However, the history of urban poor organization in the Philippines in Chapter I reveals a long history of struggle against the state's urban policy that has declared them to be illegal since the early fifties. The emergence and the drive to sustain the involvement of urban poor groups in the broad political arena inadvertently, however, brought to the sideline the function and significance

of these organizations in their more immediate environments. Furthermore, the concern for the issues and problems that commonly confront urban poor organizations took much of the foreground from the major element that established and characterized these groups, that is, the women and men who lead or are its active members.

Focusing on very specific and concrete community issues and demands, many of these community organizations were responsible for the allocation of basic services in their communities. I will, in this chapter, bring into the foreground the significant and critical roles played by groups and organizations of squatters in Apelo Cruz and Bagbag who, through their raw abilities, collective efforts, and sheer desire to attain for themselves and their communities the basic requisites for human subsistence, realize that in their immediate communities they can more effectively transform the urban landscape.

Community Organizations in Apelo and Bagbag

Though much of the literature on community organizing among urban poor has focused on the struggle for land, Barangays Apelo Cruz and Bagbag exemplify urban poor communities where initial organizing started with efforts to obtain basic infrastructure services like electricity, water or social services like a health center. Although both communities abound with a variety of community groups and organizations, not all of these are equally active which I was able to attest to during my stay in the communities. Among the 30 households I

interviewed in each community, more than 50% of them were currently members of at least one organization.

FIGURE 1: ACTIVE ORGANIZATIONS

APELO CRUZ	BAGBAG
1. Samahan ng Nagkakaisang mga Magulang (Daycare)	1. Bigkis Tinig Maralita (BIKTIMA)
2. SAMAKANA	2. SAMAKANA
3. Samahan ng Nagkakaisang mga Mamamayan sa Bgy. 157	3. ALMA-NOVA (Alyansa ng mga Maralita sa Novaliches)
4. Apelo Youth Association	4. UMALAB (Ugnayan ng Maralita Para sa Ikauunlad ng Bag-bag)
	5. Buklod Maralita

The earliest community activities in the two areas were aimed at establishing daycare centers. In Apelo, the first daycare was managed by the mothers who initially formed the Samahan ng Nagkakaisang mga Magulang (Organization of United Parents). The daycare was a joint project of the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) and De La Salle University in 1979. DSW is the national government agency charged with the delivery of human and social services to depressed urban poor communities. De La Salle is one among voluntary groups that provide quasi-formal assistance to urban poor communities. In order to improve efforts in the delivery and provision of

resources and services to depressed communities, government and private groups, like the DSW and De La Salle, have begun to collaborate and work towards an integrated approach to the multidimensional problems of poor communities. Both institutions worked in the community through a social worker for DSW and voluntary social action staff and students for De La Salle. As Aling Cita, the first president of the organization narrated:

> Because majority of residents here could not afford to send our pre-school aged or school-aged children to school and because we, the mothers, had our other younger children to take care of at home, we felt that a daycare here can help us. So, with the funds of La Salle and the expertise of DSW, both which have been working out projects in line with our needs, the daycare was set-up, using first the barangay hall which at that time was here at the lower part, at the corner. I was a signor in the contract because I was head of the parents' committee. I represented the parents here and I signed for us since we were the beneficiaries of the project. What happened then was since many of us mothers were seeing each other at the daycare, we decided to form the Samahan (organization), so that we were not just sending our children to school. We became involved in maintaing the center, those who can teach were trained to teach and we had activities that could help us get what we needed in the daycare. There was no election needed. I was just appointed by the other mothers since we knew one another. The daycare also is a big help for mothers who have to work outside the house, like wash for some one, sell or scavenge also. My son, my eldest, now 15 was with the daycare. I was active for two straight years during which the Samahan grew so there were many problems. Others took over anyway who managed to run the daycare until now.

To further elaborate collaborative efforts among various groups and associations, the daycare, at present, is maintained by the funding of an influential and well to do socio-civic group of women from Pasay City called INA-ANAK. It is

this group that pays the monthly salary of the daycare teachers who reside in the community. On the other hand, the expertise, in terms of teacher training, is provided by INDEX, a non-government organization who assists the community through a community organizer. The mothers undertake periodical rummage sales and bingo projects to raise funds for the daycare because the monthly donation of P5.00 for materials from the parents cannot be met by all. An important project going on during the period I was there was a health training program for volunteer mothers. Initiated by INDEX, the mothers were being trained by a female doctor from a group of doctors involved in the health care of people in depressed communities. The mothers were trained basically on primary health care treatment. This was being conducted in line with the plan to open a health center and small drugstore within the community where residents can go for free medical consultation and medicines. On the economic aspect, the Daycare Samahan was managing a social credit project, sponsored and under the direction of INDEX. The project aimed to assist the mothers acquire additional income through loan assistance which they can invest in a small income generating business.

It was on a similar background that community activities and organizing started in Barangay Bagbag. Though the organization "Buklod Maralita" (Organization of the Poor) is known to be the first community organization in Bagbag, it was an informal group of neighborhood mothers called the Mothers'

club that preceeded and was superseded then by "Buklod Mara-
lita". Aling Nilda, the first president of the club, took
time to recount the life history of the Mothers Club:

> I came to Bagbag 1974. We were still a few houses here
> and Bagbag was ricefields all around. We, the mothers,
> knew one another because we were not that many. We all
> had children, I had 6, and most had to do some work around
> to get extra income. So, we (the mothers) thought we could
> carry out activities to build a daycare. So, we called our
> group as Mothers Club. We were not too many first. There
> was nothing formal so they chose me to be president. I
> accepted it. We did everything within our means to get
> funds for the daycare. We went carolling, we solicited
> assistance from the Dept. of Social Welfare, at City Hall.
> So we were able to get enough funds to start a small day-
> care. Then we attracted more and more mothers. One
> time, the men started to complain because they realized
> that we, their wives, were not home on Sundays. We were
> usually having our meetings on Sunday. They were not
> against what we were doing but they asked why were we
> excluding the men? So, it was decided to open it to the
> men which led us to change the name to Buklod Maralita.
> After me, another mother became president but more men
> started to join. The organization, thus, became male
> dominated. I was no longer active at that time. There
> were more male leaders. After some time, other organi-
> zations emerged which were mostly led and supported by
> women.

Thus, for some time, Buklod Maralita became the leading or-
ganization in the community since it captured both the women
and men from the many neighborhoods of Bagbag. However, I was
informed by my informants that internal conflicts in the lea-
dership caused divisions in the membership, thus, eventually
leading to the dwindling of its membership. The original
womenof the Mothers'Club felt that the men, with some women
who they (the men) recruited, aggressively wanted to be the
leaders. Thus, most of these original women left. Other
groups were formed by which they continued to take active

roles in the community.

What the aforementioned so far shows is the important role the women in the two communities played in the formation of organizations. This situation was also noted by Sara-Lafosse (1986) in her study of a low-income community in Lima, Peru where one response to the high cost of food and rising incidence of tuberculosis and deficiency diseases has been the development of the communal kitchen movement using donated foodstuffs. In a society where cooking by a woman is the public sign of their having initiated marital life together, the socialization of this reproductive activity has had important consequence. For men, community kitchens undermine their position in the household, whereas for women they offer a means of alleviating poverty. Parallel to Apelo Cruz and Bagbag, a daycare is considered by both men and women an extension of a woman's domestic role. Thus, it is the women who take responsibility for the provision and allocation of this desired basic resource to provide children this fundamental initial socialization and at the same time help ensure the survival of their households.

Though the men in both communities started to assume and have remained leaders in some groups, it is the women who predominate so that in the words of a community organizer, "without the women, no project by any group in the community would have worked". In Apelo, the Samahan ng Nagkakaisang Mamamayan ng Barangay (Bgy.) 157 (Association of United Resi-

dents of Bgy. 157) is headed by Mang Julio, a respected elder-
ly and longtime male resident, who is assisted by his Vice-
Pres., Dindo, an active younger male leader who has assumed
what many in the community regard him to be - their spokesman.
The said organization is multisectoral; thus, it is specifi-
cally aimed to work for community-wide interest like land and
endeavors more to be collaborative with other groups. Hence,
the current planning and organizational meetings concerning
land, though presided over by its officers, are interorgani-
zational where representatives from various groups and or-
ganizations in the community take part. In its first general
meeting to set-up a working structure on the issue of land,
women leaders and members from active and inactive organiza-
tions filled-up most of the working committees. As one of the
women present replied when I gave notice to the well-attended
meeting, "The land issue is more than a problem of our right
to have space. It is an issue that opens to us, especially
the women, the much needed opportunity to articulate our needs
since it is us the women who are more aware of how the perpe-
tual problem of land affects what we can and cannot do in our
housework. Our time is devoted to the survival of our house-
hold in this community and we want to stay here no matter how
depressed our conditions have been. ...The meeting was long,
no? Well, because women tend to talk a lot but we also do so
much of the work anyway in this community." Indeed, they are,
as I see in the case of the Daycare (lower part) mothers who

are also working hard to reactivate a youth group in the community, the Apelo Youth Association. The leaders and members are encouraging their own sons and daughters to organize among themselves. With the support of the Daycare, the youth association, during my period of stay, has conducted meetings, a fund raising raffle, and outings for their initial activities.

On the other hand, in Bagbag, even while the men took over the leadership of Buklod Maralita which was heralded by the Mothers' Club, the women still predominate the leadership of most groups in the community. Moreover, the entry of male-led organizations did not constrain increased participation and active involvement of the women in the community. The two most active organizations I was able to witness, due to where I was regularly located, were Bigkis Tinig Maralita or BIKTIMA (an acronym that succinctly describes the group as victims of the 1988 fire after which the group was formed) and SAMAKANA, an urban poor organization for women. BIKTIMA was established through efforts of women in an area badly razed by the fire. They sought and worked out ways that can help them reconstruct their lives after the fire which allegedly was an accident that started from a house and spread through a large portion. At present, BIKTIMA is under male leadership but with a predominantly female working staff and membership. BIKTIMA's main objective is the solution of the land problem which residents perceived as their most critical problem in the range of problems in the community, especially after the fire.

Because of the technical and legal resources required in land negotiation, BIKTIMA is closely assisted by the Foundation for Development Alternatives or FDA, a non-government organization working in the community through a community organizer.

SAMAKANA, under the umbrella of a cause-oriented organization of women called GABRIELA, has a chapter both in Apelo and Bagbag[1]. SAMAKANA runs a daycare center in each community which are regarded as "show window" projects to visiting foreigners. Both daycares undertake a feeding program for children. In Apelo, SAMAKANA runs a consumer cooperative store within the community where basic commodities like rice, sugar, milk, charcoal are sold at lower prices. The store is charged to the care of some women members. In Bagbag, on the other hand, SAMAKANA manages a sewing cooperative that was established in 1986. SAMAKANA employs some of its women members as sewers or cutters who are paid piecemeal. It is the sewing cooperative's profits which maintain the daycare. Though SAMAKANA has its main concern the plight of urban poor women in particular, community-based SAMAKANA, such as in Apelo and Bagbag, commonly mobilize members and other residents for rallies or demonstrations supporting political issues that impact on the urban poor such as, the issue of generic medication. In these mobilizations, women far outnumber the men.

Because of the more imminent threat posed by the "City of Man" project, SAMAKANA in Bagbag spearheads the alliance that opposes the housing development approach espoused by the alli-

ance spearheaded by BIKTIMA. The former alliance is "Ugnayan ng Maralita Para sa Ikauunlad ng Bagbag" or UMALAB (Alliance of the Poor for the Progress of Bagbag, an alliance of 15 groups in the "barangay") who supports the "socialized housing" approach. The alliance spearheaded by BIKTIMA is "Alyansa ng mga Maralita sa Novaliches" or ALMA-NOVA (Alliance of the Poor in Novaliches, an alliance of 9 groups and organizations within and in the neighboring "barangay") who espouses the "self-help or on-site development" housing program. It was the activities of these two alliances that preoccupied the residents during my period of stay. Public meetings or assemblies were conducted and manifestos or position papers were issued to inform and enlighten the residents on the controversy. Public officials were frequently invited in these assemblies for the purpose of demonstrating to the residents the "authoritativeness" of their positions and information. Significant in the two alliances' negotiations is that ALMA-NOVA has been transacting with agencies and offices in the national level while UMALAB has been transacting with offices and agencies in the city level. This underlies the aggressive role and action that the City (Quezon City) government, with minimal intervention from the national government, has taken to lick the growing housing problem in the city which abound with the most squatter colonies in the country. What the leaders are discovering is that there is no total coordination between or among offices and agencies in

the two levels involved in the City of Man Project. An example to elucidate this is the City Mayor's remarks dismissing the changes announced by URPO, an office under the national government's Public Highways Department. Thus, the residents are further confused as to who is the ultimate authority that can decide their fate in view of the Project. Larry, Bagbag's community organizer, most succinctly described the dilemma of residents in the face of numerous organizations:

> ...Bagbag is not a simple, naive, passive community. It has approximately 20 organizations. Groups oppose each other and each group inevitably has loyalists. The tendency is instead of organizations confronting one another, the leaders and, moreso, the members of these groups are quarreling because of the different positions of their respective groups (for example, in the land issue). ...That is why with so many groups here and with different and with so much information bombarding the community, the residents are confused. They ask what is real, what is the truth?

Larry limited his statement to the politics of community organizations, that is, those that ordinary residents form among themselves. Community organizations function within geograpically bounded territories defined as a "barangay". The "barangay" is considered the smallest political unit which is governed by a council of elected officials from the community. The council is headed by a "barangay" captain and a body of of seven other elected officers called council persons. The "barangay" council was thus designed to be the local agency of the national government on the community level; thus, in Larry's words, "It (the "barangay") operates as the ruling administration's local political machinery."

Though residents are free to form associations which are autonomous entities within the community, the existence of the "barangay" council, due to its political authority and influence, becomes an unavoidable structure to cater to. As one community leader in Bagbag admitted, "Community organizations are relatively autonomous to do whatever activities or projects. However, there is that unclear rule that they ("barangay" council) should know what we are doing. So we do it so as not to have any conflict with them and so when we get things done here even without their help, they share some of the credit, I don't know for what, maybe for not interfering." Furthermore, for the ordinary resident like Aling Dolly in Bagbag, "The "barangay", no matter how inefficient it is, is an important part among who one should know in the community. In my case, for example, I have gone to the captain for a favor or two in the past and has helped me. I guess he still remembers that I campaigned and voted for him. That's a big favor I have done for him". Hence, for individuals or organizations in urban poor communities, the "barangay" council, due to its political nature, asserts itself as a social fact that residents and organizations especially in urban poor communities have to contend with. Furthermore and noteworthy is that while urban poor women continue to manage and sustain the viability of their households in particular and their communities at large, the formal power structures, from the "barangay" council to city and national bureaucracies, that

they have to confront have remained significantly in the domain of men.

While the existence of aforementioned organizations revolve around the provision of services or community issues, there are other activities among which are those aimed at the spiritual needs of the communities. In Apelo, Aling Fatima, the warehouse owner, organized block rosary praying to Our Lady of Fatima whose statue is transferred from one house to another in the area. In the two communities, charismatic and born-again groups hold periodical prayer services and bible study or sharing. Said groups are more active in Bagbag. According to Bro. Pete, a leader of a fellowship group in Bagbag, "There are so many individuals and groups who work among the residents in their good intention that our conditions here must be improved. However, their presence has divided us only into factions that hinder our unity as a community. In the process, some have destroyed each other. There is too much "politicing". The greater poverty among people here is spiritual and moral. There are many domestic problems and troubles, for example, between spouses and between parents and children". Relatedly, Sr. Rosita, a born-again leader, viewed that "the advice or guidance I and other leaders like me can only offer to those who ask is our way of keeping ties in the community together."

Nonetheless, though community solidarity is often in a precarious state and gets undermined due to the presence of

conflicting community groups in the two communities, solidarity is most apparent in the organized (i.e. conducted by community organizations) and spontaneous (i.e., arising among groupings of neighbors/households) ways people prepare and conduct themselves during the annual fiestas where public issues and personal troubles are set aside for a whole day and residents celebrate the religious background of their secular community. While the religious procession participated by the residents is the highlight of the celebration, competitions like amateur singing organized by the "barangay" and games for children and youth organized by community groups are the activities residents, regardless of organizational affiliation, prepare for and support to ensure their success. While the men spend most of the day sitted over bottles of beer, the women are tirelessly running to and from their houses, running to the open area to watch and cheer for their children competing in a game then running back to monitor what she has been preparing or cooking. A fiesta is an event the residents save for in spite of their barely substantial everyday incomes much of which is spent on food that is mainly shared among households. During a fiesta, there is no organized effort to ensure that every household has food to feast on; it is a tacit norm and activity that is fulfilled in an unorganized fashion. As a resident in Apelo remarked while offering food to me during their annual fiesta in April, "During a fiesta, everyone gets to eat, no one goes hungry." Noteworthy, too,

is that the fiesta is similar to the everyday organized activities in the two communities -- women are at the core.

NOTE

1. SAMAKANA stands for "<u>Sa</u>mahan ng <u>Ma</u>layang <u>Ka</u>babaihang <u>Na</u>gka-kaisa" or Organization of United, Free Women.

CHAPTER IV

Communities of Women Stalwarts

"We just do what's got
to be done."

At this point, I have shown that groups and organizations in urban poor communities like Apelo Cruz and Bagbag are more than outlets for social interaction. Organizations of the urban poor have functioned more importantly as strategies residents create for their everyday survival. When I first undertook to study survival strategies in urban poor communities, I did not intend to focus on women. However, my data is replete with voices of women who were at the crux of the day to day survival not only of their households but of their communities in general. In her studies on women, human settlements, and housing, Moser (in Moser and Peake 1987), a British social anthropologist, pointed out that women in most Third World low-income urban communities have triple roles to perform as part of the ascribed "women's work": the <u>reproductive</u> work revolving around the childbearing and rearing responsibilities required to guarantee the maintenance and reproduction of the labor force; <u>wage</u> work as primary or secondary income-earners mainly in the informal sector located either in

the home (in subcontracting or piece-rate work) or at the neighborhood level; and <u>community managing</u>, organizing at the community level particularly for the provision of items of collective consumption such as the basic services of water, electricity, toilets, health centers.

In this chapter, I will talk about ordinary women who fulfill their multiple roles with extraordinary energy. For these women, getting things done in the community means getting things done as wives and mothers as well. Their activities manifest the relationship between practical gender needs and the way/s in which urban poor women in their triple role take responsibility for meeting such needs: in their reproductive role the women take responsibility for allocating or seeking resources to ensure her household's everyday survival; in their productive role they are engaged in extra-income generating jobs (from doing laundry to sewing ribbons); and in their role as community managers they combine efforts to solicit or negotiate for the provision and maintenance of different community services and facilities, from electricity to daycare.

The Women of Apelo

Reproductive and managing work, because they are both seen as "natural" and non-productive, i.e., no exchange value, are not often recognized as vital. Aling Julia, a mother of four, sums up an ordinary day in Apelo from her simple understanding of her role as a mother: "Everything I do merges into what I have to do as a mother. I take care of what my husband

needs the first thing in the morning beacuse he starts his day early as a driver, then my 2 schooling children come next, then I feed, bathe, watch over my two other young children while I do the washing and cooking. I bring them when I have to go for meetings here in the community, like in the daycare to discuss not only daycare needs, since one of my children go there, but also needs of mothers here like health, medicines, or income-generating projects, and other meetings about land, water because these are our everyday fears that may just come, we get demolished or evicted and the water pipe at the bridge shut permanently. On certain days, I get to wash for someone outside to get something extra. I manage my household within the limitations of the community and because Apelo is too deprived so we, especially us the women who are here, have to make sure that we keep the little services or infrastructure we have or find ways to get a little more, ultimately for the survival of our own households. For me, as well as for many mothers here, the day is over for me only when my whole household and the community is asleep." Stressing further the multiplicity of roles women in urban poor communities do, an enlightened Aling Ofie of Bagbag remarked: "When the men leave for their jobs, we, the women, are left to tend, maintain, and respond to the needs and problems of our households and the community. We become accountable for the needs of our households and our community and that's okay but much of what we need have to come from outside organizations and structures

that give what women do little importance and women little accountability in the run of communities . So how's that?"

Nevertheless, in spite of the seeming frustration that many women in the two communities express, I felt no sense of resignation in what they have to do and continue to do. Precy and Olga are the tireless daycare teachers in the lower part of Apelo. While they spent their teenage years in Apelo since their families have been there for some 30 years, they were active youth leaders of the "Kabataang Barangay", the youth organization established during the Marcos era at the "barangay" level. Nonetheless, in spite of the change in government, they continued and persevered even more because of the local leadership crisis communities were faced with during the transition. Olga who is a casual at the City Hall looks at her present role in the community as non-politically aligned:

> Though we started as "barangay" youth leaders during Marcos' time, it was clear in our minds that our allegiance is with the community and not with particular political leaders. We have grown through the years here and I for one have always maintained the position that it doesn't have to take a political position to do something for our impoverished commmunity. The variety of help that the daycare has provided concretely shows that. Precy, myself, and the officers of the Samahan (Daycare association of mothers) have realized we are able to reach out and work with more people, especially the mothers, simply through the daycare.

Both Precy and Olga have been asked by ordinary residents and some "barangay" officers themselves to run for seats in the "barangay" council. Both have always refused. The team of Precy and Olga is a perfect combination with Olga (with a

bigger built) frequently as the spokesperson and Precy doing and maintaining the required paper work. However, they are ably supported by the officers of the Samahan headed by Nerisa. Nerisa, the president of the mothers' association of the Daycare, energetically follows up mothers and presides over meetings at the daycare carrying her baby. As she said, "It's like attending to two inseparable babies." Many of the mothers managed attending activities the same way, carrying their babies through activities or with small children tagging along as the mothers keep an eye over the usually playing children and the rest of their senses to the activity that progresses amidst the background of noise, cries, and running children.

Leadership, particularly if it involves problem solving, is generally a male defined status. Sacks (1988), in her study of the role of women in unionizing Duke University Medical Center, identified the kind of leadership role the women played in the union drive and, that is, as centerwomen. On the otherhand, the men were spokesmen. These gender-based leadership explained the difference in their perspectives and approaches. However, the women in my two communities demonstrated that they were capable of both roles, as spokespersons and centerwomen. Not only was this true for the daycare women in Apelo but also for many other women like Aling Trining of SAMAKANA, Aling Edita, Aling Fatima (the warehouse owner), Rea, Tina, Aling Mina (the storeowner) among others. Aling

Trining, not able to have any formal education, does not know how to read and write yet she is able to engage anyone in a structuralist analysis of poverty that explains her preference to confront and challenge structures or agencies of power through rallies, public for a, and the like (activities like what the men did in Sacks' study). And in all these, she is there in the front line. Thus, she is called "Ka"[1] Trining which has inadvertently brought her to the military's list of alleged "communists". She has been sought by the military who she has never evaded: "Why should I? I am not a communist. I don't know who is. People here just call me by that because I bring our cause to those who should do something about it."

 I asked her, "What is this cause?" And she replied: The cause of lifetime poverty because they (the government) has classified us as "squatters". I am a Filipino. How can I be a squatter in my own country?" Aling Trining takes particular pride in what the women of SAMAKANA do: "I am proud of what we in SAMAKANA do because we address issues, not only women's issues. We are able to help materially but only to a limited extent. But, you see, it had to take the women here to talk and articulate issues because when it comes to being poor in the city, in this society, it is the women who know it best. That is why I am not afraid, I am not the only leader. There are many of us and we try our best to do what's got to be done."

Corollary to this, the outspoken Aling Edita who served as

president of the Daycare at the lower part, expanded: "You see, in a poor community such as ours, we, the women, do things not to be seen as leaders. While it is just natural for us to take the responsibility of obtaining services for our community which ultimately is for the end use of our households which we manage, it has been natural for the men to speak in public and deal with politicians who anyway prefer to deal with them. We just do what's got to be done." However, for Aling Fatima and Aling Mina, who have been both elected to the "barangay" council in the last election, they believe that the "barangay" council needs to have more women in it because much of its ineffectivity can be attributed to the fact that Apelo's council has always been led, at certain times, solely by men who failed to grapple with the real problems in the community. Aling Fatima elaborated: "The only thing it (the council) has done is to sponsor activities, like tournaments for the youth, bingo for fund-raising, and distributing gifts from the City Mayor's office. The one thing that the men in the council are only able to do is maintaining peace and order here because many of the troublemakers anyway are the men here also. Aling Mina further explained: "If you (referring to me) are hearing the women speak negatively of the council, it is but just because we, the women, the mothers especially, know the everyday problems of our lives here in Apelo which they (council officers) have done nothing about. Moreover, they have failed because they have failed to reach

us, the women, the mothers...we who are in the community 24 hours and suffer, with our small children, everyday the conditions they don't do anything about. That is why I decided, after so many years of being asked, to be involved in the council. Maybe, Aling Fatima and I can now make a difference, even just a little. It is not going to be easy because we are only two women in the council and the rest (5 others) are men."

Thus, there are the countless ordinary women of Apelo whose everyday struggles constitute the pulse of the community. As Ning, the community organizer described it, "If the women here choose to be unconcerned and be passive, no one and nothing will really happen. But because they (the women) talk a lot and they talk to one another about their personal and community conditions, they are driven to do something because they do feel frustrated just talking about problems. They can disagree about so many things but it is as easy for them to agree about doing something, whatever it is. So one or two will initiate and the rest will support. They talk a lot, yes, but they do a lot of the serious work in the community." As Mang Julio, one of the few recognized elderly men who has been in the community for more than 20 years said, "It's incredible how their (referring to the women) talking results to something, an idea, opinion, or activity among them or for the community!" Ning further remarked, "And these women, whether they are officers in organizations or not, are ordinary

women who share more common things than differences about them. They share similar backgrounds and reasons for being here in Apelo and they do the same activities and grapple with the same problems to keep their households going." Enticed by the bright lights of the big city, more than 50% of my women respondents moved to the metropolis with nothing certain but just the hope to better their lives. Around 50% of them came from provinces in the island of Visayas which have become impoverished, many of them citing a variety of reasons like: (1) the destruction of crops due to typhoons; (2) land grabbing; and (3) the increased militarization coming from both the government's military forces and the New People's Army of the underground Communist Party. A third of them (out of 30) cited having relatives in Manila when they migrated and 22 of the women said they, either their husbands or themselves, had relatives in Apelo.

In that connection, less than a third of the women cited proximity to their husbands' work as one of the reasons for moving to Apelo. The two frequently cited reasons were the (1) relatively cheap rent for an already available shelter or a space to build their shanties and (2) the availability of scavenging as a job that both of them (husband and wife) do and their older children can do. Thus, as Aling Belen said, "We liked it here because scavenging offered us, my husband and myself, an opportunity to both earn so that we can increase our income. I scavenge and take home the money and so

does he. My eldest boy and girl later on also scavenged." Aling Belen, like SAMAKANA's Aling Trining, was a household help for many years, a job that many of the other women entered first when they came to Manila and did for many years. Other types of works the women entered into were as factory workers, sellers in a variety or department store or in a market, laundrywomen, and sewers. On the other hand, Aling Fatima, the warehouse owner, was, like some of the women, always a scavenger because she grew up in a scavenging household.

As scavenging is a shared productive activity among the men/boys and women/girls in Apelo, hauling water from the bridge, though a shared household activity, is principally done by the women and/or their older children especially during the many hours when most of the men are out earning. Surviving in a situation where even water is a scarce and valuable commodity bonds the women in a common need to develop and maintain friendships with neighbors which results in an increasing awareness among women of the imperative to do things to improve the situation. Because the men spend a great time outside the community, it is the women of Apelo who largely respond to the variety of emergencies that occur in the community, such as: threat of fire, death, police or military raids searching houses for criminals or alleged communists, brownouts often due to overloaded electrical connections, and demolition teams. Women living in the same

street are constantly thrown together: when a child is suffe-ring from a convulsion or was hit by a careless bus or other vehicle in the street the women run for help; when there is death they gather to console a grieving neighbor; when the price of rice was increased beyond their means, the women gathered in groups discussing what to do and how to help out each other. In situations such as these, women complain and commiserate together, and through interaction of this kind they become aware that the problem is not simply an individual one but common to all women. And as Ning puts it, "Their in-volvement in the community begins from these personal concerns and there will always be someone among these women who will take it as a public issue. It does not always lead to a solu-tion but what is important is it is the women who continue to challenge their conditions and problems. Similarly, Moser (1987) in her case study of low-income women's participation in a self-help "barrio"-level committee in the "suburbio" of Guayaquil, Ecuador, popular participation and protest over issues of collective consumption, like the lack of electrici-ty, running water, sewerage, is fundamentally seen as women's work. Like the women of Apelo, the women of Indio Guayas acknowledged that the arena of domestic responsibility and welfare provision is primarily organized by women as an extension of their roles as mothers and wives. Thus, the community becomes the women's most effective arena for ac-tion; however, men frequently retain the powerful leadership

positions (the "barangay" in the case of Apelo) because the power politics outside the community (i.e., city or national level), the reservoir of resources, is the men's dominion.

While this gender subordination exists, the women of Apelo persist in their role as community managers. For most of the women, they see their neglected abject conditions mainly in class terms, and not in terms of gender (which remains at the personal level). In a way, their limited view has so far enabled them to work with the men in the community since their views accentuate their community as economically marginalized. This leads me not to disregard what men like Dindo, Mang Julio, Mario, Mang Toto (the "barangay" captain), Mang Ambo, and many others (who either have spent or are spending their youthful and productive years) are doing or have done for the community. Dindo and Mang Julio were frequently cited by the women themselves in their support networks. But, in the words of an elderly man and a male youth leader, "We, the men, must admit our involvement here is not consistent nor are we always reliable. It is what the women do, and they do a lot of work, that sustains life and the fervor in Apelo."

The Women of Bagbag

> "It is not what the men say but what us, the women, do that some good things happen here."

Bagbag, with its vast land territory, has a history of male domination because land, due to its economic value, is a male ascribed property and resource. Land, according to Moser (1987), is usually given to men on the assumption that they

head households, even where women have primary _de facto_ responsibility for their families. In Bagbag, the known landed families (some of whom are no longer residing within the community) maintain their power through active participation in community politics. In my inquiry, I discovered that these families, though not all, were predominantly represented in the community's politics by men. Thus, it is noteworthy why "barangay" officials, during my research period, have chosen to remain silent and leave the issues emanating from the "City of Man" Project as a verbal controversy first between and among the various community organizations.

Paradoxically though not surprising, it is the women who are the predominant players in the land issue of Bagbag because women, in their roles as wives and mothers, are the primary users of space both in their houses and in the community. As Aling Flora, SAMAKANA's President, said: "Though the land issue has divided us, one good thing that it has done is it opened the opportunity for us, the urban poor, to participate in the government's housing and human settlement decisions and policy, something which is never done by the government in its housing programs. The other significant and good thing is because the issue is not only a question of right to tenure but also the eventual provision of housing and basic services, it (the issue) afforded us, the women, a central role in the negotiation process. This is what we in SAMAKANA are trying to achieve among the women, that is, to raise their

consciousness about our right to tenure and assert our problems and needs in housing and human settlements policies since it is us who build and maintain our community." For a renter like Aling Celia, she shares the hopes of other renters like Yoly and Tessie: "I really have never been involved in what goes on here. But I am taking part now in meetings on the land issue because I have been a squatter for too long and I, in my role as wife and mother, have been most directly affected by the lack of services and facilities we should have. You see, it is very hard to do all the labor without the needed services." As Larry, the community organizer, puts it: "It is the women here who are most aware what is at stake in the land issue. They know that it means not only preserving the community, but also the possibility of improving the conditions in the community that affect their household work and needs because hopefully, when the issue is settled, we will negotiate for the establishment and provision of services like a health center, credit facilities for income-generating projects, and the like."

It was on the basis of the needs of a group of neighboring mothers that the first daycare center in the community was built and it was this same informal group of mothers, known as the Mothers' Club, that many of the longtime residents properly identify as the first community organization in Bagbag. Though the daycare is maintained today by the government's Dept. of Social Welfare, it is looked upon by its founders,

like Aling Nilda, as their "baby" for it represents the first collective project in the community, a project instituted and achieved by women. Reacting to the growing conspicuousness of the women in the community, the men, among who were husbands of the women in the Mothers' Club, contended for their inclusion; thus, the Mothers' Club was superceded by the non-exclusive "Buklod Maralita", an organization that was consequently dominated by men. Though said organization grew in membership and remained controlled by men until its present inactive status, the other groups and organizations that emerged were mostly initiated and led by women. Women, like Aling Vi, worked out on her own the provision of electricity for the remote territory of Ibayo. She has learned that on her own, she can solicit City Hall's resources without the cumbersome task of dealing with the "barangay" which more often impedes her efforts. To cite, she was successful in getting the necessary materials needed for the cementing of their road and passageways which becomes mud ponds during the rainy season. She mobilized the youth in the neighborhood for the labor and the household mothers along the road under construction to provide the day's food for the youth. Thus, in spite of the extraordinary tasks she has to do as president, Aling Vi with pride said: "I just talk on the people's behalf and it is the people who do the dirty job. Everyone here contributes what he or she can do and that is enough to lighten my job."

That women can be both "centerpersons" and "spokespersons"

was demonstrated particularly by the women in leadership positions in organizations. Sacks (1988) pointed out that there was a gender division in leadership that gave men and women different perspectives on the union drive among the workers of the Duke Medical Center. According to Sacks, she realized that:

> ...Women and men both took leadership, although in different ways. Almost all the public speakers and confrontational negotiators were men (referred to as spokespersons or spokesmen), women were centers and sustainers of workplace networks - centerwomen or centerpersons. ...The centerwomen seem to be key in sustaining work-based social networks and seem also to embody and to reinforce many of these familistic skills and values by their behaviors and actions. (pp. 120, 132)

Along with Aling Vi, there were many other women, leaders and non-leaders at present who were shifting into these roles interchangeably. Aling Lydia and Dolores are advisers to the Executive Committee (composed of officers) of BIKTIMA and are BIKTIMA's representatives at the trisectoral level where urban poor groups, non-government organization, and government agencies meet. While they show fearless aggressiveness and decisiveness when confronting government authorities, they were cited (in Ch. 6) as key players in the networks of other women, too, that the women construct and sustain. They, like Aling Flora and Vi, have rallied residents to collective action for rallies or demonstrations that are of concern to the urban poor, like land and generic medicine.

There are ordinary zealous women, too, like Lilia, Mara, and Lina, Nita, Nana, who optimize the "neighboring" that they

and many women in the community do by constantly updating neighbors who are unable to attend meetings or assemblies about the status of issues in Bagbag and ongoing efforts. In the same vein, there are the the elderly women like Lola Pining, aged 78, and Aling Pia, aged 65, who continue to expend their productive energies in honest service to the members of the community. They have not only witnessed Bagbag changed. They participated actively in the changes that served Bagbag well that is why they continue to support changes that are aimed to do good and challenge what they believe will not. Moreover, they have been cited by a number of respondents, particularly those residing within the same territories, in their social networks ranging from seeking information, referrals, and soliciting their opinions to getting access to providers of facilities like electricity and their personal representation in facilitating City Hall matters like obtaining documents, permits, and the like in spite of their old age. As Lola Pining puts it, "I think as long as my faculties like memory, sight, speech, and walking are not yet impaired, I have no reason to reject people and they think I have no reason to fail them even if my age has affected what I can really just do now."

Like the women stalwarts of Apelo, these elderly and younger women stalwarts of Bagbag are only a few of the many women who quietly fulfill their triple roles as reproducers, producers, and community managers because as one mother said, "We

(the women) are the ones who suffer most when we do not do anything to improve our conditions here but everyone benefits when we (the women) are able to keep going and pressure what's got to be done in the community." Like the residents of Apelo, more than 50% of the women respondents were lured by the promise of a better life in the big metropolis through better jobs for themselves since more of them were single when they moved. For those married at the time of migration, it was primarily for their husbands' wish to find a better job that they moved to Manila. A good 40% of the 30 respondents revealed they had relatives in Bagbag when they first moved and it was the relatively low rent, prior the 1980's, that the majority identified as the main reason for settling in Bagbag. Half of my respondents were in Bagbag before 1980, highest during the seventies and with one as early as 1951. That the 70's was a peak settlement period in Bagbag (and for Apelo, too) give evidence to the national government's accelerated campaign during that period to rid particularly the city of Manila of squatters. This drive dispersed them to outlying neighboring cities like Pasay (where Apelo is located) and municipalities like Novaliches (where Bagbag is located). The Marcos government in the 70's undertook intensive action against the labelled "illegal" squatters occupying either government or private land. Squatters were more often given a short notice to leave or else face the consequences of demolition and eviction. Or, in a more underhanded manner, the

occurrence of an inexplainable fire is as potential a threat
that often devastated the whole community. No one is spared,
not even squatters in private lands (most of whom were paying
rent to a legal or illegal person) because of the collabora-
tion between government and the private owner. During these
frequently unforetold events, it is the women in these com-
munities who stood, with babies and children in their hands,
in front of their houses as a human barricade to defend their
shelters from the government's bulldozers. Aling Flora,
SAMAKANA's chairperson, settled in Bagbag after they were
served a notice of eviction and were forced to move after a
fire gutted their former residence, also in Quezon City:

> As an urban poor, I have to live with the everyday possibi-
> lity of eviction. Many refer to us as squatters but how
> can we be squatters when we are paying rent? The thing is
> they (the landowners) have the law in their hands. Like
> for example, where we came from, the original land owner
> died and we did not know that he sold the land to another
> an affluent family without telling us. We were told that
> the two families had a case and we were told to move out
> in 15 days. Within that time, our houses were razed by a
> big fire so we were really forced to move out. We took
> whatever wood we can still use, even burned, to build a
> new house where we were to be relocated. The thing is
> we were told that my family was not eligible for reloca-
> tion because my husband was earning P10.00 a day already.
> We were told about Bagbag and so we were here in 1977.
> ...I was a factory worker and I headed a union for 6 years.
> when we moved here, I had a stand at the market until I
> gave it up to be active with the organization.

Similarly, Tondo, the most blighted slum community in the
70's, was razed by a great fire in 1978 that uprooted the
families of Aling Celia, Brenda, and Pilar who are all now in
Bagbag and are again, facing the threat of eviction due to the
City of Man Project. Bound by a similar past of fighting for

their rights to land, this time, however, they are collective-
ly preparing themselves.

Besides this harsh past that has served to facilitate the
women's relationships with one another is the limited formal
education that the poor perceived has been "capitalized by
others who think we know nothing because we are squatters."
Aling Flora finished grade 6 though many of the women I inter-
viewed had some high school. Aling Flora views this not an
impediment in life because in her words, "I only learned to
write and read in school but I was not taught how to live in
this world. It was by doing something, in spite of being
poor, that I learned about people, society, and life." Aling
Tita, on the other hand, reached fourth year high school and
was depressed about not being able to complete highschool and
get a college education; thus, she and her husband have preoc-
cupied themselves with working to save some money for their
growing children's education. She explained: "Even if I wish
to involve myself in organizations here, I just have no time.
My husband just works in a repair shop for cars. What he
earns is barely enough for our household needs and many times
we run short because of my two kids' school needs. That is
why I have to find some work myself because it is what I get
that we use for their education. For me especially, I want
our three children to get good education. I want them to go
through college, something I was not able to do for myself.
I went to Manila with that aspiration that I could go to

college when I am done with my high school but I did not."
Aling Tita conveyed what many of the other fulltime mothers
hope to do in their efforts to get a constant job they can do
on the side. Many of these mothers are laundry women, food
hawkers or middlepersons in selling food products like peanut
but-ter, coco jam, and sausage, or sewers of ribbons for a
factory's brassiers. As one of the mothers who sews said:
"We get very little because there are times that the materials
don't come. What we earn often is quickly spent by my child-
ren for their snacks because you know how children in a commu-
nity like ours are, they feel hungry all the time. But when
it is regular, we get to save a little, I put it aside for
schooling of my children. I want to save for their schooling
but it is not easy. I can't work outside because I still have
a baby. So, when the job is regular and when I get to do a
lot of ribbons even as we (referring to her neighbors) are
chatting, I try to put something on the side, even just a few
pesos. It's a job and it's also a pasttime for me."

Thus, in terms of working and household backgrounds, most
of the women leaders and non-leaders are no different. Aling
Dolores, an adviser of BIKTIMA, was a bus conductress, mana-
ging a household of six. Her husband is a bus driver. Aling
Lydia, BIKTIMA's other adviser, was a laundrywoman with four
schooling children still with her. Her husband is a carpen-
ter. Both of these women are not immuned from the everyday
crises, troubles, and stresses of urban poor households. In

my 4 months stay in the community, Aling Lydia was plagued
with two family crises: one was when her daughter was sick
with typhoid and the other was the death of her son who was
electrocuted by lightning. On both situations, I knew Aling
Lydia found some needed solace from her relations within the
community, from BIKTIMA, and FDA. Like in Apelo, it is a norm
for the neighbors and members of the organization to help a
bereaved family by monetary contribution. One way that funds
were collected was through a gambling game, held either inside
the family or a neighboring house, or under a tent outside of
a house, which lasts till the wee hours of the morning. The
accumulated money is then donated to the family. More than
just a gambling activity, the holding of the game is an act of
solidarity by which the dead is kept company. In these occa-
sions which both men and women join, it is the women again who
initiate and see to it that funds are collected.

As in Apelo, though the women in Bagbag are prominent in
cultivating sustaining relationships necessary for its survi-
val, the men though are not totally invisible in the commu-
nity. Indeed in Bagbag, male leaders like the councilman, the
"barangay" captain, Art, Kiko, were spokesmen that Sacks re-
ferred to (1988). There were also other men who were doing
the legwork for their respective organizations but so were the
women who outnumbered the men in any public assembly, even in
a "barangay" (with a male dominated leadership) sponsored ac-
tivity. On such occasions, the male leaders are often con-

fronted by the vocal Aling Pia or Aling Lydia or Manang Dolores. But, Manang Dolores defines these occasions of conflict between male and female leaders as a "question of whose interests are you really for, that is, those who have the means (includes government or the few powerful in the community) or the community, rather than a matter of gender related issues." Larry, the community organizer, concurred with that though he sees the understanding and politicalization of gender differences and issues will eventually take place as a culture of resistance in Bagbag is gradually emerging in the face of the land controversy. I agreed with him because though land for the urban poor is a general issue of right to tenure, it is a vital resource that oppresses women and men differently. However, I believe that this understanding has long been expressed by the women in their inexhaustible everyday efforts to ameliorate Bagbag from its inadequacies as a human settlement. It was the women who spoke best of their slum life, poverty, camaraderie, and survival. As Smith (1974) described: "Women are native speakers of (their) situations and in explicating it or its implications and realizing them conceptually, they have that relation to it before it has been said."

NOTE

1. "Ka" is an abridged term for "kasama" meaning comrade. It is a term of respect known to be used by people in the underground movement in addressing their leaders or high-ranking people.

CHAPTER   V

Informal Social Networks: Apelo's Life Support System

The roots of helping in particular and of survival in general lie in the everyday social ties and networks among residents, specifically in the efforts of the women in maintaining and mobilizing these networks. I used the concept of social network here in a less technical sense compared to its technical usage in many studies of network analysis. Boissevain (1979) defined network analysis as a procedure that asks who is linked to whom, assesses the quality of the linkage and explores how the linkage affects social interaction and individual behavior. In the two communities, networks were bounded personal relationships defined by the criteria of exchange of goods and services and frequently, by neighborhood social distance. I will open this chapter by describing a day at Aling Ming and Mang Juan's household which constitutes an extended family. A family or household usually, but not always, is central in a network.[1] Many networks of residents in fact also contain non-relatives. I will then describe the most important objects of exchange in the networks and elaborate how these are transacted in different contexts.

A Typical Support System

Entering the community through a household contact proved beneficial since I was able to sustain a relationship that enabled me to get a close enough angle of an ordinary household in the community. Aling Ming and Mang Juan's family is one of the few remaining original families that lived in the area for more than 30 years. Aling Ming and Mang Johnny are an active elderly couple with 6 children. At present, three daughters and two grandchildren live with the aging parents. One of the sons live just across his parents' house, with his own family. Aling Ming and Mang Johnny take pride in their success at rearing all their children by scavenging and in the fact that their children also scavenged as they have done. The work of scavenging enabled them to improve and expand their present shelter, one that served as my home as well as theirs. Mang Juan and Aling Ming spent most of their years by scavenging, but age eventually forced them to quit. With their savings, Mang Juan bought a small piggery that is housed right beside his son's shanty. Aling Ming spends her time vending cooked and uncooked food and a few snacks in a make-shift stall by the entrance to their house. Their daughters take turns relieving their mother at the stand and take charge of hauling water. Aling Ming and her two single daughters take turns caring for the baby of third daughter, Glenda, a single-parent daughter, while she is otherwise occupied, like washing.

The household headed by Mang Juan and Aling Ming is in-

timately connected to the house of Boy, one of their married sons. Boy and his wife conduct their own daily household routine that revolves around their needs and the needs of their two small children. The older boy, age 6, attends daycare just beside the house of Mang Juan and Aling Ming where Precy his aunt and godmother as well teach. Thus, it is not unusual that he spends a great part of the day by the Daycare as he has his aunt or his grandparents looking out for him while in or outside the daycare. A free cooked viand will usually be offered by Aling Ming to Rea in case the latter gets too tied up with the domestic chores and caring for her baby at the same time. During one of my visits, Precy was sick at Rea and Boy's house while Rea attended to her. At another time, Rea's newborn "blue baby" stayed under the care of Precy in the grandparents' house while Rea had to recover from the stress of almost losing her newborn who remained in critical condition for more than a month in the hospital. The two households were equally distressed during that period as they expended all possible resources, i.e., money, and human energy to survive the crisis that came with Rea's delivery. After less than a month of living in the outside walls of the hospital, the baby eventually died. The grief borne by Rea and Boy at such a period was lightened by this support system.

The support system of these two households, as for most households of Apelo Cruz, is an alliance between two kinship

groups dominating members' social interactions and helping relationships. The network consists usully of an extended family that practices a generalized exchange of goods and services. Similar to Lomnitz's research (1988) on a Mexican shanty-town, there were important objects of exchange that I found in the networks of Apelo residents. The most important of these are:

1. Information, includes advice or direction for residence, migration, and employment; gossip; and orientation about urban life

2. Loans, primarily of money and food

3. Services, includes the lodging and care of relatives; care and errand-running or neighbors; attending to children for working mothers. Among men, it includes help in home construction and hauling water. Children, too, take part in carrying water and running errands.

4. Sharing of facilities such as a television set, electric fan, cooking utensils

5. Moral and emotional support in ritual situations, like funerals, baptism, weddings, as well as in day-to-day interactions, e.g., when the women visit or gather to commiserate with each other's problems or to gossip and drinking among the men.

Though the family is usually a major component in the network, these exchanges are not solely between families since residents identified neighbors, other non-relatives, and for-

mal organizations as important, too. What follows describes exchanges in the different contexts where networks operate.

Economic Needs: Money and Subsistence

"Before I approach other people, I go to my sisters and brothers, my parents, or other relatives. Only when none of them (relatives) can help do I go to others, i.e., non-relatives. The same is with my wife, she goes to her relatives many of who are here. If my relatives can't help, there are relatives we can turn to." That was how Dindo, a young leader in the community who was identified by some of my respondents as a key person in their networks, summed-up his support network. For many couples in Apelo, their relatives, inside or outside of Apelo, provide a range of sources available to them particularly in times of help. For the twenty-two respondents who had relatives already in Apelo when they first moved, it was from a relative that they learned about Apelo. Tina's family, who came from a larger squatter community, had relatives in Apelo who told them of the scavenging opportunities there. Luz and Junior also learned how Apelo afforded better income opportunities for scavengers when his brother ran away from home and settled in Apelo.

> In Tondo (the other area) there is also scavenging but what I like here is that you just go around the nearby areas, you can go home with some money already. But in Tondo, you compete with so many and they do close guarding of garbage cans. Furthermore, there are too many vehicles you have to watch out for in Tondo that may hit you or your cart. Unlike here, there are not too many.

For the starting dweller in Apelo, it was relatives who

have been in the area earlier who provided temporary shelter

for them while they find whatever available space there still

is in the area. As Remy elaborated:

> ...My husband was staying already here (in Apelo) when he
> got me first together with my youngest in the province.
> He was staying with his cousin so we stayed there first
> while we were looking for a house here also. When we found
> a house, I took the rest of my children from the province
> for us to be all together again...

For a starting married couple like Bet and Fil, they ran to a

relative of Fil in Apelo when they had nowhere else to go to

begin a life together:

> ...When Fidel and I lived together, my older sister got
> angry because she did not want me to get married first.
> So, Fidel brought me here (Apelo) where he had an aunt
> whose house was by the corner, by the street.

Moreover, the presence of relatives who have stabilized

themselves in Apelo have helped some of my respondents in

securing an expensive basic need like electricity. Gina,

luckier than the majority, said:

> Our electricity here in the house is free. My stepfather
> owns a meter but we do not pay anymore. ...yes, this (re-
> ferring to the house) is ours.

The stepfather is one of the three enterprising men who run

the electricity business in Apelo Cruz. Subscribers pay a

monthly sum for their electricity that is considerably lower

than the fee for legal source of electricity from the city.

In Apelo, though, not everyone is fortunate to have such. A

scavenging household unrelated to any of these entrepreneurs

must pay a large sum, equivalent in many case to a day's in-

come. However, one does not have to be a relative to get some

benefits from these entrepreneurs. According to one respondent whose family of orientation is among the few original families in Apelo, they were given a "discount" because of the entrepreneur's fear of her father's connection at City Hall:

> We are not paying as much for our electricity as others are because (names the businessman) knows that my father (who lives above hers) worked at City Hall. Well, they know they're doing something illegal so they are afraid my father will squeal on them. But my father says he has no business with whatever they are doing. All my father wants is that we pay and not get a free ride on our electricity simply because they fear his connection in City Hall. So he (the businessman) is charging us differently from other households. He (the businessman) also says that he does not mind doing it for us because we are one of the originals here and my father knows everything they have been doing.

In this case, the benefit extended to the respondent's household is actually self-serving in the hope of the entrepreneur that the respondent's father will not squeal on them to City Hall officials.

In a scavenging community like Apelo Cruz, residents often go outside the community for help from their "better-off" relatives. As Aling Ofelia says, "We are all the same here, barely surviving, and we have the same needs. Using the kin networks from both sides of family, this household head, who is relatively lucky to have relatives in a position to help, explains:

> ...I go to my aunts in Malibay, at the plaza. If it's money, I go to them or my mother-in-law. I have never been rejected by them. When it comes to medical needs, I go to my cousins, I have two who are doctors and so it is not a real burden when my children get sick. ...My relatives help us and they want to help while they can. That is why I do not go to other people, I have relatives to run to. Even my husband, he goes to his relatives when he has to be

the one to seek help.

But, most residents are not as fortunate. As Aling Ofelia says, "We are all the same here, barely surviving, and we have the same needs. I have no relative here or nearby to go to borrow money. There may be a few who have a little more than many of us here but it is not enough also for them. No one here has enough. Well, there are persons here who would lend on a 5/6 basis (usurers) and so if you really are in dire need, you may just have to resort to them."

Though the household or family's needs are handled primarily by the woman, usually the wife/mother, children comprise a valuable human active resource. Besides partaking in house chores (fetching water, washing, caring for a younger sibling), children share and assume more economic roles as aging parents become less productive. Thus, a bounty of children represents potential and actual benefits to the family. In poor communities like Apelo where employed children are rare cases, they become one immediate source of help. One elderly man said:

> ...My children, they are the ones who are helping us now ever since my wife and I were hospitalized. ... They are not here anymore because they got married, have their own families, and have jobs of their own. Nonetheless, even if they are no longer with us, we are still surviving, especially now that we are no longer able to work, mainly through their support.

An eldest son, aged 24, who sustains a household of six, including his widowed mother, by working in a hair salon where he earns just enough to get by each day. More commonly, young

children, from ages 8 to 12, assume the major responsibility
for rent payment through scavenging work. Some of the mo-
thers complain about children not being too responsible or
serious in their tasks in the house or in school, if they are
studying. In Apelo are weary and hardened-faced young child-
ren who have been at a very early age, as early as six, socia-
lized into adult roles. Many such children appear skinny,
withdrawn, serious, and tired. Aling Fatima, the warehouse
owner and employer of scavengers in the community, described
children she employs, claiming they are the most victimized by
poverty:

> Joseph, one of the scavenging children, I fought with his
> mother and father because they totally depend on him for
> their paying of the house, which is P200.00 a month. This
> means that Joseph who is around 12 years old has to sca-
> venged everyday, 20 days in a month because normally for
> a child like him he earns at least P10.00 a day. Some-
> times, he earns P30 or P40 if it is a lucky day. He
> deposits P10.00 immediately to me, he pays their rent
> daily, and the rest he turns over to his mother. There
> are days that Joseph does not feel like working because
> he does not feel too well or sometimes he just wants to
> rest for the day. When this happens then, they run short
> of their rent. I asked the mother "Why do you totally
> depend on Joseph, even for your food, you get everything
> from what he earns? He has sisters who I see are dressed
> well and should help. How about his father, his father
> works, where do his earnings go? Why not allot some of
> that to your rent. You cannot depend everything on Joseph
> and when he is not able to work for a day or so, you get
> mad and hit him to a point that he cannot walk anymore.
> That is wrong! You have got to help him, I demanded."
> ...I do not really mind their not being able to pay rent,
> they owe me 3 months and sometimes they go beyond that.
> However, I said, "If you do not start helping Joseph, I
> will be forced to terminate your rent. How many are you
> living in this house?? You even have relatives. It would
> just be fair to ask them to pay say P20.00 to help with
> the rent. Not everything should be on Joseph, a 12 years
> old, even if its his signature on the contract." ... I
> have other kids, young children, like Paulo, Mario who

both pay P5.00 a day from their earnings for their rent
which is P150.00. They are children who still have pa-
rents; however, for Paulo, his father is disabled and is a
"balot" (a delicacy) vendor or sometimes he sells ice
candy. Paulo scavenges, he has another brother who also
sells "balot". His mother takes care of the house because
they have other teenage daughters. So, that family is
okay since they help one another. Mario's mother, Luz,
earns by selling rice at SAMAKANA's cooperative. However,
his older brother, Tony, who is bigger is useless. He has
2 other younger sisters. So it is Mario and his mother who
supports them. When his father was killed, it was Mario
who took the burden. There are other children who at a
very young age are charged not only with feeding them-
selves, but for their family. I try to help them. ... Yes,
I have young girls who scavenge but usually their mothers
meet up with them before the evening. It is really sad.
I notice that these kind of children who support their
families are different, they are very sensitive and
serious about life and with people they meet, almost no
sense of humor. You can almost feel what they feel, that
they were robbed of childhood and had to grow up way in
advance. You must be sensitive and careful with them or
else they can rebel.

The mothers are speechless while Aling Fatima, who is their

landlady, rebukes them for being completely dependent on her

child scavengers. As a landlady and employer of scavengers in

the community, there is a kind of bond that exits between

Aling Fatima and her scavengers and their families that serve

as basis for Aling Fatima's concern and rationale for her

rebuke of the mothers of her child scavengers.   Foster

(1963), Wolf (1966), and Scott (1977) referred to the bond as

a patron-client relationship. Scott defined it as:

> a special case of dyadic (two-person) ties involving a
> largely instrumental friendship in which an individual of
> higher socioeconomic status (patron) uses his own influence
> and resources to provide protection or benefits, or both,
> for a person of lower status (client) who, for his part,
> reciprocates by offering general support and assistance,
> including personal services to the patron. (p.125)

There is a range of exchanges that flow between the patron and

client. Aling Fatima, as employer, provide them a means of
living, help and protection, and influence. In exchange, the
clients, both children and adult scavengers including their
families, offer labor and personal favors like household tasks
(e.g., washing, cooking) which, unlike other patrons, Aling
Fatima remunerates as her additional help to the family. What
develops is a strong debt of gratitude, loyalty, shame, and
subordination. Thus, the scavengers and their families become
subject to demands and rebuff Aling Fatima may exert in her
professed personal concern for them. In the words of Ning,
the organizer, Aling Fatima is seen by her tenants and those
who scavenge for her as a "benevolent local capitalist" who
possesses resources they depend on, provides for their mate-
rial needs, and protects them. I surmised that this personal
alliance between Aling Fatima and her clients contributed to
her political victory in the last "barangay" election.

For the majority scavenging households, scavenging can
only provide for their minimum subsistence. On the whole, the
bilateral kinship relations provide for many of these house-
holds a system of economic welfare. There is an element of
"choice" as to who they can seek favors from. As one of my
respondents said, "I'd rather borrow money from my aunt than
my sister. My sister will belittle me first before she will
begrudgingly lend me while my aunt will spare me from further
embarrassment." Hence, this element of individual choice is
made with regard to considerations of the capacity and "rela-

tive" ease one can acquire the favor from a particular asso-
ciation compared to others. Though many households admit to
have limited options among relatives in a position to help,
these available networks of relationships provide them some
basis for economic security under their uncertain conditions.
Moreover, to these real kinsfolks are significant ties and
relationships of chosen, fictitious kinsfolk through the
"compadre" system.   For Gina, who went to Apelo after being
evicted from another squatter area, it was her stepfather's
"compadre" (who is now the barangay head) who helped them find
a place in the community. Mina added, "He (the "compadre") is
a reformed exconvict and was dreaded here, especially by the
gangs who were killing one another. He looked after us.
Apelo was ridden with crime especially the years after we came
(1980)." That one's "compadrazgo" system is as dependable,
sometimes even more, than one's kins is affirmed by Tina.
Tina strongly favored relying on non-relatives such as her
"kumare" for help:

> I do not go to my relatives for help. First of all, they
> have less than us. We help them more than they can help
> us. Also, it is easier to go to my non-relatives, either
> mine or my husband's. Often, I go to my "kumare" who I
> know can help me and will not incur a problem by helping
> me. Honestly, it is easier to relate and approach my
> "kumare" or neighbors who are like kin to me than my real
> relatives. Relatives will make it more difficult and if
> you, a relative, helped them, they tend to abuse.

Tina's opinion about kin helping was not solitary. Similar
attitudes were expressed, that "if at all they (relatives)
will help, they will censure me first and belittle me for the

help I need".   Since Tina was very vocal about this view, I
asked her about how she (and her husband) help their relatives
who, according to her, "we help more than they helping us".
She replied:

> They frequently ask help, especially my mother-in-law
> who has been unemployed for some months. My husband
> does so much to help them out. Even my brother-in-law
> who took education to be a teacher, we really helped
> him. But, us, even if we are struggling also, we pre-
> fer not to seek help from them. We find other ways and
> not depend on them.

Though many households have a kinship system, even if li-
mited, to bank on, there are many households, too, in Apelo
who have no relatives at all who can help because everyone is
just like them, barely making it. As one very hard-up sca-
venging couple related to me:

> What my husband will do when he knows we have nothing to
> eat, he will leave very early and around 4:00 or 5:00 p.m.,
> he is back having the junk he collected weighed. We don't
> have and know anyone we can run to. It is my husband him-
> self who does something when he knows we have nothing to
> cook or to eat, and this is every day. I go with him
> whenever I can or have no work myself. I come back with
> P50.00 at least. ...No one in this area loans if you do
> not have a collateral. And if they do, it's at a usurer's
> price! They are very individualistic: What is yours is
> yours, ours is ours. ...Our relatives live too far. Here,
> since most of us barely make it, people here cannot help.
> They even avoid or run away from you.

For a few households, I was told: "Honestly, we just let the
day go by, if it just means missing a day's meals. We have no
choice but to bear not being able to eat. My children know
the situation in our household when nothing is coming in. No
one complains. With God's Providence, the next day, my son
goes home with some money for us to buy some food." As one

fraillooking mother asked me: "Did you ever experience hunger, not only for a day? Well, they said no one dies from hunger. Maybe, but I, and my husband, thought we were dying because we were feeling too weak."

In this same community, however, are, what to the eyes of those who have "no one to run to", the "privileged" of the community -- the very few non-scavenging households, that is, the household head/s engage in wage labor or are salaried employees. The workplace is their immediate source. In the case of Rea and Boy, when in a situation that requires some big amount of money, Rea consults first with Boy "since he is the man of the house". Rea elaborated:

> Since he is working (as a street cleaner or Metro Aide), he would borrow from his supervisor, He lends us and we just have to pay, by installment, every payday. For example, he borrowed P200 and we still need to hold on to some amount, even if he only pays P50.00 first, that is no problem with the supervisor. As long as we pay little by little, any amount will do. In case he thinks his supervisor will not be able to help, I would suggest to him that I can run to my aunt. But I will have to tell him first before running to her because he is my husband.

For employed women, many of whom are laundrywomen, their employer is their recourse for emergencies. Aling Julia, an elderly and a longtime resident in the community, described the long-standing relationship she has with Aling Fatima the warehouse owner, for whom she does laundry:

> We have a relationship that is much closer than that between sisters. At times, she will ask me to market for their food, including food for my own household. I will cook for her because she has no maid or someone to help her. When I go home, she will give me P20.00 or P30.00, besides the food for my family. I am greatly indebted to her really. She pays me P120.00 for washing.

I have been doing their laundry for 10 years. In case,
I do not show up for one or two days, she will visit me
with a cup of viand. On Christmas, she does not fail to
gift me.

There are not too many like Aling Fatima in Apelo. In more

cases, employers of these women who do laundry or other do-

mestic chores are outside of the community. As Ofelia said:

When I am really desperate, I go to my employer and I would
plead her to let me wash even if there is someone who is
already doing their laundry. She will let me do anything
anyway, even just clean the house so that she can pay me
for something. In this way, then, my family is able to get
by the day. One's got to be industrious and not depend on
anyone.

For Aling Bet and Mang Fil whose situation of having all

grown-up children makes it possible for both of them to engage

in "paying" jobs, they are not as hard-up.

...I have a (laundry) job that pays me everyday, another
job that pays me weekly, another monthly (i.e., 15th and
the 30th). My husband (who buys used bottles and sells
them to a warehouse owner) takes care of rent and food.
I take care of our children's schooling. In case we need
money, I can borrow from one of my employers.

Fortunately, her husband can also go to his "employer" (his

buyer):

I go to the owner of the warehouse (for an emergency).
He asks me what I need the money for and I just tell
him that I need to buy food for my family. So, I bor-
row P100.00 and when he pays me for my bottles, I pay
him back by installment. I work harder so I can sell
him more and be able to pay him regularly like P10 or
P20.00 and pay up my debt in a short period of time.

In addition to these sources, their household indirectly bene-

fits from what their daughter, whose husband is in Australia,

contributes to the household. Her husband sends a monthly sum

of money for her and their two children whom her parents help

care for. However, the case of Aling Bet and Mang Fil is rare
in Apelo's households. Nonetheless, with 7 children and in
spite of their dense network of resources, they verbalize the
same grievances just like everyone else.

Care, Personal Favors, and Non-Cash Help

> Here, in this household, we are five, my husband and my-
> self and 3 children. Above us are my mother and father
> and my two other chidren, their grandchildren, who they
> are taking care of.

Though relatives residing within the community are not able
to respond with monetary help, they do provide services like
child and house-sitting. In Mang Juan's household, I would
encounter Aling Ming watching her food stand across, by Rea
and Boy's house, because she was at the same time looking
after their two kids while Rea was in the hospital and Boy was
out in the streets. At certain times, Rea's two children were
watched by Precy in the latter's house just across. This
service is facilitated by physical proximity. Unlike problems
of finding money, relatives frequently help out of their own
volition for other situations. A young married woman, whose
husband was unemployed, was typical in her reliance on her
parents while she was also looking for work:

> My mother gives us food and little things we need without
> asking. They just know we have nothing right now, so they
> are really helping us. It's them anyway I always run to,
> my mother, father or grandmother.

For households with very young children, mothers and
mothers-in-law take care of their grandchildren. While the
father is in the street scavenging and the mother does her

regular household labor of fetches water or washes clothes at the bridge. Perhaps a mother must go to the market or to school for a meeting with teachers of her children. Sometimes, the grandmother attends a school meeting for her daughter. A household relationship that struck me was the unperturbed and seemingly caring relationship between a common-law wife and her children's relationship with the members of the household of the legal wife who lived a few steps away. I would encounter the former's children playing inside the latter's house since the father would be there while at other times, the legal wife or other members of her household, with the baby of the house, would be chatting with the common-law wife or eating some snacks by her store. I surmised that the harmonious situation is possible with the (old) man's capacity to provide due support to the two households. Given that, the women turned the situation into something constructive through the cultivation of an alliance between their households.

While relatives provide vital resources for a household's maintenance, they are also sources of conflict. One feisty and energetic mother narrated how her domestic problems in her own household are tied and gets entangled with her nearby relative:

> My youngest sister who got married, just recently I told her to get out of my mother's house (just across). Look at their way of life: My mother is a laundrywoman and my father is a painter. My youngest sibling and the other one who is next to me have their own jobs. When my mother has money, she cooks food for everyone in the house but when my

siblings have money, they go on their own. I am able to observe them because my food stand is just across my mother's house. They eat by themselves and the other one goes to eat inside the room. On the other hand, there is my mother who is old but has kept doing laundry to support the household while my father hauls their water. Is that proper? I confronted them and told them to separate. My mother takes care of three other grandchildren from my sister who was abandoned by her first husband and then her second husband was killed. I am the one who sustains these three kids. Sometimes, I cannot tolerate their behavior and so, one day, I told them to get out of my mother's house. ...At one time, in the middle of the night, we were woken up by a neighbor who informed us that my brother got into some trouble. That brother of mine is married but we have to look after him because he gets into trouble with his friends. My husband gets concerned when he gets into trouble. He gets angry, not with him, but with me, so we are the ones who turn out quarrelling. Then, it gets bigger because he has to drink to loosen up and when he gets drunk, he gets into trouble! That is our family, full of troubles!!

While some have close personal contact with their relatives, others do not and prefer not to. As one mother says:

We (referring to a cousin who lives near by) really do not get to see each other. We just greet and ask how things are, how life is. I have no time because I go out and work everyday. Sometimes, when I buy at the store before I leave, we get to see each other. Also, I am not able to visit to her place also because of my work.

For another mother, conflict with her nearby relative was more apparent:

My husband has a cousin here. She stays below us. Sometimes, we are not in speaking terms. She is always envious and I can't understand her. That is why I just like to go out of the house when I have to attend a meeting or wash. I do not want any trouble with anyone. ... One time, I asked her help because that was the time we really had nothing, the taxi my husband drives had to be repaired and so he did not have any earnings for a month. We did not have money one time to buy rice and food. I went to her but said they also are in a tight situation. She was not able to help. So, I ended up borrowing 5/6 which we were able to pay when my husband drove again. ...Well, there was one time she helped when we were in one other desperate situation.

since kinship relations are developed bilaterally, it is not surprising to find household heads uncomfortable when they have to transact for a personal favor with a relative from their spouse's side. This underscores the highly personalized relations that govern the kinship structure in Apelo. Nonetheless, whether one likes or dislikes his or her relatives in the community, the presence of relatives was a crucial factor for the victory of some candidates in the local election that was held. As Tina analyzed about her brother-in-law's victory: "I think he won because of relatives, we are many here. At the same time, his brother-in-law's wife also has many who are here. The husband of a friend of mine did not win because he had no relatives here at all, well, one but who even was not a registered voter here. Other candidates got to ally with those who have many relatives and they all won. I really told myself it was the relatives of candidates who was the factor in their winning." I thought that, well, this is not peculiar to Apelo. Political elections, both local and national, in the country are highly personalized whereby relatives are the critical vehicle to winning. Whether there will be a long-range benefit for the alliance is no sure guarantee but one may never discount possible reward for a successful help.

Thus, the presence of relatives in the area provide options for a variety of support. However, the looseness that prevail in kinship relations makes it possible for an indivi-

dual to maximize his social networks that may function positively for him or her or for one's household that has to survive in an inadequate environment. In fact, the economic and social welfare system that the kinship structure provides can be derived from a non-kin or someone who often is just like a kin. This someone, I was told, is one's "good" neighbor.

"Good" Neighbors

> I do not mind that I do not have a relative here. What is important is for me to be able to interact and relate well with those around me so that in case anything happens to me, I can run to anyone of them. I really try to get along with my neighbor.

In Apelo, residents distinguish themselves as "taga-taas" (from the upper area), "taga-baba" (from the lower area), "taga-loob" (from the interior), and "taga-labas" (from the outside). For some residents, these informal boundaries are important to differentiate in their words, "our" area from "their" area. One time, I noticed that the pavement fronting Mang Juan's house (lower area) was newly asphalted. I was informed that it was Mang Juan and his next-door neighbors who combined efforts and resources to asphalt that part of the walk because "when it rains, it becomes very muddy here". Mang Juan explained, "We take care of **our** portion. Others repair their part, if they want to". A more subjective differentiation was stated by one mother from the lower area when asked about chances of Apelo to improve:

> **They** (referring to those in the upper portion) are uncooperative. Before, they can be told not to throw garbage in the river. Now, they do not follow. They flaunt their aggressive tendency and they resist to be told anything. Of

> course, it is really for our own sake that we don't dump
> our trash in the river because when it rains, it creates
> problems, the area gets flooded since it is clogged. If
> they can follow what is told to us, that is, to have their
> own drum and burn their garbage and then we bury the burned
> matter on the potholes of the street, it would do all us
> good. The place would not look only better but it will be
> cleaner also. But, they do not want to obey really. ...The
> people here (at the lower portion) are okay. We do not
> cause problems or make trouble here... We cooperate as
> long as it be good for the community.

I constantly heard from my household interviewees in the lower

area, that "children there (in the upper area) behave diffe-

rently from kids here in the lower area." The teachers of the

daycare in the lower portion remarked that they usually have

problems with their pupils from there, "they (children) from

the upper part have no or lack discipline unlike the children

here from the lower area". I asked why and I was told:

> Perhaps, it is because of the environment they are growing
> up in or moving around and their parents also who they just
> imitate. The children there are rude. The parents there
> are harder to talk with and explain things to. They are
> narrow-minded. That is why it is not just the children,
> but the parents, too, who are actually more different from
> people here. ...I have become a victim of a child's rude-
> ness, who is from there. He threw a notebook at me ...he
> really wanted to hit me. I just let it go and told him it
> was a bad thing to do. I really think they are just not
> disciplined at all by their parents, so we try.

I tried to be sensitive to these undercurrents during my

stay. One, I did notice that the lower portion of the commu-

nity is clean relative to not only the upper portion but to

the interior and outside areas, too. Second, these differen-

ces, I noted, were primarily expressed by leaders whose orga-

nizations' memberships tended to be based mainly fron one area

if one were to look at the membership of the organizations in

the community. Third, as I immersed myself in the community, it occurred to me that the people I was hearing this from were mostly either past or present leaders of organizations who stay in the lower area; hence, a large proportion of its membership are drawn from the same territory. They are inclined to look at people then from other areas who probably are not their members differently. This feature common to the organizations in the community tend to create segments in the community; however, it is not only the lower area residents who look at residents in other areas unfavorably. Negative perceptions were also expressed by people, particularly leaders or their friends, from the other portions of the community about residents "on the other side". Furthermore, having now a better grasp of the community, the recognized "original" or longtime residents of Apelo, who were perceived to be "better-off", were mostly living in the lower part of the community. It was consistently from them who articulated changes in the community that they deemed changed the desirability of the community. As one elderly, a former leader, in the lower part sighed:

> There have been many and significant changes in Apelo. We were a handful of homes before here. When the '70s came, waves and waves of people came, all sorts. The community grew and up to now it is growing even when there is no more space. Conditions changed...for the worse. The thing is, these people did not grow up here, that is why it does not matter to them how we are now. I grew old here and my children were born and reared here. It has really changed.

Nevertheless, in spite of these boundary schisms, the "good" neighbor for many residents is not necessarily the one

next-door as strictly defined. Nor is she or he necessarily from the same block. One important quality that everyone, without an exception, credited all residents with is their immediate helpfulness in a situation of a fire threat. Wherever the smoke was coming from, "residents all over would come rushing, with pails, blankets, or anything that can put out the smoke right away." Though I thought it is understandable that the behavior may be due to the simple reason of the residents' individual concerns for their own houses, since the area can easily be gutted by fire, people told me that "most will run to the sight of even just a smoke, that is some distance from their houses, carrying something to control the smoke." All of my interviewees cited this "community" behavior as the only situation that Apelo residents were ever united and are always united for.

More importantly, the lives of the residents abound with daily situations that prove that a "good" neighbor extends beyond one's territory and that a "good" neighbor actually in their everyday living is not one who necessarily keeps his surroundings clean or obeys rules. A "good" neighbor is "one who helps" or "one I know I can run to"; thus, a "good" neighbor is a friend:

> I have good friends from the interior ... I visit them when I find the time. When I have problems, I go to them just to let problems off my chest. Though I am close also to my in-laws, my mother and sisters-in-law who are just near and they give us a lot of support, of course, sometimes, I have problems I cannot tell my in-laws or relatives. So, I go to my friends inside. I know what I can expect from the people I have become friends with in Apelo. Well, they

give me advice, some good, some bad. They just listen. We joke a lot and we can tease one another without being hurt. That is why maybe we get along.

For Aling Mina, who lives outside or by the street, her very close friend is someone in the interior. Even though they are no longer neighbors, they remain best friends:

> We are like sisters to each other. Ever since I gave birth to one of my boys, she was the one who took care of him because my kid was not one year old yet when I gave birth again to another boy. So, she took care of my first boy who calls her "nanay" (mother) also. That is why I did not treat her just as a neighbor. We were like sisters, until now. I still call on her like when I frequented the hospital when one of my children got sick. She really helps me.

There was no doubt that there was a mutual friendship and reciprocal helping relationship between Aling Mina and her close friend living in the interior. That same close friend referred to Aling Mina, too, as an invaluable friend who has never failed to help her in whatever way the latter can. Though help commonly sought among neighbors redowns to the household, most relationships are essentially dyadic and what is exchanged is specific to the pair interacting. As Lally specifies:

> I have another good friend, from the upper area. I go to her for moral support. I have not tried asking her financial help but I always go to her for moral support. She also volunteers, even without me asking, to watch over and take care of my children. She tells me to get a job if I really need and not to worry about care for my children because she will do it for me. On my part, when she needs someone to take care of her children, I take care of them.

Tina elucidates how one good act leads to another among her nearby neighbors:

> Food is one thing that we all share with one another. What

one cooks, the others get. Like among us (names them), we share a lot. My foodstand is in front of Trining. Even if I am already selling my own cooked food, Trining will let me, with my child, eat food she cooked for her household. The same with Tessie, we give food to each other. Sometimes, I may forget to give my own parents and that is why they get hurt. They do not understand why some non-relatives are more important to me than my own relatives. ...I tell them it is just that it is so natural for my friends here to give and I like giving them also though they do not expect it. In my case, when they give food and I have some also, I share with them. But if I do not have and they give, it is okay. The next day, when I cook something, I give. ... Tessie and I have a friendship that is closer than between sisters. Her husband is in Saudi and so we look out for her. She bought that house they are living in now from us by installment and when she can. She did not take advantage of our closeness.

Watching out for children or the house, lending cups of rice, some sugar or salt, and sharing food, as shown by those in Tina's block, are the most common forms of help that arise. Though we have heard that the "good" neighbor is not always the one next-door, such good deeds frequently occur easily among next-door neighbors. Aling Percy says:

Because I often have to be out of the house, I have taught my young son (grade 1) to help me by obeying what I tell him only to do when I have to leave him. He has learned to become responsible for the house. ...My neighbor, knowing also that I am not in the house would check every so often my son and the house. I have no problem with that.

So far, we have seen that neighbors play a prominent role in everyday services. However, this does not mean that no non-kin neighbor can be approached for financial aid since we have heard how relatives remain the primary sources for it. Between Aling Bet and Aling Ming, a financial transaction is viable. The former explains:

Sometimes, for example, when my employer fails to pay me for a day's work, I go to Ming (who owns a food stand) and

borrow some amount from her. She helps me easily and she knows I can keep my word about paying back because I have regular income. At some other time, she goes to me also and I am glad that I have been able to help her always so far. I feel bad when she goes to me and I cannot give. Whatever little I can still spare, I will give.

In a very depressed community like Apelo, residents understand that "most, if not everyone, lives on a hand to mouth existence". Not everyone has a network that includes Aling Fatima, the warehouse owner, who has been cited by those she "employs" as a selfless and compassionate patron of her workers and their families. Nor are the very few waged employees within the social mesh of all ordinary scavenging couples. Even if they are, waged based residents convey they just have enough. One community resource that is vital in the network of households is a neighborhood small variety ("sari-sari") store. It may be one's next-door, or at the corner, or one that is on the "other side".

Small Variety Stores as "Good" Neighbors

One of the busier variety store and eatery is owned by Aling Mina which is strategically located outside, by the street. Residents outside and those from the interior were her regular buyers, usually of cooked food. I would often chance upon Aling Mina's store crowded and buzzing with women who regularly gathered mid-afternoon, chatting while holding their babies and watching out for their young children playing games in the street. Sometimes, the mood of the women was serious. Each had complaints about husbands or someone in the community. Aling Mina, an active leader and one of the two

women recently elected to the "barangay" council, would not hesitate to give her own opinion. Sometimes, they would break out laughing at something one of them said or when one becomes the object of teasing. According to the women this little time they spend chatting outside of their homes is their only "non-working" or leisure activity. A few steps away from Aling Mina's store are groups of men, some of the husbands of the women in Aling Mina's store. The men spent more time talking talking than the women in the streets. I would encounter them there until evening falls.

Aling Ming's food stand was another gathering place. Her stand, just in front of their house, was next to the the Daycare center in the lower part of the community. I usually spent my non-interview hours with daycare mothers who congregated in front of Aling Ming's stand. These women complained about the cost of rice and about the quality of cheap rice. They compared notes about their children and information about recent incidents that happened in the area, for example, when an addict youth caused some trouble the other night. Just beside Aling Ming's store is another store that has a television available for public viewing. Here children and men usually congregated except on Sunday when the women gathered to watch an afternoon show based on viewers' letters about their real-life problems. The program portrays domestic problems like extramarital affairs and problem children, problems of step-families and adopted children, teenage problems like

teenage pregnancy, and most familiar to them, problems of rural migrants or families in the big city such as prostitution and child labor.

These small variety stores are owned by the neighborhood people. Wherever is the small variety store, it is important for the residents to befriend its owner because he or she (the owner) is resorted to as a source of credit. Here credit is seen less as a favor of a written or understood agreement that one will pay what one has purchased on credit. The transaction is highly personal since the owner has at least to be "familiar" with the resident buyer. As one mother admits:

> It is difficult not to be in good terms with a store owner here. It is not all the time my neighbors can help. They also run out. Or, sometimes, I just do not want to abuse by running always to them. So, I regularly patronize that store by the corner (points direction). I buy our household needs there, like milk, canned goods, soap, shampoo. My kids sometimes buy their snacks there. They are more frequent buyers than me. That helps because she knows, if I have to get something on credit, that it is for our needs. Anyway, I pay once I have money, before the week is over, usually Saturday.

One disadvantage stated by the few salary based households is that they hardly get to taste the benefits of their spouse's take home on the 15th or the 30th because it immediately is used to pay their debt. As one of them described:

> When he (husband) comes home on the 15th with some money, the money does not last for 24 hours in my hands. I do not want to renege or be too delayed in paying my debts at the store so I pay her as soon as I can. I want to resume my credit line for the next two weeks on a clean slate. That is life! We have already eaten what we will still pay. Thank God, I have a store I can always run to.

However, for Aling Mina, having a store is not always an

advantage. She related:

> Before, people were going to me because of my store. They
> need something but they do not have the cash to buy, so
> they borrow. Me, I lent easily before because I know how
> it is here and I trust people. However, many don't pay.
> My store was bigger before. I was selling a lot more.
> But, I had to reduce my goods because at one time, I did
> not have enough capital to buy what I need. I just use
> the profits of the store as my revolving funds. I learned
> my lesson. Now the only ones who can buy on credit here
> are the workers in the factory (a nearby sardine factory)
> who eat lunch here. They pay every Saturday and that is
> okay, at least they pay on time. The residents abuse...the
> thing wrong is they do not pay me but they have money to
> gamble. A lot of bad habits. There is really nothing
> wrong in buying on credit, as long as you know you have the
> obligation to pay on time also.

During my stop-overs in some stores scattered in the commu-

nity, I noticed signs like, "No credit". I suspected that it

is not Aling Mina alone who has had a bad experience. As

another owner of a much smaller store lamented:

> The hard thing is you cannot lend only to friends or else
> they complain why so and so can... I understand how little
> many of us in Apelo make. So, I lend even to those I do
> not know but I know live here. With friends, it is not too
> much a problem telling them to pay because you can joke
> them and tell them it's about time to pay. With those
> who you do not know, when they do not pay when they say
> they will, consider them gone. I do not go after them.
> ...I do not like to do it. I am the one embarrassed.

Nonetheless, even if many store owners in the community

have made it a policy against buying on credit, on the whole,

the small variety store is a valuable source of help that is

based on personal networks. One can get credit from a

"suki", a store owner one knows and who knows him or her as

well. What is relevant to point out is that it is not only

the goods in the store of the owner that is the resource

because the owner herself or himself is as an important re-

source. A store owner is perceived to be a little better-off than the majority scavenging households. No matter how small the store, it is a "business that makes some money, at least more money than us who scrounged around". As a scavenging mother said:

> In scavenging, there is money. There is the regular day that I come home with P25.00 to P30.00 (less than $2). Some days, I make better. There are real bad days we make less than P25.00, especially when there is a lot of arrests being made my police. ...I borrow money sometimes from (names person), who has a store there (points direction). The money from scavenging is barely enough to buy food like good quality rice is P9.00 to P10.00 a kilo already! Emergencies happen... that is when I need money for my child's medicine or hospitalization. I go to her (the store owner). She is able to help because with a store, money comes in everyday and, I think, it is at least more than what I get out scavenging in the street.

Thus, on the whole, the neighborhood store (and its owner) is an aid potential that constitutes the personal networks of residents. Store owners are just like one's household neighbor who can come to one's aid or reject assistance also. Neighbors can be vicious and store owners can indeed be more vicious if one is a bad debtor because the "owner warns others about you." So, a store owner is just like any neighbor --she or he can be what one considers a "good" neighbor or a "bad" neighbor. And I ask what is a "bad" neighbor. A young mother interviewee, whose tight network for help are solely her immediate family - parents, sisters, brothers, and grandparents - deplored the kind of neighbors there are, or people, in Apelo in general:

> It is difficult to have a neighbor here (in Apelo) who I can really say is a friend. When your back is turned, they

say a lot of things against you. When you face them, you are good. It is like that here. A debt of gratitude will be accounted to you. It is better to be on your own, you do not bother anyone. They say "No one is an island". No one in this world can live on her own. One needs support. I said no. If one's support is one who accounts every help she or he gives, I would rather not be helped. They help, but then they talk or gossip against you. That is the way it is here. If one's relatives are also able to do that, what more with neighbors since they are people who do not need to care about you since they are not at all related to you.

While there are such attitudes about one's neighbors, there are households who expressed quite an extreme attitude, that is, "a neighbor, particularly a "good" neighbor, can make one's life in the city a little more bearable" especially with odds that systematically work against squatters. As a male household head summed-up his views:

I feel better dealing with my neighbors, people here (in Apelo) who are not my realtives. I do not mean relatives are not helpful. They are, but I feel more free with those who are not, especially my neighbors. I do not expect that they (neighbors) help me materially because many of them have to suffer more than myself. But, my neighbors, especially the elders here, they and so many can and have been so invaluable to me in troubled times. They may not necessarily give me what I need, if it is something material, but, often, they strengthen me and one's got to be strong in weathering the problems of living in a place like Apelo.

The Informal Functions of Community Organizations

Aling Trining does not know how to read and write; nevertheless, she is the is the well-known chairwoman of SAMAKANA's (a national women's organization) chapter in Apelo. Tina, her neighbor, believed:

If Trining ran as a candidate in the barangay election, she would probably have won a seat. She has helped many people who have approached her and continues to help a lot of people. They (referring to her household) are really no better-off than the ordinary household here. But, she helps

those who have no rice, when someone's child is sick and needs hospitalization, whatever.

Trining's other neighbor, Josie, whose husband has been ill, said:

> I can only run to Aling Trining because she understands how hard-up we are. She always helps. Just recently, I thought I was going to die, because I was getting too weak. I have not eaten for days. Trining saved us (i.e., she and her husband) when she gave me money so that I can buy food. I sold her our radio in exchanged for the help.

Aling Trining is also sought out by residents who need to get affidavits or do business in government bureaucracies, like the City Hall. Similarly, Nerisa, the president of the Daycare in the lower area, said:

> ...I have never approached outside organizations, government or private/professional, for my own personal needs. It has always been for someone else here, not necessarily for a Daycare mother. For example, I accompanied a resident who did not have enough funds to bury her dead relative. She went to me but I had no personal means to help. So, we went to the Mayor's office and requested assistance. The funeral parlor usually refuses to help by lowering their charge. It is often in these cases we seek the help of the Mayor's office.

There are two things common about Aling Trining and Nerisa. One, they are both leaders of two active organizations in Apelo. Second, they do things that are outside their tasks as officers of their organizations. Aling Trining simply looks at it this way:

> Even before I got myself involved with SAMAKANA which has only been these two years, I have already been helping people. For instance, one time, my neighbor had an emergency. Someone had to be brought to the hospital but they had no money. I was the one who brought the person to the hospital, without money. What I did was I collected whatever the others here can afford so that we can all help that household in need. I was able to get some money for them. ...Moreso now, with my position in SAMAKANA. Maybe,

people here think that I can be of more help since I am in this position.

Indeed, help seems never enough for a poverty-stricken community like Apelo. Residents would just have to seek aid from anyone who would be in a position to help and leaders of community organizations are perceived as among those potential sources of aid, that is, personal aid. Ning, the community organizer, described the helping situation:

> People here help people they know. That is important in their decision to help. It becomes difficult when they do not know the one in need. For example, the Daycare mothers here in the lower area would go to Nerisa, the President, or to the treasurer who they know holds money, in emergency situations like a child getting sick. It is not the role of the Daycare to help in such a case, financial. But, because such situations arise, it is not an absolute policy not to give help. Their rule, however, is to call an emergency meeting among the officers to decide on it. The decision is often favorable, to give help because of the need. What is needed is for one of the officers to vouch for the person seeking help since if the latter does not pay back, the officer who vouched assumes the debt.

Thus, what provides the basis for help here is the same factor that initiates help sought from a relative, a neighbor/friend, or a neighborhood store owner -- personal relationships. Again, how well or how close one knows the source of possible assistance and, in the same way, how well or how close does the source of help know the person in need is critical in the decision to seek help and to grant help required. There may be an overlapping of relations, like a kin or neighbor may seek personal help from another kin or neighbor who is a leader or officer. Hence, the possible help giver considers the type of help sought and his or her personal cicumstances

to help in dertermining how one can help. Often, the financial resources of a formal organization is tapped if help available elsewhere is insufficient or there is no other help available. However, organization drawn help is not as frequently sought or provided for personal aid when relatives or friends can help from their capacity. Nonetheless, it is the ties community organizations have with external professional groups/agencies that are at the disposal of officers which are utilized in certain cases. Dindo, being the area coordinator of the Dona Marta Health Center, validated this:

> I do a variety of things because people here ask me for different kinds of help. As area coordinator for Dona Marta, I help out Dona Marta in having its health projects reach the people. People here ask me for hospital references since I am a health worker for the Center. Not only that, they request me to go with them as far as the hospital so that they will be attended to immediately. Sometimes, I am a fixer at City Hall for some needs of the mothers, like birth certificates or affidavits, things like that. The mothers make me explain what the documents say since I know English. Sometimes, I tutor kids here. There are times someone goes to me to ask City Hall assistance so that they can bury their dead because the funeral parlor would not release the body of a relative without paying a high price. There are times I accompany someone here to my lawyer friend to help them out. I help all sorts of people in all sorts of ways.

Dindo's position as the Health Center's area coordinator gives him some benefits or advantages that he tries to redown to the poorest residents. He, like Aling Trining, can be akin to the Trobrian tribe chief in Malinowski's study (1979) who reapportions and redistributes the wealth he accumulates due to his position. Lally, Dindo's wife, corroborated his visibility in the community in a seeming complaining pitch:

> Dindo helps numerous residents here, one can get fed-up
> sometimes. For instance, for medicines, people go to him
> which I understand because he is a Barangay health worker.
> The moment he gets home from work or from doing something
> outside, he asks me if this and this person who were sup-
> posed to come for something came. If they did not, he
> would go to their houses. At times, someone will come here
> to ask his help about getting their dead out of the funeral
> parlor but they do not have enough money needed. I know
> that he sometimes spends for them also. He really helps.
> People just go to him naturally even when there are other
> people who they should go to. Even when there is a couple
> fighting, one of them goes to him for help. I tell him
> he should not meddle because it is a domestic quarrel but
> they ask his help.

Similar to kin, neighbors, or friends, there is a high degree

of choice in the leaders residents consider part of their

personal networks in Apelo. Whereas if kin have been found to

be prominent as sources of financial assistance while neigh-

bors are a primary source for everyday needs or services,

community leaders are availed of for anything that perhaps

kin, friends and neighbors cannot provide. Though organi-

zations of these leaders are usually supported by external

professional/private or government groups, the help they think

their leaders can give are perceived more positively than help

from outside formal and professional individuals or agencies

simply because the former are from the community. Hence, for

some residents, relations and access to community leaders are

crucial to their informal support networks.

Though the community, known as "Barangay 157", has a "ba-

rangay" council that represents the community, the council is

not perceived by the residents as a community organization.

Rather, it is viewed as the local "ward" and local political

machinery of the national government that concerns itself with general problems. In spite of the resources a council may have, as it is tied to the city government or municipal, Apelo's "barangay" council, the people assessed, has had no impact in filling the number of lacks in their daily lives. The usual vocal Fina filled me into the history of ineffective "barangay" councils Apelo has had:

> With the barangay captains we have had, no one has really done a true good thing for Apelo. The one who sat for 20 years, (names the person), he had no project at all. Well, he intended something and so he asked residents for donations, P5.00 to P10.00. He said he was goint to have toilets built. Until he was changed, there was not a single toilet built. The one who followed him was (names the person), he also did nothing. He was corrupt! The one who came next, (names the person), was OIC after the revolution. Well, he got to do some good things but he was destroyed by his own men who he charged with looking at the peace and order here. These subordinates of his held him by the nose so whatever they told or reported to him, he took it as the final word without verifying it himself. His men make the decisions and they are often unfair and partial. If they tell the captain, that that residents who was in trouble is this and this, he (the captain) will believe their judgement without talking to the man, in spite of the plea of the family to help them. That was the bad thing about him and so he lost in the last election.

Tina's frustration was reechoed by all my interviewees during my validation session with them. Aling Fatima (the warehouse owner), who won a seat in the recent "barangay" election, found herself a sudden recipient of grievances about the seeming inactivity of the council because 4 months have already passed since the March election. There were rumors that the water system would finally be legalized and so the residents gathered thought it opportune to express their feeling about it. The outspoken Aling Edita conveyed the overall concern of

most residents:

> If there is anything at all they (i.e., the barangay) are
> planning to do with our water system, they should involve
> us. It is a community problem. We are interested in what
> the plan is because everyone will be affected. We must be
> part of the solution process and not simply decide for us.

All that Aling Fatima could say was that she will bring it to

the council's knowledge and assured that there will really be

proper consultation. It was no surprise for me to hear this

prevailing feeling about the barangay because no one at all

among my respondents cited the "barangay" council as an or-

ganization that is integral in their personal social networks.

The only aspect the residents consistently ascribed to the

"council", specifically, the captain and the "barangay" po-

lice, is their role in maintaining peace and order. To this,

Tina remarked:

> Because that is the most they can do. When there is
> trouble here and we run to the nearest police precinct,
> the police will anyway tell us to go to the "barangay"
> captain because it is he who has the immediate jurisdic-
> tion before they, the police, can intervene. That is
> about the only thing they do really for us.

The newly elected Barangay Captain confirmed this and ex-

plained the difficulty of "helping" individuals:

> I have always been sought when trouble here breaks out
> even when I was not a barangay captain yet. I am able
> to reconcile people so that we can have peace and order
> here in our community. When a relative of someone is in
> trouble with the police, got arrested, they run to me.
> I help anyone in that situation, as long as I think I can.
> But, for other personal help, I am limited as anyone else
> here. The "barangay" has limited resources for the many
> serious problems Apelo has. That is why we want to coor-
> dinate our efforts with the other groups and organiza-
> tions here, especially those who are supported by out-
> side organizations who have the resources.

Though what the Barangay Captain expressed is true, it is along this expectation that the council's responsibility to the community's inadequacies gets conveniently diffused and shared by other groups in the community, with the latter eventually assuming the larger share of responsibility and the council losing its visibility in the arena of problems.

Because of the broad nature of the "barangay" as an all-inclusive community organization, many residents regard other sectoral organizations/groups or its officers in the community more integral in their personal networks. Many, though not all, of the household head couples in my study are members of a group or organization and, as I noted earlier, organizations tend to draw a large base of their membership from a specific part of the community, often from where officers are located. Thus, residents choose to seek assistance from leaders of or-ganizations they are affiliated with and who may also be their immediate neighbor, with the latter factor facilitating the help being sought from the organization. Ning described the process:

> Residents here really try to help as long as they know each other. It will be hard for others to help if they do not know the person. For example, with the Daycare (lower part), a mother who is a member usually goes to the presi-dent or the treasurer for what she needs. Since it is usually a personal financial help needed, example, for a sick member of the family, it is a rule that the officer will have to call for an emergency meeting and discuss the request because the organization has no defined obli-gation to help specific personal needs of the mothers. But because emergencies do arise, like someone in the family is sick, the Daycare is open to help individuals. What is required is that an officer must vouch for the mother in need because if the mother is not able to repay,

the officer takes on the obligation.

Thus, it is important that one be in "good standing" with one's neighbors since one's neighbor may be an officer whose relationship may prove useful in a situation when help from kin or neighbor/friend is insufficient or unavailable. A mother, who is a member of SAMAKANA, told me that, "When there was not enough we can earn from scavenging, I went to Trining here (showing proximity to Trining's house) to volunteer selling in the cooperative since it pays. That helped me and my children." In most cases, officers of organizations were sought for non-financial matters, like Aling Mina and Mang Julio are usually approached by Foster (for both) and ERDA (only for the latter) recipients for information and when forms or other paper requirements are due.[2] Aling Fatima's advice and moral support is sought by members of the Cursillo, many of whom are single parents, usually mothers, who are separated from their husbands for reasons like imprisonment, contract labor, and the like. The typing skill of Olga, the daycare teacher who is also a government clerk, is harnessed by some residents, mostly daycare mothers for forms or letters required to be typed. Dindo, having spearheaded and involved in many organizations in the community, is depended on for an array of problems and questions, from a personal matter like marital disputes to the general problem of land.

How about the officers themselves? How are they helped by the organizations or groups they serve when help from their

kin or neighbor/friend is not available? Aling Edita, a former president of the Daycare (lower part), recalls with deep gratitude, the unexpected generous assistance given her by INA-ANAK, the local civic group of women supporting the Daycare:

> My other breast had to be removed. The one who helped me so much was (named head of the group) . She gave me P700.00, cash. ERDA and Foster helped me also since I was also a member, my children were able to go to school with their continuing support. I was touched with their help because even if you are in a public hospital like PGH (Philippine General Hospital), it is not totally free, like for the medicines like dextrose. I also had at that time some spots in my lungs. I was very thin. ...ERDA sent me to be examined and, in God's mercy, it was negative. I was very happy. ERDA supplied my medicines, vitamin C and iron. I would have not survived that part of my life if there was no help from these groups.

For Dindo, having worked closely with the health center so that their projects can reach the residents, admits:

> Although it seems I am only making my life difficult by being involved with Dona Marta, it is not easy to give it up. Anytime either of my children is sick, I can bring them there without having to worry about money for the medicines I may have to buy. They give me the medicines. Health is a big problem here and it is expensive for us here to be ill.

Just like for an ordinary member's children, Aling Mina's children have benefitted from Foster's educational support for children from elementary to highschool. She stressed, however, that she is not exempted from the requirement of attending the bible study every Friday and her children every Saturday. Nonetheless, Aling Mina, like many of the Foster recipients, believe that:

> Complying with their requirement is no burden if it means free education for my children. Sending children

to school is expensive because even public education has
many charges, like books, miscellaneous, PTA, and other
projects. I try not to miss attending the bible study,
so with all my children. I have not, and for that they
(Foster) have not failed to provide my children free
education, even if it is until highshool only.

For Aling Trining, on the other hand, more than the material
benefits distributed to the membership, chairing a chapter of
a women's organization has been her only source of education.
She sums up the fringe benefits of her position as follows:

> Chairing SAMAKANA is hard and great! I may not know how
> to read and write but, what has been valuable is that I
> know more now how to relate with people, to communicate,
> and motivate people here especially in our efforts to
> better our conditions. Before, I was very insecure about
> my inadequacy. Now, I am trying to learn and feel really
> confident in spite of my inadequacy. I still feel anxious
> but I feel better about myself, about being a woman. Now,
> I know the meaning of helping --that helping is not doing
> charity because it often leads to dependence and an obliga-
> tion to repay that debt of gratitude. Helping is providing
> someone the means to do something through her or his own
> efforts. That is the challenge I am faced with personally
> and the challenge I am faced with as a leader of SAMAKANA
> which aims not only to help women but, in the process, the
> whole community as well.

Indeed, that is the challenge faced by every community group
or organization in Apelo who professes to help the community
at large, that "although there is priority for members, our
activities are aimed to help everyone in the community".
Though most residents in Apelo are affiliated with an orga-
nization, there are some relative isolates who choose not to
be a member of any group or organization and have no rela-
tives, or have weak relations with relatives if there are and
have just a few friends or acquaintances in the community. It
is these individuals who feel more strongly about the "little

or token efforts of groups to reach out to everyone in the

community". In the words of one mother:

> There is no organization that really helps the whole commu-
> nity. Their (referring to organizations) activities are
> always to benefit only their members. One has to be a
> member first so that one can, for example, get rice at a
> cheaper price, avail of their free clinic, obtain medi-
> cines, or other things outside groups donate to Apelo
> during occasions like Christmas. If there is anything at
> all for others, it will be those that others did not want.
> There may be unity within the organization but there is no
> unity among organizations here so that they can reach out
> to more. So, here, one has to survive on her own. For my
> family, it is only my husband and myself since my child-
> ren are still young. We have no relatives here and I do
> not like to owe anyone here anything. It is difficult.
> My husband and I just have to work hard, especially for
> the sake of the children. Us, we can sacrifice and we will
> still make it with God's help. But our children are too
> small to make them sacrifice as much as we do.

However, it is not only among these isolates who express some

dissatisfaction about the exclusiveness of some organizations.

Some mothers who used to be active in some groups conveyed a

different basis for their dissatisfaction. A once active

mother said:

> I used to be active with them (referring to the organi-
> zation). I was a daycare teacher for a whole year. Yes,
> they pay me but I was earning it. When some mothers knew
> that I was being paid for P600.00, they envied me and
> questioned it. But, as I said, I was working to be paid.
> One problem about organizations here is the envy between
> or among members. There are factions, you know. If the
> leadership does not know how to handle this problem, it
> can be divisive. So, I quit. The money helped me but it
> is not everything. I served anyway for a year. ... Now
> and then, I still go to their activities because they
> invite me. But I am not as active anymore.

Her husband, in a separate interview, was more straightforward

about the problem of the same organization:

> They (the organization) take care of you when you can do
> something for them. If the time comes that you have to

slow down, like what happened to my wife who was pregnant
at the time she was teaching with them, they had no consi-
deration because they think they are helping you enough
with the pay. Then there are members who envied her and
said this and that about my wife. It is really the lea-
dership. I told her to quit.

What the foregoing account indicates is the same process
that underlies relations with one's relatives and neighbors,
that the squatter is faced with making a choice, too, when
staying on good terms with their leaders because the latter
can be a source of goods and services not available from
relatives or neighbors. Their local ("barangay") leaders have
authority to protect them when endangered or when in trouble
with outside authorities. However, what is overriding in the
help-seeking process across a variety of problems among the
residents is the primacy of personal relationships. If per-
sonal ties are primarily imstrumental in forming the social-
support networks for the urban poor, I wondered then how de-
trimental or helpful the consequent process of patronage is to
their survival as a community.

**Informal Networks: A Potential or Threat to a Sense of
Community?**

Though community organizations are formal organizations,
it fosters and capitalizes on the personal relationships of
its members. For active and longtime members, they consider
organizations they are affiliated with part of their social
networks though in the hierarchy of sources for help in the
community, these organizations are resorted to last, that is,
when help from family, neighbors, friends is not available.

Nevertheless, organizations provide a vital context by which relationships among residents are cultivated and informal networks are reinforced. With the interdependence that was so much apparent in the residents' interactions and exchanges, I asked then if there was unity in the community. To my surprise, 58% (17) of the 29 household heads who responded to this query believed the residents are not very united. Only 20% thought they were very united and the same percentage believed there was no unity among them. Two contrasting viewpoints on this question were clearly expressed by two leaders in the community: One a former "barangay" captain and the other the present community organizer. The "barangay" captain views the multidimensional diversity in the community as posing a major problem in the people's capacity to organize or be organized:

> There are so many factors for the diversity of people here
> in Apelo. There are the regional factions: the Visayans,
> Ilocanos, Bicolanos, Tagalogs and others. Then, there is
> the bigger problem of too many groups and organizations --
> there are two daycares run by two different organizations,
> youth groups, a group for the elderly, a group for garbage
> collectors, our group with Mang Julio, the "barangay", and
> others who just exist but are not active. There are also
> the Iglesias and Catholics. Then there is the territoria-
> lity factor, for example, some people from the upper area
> who do not like people in the lower area or vice-versa.
> There are too many things that divide the people. That is
> why it is difficult to have them do something that will
> not be solely for their own but for the whole community.
> They become dependent on the help outside groups may
> provide to ameliorate broader community problems like land,
> shelter, sanitation, water, etc.

Looking at the same community, the community organizer viewed the situation differently:

> The biggest factor working against our efforts to orga-
> nize the people is their daily problem with economics.
> They have to survive before they can work for something
> that they perceive will not contribute directly to their
> immediate needs. Example, if you ask them to attend a
> meeting to discuss the health or land issue here, they
> cannot if attending the meeting will be at a time they
> have to wash clothes for an employer or scavenge. How-
> ever, they are aware that their personal troubles or
> problems with, for example, land, water, health, can only
> be solved through efforts of the community. Solutions for
> these lie beyond separate and individual resources. They
> have hown it once when they confronted the water authori-
> ties. They did not have to be mobilized. It did not
> need everyone to be there. There were just a few who
> collectively defied to save the pipe for the community.
> Given a chance, the people's networks can serve the public
> good.

These are differing perspectives articulated by two community

leaders who exert power or influence in the community through

contrasting processes and styles. The "barangay" captain,

though duly elected by the residents, performs his role within

the dictates of his political position and within the goals of

the established status quo or social order. What the captain

articulated is a reflection of the common politician's thin-

king that attributes problems of the people they serve to the

people's inabilities and limitations brought about by their

personal backgrounds and preferences, in this case the captain

cited regional background, religious and organizational affi-

liation. The people's inabilities are then treated as a safe-

ty valve for the inabilities of structures or institutions, in

this case, the "barangay". Like any political position, even

in the smallest local level like the "barangay", he weilds his

authority through a bureaucracy that reacts on people's needs,

rather than being active agents.

On the other hand, the community organizer, though not a resident in the community, exerts influence through an empowering process by the community. Like other organizers, her specific tasks in the community are determined by the expressed needs of residents whose lives are shaped and constrained by the objective conditions of a poor community. Equipped only with her expertise and resources that her organization can provide the community and working from the residents' differrent resource circumstances, her main resource and basis for action is the voluntary will and cooperation of the residents to engage in a process of achieving both their individual and collective good.

Contradicting also the captain's perspective was the group consensus arrived at during the validation session with those who participated in my study. The consensus was there were more significant things that commonly bind residents in Apelo than there are differences that polarize them. Though this was the residents' view of themselves, the consensus regarding unity in the community was not as positive in spite of the presence of social-support networks. Careful in assuming anything, I sought an explanation for this seeming contradiction and I found out that though social-support networks pervade in help-seeking situations, such networks have not been sufficiently utilized, organized or sustained to solve some broad problems by means of real concerted action. As a result, residents do not see Apelo to be improving as a commu-

nity. Though it was a coalition of informal networks that operated at the bridge that confronted the water authorities (in Chapter VII) and that it is these same social-support networks that residents avail of to make their everyday lives viable, they asserted, however, that "except for the relatively improved peace and order, conditions in Apelo have not changed...with the influx of people, problems have exacerbated and our living conditions have become more wretched." Because of the acute problems confronting Apelo, they realize that the capability to simply react, which they demonstrated at the bridge, is not the real effective solution.

NOTES

1. Though I am using the terms family and household inter-changeably here, I maintain the distinction ascribed to the two, that is, a family is based on kinship (How are people related?) while household is based on propinquity (Who lives with whom?). People can live together without being relatives and relatives will remain relatives even when they live apart (Yanagisako in Wallman 1984). In low-income communities like the urban poor communities in the Philippines, households have been used as the basic unit in most surveys and studies because of the transient nature these communities function for migrants or individuals seeking shelter in the city. Thus, Apelo Cruz, for example, thrives with shanties comprised of an average of 3 households.

2. Foster is a program managed by World Vision, an inter-national humanitarian organization of religious nature, that assists in the educational needs of children in depressed communities. ERDA or the Educational Research Development Assistance is a local organization that also mainly provides educational help to poor families.

CHAPTER VI

The Many Faces of Informal Helping:
The Case of Barangay Bagbag

Though kinship is important in the Filipino structure of
social relations, it is only one of a number of important
relationships (Lynch 1957, 1959, 1973; Davis and Hollnsteiner
1969; and Mercado 1976). In fact, kinship alone is not a
basis for a relative's inclusion in an individual's social
network specifically when requesting assistance. Help is
usually sought and given between relatives who perceive one
another positively. Besides this affective element as a
factor, residents' networks indicate that proximity becomes a
factor, too, in their networks. Neighbors or friends residing
in the community are prominent in many residents' networks
because neighbors and friends in the community are able to
respond to everyday exigencies. A neighbor or friend is "like
a close kin", that is a person who can be trusted (equivalent
to Lomnitz's "confianza"), is willing to help, empathizes and
relates well or smoothly. However, good neighbors or friends
in the community are not just regarded as mere extensions for
close relatives since they provide alternatives to close kin-
ship. This chapter will elaborate how women mainly again ma-
ximize the affective and instrumental functions of neighbors/

friends in the exchange of goods and services that characterize and make for the importance of networks in the community life of Bagbag.

"Mixed" Alliances

Kiko, Lina, and Diana are sisters and brother with their own households. Kiko and Lilia's (Kiko's wife) household was my base in the community. The second household is headed by Lina, Kiko's younger sister, and also includes their youngest brother Paul. Diana, Kiko's youngest sister, is newest in the community and at present is a single household head whose husband is an overseas contract worker. At the time of my study, their parents came down from the province. Their mother was staying with Lina and their father was with Diana. Kiko had come to Bagbag in 1977. Lina and Diana settled there 1988 following Bobot to the area. Their houses are not built next to each other but they are a few steps away from each other.

Without a regular job, Kiko does much work in and outside the community as BIKTIMA's liaison. Lilia, washes clothes for a better-off resident who usually hires her services. Their kids, Bernadette and Bernard, are looked after by Kiko's parents or by Lina. When both Kiko and Lilia are gone for a great part of the day, Lina feeds them lunch and sees to it that they do their school assignments. Kiko uses his carpentry skills to help Lina's household, assisted by Paul. Kiko also takes care of Diana's little boy when Diana needs help and spends time with him as a father would.

When it was Paul's birthday, Kiko was as busy as Lina, preparing the drinks and delicacies that the men enjoy on these occasions. The feast was shared with their neighbors. Lina filled plates of food which a neighbor's daughter brought to nearby houses. When the child returned with empty plates, Lina filled them again for the next set of neighbors to be given. The men gathered inside the house drinking into the night.

Though Kiko, Lina, and Diana have a close kin network, they are also very enmeshed with neighbors. In Bagbag, birthdays are like fiestas - the atmosphere is festive and neighbors celebrate. When their neighbor's, Aling Dolores, daughter birtday arrived, Kiko helped her prepare the feast. In times of trouble, neighbors concern themselves with the welfare of the troubled. One late Sunday night, a gang who claimed to be members of the feared urban terrorist group (the ABB), forcibly demanded Aling Pia to give them P3000.00. Aling Pia believed, however, that they were ordinary criminals from Bagbag. Hearing the commotion, their next-door neighbor fired a gunshot into the air. Lina and Kiko sought the councilman's (Tito Roman) assistance. The men left before help arrived but threatened to return. The incident disrupted Aling Pia's household for a week. Fearing that they were really aiming at her son-in-law, Aling Pia advised him to leave the area. Lina volunteered to stay and sleep with Aling Pia at night after she closed up her store during the time that Aling Pia was

alone.

In Bagbag, the help from neighbors and friends in the
community is as considerable as help from relatives. As one
mother said:

> Yes, I run to my relatives (none in the community). But I
> go to them for help that I think my neighbors and friends
> here cannot anymore provide. However, that is rare or
> occasional. People here help in many ways and when it
> comes to money, they will as long as they can afford, even
> just a small amount. Money-wise, you have to be realistic
> about who can help you here, unless you go to the usurer.
> With God's mercy, we are surviving with sufficient help
> from my neighbors. I thought life would be so difficult
> without a relative around because I was used to have them
> around where we came from. I cannot imagine how our lives
> here would be if we, as neighbors, do not help.

Out of my 30 interviewees, 40% stated that they had relatives
when they first moved to the area and it was their relatives
who told them about the cheap rent in the community which was
the primary reason cited by 50% of my respondents. Aling Ma-
ring's parents, sisters and brothers were in Bagbag when she
and her husband moved to Bagbag in 1978:

> We moved in first with my parents because my husband had no
> job that time. We married while we were studying. We came
> from his province that time although I have spent most of
> my years in Quezon City. After some time, we separated
> from my parents. We own this house.

Moving in first with relatives does not always come free.
When Aling Nely and her family transferred to Bagbag in 1973,
her mother and brother were there already.

> We moved in my mother's house first. We occupied the lower
> level of the house and paid P70.00 till 1974. We built a
> house and we were required to pay P350.00 for the rights,
> the owner claimed. Besides that, we were still paying
> P30.00 every month which increased to P50.00 after some
> years. We finally were told to stop paying when census was
> taken because we were told the rights we paid for was fake.

To maintain themselves as independent households, those who sought shelter from their relatives first understood that they were going to pay the amount the latter may want. Aling Fe said:

> We just moved here this year. Rent is not anymore cheap. My landlady is my sister. We pay P200.00 a month for our rent.

Aling Evelyn narrated that she was first renting from her cousin for P25.00, that is all he wanted that time, 1980, but after some time, he was pushing us out.

> We settled in Bagbag in 1980 after I discovered by chance that I had a cousin here (the one who owned this house). I just accompanied a friend who visited Bagbag one day and I bumped into him, my cousin. What gave me the idea to settle here was the abundance of people. I thought it would be easy to do some business in a place heavily populated. My cousin suggested we can rent his place, imagine only P25.00 a month! So, we transferred because it was too good an offer. We were paying P300.00 in the former area. So, I established a store here in the market, selling fruits. It was profitable. Well, after some time, my cousin was pushing us out, saying a niece or nephew would be moving in. However, I heard from another source that he is actually selling the house. I went to the province and borrowed money from my mother. My husband loaned from his employer, and I also withdrew money from this group savings program I joined. I bought the house from him for P4000.00. They (cousin's family) trans- ferred.

Thus, like some of those who originally had relatives in Bagbag, Aling Evelyn has no relatives anymore at present in the community. Nonetheless, according to those who have relatives, in or out of Bagbag, relatives are only one of the possible sources or channels of access to economic ends.

Informal Neighboring

> It was after the 1988 fire which gutted a large part of Bagbag that I saw residents here, even those who were not

victims, united to help one another. It started from a
house and spread out so fast. After picking up whatever
was salvageable after a day or two, the men in our fami-
lies, we were 8 doors of families, helped one another in
fencing the space we had and they built the foundation.
We all helped in contributing for wood and whatever
materials. Others, those whose houses were saved gave
whatever they could also. We did not have to go anywhere
else. In less than a week, we had our own shelters back.

It might have taken the February 1988 fire to optimize a
neighbor's role, but it may be the incident that engendered
strong bonds among the many residents who were situated within
the various defined territories that divide the vast terr-
itory of Bagbag. These bonds are sustained by specific ac-
tivities that constitute what is perceived by a resident as
good "neighboring" or "neighborliness".

Borrowing

Though not as depressed as Apelo, money is an everyday
concern in Bagbag because of the low-income jobs of residents
which do not provide sufficiently for all their basic needs.
But like many resourceful communities, Bagbag contains eco-
nomic resources that make it possible to function as a little
economy - one of the characteristics by which neighborhoods
can be perceived and vary but definitely posseses (Hallman,
1984). One activity that pervades poor communities like
Bagbag is borrowing from neighbors to meet one's financial
needs. Most of my respondents knew someone among their
neighbors from whom they could borrow small amounts. To
borrow larger amounts of money, they are compelled to seek
other sources. Aleli told me:

> Here, I run to my neighbors, whoever has. If it is just
> around P20.00, someone can lend. But, if it is a large
> amount like hundreds, then I resort to 5/6 (usury). ...
> Lilia (wife of Kiko) and I help each other a lot. We are
> like sisters. So with my other neighbors, we help one
> another.

Nita affirmed this but when none is available from her

neighbors, she gets it differently:

> When it comes to money, not every neighbor can help, even
> if he or she is your friend. Like Lydia, we are good
> friends and we help each other but financially, Lydia is
> hard-up than me. I know. So I don't ask her anymore but
> I go to my other neighbors or friends here in Bagbag also.
> If it is a small amount, P50.00 for example, a neighbor
> here can help. But if it is around a hundred or more, I
> ask my sister-in-law, who was also the one who gave us
> money to buy this house. The rights was sold for P1000.00.
> We know one another here, well enough to know who can spare
> some amount when we run short.

Similarly, for those who have no relatives in the community

and relatives live too far, the neighborhood serves as a

sufficient source of help. Aling Marina who is new in Bagbag,

just little more than a year, was satisfied with the way

people around have helped her:

> They (neighbors) understand that we, my husband and I have
> no relatives here. When it is my husband who has to find
> a way, he is able to go to his relatives in Cubao (a place
> accessible from Bagbag). I don't have anyone near enough
> to go to. I go to my neighbors and it is not hard because
> they understand. I have never asked for something big.
> One thing, even if I am only new, they show concern.

One of the bases for strong friendships among neighbors in

communities like Bagbag is the "compadrazgo" relationships

that provide intensifies relationships with good neighbors.

Not only do they become good friends; they become "like a kin"

to each other. Whether it is the woman or man who is the

direct godparent, it is the women who actively sustain and

perform the expectations that are forged due to the relation-ship. If a couple had more of their children born when they were already in the community, the more likely that this couple have "compadres/kumpadres" or "comadres/kumadres" among their neighbors. Aling Juling remarked:

> Besides my children and their spouses, who I gave portions of our lot when they got married (because earlier residents had bigger lots), I have my "kumares" here who are like my own relatives. Other than the store owner here from whom I can borrow since I do not fail to pay my debts, it is only my "kumares" who I can comfortably seek some financial help if I have to help my husband find a way. My neighbors are okay but we are all in the same boat, many have much less.

For Aling Angela, there is only one person in the community who she considers her close friend, her Mareng Linda. She further said:

> Here in Bagbag, there are those who have a little more. It is not easy to go to them, who may be my own neighbor, for example, when you run short of rice, For them, if you go to someone else for rice, they will regard you as poor as a rat. They will look down at you. That is why, I only go to Mareng Linda. We help each other out and feel comfortable doing that for each other.

Aling Dolly, a longtime resident (since 1963) and well-known in the community, seems to have a long list of "kumares" among her neighbors who she credits to be able to get a lot of help from, and vice-versa, in various forms, except that now she doesn't depend on them when it comes to financial emergen-cies. Aling Dolly said she learned a lesson:

> One day, I saw my daughter stopped breathing. Her eyes were not moving and she was cold. I carried her, took my new casette radio, and ran to one of my "kumare" (gave name) here. I was borrowing P200.00 so that I can have my child treated in the emrgency because even if I went to a hospital, if I have no money, they will not even touch my

daughter. It just so happened that day I did not even have
5 centavos on me, that is why I brought my casette as col-
lateral. I told her that she can get my new casette and I
will pay her back right away since I sent my other child to
the factory where my husband works to tell him I need money
because it is easier for him to borrow a big amount from
his boss. She told me that she had P18000.00 but which she
cannot get anything from. I suggested, since she was the
treasurer of Buklod Maralita then, if she can get whe money
first from the funds. She refused because she said others
might get angry. I did not finish her explanation and I
ran back to the house. Soon, my other "kumares" came and
one of them was bringing P200.00 that they forced my other
"kumare", the one I ran to, to lend me. I refused it. I
just entrusted my child to the Lord . Soon enough, my son
came and told me I can bring my daughter to the hospital
because the factory will take care of the expenses. Before
I could go, my daughter moved, blinked her eyes, and was
warm again. From then on, I never borrowed from anyone.
I am not taking anything against my "kumare". She taught
me a lesson. If anyone was to be blamed, I blame myself
for not saving for such emergencies. With this store
now, I have managed to keep that vow - not to borrow money
from anyone. I learned a painful lesson, from my "kumare"
at that.

In spite of that incident with one of her "kumares", Aling

Dolly cited that her good friends in the neighborhood are her

other "kumares" who, on her part, she helps even financially

if that is the aid they need. She said:

I lend to others, why not to my other "kumares" ? It is
not fair that I don't help anyone here at all when it comes
to money. As long as I know that they really need it, I
lend them. Simple neighbors have come to me for their
children's tuition for example. With Lilia, for example,
even before she asks, I offer. It is not hard with good
friends. I help before even without the store. With the
store now, there are more people who go to me to borrow.

As in Apelo, the small variety store is one of the vital

economic resources in Bagbag which provide the everyday

material goods for the households. Aling Pia, who owns a

relatively big store which I frequented, is not only known to

everyone. She says she knows everyone or, at least, must try

to know everyone's face particularly in her neighborhood because of her store.

> I have to remember their faces, particularly for those who are new. Some people do not pay anymore. But I just cannot stop residents buying on credit. People here do not earn enough. My policy now is if they fail to pay when they say they will, they can no longer buy on credit. I just have to be tough on them. They can regularly buy on credit if they are quite regular about paying. The store is not mine. It is my daughter's. We want them to buy from us of course so we are open to credit but they must pay. Sometimes, our capital runs short because there is not enough money on our hands. Some have outstanding credit. Our profits are outside.

Thus, Aling Pia keeps a notebook where she lists names of those with credit. People accommodate her feistiness especially when she has reason to be that way. While I spent time with her at her store, Aling Pia would, in her usual loud voice, remind the young girl or boy of a creditor (who the latter sends in their place) about her or his father or mother's overdue debt. The girl or boy timidly buys, not on credit this time, what he or she was sent for to get and Aling Pia then says, "Tell your father (or mother) that this will be the last time you can buy from me". Aling Pia justifies the harsh words because "I have to threaten them because I know they will need to buy from me again". Bagbag abounds with small variety stores; however, Aling Pia's store is what I may call a major store in Bagbag because of its strategic location along the main street of Abby Road. During my stay in the community, I did see the vital function of her store not only to residents but to an active organization like BIKTIMA where Aling Pia is treasurer. When there are meetings or events in

the Staff House, just a few meters away from the store, Aling Pia store often is the convenient source of refreshments which keeps Aling Pia busy with listing down how much is taken. During celebrations, where Aling Pia is also invited, her close and nearby neighbors will first get on credit cases of beer that are quickly consumed. Hence, during weekends, when many celebrations take place or people just unwind, I was informed by Aling Pia and my other storeowner respondents that they achieve their target sales for the day with just the cases of beer sold. Like Aling Pia, other store owners have all had bad experiences with residents buying on credit. They all agree that credit is necessary for residents. They all agree, too, that many abuse. Manang (another term of respect for elders) Anita owns a little store; however, what she gets there is not enough for her household of nine.

> I have a little store below. I just sell a few items like cooking oil, soy sauce, vinegar, candies, bread. So many buy on credit and many do not pay. ...I am still open to credit but only for those within this territory/ neighborhood. It will be shameful if I do not be considerate to them.

Manang Anita's last statement somehow struck me and I wondered if in these kind of communities, people, with an economic resource like a small store or any other kind of small business, perceive, under some pressure, that they are expected and it is more appropriate to be open to credit than not. For many store owners, even if the store is an additional source of income, their total household income is not enough because as they say "we have our own debts to pay". As Aling Eva la-

ments:

> Many here do not understand that we have debts to pay also.
> I am already considerate to them, still you are bad in
> their eyes. If I ask them to pay their already overdue
> debts, I am bad. They abuse. At the same time, I know I
> cannot stop letting people buy on credit. But, I am
> stricter now.

Similarly, the community market just at the entrance to the
area is a convenient venue where residents buy goods and basic
commodities, like rice, meat, fish, fruits, and the like on
credit.   The transaction in the marketplace is highly infor-
mal where regular resident buyers purchase from a "suki", that
is, a vendor in the market from whom they buy regularly. To
the seller, his or her regular buyer is also a "suki" who en-
joys the benefit of getting something for a lower price com-
pared to the price non-regular buyers get, or they can buy on
credit. Aling Angela, when she has enough capital, sells her
sweet bananas at the market and one of her "sukis" is her
"kumare" who sometimes buys on credit from her:

> That is the way I help her. She can buy something on
> credit from what I sell because I can borrow from her
> also when I run short.

This "suki" relationship is also prevalent among hawkers who
walk through the area selling a variety of items -- food stuff
like fried lumpia, sausage, and merienda food like sweet bana-
na or other delicacies and household items like blankets, toi-
let brushes, cookware, and slippers. Market vendors who do
not have stalls in the market often hawk their goods in the
area. The hawkers are from the community; hence, they, too,
just like store owners and the regular market sellers, are

valuable sources for the residents who buy their goods many times on credit. Aling Angela who sells fried sweet banana told me:

> Sweet banana is easy to sell because it is cheap, just a peso. I sell it briskly just by walking through and I don't have problems with people not paying because it is just a peso. People in squatter areas eat a lot because they get hungry so often. My problem is when I do not have the capital; thus, am not able to sell.

Aling Pacing buys sausage on credit and promises that she will pay by the end of the week, usually Saturday, when her husband gets paid. However, there are times that she will not be able to pay in time:

> Sometimes, my husband has to pay some more urgent and bigger debt he has so it takes a lot of his take home. So, I tell her (the hawker) that next Saturday I will surely pay which I see to it I do and so I can buy on credit again. As long as they know you don't avoid paying them, they will let you buy on credit. I have no problem buying on credit from the store or the hawker because I try to pay as soon as I can.

Bagbag as a Service Area

Common in many communities like Bagbag, residents fulfill or obtain their economic needs not always through money. Because of the shortage of sufficient funds at any time, money, usually in cash, is paid back more immediately through a specific service offered by the person helped.

Bagbag, like many crowded urban poor communities, is populated by enterprising people who fulfill their variety of material needs in exchange for labor or other valued services. One of the resources Lilia runs to for their recurring financial emergencies is her aunt who is also in Bagbag:

> I go to my aunt, borrow the amount I need and, in exchange,
> I offer to wash their clothes. That is better for us
> because I know the money I will have to find to pay back
> will be needed for something else. I don't want to falter
> in paying her so to avoid that, I will offer to do their
> laundry. Sometimes, they would hire me to do that. At
> least, just after a few hours, I have paid my debt.

Many women in Bagbag are hired by the better-off households to
do the washing. These households are those with men working
in relatively stable and better paying jobs as compared to
most of the jobs of the men, mostly in carpentry, repairs,
driving. This kind of neighborhood economic activity is
pursued on an informal level, between relatives or non-
relatives, and which is, thus, perceived informal helping
since it often arises out of spontaneous need situations. As
one mother said:

> If I need to, when we're short of money and to help my hus-
> band also, I go to her (one she does the washing for). I
> do not wash for her regularly. If it is a big amount, I
> will wash for more than one day. I get around P80.00 a
> day. It is extra money already.

There are also other kinds of services provided to resi-
dents by other residents in the community due to the inade-
quacy and unequal access to basic services. There is compe-
tition among these people and between or among themselves,
they downgrade one another's resources as fake or illegal;
thus, he or she is just cheating their fellow residents. It
depends who you are talking with. Mang Pete, for example,
says what he does for the electrification needs of the people
is legal because he was designated by Barangay Capt. Loredo to
take charge of this project in his name. Mang Pete explained:

> We know that most residents here cannot afford a legal
> source for their electricity. Therefore, to help people
> have electricity at a cheaper cost, I have worked it out
> with Meralco (Manila Electric Co.) that residents here can
> just pay a total amount of P650.00, P510.00 for deposit to
> Meralco and P140.00 for wiring permit, to have their own
> meter, thus, a legal source of electricity. That amount is
> much lower than the real amount for basic electrical con-
> tract which is P1200.00.

His "competitor", however, claims that Mang Pete is cheating

the residents from whom he already has collected that amount

but, until now have illegal connections. She told me:

> Mang Pete tells the residents that it will take time to
> install their meters but promises them they will have it.
> It has been years and many of those he collected money
> from still are illegally connected. He tells people not
> to go to me because my son-in-law, who is a professional
> electrical engineer, asks for P1300.00. It is just a
> little higher than Meralco's because to speed up the
> process, he has to sort of bribe people in Meralco, like
> the inspector or the chief enginner. Everyone who has
> approached my son-in-law through me already has legal
> electricity. People do not go directly to him since he
> is not always here so residents would come to me. All
> that is needed is the money he requires which takes
> care of everything already, a government fee, wiring
> permit, materials, whatever. He doesn't cheat anyone
> and he does not need to approach people to provide their
> meters. Residents know that if they have the amount on
> hand, it will be done for them. He is a legal contractor
> with Meralco, unlike others here who claim they have
> connections with Meralco. The money people pay them go
> to their pockets.

In a conversation between a woman resident and Along Pia,

the former was seeking the latter's help to follow-up another

enterprising woman in the community about a deal that the

mother made with the woman about setting-up legal electricity

for her. Two years have passed and her household is still

dependent on a jumper. It seemed that Aling Pia and that

woman are longtime friends because they are long-time resi-

dents in Bagbag. So, Aling Pia was being asked to mediate and probe as to the status of that transaction. Aling Pia is reputed for her frankness and aggressiveness in confronting shrewd individuals in the community. Aling Pia in-timated to me:

> Frequently, these people use other people's money. I guess her money is gone. I don't know what I can do but I will talk to that woman who she gave money. It's a waste and it will be hard for her to pay another amount again and that has happened to many. So, they just settle being illegal.

Like electricity, the unequal access to clean water is another basic need that has been capitalized and managed as a way of "helping" those who do not have the facility. Resi-dents who have the facility share it with their neighbors who can obtain water either directly from the faucet or through a hose attached to a faucet. In this set-up, those without the facility, even if they are paying, must maintain good rela-tions with the owner who may choose to shut her faucet off for anyone's use nor allow anyone to use the hose. I asked Aling Evelyn who has her own water facility about problems she encounters with those who get water from her:

> There is really no big problem because residents can buy by container, drum, weekly, monthly. It depends on their need and what they can afford. The only problem I can think of is when they waste water, they let the faucet run open. That irks me. I have quarreled with some of them regarding this.

In some of the inner areas where NAWASA pipes are still being installed and the houses are considerably far from NAWASA run faucets, it is the owners of the deep wells who possess the

water resource. Like for the inner territory of Ibayo, water, rather than electricity is more of the scarce resource. As one resident from there said:

> One big problem here is water because the pipe of NAWASA is not operative yet. They said it is installed already so maybe we will have clean water soon which we badly need. I am sure it will not be be a problem for too long anymore because Aling Vi (president of an organization) follows it up for all of us here. Like our electricity which was legalized only last year (1988), it was Aling Vi who worked it out.

There are other services people of different ages in Bagbag render for an affordable fee for one another. Aling Dolly, the store owner, is often sought for to get an affordable midwife for women who choose to deliver at home. The midwife is Aling Vilma's "kumare" who she can call on anytime:

> One other assistance mothers here ask from me is for my midwife "kumare's" service. Even though if it is late already at night, they will run to me so that I can call on my "kumare". I accompany my "kumare" since the one who she will service often is a friend of mine. When I think that the mother does not really have enough money, I will tell my "kumare" just to charge them what they can afford. And it is okay with her. I have helped a lot of women here in that way because a midwife's service is not cheap anymore.

Other paid services are carpentry or repair jobs in a neighbor's house usually done by men, and home service manicure done by women. Residents in need of these services do not have to look too far since by mere inquiry from her immediate neighbors, they can easily get a man who to repair a roof or toilet and a woman who does manicure on the side. Kiko and Mang Val's (Aling Eva's husband) carpentry skills are utilized within the community from where they get a sizable or extra

income for their households, depending on the job. Residents regard this as a form of help since acquiring such services from outside people will be more expensive. As Bobot stated, "I don't charge them too much. It comes with being neighbors or just knowing each other."

It is not only the older men and women who make money out of their skills or physical labor. Children as well offer services which will give them some money for their next day's expenses for school. One of Aling Evelyn's children volunteers to walk a neighbor's child to his school so that the next day she a couple of pesos to spend for her food, material, and transportation costs in school. Regarding this, Aling Evelyn said:

> Now that I am not selling because I do not have the capital and my husband is not working either, my children know they must help us. Like Lisa, she will spare me from thinking where will I get her school allowance for the day. She volunteered to walk our neighbor's small boy to school because the mother cannot since is the only one left for their other child. That's the way it has to be, my children will have to help themselves.

The other service some young kids volunteer to do is to throw a household's accumulated garbage when the dump truck passes by. This does not occur frequently since garbage is collected by the city dump trucks only once a month but, on the day and time it is in the area, young kids are seen running towards Sauyo Road, the main road, where the truck passes, blowing its horn and in a slow pace to enable residents inside to bring out their garbage along the road. For a peso, children will run and by themselves ditch the plastic bags

into the trucks. If they get to do it for more than one
household, they will have enough for a filling snack.

The tricycle or sidecar is an invaluable transportation
facility for a vast area like Bagbag. For Manang Anita, her
brother's tricycle, is more than a public utility as it is
often depended on to transport residents in emergency cases:

> When there is an accident, or someone is about to give
> birth, or someone is sick or dying, residents not only
> in my neighborhood run to me because they know my bro-
> ther has a tricycle. Through my mediation, my brother
> will rush them to the hospital. No charge. It's a way
> of our helping them. People here know me for the tricycle
> and my help is often solicited for that.

One of the most common unpaid form of "neighborliness" in
the community is looking after a child, one's house, or min-
ding the store for a short or temporary period of time when
one has to run an errand or emergency. It is a favor not
asked of just anyone because as one mother said, "the neighbor
must be trusted enough to watch over my child". A relative
is most preferred but not everyone has a relative who lives
near enough so a trusted neighbor or friend from the community
is sought. According to Aling Glo, a trusted neighbor is
enough to manage the almost insurmountable and oppressive
conditions of being an urban poor:

> We (i.e., herself and neighbors) do almost everything for
> one another – borrowing money, whatever they can afford,
> to sharing food, even if there is never that one has too
> much, to looking after the house or my children if I or
> anyone has to do something outside. We, next-door neigh-
> bors, know we have to help each other. What is important
> is we are like family, genuinely concerned for one another
> and our children.

Food Connection

Money is an understood problem among urban poor families because of the need to have daily sufficient food to feed their relatively large households (an average size of 6). Yet, for depressed communities like Bagbag, there is always food to share. Sharing food has been used as an act to welcome a new resident to the neighborhood, to help a household get by a day's meal, to celebrate an event in the family or community, and to nourish and sustain relationships. For Aling Linda, sharing food is so natural among them (neighbors) that one does not have to ask:

> If my neighbor knows that I need money to buy food and she does not have money at that moment, she will instead give food, enough for my children still at home and myself. That takes care of our lunch. Before evening falls, my husband will come home with some money and I can buy our supper. I do that also. Even if I only have enough but my neighbor has none, I will divide and share. Food is one way we give and take. From cooked food (including rice), to uncooked rice, to even "bagoong" (sauteed shrimp fry used as spice), we give each other.

Unlike the borrowing of commodities like uncooked rice, egg, a cup of milk or sugar, salt, offering cooked food is given freely. However, it is an act that will definitely be reciprocated at one time. The other comodities are usually paid back in the same amount or number that was borrowed. As one mother said:

> We've (her neighbors) become close enough to tell each other that, "Hey, this is borrowed" or "Hey, I am giving this to you, no need to return". That's the nice thing. That is why we do not abuse.

An occasion when there is an extraordinary food sharing among neighbors is on significant household events like

birthdays or baptisms and community celebrations like a fiesta. On these occasions, households prepare one to two viands in large amount to feed their invited guests _and_ to share with neighbors. I witnessed it at Paul's) birthday and at Aling Doloes's grandchild's birthday where more adults were gathered than children. Families save or will borrow money for these occasions since the celebration is usually open-ended. Like in all fiestas, drinking is a major rampant activity for the whole day. Lomnitz (1988) described drinking relationships among Mexico's "cuates" (referring to close _male_ friends) exceedingly important and usually take precedence over marital relationships. From a psychological point of view, drinking together is a token of absolute mutual trust which involves a baring of souls to one another. From the economic point of view, cuatismo (refering then to the Mexican form of male friendship) implies a mechanism of redistribution throgh drink whicj ensures that all "cuates" remain economically equal. And from a social point of view, it reinforces existing social networks and extends the influence of networks in many directions, since a drinking-circle may contain members of several networks.

During fiestas like in Bagbag, though the men are drinking, more than eating, among themselves, it is in these rare occasion that the women, usually the wives, are invited by the men to join in since in their (the men's) everyday drinking, women are not included. The mood is often friendly but, at

times, heated arguments and disagreements arise usually between men who have drunk just too much and who, sometimes, are on the verge of fighting it out physically. The women then start pulling the drunk men away from the group to go home. The next day, all is well since it was just part of the fun. And because it was a collective merriment or feasting, immediate neighbors help the household members prepare for the occasion, e.g., cooking, lending eating wares like spoons, forks, glasses, plates, and during and after the occasion, they partake in washing and cleaning up. Thus, above all, these food and drinking events function to connect and integrate what actually are individual households into a social community.

Moral Support

Because of the array of problems, crises, and stress of managing and maintaining one's household are inexhaustible in an urban poor community like Bagbag, the need for support and personal approval is as primary a need as the recurring emergencies in their everyday lives. However, the need for moral support is sought from neighbors with whom close friendship has been established; thus, a good neighbor does not suffice when in need for moral support. As Aling Ina said:

> Often times, what I need is not something material because we all don't have enough here and we just have to work it out ourselves. But, what really depresses my conditions is when the stress becomes too much for me to handle alone that I need just to talk it out or cry it out. My best neighbor (names her neighbor) is my best friend here also. There are many residents who can be good neighbors but not everyone can be a good friend.

Probing a little more into this distinction that Aling Inday articulated, I asked her what is needed for a good neighbor to be a good friend. She then elaborated:

> You see, a good neighbor is a neighbor who is essentially kind to you because she or he does what is expected of a good neighbor, that is, she lends when you borrow something, money or whatever, she helps in an emergency, watches over your house, etc. Any neighbor can be that because that is expected and if they do it for you, you should do it for them. However, you cannot disclose your feelings or problems to just any neighbor. When I am angry with my children or husband, or I just feel depress about not having something or about a problem in my family, I need a friend who I trust understand me, the weaknesses in my family, and will never talk about it or use these against me. That is more rare to find among neighbors.

That was what Aling Angela meant when she said that she turns only to one person, her "kumare", in the community for anything that she needs, because she knows the latter will not look down on her when she needs something as basic as rice which others view as being "poor as a rat". On the other hand, for Aling Elma and Mang Ding, they run to their relatives, Elma's or Ding's, for their personal needs because "it is embarrassing to ask from neighbors or even our friends". For this couple, they maintain neighbor relations delimited and handle neighbors with care.

However, more than 50% of my respondents choose to run to a neighbor or a friend in the community in their times of need instead of a relative not only because there is no relative immediately available in the area. Even with a relative in the community, there are some who prefer to seek support or aid from a neighbor or friend who is not related.

As one relatively new resident concluded:

> One has got to realize in a poor community like Bagbag that
> we need each other. It depends on how you make of being
> neighbors. For me, being able to relate to my neighbors is
> more essential than keeping ties with relatives. We have
> some relatives here. Relatives believe either we should
> try to be self-sufficient and not ask help from them at
> all, because they have their own troubles, or they tend to
> meddle too much when they have helped. Neighbors are fine.
> I relate to some, not all, and I know that the help they
> give is out of their volition. The best and freest help
> from my closest neighbor is her moral support when things
> are good and bad for me.

Neighborhood Organizations

Very conscpicuous in the social networks of residents are
leaders or officers of their neighborhood organizations who,
because of their positions, are not just mere neighbors to
those within the neighborhood.   They are at the same time
leaders who are expected, more than neighbors, to help
residents obtain and fulfill their needs.   As one officer
remarked:

> As a neighbor, one is expected to extend a hand. As an
> officer, one is expected to give one's whole arm to your
> neighbors. Being a neighbor and an officer of an organi-
> zation in this neighborhood overlaps but what becomes more
> dominant is one's position as an officer. As a neighbor,
> I can reject if I cannot help. As a leader, I cannot be-
> cause I am expected to help them find where they can get
> what they need. Also, as a leader, my neighbor is everyone
> in this territory and not just the ones beside, behind, or
> across my house.

With approximately 20 organizations (though not all are
active), the local leaders that are most visible in Bagbag are
officers or leaders of organizations. Each organization tends
to have a territory drawn membership, such as: Samahan ng
Pinagpala sa Ibayo 2 (an organization in the upper and inner

portion of Bagbag), Samahan ng Maralita sa Madrigal (a compound of squatters whose land is owned by the Madrigal family), Buklod ng Magkakapitbahay sa Dupax (another compound), Samahan ng Pinag-isang Damdamin (another organization of a compound of squatters), and similar groups. The proliferation of such groups illustrate the vastness of Bagbag and the need of its residents for formal organizations that will focus and work for their specific neighborhood interests. The organizations vary in their objectives, from the spiritual aims of the Jesus the Great Shepherd Born Again group and Bro. Fred's Jesus Christ for Gospel International Fellowship Ministry, Inc. to the highly politicized group like SAMAKANA and the newly formed community alliances of ALMA-NOVA and UMALAB, to the quiet but effective Kilusang Mayo Uno (a perceived leftist labor organization) community of families. As Bro. Pete asserted:

> Before, there was only Buklod Maralita which I was one of the founders in 1975. When the 80s came, so many organizations emerged. Now, there are even outside groups initiating organizations here. I am beginning to doubt the interests of some groups because there is too much "politics". The excessive number of organizations here are dividing the residents. People must realize that they have to attend to their spiritual needs, too, because at the end that is what is important for our salvation.

From another perspective, Larry, the community organizer sees the numerous organizations to create some other problem:

> ...What is happpening is because the community has opposing groups (referring particularly to the land issue) and each group inevitably has loyalists, the tendency is instead of organizations confronting one another, the leaders and, moreso, the members of these groups are quarreling because of the different positions of their respective groups (for

example, in the land issue). ...That is why with so many groups here and with different and with so much information bombarding the community, the residents are confused. They ask what is real, what is the truth?

Larry suggests here one critical function that organizations, through their officers or leaders, perform in the social structure of the community. That is, leaders of organizations are sought by residents primarily as sources of information. As one renting resident in Abby Rd. where BIKTIMA has most of its members acknowledged:

> I just signed up in BIKTIMA but I am not able to attend the meetings and activities frequently because of my two small kids who I cannot just leave. I signed up because I was hearing that we will be demolished because of the National Project. Kiko is my neighbor and he is an officer of BIKTIMA. He informed me that BIKTIMA is presently proposing an approach that we do not get demolished and he asked me if I wanted to be a member so that my family can be included in their list in case it gets approved. So, I signed up. Bobot or Lily, his wife, lets me know the developments.

On the other side of Abby Rd. is Richland where Aling Loida, one of two advisers of BIKTIMA, resides and who is at the center of the flow of information or news in that territory. Aling Yolanda, thus, cited Aling Lydia as their most accessible source when it comes to the land issue which she perceives as their most threatening problem:

> I hear different things from different people. Some say we're definitely out and there is nothing we can do. There are others who say not all of us here we'll be affected. Some say we are not at all going to be affected. I am confused so when Loida calls a meeting here to update us, I go because she is our leader here and she is the only one who has been going to offices and agencies negotiating for us. I don't go with them but when they need us to donate whatever amount we can to help out in their transportation expenses, I give whatever amount I can, a peso or two.

For the inner part of Abby Rd. where SAMKANA residents predominate, Aling Flora is the at the hub of information and the leading force for collective actions. Though Abby Rd. is neither BIKTIMA nor SAMAKANA's turf, the information its leaders spread on the one issue of land may conflict because of the organizations' different positions and approaches to the issue. Though residents have a choice, the conscious efforts of leaders to personally reach out to the residents seems to be central in the instrumentality of organizations for residents and in their own positions about the issue. Thus, as one resident puts it, "It's really not what you know but who you know here that you get to know what is happening and what you can obtain from the community." Thus, when the leader is accessible and is perceived to get things done, she or he is totally trusted and the good of the community is entrusted to him or her. Aling Luchi, a resident of 11 years in Ibayo 2, said this of Vi:

> Vi, for the past 10 years, has been working hard as a leader. Her only objective is the good of our place. She is wise and persistent in getting what is good for us. ... She is negotiating for us on the issue of land and we know she is fighting for what will be just for us.

Mentioned in this same regard is Larry, one of the few men mentioned, because of his work and durable presence as community organizer for the past two years. He, like the officers of the neighborhood organizations, is sought and approached for particular forms of help that relatives, neighbors or friends are asked, like medical assistance and advise. By

working with the women and men of BIKTIMA which he organized with them, Larry has taught them, in one of the officers' words, "Things that we do not learn in school, even if we could have completed as many years as we could. He has taught us to analyze our conditions and made us think about what we want and what we can do. He helps us face authorities in government and private, people who will not just meet ordinary people like us. He has prodded us to speak in front of these people. Above all, we are learning the ropes of negotiating." Thus, Larry, like many of the officers and leaders of organizations, are regarded as informal teachers who possess valuable information and skills helpful to the community. Larry affirms the presence of strong and potential leaders in the community who have become sources of information and skills to the residents; however, the scarcity of this resource has been used negatively by some leaders. He elaborated:

> Some leaders have alienated themselves from the ordinary residents. Their gained knowledge has gone to their heads and are acting as all-knowing towards their own people. People here seek information but they do not want to be preached. They have their own minds. These leaders act as though they manage a great deal better than the rest. They forget that most of the residents, in spite of their survival difficulties, cope well enough, in their own terms, and they get by.

Nonetheless, leaders of organizations remain to be effective sources for their neighbors' everyday basic and recurring needs. Because of the impending City of Man Project and Novaliches' reputation for notorious land syndicates, residents regard this insecurity with land tenure as their greatest

individual concern and most important community problem. For
the resident members of BIKTIMA, the ongoing efforts of the
latter on the land issue due to the Project has reduced the
residents', both owners and renters, insecurity and fear for
sudden evictions. Aling Evelyn, who has been in Bagbag since
1980 and who along with Aling Lydia and a few others in Rich-
land initiated BIKTIMA, said:

> The knowledge that there is a community organization here
> like BIKTIMA that is supported by a non-government agency
> (FDA) which is working for our right to own land is a great
> help. The help we get may not be concrete but the fact
> that government knows we are not all by ourselves in
> negotiating for a piece of land here gives us some assu-
> rance that we will not just be demolished.

Thus, BIKTIMA was seen most beneficial by longtime residents
and owners who see some hope in their need for security on
their present space. Renters, however, hope too that as mem-
bers of BIKTIMA, the latter will be able to fight for them as
well. Aling Miriam specifically joined BIKTIMA with that
hope:

> I am relatively new here. I am not as involved as my other
> neighbors with the things going around here. But I joined
> BIKTIMA only because I heard and Kiko told me that they are
> working to help residents get a piece of land. Kiko said
> that we renters can be included since if we can stay where
> we are, all we as renters have to do then is to negotiate
> with the owner of the house. If BIKTIMA can work for us
> and succeed on the government level, then it would be easy
> for us to work it out with our landlord. We are hoping we
> really can be helped.

Those living within the territorial domain of SAMAKANA
perceive the organization as effective on the land issue as
BIKTIMA though they differ in the approach about the housing
development. As Aling Belen puts it, "One good thing arising

from the differences regarding the housing development is even though residents are confused because of what we are told about or against the approaches, at the minimum level, our leaders have shown government that we are not going to simply allow ourselves to be demolished without us presenting an alternative. Government knows that "we are not sleeping". What is immediately important is that we do not get demolished tonight, tomorrow, or the next day. Being a squatter, demolition is something inevitable but if we are allowed more time to work out something we can afford or will lessen the problems that come with relocating, that is good enough." However, because SAMAKANA has its primary objectives focused on the upliftment of the conditions of women, it was more consistently credited by its members on this aspect. As one member puts it:

> I have learned things that make me feel better as a woman, that I have my rights not only as a person but as a woman. I have been enlightened to what my work in the household means and its great value and my other capabilities as a woman in our society. SAMAKANA educates us to see ourselves with greater respect in the work we do at home and in the community.

Being the more active organizations, both SAMAKANA and BIKTIMA have formed their own support networks with outside groups or organizations who assist them in fulfilling some functions for their resident members and the community in general. SAMAKANA, as the local chapter of the national women's organization, GABRIELA, has a sewing cooperative that was funded by the latter and which has employed women as

cutters or sewers. Aling Lucing is a sewer and is paid on a piecemeal basis:

> It is a big help when the sewing cooperative is operative. It adds to our household income. The problem is when the cooperative stops its operation like now because we do not have enough markets to market our products. Our work has to stop because we don't get paid. But, since I have the free time anyway to sew, I just sew so that when there is a market already, there would be enough to sell to make money.

Furthermore, she added that because she has been a good worker for the cooperative, Aling Flora, SAMAKANA's President, does not fail to help her when she goes to her: "She (referring to Aling Flora) has never failed me, even in her own personal capacity." This was concurred by another member, Aling Belen: "I go to Aling Flora when I am short and need to buy rice. In fact, I also owe her husband money." Thus, that was what Aling Flora meant when she said, "I depend on them as their leader; they can depend on me not only as their leader but as someone from here."

On the other side, BIKTIMA is well supported by a non-government agency, the Federation of Development Alternatives (FDA). Thus, it has undertaken a successful medical mission project which was made possible by the assistance and contributions of outside civic organizations which solicit medicines and the help of doctors. Aling Inday looked back to that activity:

> One big problem here in Bagbag is we don't have our own health center. We either run to Sauyo or Talipapa which we have to take a ride to reach them. But they are already the nearest. That is why an activity or project like the medical mission BIKTIMA did is very helpful. I was able to

have free medical consultation and medicines.

In Aling Lydia's, adviser of BIKTIMA, case, FDA paid for her daughter's hospitalization when she was struck with typhoid fever. As she said:

> There was no one I could run to. My husband had no job.
> My daughter had to be hospitalized and it was a long
> hospitalization. Lawrence learned about it and so he
> told FDA. FDA told me not to worry. I would not have
> managed that crisis without FDA's help.

For the other areas in Bagbag I reached, its neighborhood officers or some of its senior residents have been most dependable for as basic a need as electricity, hospital references or seeking proper channels for documents or papers needed in a bureaucracy like the City Hall. "Lola" (meaning grandmother) Pining, as she is referred to in Bagbag, is 78 years old but still has the energy to assist her neighbors in their transactions with local government agencies and for their legal and medical needs. She has been in Bagbag for 20 years and was the second president of "Buklod Maralita", considered the first community organization in Bagbag. When I first met with Lola Pining, I was immersed enough in the community to find my way to find her house. I was told she was one valuable source I should not fail to go to for information. I was confident that I can find her house by just asking. She resides in a squatter compound of 18 families who formed their own neighborhood organization, "Samahang Pinag-isang Damdamin", where she serves as adviser. Through her initiative, their compound has filed a case against the owner of their

land:

> We already have a case against the owner of this land,
> before all these efforts to negotiate because of the
> Project. We filed a case against the owner because we
> learned that he sold this land without notice to us.
> Most of us have been here more than 10 years, myself 20
> years. By law, we already have a right to own. I did all
> the leg work that was necessary for the legal documents
> that is why Larry was surprised that we here had nothing
> anymore to do in what is needed by the others to start
> negotiating. I showed him the papers needed in fact.
> ...I have slowed down now because of my age. I have made
> a lot of friends and a few enemies. You see, just here in
> this compound we are like a family; however, just like any
> family, there will always be a thorn. But, still, people
> go to me if they need to go to City Hall, for legal help,
> or for medical needs. Sometimes, I just tell them where to
> go but they still want me to go with them. It is good I am
> still strong enough to walk.

The expression on her face was sad when she said that "it is

very hard for people in this community to unite...that was

what I was trying to achieve while I was a leader in my

earlier years, during Marcos' rule. I did not deprive the

people for what I can do for them but I can only do so much."

Nevertheless, she gave due credit to the residents' industri-

ousness to earn a living, "They work hard and save and put up

small businesses, all sorts like chairs, baskets, chlorox,

clips." I also noted pride in her influence then and now,

"These candidates go to me when it is election time. I know

them. When I know they are good, I tell them they do not have

to campaign to me because I will campaign for them."

In the more remote part of Bagbag, there is Aling Vi, a

young, energetic leader, still in her prime years. Aling Vi

is a leader in Ibayo 2 which has 414 families. Aling Vi,

president for 2 years of their neighborhood organization,

Samahan ng Pinagpala, has become indispensable in solving any need or problem that arises in the neighborhood. My interviewees from the territory agree, "Aling Vi does everything for us here. She worked for the legalization of our electricity even when she was not president yet of our organization. She opened the daycare. She sees to it that our accumulated garbage is picked up by the dump truck. She coordinates with the youth in cleaning up and we contribute food for their merienda. She deals with fights that happen because of those who drink too much. She is called on for all of our problems here, not the barangay."

Thus, I asked Aling Vi if her efficiency as a leader in her neighborhood was not alienating the "barangay". Candidly, she said, "Well, I invite them for events that we do here and they go. But, I have realized that I can get things done faster without having to go through them, for example, the electrification and opening the daycare. I inform them and so far they have not prevented any of my projects. If I can do things myself, go and talk with people myself, I will do it. Many wonder about how I get things done here because they stereotype what I can do, especially in dealing with the "barangay", as unlike a woman and a woman leader. How is a woman leader supposed to be anyway? I talk with the residents, I think and plan with them, I organize, I think of the most efficient means to get the other resources we need, I speak to those I need to outside the community and if suc-

cessful, the residents carry out the rest. If not, I try to find other ways. What is unusually woman about that? I believe, nothing." Vi, I believe, here answered the question posed by Sacks (1988) regarding what she experienced as gender-linked roles in the Duke Hospital union leadership, i.e., the women as centerwomen being the key players in network formation and consciousness-shaping while the men were the public spokespeople who stressed rallies and face to face confrontation. Are the roles spokes**man** and center**woman** then necessarily gender linked? Can a person be both a spokes-person and a centerperson? During my residence in Bagbag, I witnessed Larry, as community organizer, and Art, as BIKTIMA's President, assume spokesmen functions while they addressed public gatherings. But I saw and heard, too, in many more occasions not only Aling Vi, but Aling Lydia, Dolores, and Flora in these front and center roles. And there were of course the many ordinary women in Bagbag, leaders and non-leaders as well, who were unceasingly engaged in integrating networks for collective endeavors.

What Vi conveyed, too, is a pragmatic stance or relation-ship she has taken with the "barangay" given its inefficiency. In a tone of frustration, Art, BIKTIMA's president, admits:

> I really don't know the role of the "barangay" in our lives. That is why it is very important for us to have a councilman who lives among us here and we can really go to when we need anything. Margate, the one who was killed, was helpful and competent. He helped a lot of people in their electricity needs, when there is trouble here. He had plans to cement our roads. He moved around. That is why we placed Roman there. He is from here. But,

if you ask me about "barangay" projects or activities, none. They could do something if they want to, like this land issue. But, they are too connected with the local government to be on our side so we, the residents have to do something about it.

One of the few things though credited to the "barangay" is their (i.e., the captain's) influence on funeral parlors who charge residents unreasonable costs for their services; thus, causing delay in the burial.[1] One mother said, "That is the only thing I know and heard they have done." In terms of peace and order problems which necessitates their intervention, a number of interviewees separately concurred, "Yes, they come to the situation here. The trouble or crime has been committed and the perpetuators have fled when they finally arrive." As Larry posited, "The "barangay" is a political machinery. There is nothing much a community can expect of it though it is not to say they (the "barangay) cannot do something good for the people. In today's urban poor communities like you see in Bagbag, the "barangay" council is almost dispensable because the poor have started to ally themselves in order to be a more effective force in getting things done for their good."

The efficient leader that she is, Aling Vi believes that "because the issue of land has an impact on the whole community of Bagbag and, thus, is a community interest, collaborating efforts with other organizations may be more helpful and the best means to achieve something concrete." Larry evaluated this move of neighborhood groups and organizations

to coalesce:

> Actually, this is what we (the FDA) aimed to undertake
> here in Bagbag in view of the City of Man Project which
> originally will really dislocate a great part of the
> community. But, you see, one cannot just enter the
> community and suggest to organizations that they ally
> themselves. It is part of a process that they must
> arrive at and realize that there are better strate-
> gies to work for as something as wide an interest as
> land. At this point, ALMA-NOVA is still in the critical
> formative stage because, just like most alliances, it has
> brought together individual groups/organizations with their
> respective leaders and members who never collaborated be-
> fore. Now, they are coalescing for a complex and sen-
> sitive issue like land. The issue of land is a common
> interest and an alliance is not only appropriate. It may
> be the best strategy to get results on their side. But to
> stabilze and maintain it is a process that has to be
> consciously worked out within.

Thus, neighborhood organizations in Bagbag have come to a
point where they realize that coalescing is not only the best
tactic in dealing with their common adversary, which is the
government or private land owner; the fact is, for organiza-
tions, with less resources, it can be advantageous. And this,
Aling Vi acknowledged:

> Our organization is small compare to others here even if we
> were much earlier than them. We're also not as large as
> a neighborhood relative to others. That is why it is
> easier for me to do things for our problems here. However,
> with the land problem, I beleive there are resources, like
> connections in government agencies, especially on the na-
> tional level, that are required for documents and nego-
> tiation. I don't have the necessary ties with them. Thus,
> I thought that the idea of allying our organization with
> ALMA-NOVA will help us more.

Thus, the land discourse in Bagbag is presently dominated
by two alliances, ALAM-NOVA and UMALAB, both which are espou-
sing opposing housing development projects in the light of the
government Project. The former is an alliance of 9 organiza-

tions spearheaded by BIKTIMA and the latter cosolidates some 15 organizations. Art, BIKTIMA's President, sees this phase a great challenge:

> We (BIKTIMA) saw it best to unite our strengths with those who share our position on the land issue. The thing is we're working now with others we have never dealt with in the community. I have now to talk with more people outside of BIKTIMA. More flexibility is needed and, at the same time, some things must be structured to be able to do things. Cooperation becomes a taller order to achieve because we have to act together. BIKTIMA does not represent the alliance. ... That is why we still need Larry. BIKTIMA initiated the alliance with his guidance. There is more work and problems for me but I really think anyway it will benefit us all in our problem with land.

It is, therefore, this aspect of community organizing that Larry is focusing much of his efforts. He said, "I think BIKTIMA can manage most of its tasks and problems within the organization without much help or just a little help from me. The alliance is what I have to closely monitor because while it was easy to sell the idea to the organizations here, the idea can also collapse that easily. At the same time, BIKTIMA, having spearheaded it is somewhat challenged to model for other groups here what it takes for an urban poor organization to achieve its target objectives. BIKTIMA still has a long way to go but it is sufficiently meshed in a network that has a collective power to be accommodated at the bargaining table and negotiate. BIKTIMA, SAMAKANA, and most urban poor groups are coordinated by the umbrella organization, Philippine Concerns for the Urban Poor or PCUP, which represents the urban poor in a trisectoral national committee composed of government, non-government, and urban poor

representatives. What is the outstanding quality in the coalition efforts not only in Bagbag but among numerous urban poor organizations today is they are initiated and led by women from urban poor communities who face up to largely male dominated bureaucratic city and national structures.

The key here is the ability of urban poor organizations to form networks which normally begin with creating alliances. Thus, an alliance is conceived as a political tool. It is essentially a tactical strategy employed by people who are part of organizations. As Larry said, "There may be groups that differ with us (referring to BIKTIMA) ideologically but for now we share a common interest, that is, land, and we have a common adversary, government or the private land owner. So, we must be open and cautious at the same time."

I probed further into the dynamics of organizations in the community because though most of them, through their leaders, are visible, Larry always reminded me that the dynamics in Bagbag is complex and intricate. There are, in his words, "invisible movements". One of the first things that really crossed my mind even prior I entered Bagbag was that I was probably going to have to deal with the "militancy", I thought, of a working class community since Bagbag is sur-rounded by large factories and manufacturing plants like Rubberworld, Manila Paper Mills and the like. This, however, did not recur to my mind while in the community because there was nothing during my fieldwork that struck me along that line

to make me ask anything at all with regards collective efforts of workers in those factories. However, I was not totally unconscious that there might be because my data on a number of my respondents' jobs are jobs in these firms, like machine operators and security guards. True enough, as confirmed by Larry, there is an invisble but active labor movement in the community composed of resident workers who are KMU (an alleged leftist labor organization) union members in these factories. It is a movement that utilizes the resources available as union members for their problems and interests in the community. Larry disclosed:

> "Right now, for example, we know they are negotiating, through their union, with Rubberworld's management for some hectares of land at Kingspoint Subdivision (still in Bagbag) to be given to them as workers. We don't know what the outcome will be but they have their own resources and machinery. I see them, especially the men, in the meetings and assemblies of BIKTIMA and ALMA-NOVA. They say they are supporting the alliance's position. We know, however, they have their own agenda particularly for themselves as factory workers of Rubberworld which has a large number of employees from Novaliches, Bagbag, especially since it is near.

They are the members in the community, perhaps, who are then most concerned with Bagbag's fate as a community because of the community's vital linkage with their place of work and vice-versa. As someone said, "They are not in the forefront of Bagbag's social and political arena; neither are they passive. That is why they are definetely a force that exert an influence in the qualities of Bagbag as a community." I left Bagbag not certain if I would encounter this same community again a year from now because of the Project and depen-

ding on the eventual decision of the residents about how to preserve its community. However, in Bagbag there is a lot more than that meets the eye and I am certain that with Bagbag's manifold faces, it would not be an easy task to obliterate the community.

NOTE

1. Since funeral parlors are located within a "barangay",
   the "barangay" captain has authority over them; thus,
   favors from him are usually accommodated by funeral
   parlor owners in return for business concessions within
   the "barangay".

CHAPTER VII

Politics of Needs and the Right to Services

"The necessities of life form the basis of
the right to subsistence...which may be
characterized as recognizing the claim of
every member of society to the commodities
and services necessary to support existence
in preference to the satisfaction of the
less pressing wants of others."

Menger

Polanyi (1957) claimed that "It is the absence of the
threat of **individual** starvation which makes primitive society,
in a sense, more human than market economy, and at the same
time less economic." Coming from provinces rooted on peasant
economies, a marginal subsistence is not new to the migrant
urban poor dweller since as a peasant, he or she always lived
close to a subsistence margin in the province that is often
subject to periodic food crises due to the vagaries of wea-
ther and the claims of outsiders, like landlords. However,
the evolution of technical arrangements (e.g. seed varieties,
planting techniques) and social arrangements (e.g., patterns
of reciprocity, work-sharing, communal land) contributed to a
peasant household's survival. But in the city, the problem of
insuring a minimum income for the household is more proble-

matic because of the insufficiency of wages to meet the cost of living. A certain level of income is needed to obtain even just the most basic necessities such as water, electricity, and health care. Since a market economy controls city life, the poor urban dweller discovers that the state, through the city government, plays the leading role in the provision and allocation of these necessities. And because of this system, the urban poor realizes not too long that while it (the city) provides vital social insurance, or at least is expected to, in an inadequate environment, it also makes claims on his or her resources and labor. The city's accountability and claims become the key to their legitimacy in the city dweller's life. The urban squatter with no valued resource but one's labor finds one's self at the bottom of the urban pyramid and geographically isolated from the myriad of opportunities of urban life that initially attracted them. The powerful urban political-economic system actively imposes a system that keeps them - their needs, interests, and fate - marginal from the dominant mainstream. What occurs consequently is a "politicizing" of needs.

Fraser (1989) contended that in late capitalist societies, like those in the Third World, the politicized needs are what she termed as "runaway" needs because they are needs that have broken out of the domestic or official economic enclaves. These needs are grouped in the arena called by Arendt (in Fraser 1989) as "the social" arena. As characterized by Fraser,

the social is the site where there is a scrambling among different groups varying greatly in relative power for the formulation and shaping of the "need". Furthermore, the social, according to Fraser, is where "politicized runaway needs get translated into claims for government provision ...and become objects of state intervention or targets and levers for various strategies of crisis management."

This chapter highlights principal needs of squatters that occupied the center stage of ("politicized") needs discourse during my stay in the two communities. Marginalized as squatters, the events revealed that in the political needs discourse, residents choose to meet their needs on their own or through their networks given a social system whose assistance is hardly reliable.

Apelo Cruz's Water Controversy

I entered Apelo during a time the community was preoccupied by an increasing sensitivity to the water problem. For a long time, the only source of water for the residents was a rusty pump half a kilometer away where the water obtained had to be boiled because it was not immediately potable. Other sources of water were two commercial establishments from whom they bought water, at 15 centavos a gallon. On my first day in the area, however, I noticed a long line of people with pails and containers by the bridge. The source of water was a huge pipe under the bridge. I learned, mainly from my contacts and respondents, that there is now a pending case against the

people of Apelo regarding that pipe.

During my stay in Apelo, the pipe was the residents' only clean source of water. I was told that the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System (MWSS) accused the residents of illegal water connection because someone bored a hole into the pipe and connected smaller pipes to the burst seam.[1] When MWSS administrators discovered the bored hole on the pipe, they sent inspectors to demand that the people gathered by the bridge reveal the names of those responsible for the holes. No one spoke; no one knew anything. The inspectors threatend to dismantle and confiscate the pipes. In response, the people gathered around the MWSS van and threatened to push it over the bridge. Overpowered, the inspectors departed but not without first billing the people of Apelo P25,000.00 (equivalent to around $1000.00). Since then, the residents have enjoyed the free water supply openly even while a legal suit was pending. As one resident put it, "If we know a person from NAWASA (former name of MWSS) is around, they cover the hole temporarily. When he is gone, they just remove the cover." Everyone knew who bored the holes and that it was illegal but they believed, however, that its benefits to the community outweighed that. So they posed not knowing anything when the authorities discovered it and no one has ever divulged the "secret". A community leader who inevitably had to represent the people of Apelo in the case hinted to me those responsible but since everyone benefitted and continues to be

from the act, "everyone" is responsible. I then asked, "What about the P25,000?" The source replied, "Simple, we have no money."

Water as a Household Agenda

Apelo Cruz's water situation exemplifies the inability of government to provide urban poor communities basic necessities, as basic a need as water. Because it is the residents who must provide themselves with basic services, threats to their already inadequate services may provoke the community to rise up. The struggle over water in Apelo is part of people's everyday lives, embodying and shaping the values, priorities, fears, creativity, and collective potential of the community. One mother explained:

> That pipe under the bridge has been for a long time and still is our only source of clean water. I reared this child depending on that bridge pipe for water. It is a difficult way but it is better than none or someting farther. If they (NAWASA) shut it off, we, especially our children will die without real clean water. We know it is illegal but nothing has been or is being done to put up a legal water system that all here can avail or afford. We'd like to make it legal so we can sleep soundly at night knowing we have a permanent source for our water. But none. So we resorted to something illegal and it will remain that way even if NAWASA will keep on checking out the pipe since there will always be someone who will persevere and uncover the holes when they're gone.

Daily life revolves around water. Fetching water from the bridge is integral to the daily routine of a household of a savenging couple with two young children, one eight and the other 6 years old. The wife explained:

> A whole day for me is just spent doing things here (referring to the lower portion of their shelter). Doing what has to be done with these sacks of cans and bottles

is enough to occupy my whole day because before I attend
to them, I will have to fetch water. Like we just started
cleaning them up now. We have to empty and wipe them. I
was feeling a bit dizzy, in fact, I just managed to sit
myself in the corner when Trining (her neighbor) called.
Time passes just doing these. Me, [the husband], I start
scavenging around three or four p.m. till twelve midnight.

In Aling Remy's household, as in many others, fetching water
is part of a family effort.

We help one another. My boys are in charge of fetching
water. My daughter cooks the rice, cleans up the house
while I do the laundry. When my husband goes home from
work, he sleeps for a whole day the next day since he
is a taxi driver and he drives twenty fours hours every
other day.

For the many households with small children, mothers cannot
spare time to fetch water. Then it becomes the husband's job
when he comes home or before retiring for the night. Though
fetching water is usually the first in a household's agenda,
many households find nightime as ideal with less people and
less heat to contend with. For an elderly couple, hauling
water is set within their sleeping hours:

As early as two in the morning, we are at the bridge
fetching water already. If we do it when morning breaks,
the water hose that is placed there for use is removed
already. Then we have to get a pail and rope. With the
hose, we just have to fill up our containers. When my
husband and I finish by 4 a.m., we go back to sleep until
the time we wake up again and I have to cook our breakfast.

Hauling water, thus, is a priority and the basis of coope-
ration within households. It is a resource that makes equals
of those who pursue it. As one mother tells, "Our 3 big
problems here are job, water, and electricity. Some persons
here are lucky to have a paying job, not scavenging, and a
handful manage to have a small business (referring to small

variety stores). Some have their own source of electricity, they have a meter, because they can afford to pay. In terms of water, we are all equal. No one has water, no household has its own water facility." What then matters is a household to have the needed able bodies and the necessary materials (i.e., at least pails or containers) to haul water from the bridge. From the household's perspective, providing water services or facilities are of first importance.

Functions and Dysfunctions of Water

The bridge pipe is a locus for many supposed "household" activities. In the morning, there is usually a preponderance of women washing, bathing children and themselves. By mid-day, it would be young boys and teenagers joking and playing around as their pails or buckets are in que. In the after-noon, the adult men in the community, darkened and still ex-hausted from scavenging for the day, aggregate by the bridge. The water they fetched is used for drinking and cooking. The bridge, therefore, is a central gathering point in the commu-nity where the residents chat, tell stories, hear the gossip, learn the news, and observe the newcomers to their community. Although residents identify one another by the area in which they reside (e.g., from the lower part or inner portion), the bridge is everyone's territory and the bridge pipe is a common resource for all members of the neighborhood to share. One relatively new resident in the community states:

> I really do not go out of the house to chat and find
> out what is happening. I try to stay away from possible

trouble. The only time I go out is when I myself or with my son will get water from the bridge. That is where I get to see other people and chat with them since we spend a long time there anyway waiting for our turn and when wash there. We chat about our children and problems like the price of goods. I am not too familiar with everyone and the whole of Apelo yet, besides my next-door neighbor. But I am getting to know and be familiar with some of the people everytime I fetch water.

Because water from the pipe is free (though some households pay someone to fetch it for them), members of the few households who pay water to the city are removing their meters and resorted getting water from the bridge as well. As one resident whose aunt owns a meter explained:

> Many of those who own their meters are removing them because water has become so expensive. The rate they're paying now is so much higher than before but the flow of water is little. So, they just buy water now, a container is P1.50 while a drum is P5.00. My aunt, for her meter-based water pays almost P1000.00 a month.

Another problem that has come up for those who have meters is that these have become an object of robbery in the area. One respondent relates:

> In the past, quite a number of residents had their own water, legitimate, since they had their own meters. But since this is a squatter area with all sorts of people, these meters have also been stolen by thefts. So, they just also decided to rely on the bridge that is really illegal.

Water from the bridge pipe is not totally free. There are basic things to haul and store water. This was explained by one respondent:

> Water is still the big problem here because if you don't have a rope, you cannot get water, what if no one lends you. If you buy, you still have to go far. You pay 50 centavos for a small container, what if you don't have money. People here do not have money all the time.

For other households, containers for water are an item they have to save for because a household should have enough containers to save water for at least more than a day's use. If they do not have enough to fill up, they easily run out and would have to trek to the bridge again to get water.

It is not surprising, therefore, for a resident to evaluate the system of basic services in the community with their water situation as their point of reference. Even if the source is nearer now, especially for the longtime residents, it is still a primary problem because it has not substantially improved their daily lives. Compounding the inadequacy of water facilities is that their current source is illegal. Hence, they cite the need to have legitimate (the same with electricity) and more accessible sources, perhaps, like public faucets. Nonetheless, having something illegitimate is better than nothing at all. Mang Julio, one of the few longtime residents in the community residents explained:

> There are so many things that should be done here in Apelo, like our water, electricity, health. But they (city officials/workers) say we are only squatters. It was since the early years of Marcos that our water was our big problem and it has not changed.

The same opinion was expressed by Mario, an articulate leader among the youth:

> The system has been the same because our source of water has always been difficult, more so now, illegal. Nothing has changed.

Though electricity, which is also illegal, garbage collection, toilet, and sanitation are basic services that have

also been unattended to by their both local and city govern-
ment, it is the unheeded water problem that the residents use
as a critical basis for their overall negative, pessimistic,
and cynical evaluation of the government's ability to help
them. There was an overwhelming consensus among the residents
about government's failure to provide even just the most basic
services. They feel a quiet indignation but active resigna-
tion: "Considering everything we don't have here like water,
electricity, garbage disposal, and inadequate health and
education facilities, government only shows how responsible it
feels about our needs. It cannot blame us for what we have
to do to live as humanly as possible." Dindo, a community
leader who started as a youth leader, succinctly accounted for
the basis of the residents' cynical attitude towards govern-
ment:

> In terms of services that should come from government,
> there is none and so the people do not have a sense of
> the role of government in their lives. They have become
> so indifferent to government to the extent of not wanting
> any help from it. Like I myself would have to endorse
> health projects of Dona Marta (a public health center
> under the city health unit) and the public school (Apelo
> Cruz Elementary School) because we can all benefit from
> the help. I was like them during the Marcos regime, I
> was indifferent to any kind of government help since I
> felt their help is long overdue and I don't feel they
> are helping us. ... moreso here in Apelo, where our
> "barangay" has been so ineffective plus no help from big
> government, what else would you expect to become towards
> the government?

Dindo qualifies though that there have been some attempts to
help Apelo, coming from people that the majority of the re-
sidents have supported in past elections. However, there is

a fundamental problem here, Dindo says:

> The problem with local government is they have a boxed
> idea of helping. Whatever comes from the top, the na-
> tional government, that is the way they will implement it.
> They do not adjust to the needs and conditions in the
> community. Look at what Congresswomen (x) did, we have a
> problem with water so she gave a well that cannot be used
> because the water was salty, it smelled. That was the
> first service given to us but it failed.

Water is so critical a problem that the alleviation of the

other problems in the community, like drainage and toilets,

hinged on it. Just as in any human settlement, water is

necessary for life. In Apelo, in spite some improvement in

health and medicine and the continued absence of other servi-

ces, it is water that they regard most valuable in the impe-

rative for them to try to live as humanly as possible and

persist. Aling Susan remarked:

> It would really be a relief in our daily lives if some-
> thing can be done with the water problem. I and members
> of my family take care of ourselves so as not to get sick.
> However, we need water in much the same way as we need to
> stay healthy. We can do with how the rest are (i.e., how
> other inadequacies are) but what makes things really hard
> is our water problem.

The dysfunction of the water "system", however, has served

a unifying factor in the community. This was manifested in

the residents' encounter with the NAWASA inspectors who were

ready to dismantle the pipe. There was no mobilization needed

nor was there any organized conspiracy. Reinforced by the

fact that they outnumbered the inspectors, they were ready to

defend the "bridge" en masse and succeeded with feigned ig-

norance. Such techniques are among the "everyday forms of

resistance" used by relatively powerless groups: foot drag-

ging, dissimulation, false compliance, desertion, sabotage, anonymous threats, among others as similar techniques (Scott 1985). These techniques, like the feigned ignorance of the residents at the bridge, are techniques of "first resort" for a class of people who are powerless in formal organs of government and invisible in most accounts of class relations. To Scott, who studied peasant forms of resistance in Malaysia, these are the real stuff of class relations and class struggle. Peasant squatters, the poor and the powerless understand that in their circumstances open defiance is impossible or entails mortal danger. Their everyday forms of resistance are relatively safe, often promise vital material gains, and they require little or no formal coordination. Still, as squatters demonstrated at the bridge, there was some level of cooperation with their complicitous silence regarding the "culprits" being sought by the authorities. Scott views such acts not simply as "coping" mechanisms or tactics, but as strategies to gain access to a necessary good, a water facility. Another instance that I saw the residents willing to collaborate but in a more organized fashion was when, through the various groups or organizations and upon the initiative of the Daycare officers, different representatives, including the "barangay", begun to discuss among themselves, what actions they can do to really legitimize their water system, at the same time, make it accessible to everyone in the community. The residents learned, through their community's history of deprived and

unattended conditions, they would have to meet their needs on their own. Moreover, if there is any kind of government help or intervention aimed to improve their conditions now, they the residents, as beneficiaries, would have to be part of how the help will be designed and allocated. As Ning, the community organizer, aptly puts it:

> Water, like the problem of land, when not attended to by government, is an issue left to the people and, hence, requires the community's involvement. That is why the process becomes more protracted because there are more people involved. That is why, too, it is a matter often left to the local government which if you are faced with an inefficient and corrupt one, a helpful solution would be remote.

Water as a Community Agenda

Since it was election time during my first month of fieldwork, water was a central political issue. The issue was easily capitalized on by both the candidates and residents. Ever since the 1986 People Power Revolution that brought Marcos' rule to an end and installed Corazon Aquino as president, politicians now look at their constituents as a powerful bloc that can install them to power. At the same time, they have become a little more insecure of their positions with the threat that these same constituents can "dethrone" them through "People Power". In Apelo, during the campaign of candidates, the residents challenged them to address their water problem and put forward an action towards its solution. Thus, the candidates pledged and committed themselves to remedy the water problem, if elected. When I left the community, four months have passed and the residents were still holding

the new elected officials against their word and with the threat of "People Power" were making them answerable to their pledges. But when I visited the community just a few months after I officially ended my study in the area, I noticed an ongoing digging inside the area. Aling Bet informed me the new development:

> ... As you know, one of our major demands as voters was regarding legalizing our water and having more sources of clean water. Well, it looks like they are digging a pipe by the streetside going here (lower area) which they will connect to a NAWASA pipe so we on this side can have a nearer source of clean water.

No one organization can claim the water issue as their "project" because it is one of the few issues which bear equally enough on everyone so that everyone has an interest in it. It is an issue said to be of "community interest" because the solution must really benefit all, not only one segment or one sector of the community. Unlike electricity, water is deemed by the people to be more affordable; hence, they are more willing to legalize it and install a regular system. Electricity, on the other hand, is expensive if it is legalized, that is why the residents are inactive about it and are contented with what they term as their present "flying connection" system. As one household head, whose household depends on a jumper for its electricity, rationalizes: "Electricity is of course important for me especially with a baby in the house. But, I cannot afford the cost of legal electricity. Many of us here cannot. So, for now, we have to take the risk with a jumper." Added Aling Paz, "Our houses, if you call our

shanties a house, are small. We just rent space and we only have a fluorescent, bulb, and an electric fan. My household uses little electricity. But water is used for almost everything we do in the house. You see, we can manage not to have power for a day which happens sometimes here when there is a short circuit or when power is turned off. But we need water everyday, for drinking and washing our bodies."

Thus, inasmuch as the provision of electricity is a basic necessity residents include in what will constitute a just human subsistence, electricity for a great portion of the population is problematic or an ambivalent part in their subsistence claim. Scott (1976) showed how peasants make moral claims to subsistence, the actual content of the (peasant's) claim has a direct relation to the claimnant's source of subsistence. Unlike water which Apelo residents can get free from the bridge or if it were legalized they would pay a few centavos only for a pail, legal electricity is too expensive. A typical household in Apelo is too poor to pay legal electricity on its own. For Apelo's scavenging residents whose everyday income barely covers their household's daily needs, their claim for the provision of legal electricity seeks a more communal (e.g., grouping a number of households) arrangement or sharing for the cost of electricity.

The residents regard water as essential as land both which they have demonstrated they will fight for and pay its price:

for water, when they stood their ground against the water authority agents and for land, when they refused to stay forever and be abandoned in resettlement areas when there was a demolition in the early '70's and, hence, they returned to Apelo where they now remain resilient against any threat of eviction. During my last week in the community, the newly elected "barangay" council after four months of inaction, which according to Aling Fatima they devoted to planning and prioritizing what they have to do, began to hold community meetings and consultations with leaders of community organizations about installing a legal water system. It would be too premature to conclude that the "barangay", as the city's most accessible agency to the urban dweller, is finally turning a new leaf in relating especially with the urban poor. For Apelo's squatters, they were willing to cooperate in these new opportunities to participate in processes that may meet a critical need like water. However, I believe these overdue efforts will be short-term as long as government maintains (1) a basic system and attitude detrimental to the poor and (2) the absence of a sense of urgency in their tasks and response to the plight of the growing poor.

Bagbag's "Flying Connections"

If the issue of water is the catalyst in Apelo's array of complex problems igniting squatters to resist overtly, in Barangay Bagbag resistance forms around electricity and land. As in Apelo, Bagbag has had electricity only a short time since electric connections have always been and still are illegal. Parallel to the issue of water in Apelo, the issue of electricity in Bagbag was a matter residents were most sensitive about. The increase in illegal tappings has provoked complaints from the handful of legal users. One of the oldest staying residents in the community deplored the prevailing practice which interferes with the provision in her household:

> The biggest problem here is the illegal electrical connections. They (illegal users) tap the main line so it get overloaded so a short circuit often occurs that cuts the main line that is connected to a transformer. The ones who suffer unjustly are us (i.e., those with legal source), but what can we do? It has grown to be an efficient system! So many have conveniently resorted to it for their source of electricity.

Another resident elaborated with frustration:

> The unjust thing about it is we (those with legal electricity) pay so much for very weak power supply because of the overloading. When an explosion occurs, we are not spared. We suffer as much as they, the free-riders, since all of us will have no electricity for days.

The conflict between the legal and illegal consumers of electricity causes tension in the community, but the tension recedes into the background when outside authorities come to deal with the situation. While Aling Pia and I were chatting inside her store, we noticed that the front neighbors were

watching something approaching. Shortly, there were four representatives of the electrical authority, obvious by the Manila Electric Co. or Meralco logo their white shirts, appeared, escorted by two armed men in uniform. They stopped at Aling Pia's store to ask for Councilman Roman, the newly installed councilman, who was to accompany them looking for illegal connections to cut-off. Soon enough, the Councilman arrived and asked Aling Pia to call for Art, BIKTIMA's president, to be with them. The "operation" was carried out quickly. When I asked about the presence of the armed escorts, Aling Pia explained that Meralco men know that Bagbag residents are tough and, perhaps, they were anticipating some resistance. While they were at the store, the Meralco men tried to solicit names of illegal users from the councilman who himself said nothing. While the interrogation went on, residents stood outside their houses, appearing to watch without emotion. The authorities informed the councilman that they would impose a penalty on those responsible for the illegal connections. At best, this situation served as a warning. Those households whose legal lines were tapped were likewise affected. They were told MERALCO would immediately restore their power after some hours or the next day the latest not trusting enough in the residents' ingenuity. But everyone, both legal or illegal consumers, had electricity the next day! Within a few days, all the connections were restored. A community leader who is a legal user expressed

resignation about the problem:

It is a problem difficult to do anything about because it
necessitates a change in people's ways. No one will tell
on anyone for the sake of getting along. Also, the prac-
tice is justified in so-called squatter places like ours
because many do not have enough to afford the monthly cost
of legal electricity. We may just have to live with it.

Such an attitude may be characteristic among the legal
consumers even if a closer look on who were most vocal about
the problem of electricity among my respondents will point to
them, with no exception. However, for more of my respondents,
having an illegal source for one's electricity is an accepta-
ble inevitable condition of surviving in the big city. This
system of "flying" connection, the term they use to describe
it, is not as burdensome as the lack of water; therfore, they
clamor for alleviating the latter. As the incident demonstra-
ted, the tacit conspiracy of silence against attempts to lega-
lize the "system" of electricity has worked effectively.
Thus, the question whether to tap or not to tap may not pose
a dilemma at all in an environment where the decision to tap,
though more risky, offers less costs, individually and col-
lectively.

A RIGHT TO OWN

As in Apelo, the insecurity of land tenure is the most
pressing problem faced by the residents of Barangay Bagbag.
The right to occupy space in the urban landspace is most basic
of the basic needs of an urban dweller, especially for the
urban poor. Whether the landscape is small like Apelo or vast
like Bagbag, land is a premiun commodity that is unobtainable

for the urban poor. In Bagbag where different families are said to be the original owners of portions of the vast territory where squatters now reside, the dynamics of class relations have revolved around the landowners or their allies (or caretakers) in the community and the squatters.

Manang Anita, a resident in Bagbag since 1951, narrated:

We went here (in Bagbag) 1951 looking for my 3 brothers who were no longer able to go home (to the province) after the Japanese occupation. ...The real owner of this land are the nuns of St. Mary Academy in Bambang. All of this was ricefields. 1960, they sold it because they (the nuns) were going to leave. The one who bought it was (names the person), a textile owner. However, he found out that it was going to be made a road as designed by the government. He asked the government to pay which the latter did and hired someone to manage the land. Only after a year, the land was merely entrusted to (names the person), the person who took care of my brothers the first time they were here, since the government paid (names the person) P1.80 only per sq. meter in 1961. He then started renting out the land.

Moreover, it is not the whole story. An elderly community leader related further:

Besides having the land rented to people who wanted to build houses, he sold "land rights" ranging from P280.00 to P300.00. If one buys the "rights" then, he or she would not have to pay rent for the land anymore. That is why many people who could well afford to buy "rights" were coming in and either had houses built for people to rent or had land rented to those who prefer to build their own houses. This enabled them to increase land rentals until it was discovered that the "rights" and land rental requirements were illegal. Law suits ensued because of this and there was therefore confusion about who really owns the land. Some say it is really government while others contend it is private.

Other portions of Bagbag have similar histories. As a result, there are controversies over who actually owns many parts of Bagbag. Many residents believe that the government is the

owner of a greater portion.

A more significant controversy at the time I was there was how to respond to the national government's "City of Man" Project that was to going to be reimplemented. This issue was the foremost concern of residents during my residence in Bagbag.   Since officers represented the people in meetings with government or private agencies involved in the Project, it was ordinary to hear an officer of ALMA-NOVA update his or her neighbor about the developments of their talks.   I was with one of my interviewees when Art, BIKTIMA's president, told us about an aborted meeting with the Director of the National Housing Authority the previous day:

> We were not able to meet with him (the Director) because we were told he was called for an emergency meeting. An architect from his staff met us instead. We just gave him a copy of our position paper and we requested if we can schedule another appointment with the Director. We did this with his secretary.

However, when community leaders were able to meet with government officials concerned, the next day was a busy day for them in the community.   Like after the fruitful meeting I attended with ALMA-NOVA officers at the Urban Poor Affairs Office, the officers the next day were busy reporting the outcome to their constituents or members and planned their next moves.   Aling Lydia, a well known vocal leader from BIKTIMA, shared what they found out from their meeting with the UPAO the previous day with those gathered in a house of one member:

He (referring to the UPAO official) said that an area pro-

claimed as APD (like Bagbag) is not guaranteed to be un-
touched by any development project although it has less
chances of being affected than a non-APD area. In the 3
years he has had at that office, he said he only knows one
case that an APD won a case against a private owner, which
means that there are more APD cases that have lost their
cases. He advised us that for us to start any kind of
negotiation, we have to find out who the lot owner is
(private or gov't), the lot number, the TCT, get the tax
map, etc. These documents must be with us to enable us
to negotiate for the land. If we have all these documents,
we can go ahead and negotiate. He said that his office
(UPAO) may be able to help us obtain some of these
documents.

At the meeting with the UPAO official, Aling Lydia, with

her usual assertiveness, left the impression that they were a

group to reckon with.   At one moment when the official was

selling the idea of socialized housing, Aling Lydia raised her

hand and confidently informed the official:

Sir, we went to Manresa (former squatter community trans-
formed to a socialized housing project). We have seen it.
I myself talked with the residents. I just wonder now how
the housing project benefitted the former squatters which
you say. How could it have benefitted the squatters when
when there are very few of them now there because they
could not afford it. Sir, the squatters did not benefit.
Outsiders did.

At best, I thought the squatter representatives were able to

convey their views and their commitment to achieve their

position. Thus, in their disseminations at the community

level, they expressed with some pride what they were able to

do and can still do if they act and work together in getting

the requirements they need before they can negotiate with the

proper landowners (government or private).

At the same time, the UMALAB group, led by SAMAKANA, was

walking through the area with a megaphone, inviting residents

to a public assembly on the proposed socialized housing pro-
ject.   Aling Flora, SAMAKANA's chair, with other members,
hands out leaflets to those outside their houses.   It was on
these instances that I was able to observe how the territory-
based nature of community organizations was, I think, a factor
in the way residents from other portions react to organiza-
tions based in other areas.   When UMALAB, led by SAMAKANA, an
organization with a membership largely drawn from the inner
part of Bagbag, promoted its activities in areas along the
main road predominated by BIKTIMA members, there was little
enthusiasm on the part of these residents who are more fami-
liar with BIKTIMA officers from the territory.   Likewise,
BIKTIMA officers assert that they get lukewarm reception in
SAMAKANA dominated areas inside.   As one relatively new renter
told me:

> I am not very much involved in what is going on here. We
> (her family) have been here only for the last two years.
> I am not active with any organization although I signed up
> with BIKTIMA because I was approached by Kiko (BIKTIMA's
> liaison). I did not know him. I do not attend their meet-
> ings because of my two kids who are still very small. But,
> I get to know what is going to happen to us, in view of the
> Project, through Kiko or Lilia, his wife. They don't fail
> to let me know because they said even if we are renting,
> we can own our land especially since we will no longer be
> affected by the Project. So, why not? I support BIKTIMA's
> position because according to what Kiko tells me, and that
> is what I only know, it sounds the approach will do us
> good.

These two alliances do not only differ in their housing
program proposals.   They also differ in their negotiation
strategies.   UMALAB has been transacting on the local level,
talking with officials mainly from the Dept. of Local Govern-

ment, while ALMA-NOVA has focused its efforts with agencies and departments on the national level such as the National Housing Authority, the Dept. of Public Works and Highways. Thus, public authorities from these agencies are presented to the community during public fora or assemblies conducted by the two alliances. An air of anticipation can be felt when UMALAB announces that the Mayor will be on hand since squatters believe that the Mayor should be more accountable to them. However, in my period of stay and to my knowledge, the Mayor did not make any make any public appearnce at these meetings. As a result, the urban poor bring themselves and their cause to City Hall to demand an audience with the Mayor. In a city-wide July 10, 1989 rally of all communities that would be affected by the Project, the Mayor was asked to personally listen to the problems posed by the Project. In that rally, the Mayor confirmed the Project would get underway by 1990. There is no clear indication about which housing project will eventually be undertaken though the Mayor is the primary proponent of the socialized housing scheme. For Bagbag, what looks apparent is that an amicable community resolution to the issue is remote. Nonetheless, it is a process perhaps needed to consolidate a highly politicized community. As Larry described:

> The whole of Novaliches is ruled by land syndicates.
> One of the problems is that some of the leaders are
> controlled or themselves connected with syndicates.
> Furthermore, there are too many forces trying to weild
> power in this community that have divided the people
> ideologically and slowed down collective efforts aimed

for the interest of everyone. This community is ruled
by powers of its original residents who are all rela-
tives like (mentions names of the landed handful in the
community). ... One good thing about my job (community
organizing) is teaching the people some needed skills
for empowering themselves. I can say that one success
I am seeing among the BIKTIMA leaders particularly is I
was able to transfer to them the skill to negotiate.
They need more sharpening but, you saw how they are able
to project themselves. That is one thing about the or-
ganized urban poor today - their leaders have learned to
network and how to negotiate.

The Political Will of the Majority

Bagbag was in the midst of a crisis when I entered the com-

munity. The only councilman who lived among them, Margate,

was shot allegedly, according to the police, by an urban

communist terrorist group (known as the Alex Bongcayo Brigade

or ABB). However, there were other theories about his death -

some knowing residents say it was the work of his rivals,

others say it was the doing of a syndicate. When I left the

area four months later, the crime had not been solved.

Margate's death precipitated a struggle for succession.

According to the Commission on Elections' ruling, in a si-

tuation of death or disability on the part of an incumbent,

the person who received the next highest number of votes

succeeds. Many residents objected because they were not in

favor of the person who was to succeed because he was a

former councilman who did not do anything for the "barangay"

during his term. The man belongs to one of the original and

landed families and who lives outside of the community. The

man they were endorsing is also from an original and landed

family but who was living in the community. That their

councilman should reside among them was important. Residents told me that they feel sad about their former councilman's death because "he lived among us and he had big plans for us here. We easily ran to him when our electricity were cut-off, he managed to work out things for us, he was planning to cement our road and pavements because it gets very muddy here. He was a good man." His house is just diagonally across Aling Pia's store where I often passed the time. Between the two landed "candidates" to succeed Margate, a majority of the residents favored Roman who, though obtained less votes than the other candidate in the last election, was now preferred by many more of the residents. I wondered about this and what I was consistently told by residents (and leaders of organizations) I asked was: "Margate lived among us here. That was a factor that did us good. Roman resides here, too. Margate should be succeeded by someone who is as accessible to us." I was told that the other candidate lives farther (though still within Bagbag) from the heavily populated areas of Bagbag (the areas I covered and where Roman resides).

Art, BIKTIMA's president, initiated the move to support Roman by soliciting the endorsements of residents which he, with the help of his co-officers, successfully accomplished. Hearing that more members of the "barangay" council (except for the Captain who was said to favor Roman) favored the other candidate who had a technical advantage, Art and group took the opportunity to seek the Mayor's endorsement when they were

able to meet him after that city-wide rally in front of City
Hall. Though the Mayor chose not to intervene in a local
matter he believed the residents can resolve, he advised the
group to solicit a letter from the widow who, they were in-
formed, can also legally succeed her husband as councilwoman.
She declined however. But upon the request of Roman's suppor-
ters and without hesitation, she wrote a letter endorsing
Roman.

Caught by surprise one Sunday afternoon in July, the "ba-
rangay" council headquarters was confronted by a mammoth
assembly of residents rallying for Roman. Clandestinely
initiated and coordinated by BIKTIMA, leaders and members of
Bagbag's various organizations mobilized their groups for a
cause that they commonly supported. Aling Pia proudly
remarked:

> This is the first time in Bagbag that leaders from dif-
> ferent groups pooled their groups for a common purpose.
> We planned the mobilization ourselves and everyone gave
> the needed support. For the first time, there was unity
> among us.

The council members were immediately called to gather for an
emergency dialogue with the demonstrating residents. Though
the air was festive (they had a native band called "Ati-
Atihan" to accompany them through the area), the dialogue was
serious and heated at many occasions in the non-committal
stance of the councilmen about the clamor of the residents.
The Barangay Captain assured the people he will do what he
can. In less than two weeks, Roman was formally installed as

a councilman.

And so the people's political will was upheld for a man who will, in their words, "do us good". Before I left the community, the newly installed councilman summed up his first few months as public official in Bagbag during an interview with him:

> I was put into office because the residents united for me and they were powerful enough, more powerful than those who were in positions of power and did not favor me. In these past months, however, I asked them to be united again especially in view of the National Project that will affect us all as a community, whether we get demolish or not. They expect me to support and protect them but how can I support a divided people? No group has the majority on the land issue. Everyone will pay a toll on the land issue, others will pay more, others less, but we have to be united. The problem with electricity is no longer as serious as before since we are able to convince people that it is for their own good that their source be legal. The other problems, like the absence of a health center and drug problem among the youth are problems that need some resources that I am working for. However, the solution to the land issue is with the people. There is still time to resolve it since I heard that the Project will be delayed because of lack of resources that it requires. Nevertheless, we cannot be torn apart by this issue which has put the community to a real test.

Collectively, the actions taken by Bagbag's residents on the issues of electricity, land, and political representation point to the same kind of resistance that the residents of Apelo put up at the bridge to defend their illegal source of water. The residents' actions manifested some of the everyday forms of resistance that Scott (1985) speaks of - their conspiracy of silence (seen also in the councilman) and their defiance even against the threat of penalty for those who will maintain illegal connections, the clandestinely planned assem-

bly in front of the "barangay" headquarters, and even the alliances (though conflicting) between and among groups on the land issue - actions that reveal a class of people historically dominated by a process of systematic appropriation. Hirschman (1970) explained that in a situation of domination, the subordinate group may, as an option, resort to political masking, a form of resistance. Open declarations of defiance are replaced by euphemisms and metaphors; clear speech by muttering and grumbling; open confrontation by concealed noncompliance or defiance (Scott 1989). For the squatters of Bagbag and Apelo who have only experienced subordination, these everyday forms of resistance are purposeful and consciouus strategies against a government and laws that excludes their participation and denies their claims.

NOTES

1. MWSS was formerly known as NAWASA or National Waterworks Authority. Residents still refer to the agency as NAWASA.

2. By the time I ended my fieldwork at Apelo in August, the present motor-run water system was not yet operative. When I visited the community for the holidays and updated myself about whatever changes have occurred, it was already in operation. The main hole on the pipe was closed; however, according to an informant of mine, the smaller holes on the other side of the pipe were not closed and some residents still go down by the bridge to avail of free water from that side of the pipe.

CHAPTER VIII

In Retrospect and Conclusion

RETROSPECT

I started my fieldwork in Apelo Cruz. I remember the first thought that came to my mind when Precy took me for my first walk through the community: "How will I survive 4 and a half months in this unspeakable stench and squalor?" Holding my breath every so often not only due to the pungent smell from the stagnant river but from feces of children and dogs along narrow passageways, I questioned and confronted my capacity to survive these wretched conditions. But I realized that the object of my personal crisis was also part of my study, though the subject would be these people who were going through their activities vigorously and in good spirit and cheer. I was challenged and, at the same time, I thought, that if I will survive Apelo's conditions, I will be adequately equipped for the conditions in Bagbag since I knew Apelo was a more depressed community. And I did manage Bagbag with less difficulties.

The residents wanted to earn a living, acquire security of residential tenure, and obtain essential services like water,

health, electricity, and sanitation. The few men I could talk with lengthily dealt with the problem of the lack of a good paying job while the many women I spoke with dwelled with a wide range of concerns - sources of additional income, debts, children's school needs, medicines and medical care, household chores, neighbor relationships, death in the neighborhood, community issues/problems and projects like sources for water, the everyday threat of eviction, and drug addiction. It was ordinary for women to be involved in the community because "mobilizing to obtain community facilities and maintain these in the community helped us go about and do our activities in our own households, like cooking and childcare, and this ensured the survival of our households." What they do in a day is almost independent of what the men (the husbands) will be able to turn in after a day's (or a week for others) work since with no or just enough money, it is the women who will have to stretch whatever amount of money they have to fulfill their households' needs for the day. For a mother in Apelo, her options are few but she is certain that one of these will always pull through: "But what we (women) do for our households is not recognized. It is taken for granted. Like in my household, if we just depend on my husband's earnings, we will just be able to eat one meal a day because there is still electricity and school expenses of my daughter. My husband doesn't know the daily emergencies that often occur. So, if it's money I need, I usually go to my "kumare" (godmother of

a daughter) here, or I look around or ask those who may know someone who needs to have laundry done, or my ten year old son will volunteer to scavenge. If it is a food item we need, I go to my "suki" (of a small variety store) and get something on credit. Almost everyday, I have to resort to one of those. My husband, though he knows what he gives is short for our daily needs, will be too tired to listen to how I am able to even have something for dinner. He presumes I did something but rarely will ask. If my own husband doesn't acknowledge my work, no one else will realize that. It's hard to talk to what extent I do to tide us over almost everyday. You might not believe me." I saw what they do and I believed her and every woman who talked so animately and authoritatively (and they could talk endlessly) about how they in squatter communities manage to survive because in these communities they, the women, were the "managers" of their households and communities' viability. What was outstanding was no one among these numerous women complained about the multiplicity of their roles though as the day progressed, the exhaustion was exacting on their energies that were easily regenerated the next day.

The households in the two communities were similar and, at the same time, different. The objective features of Apelo Cruz and Bagbag as geographically bounded squatter communities within two cities in Metro Manila defined each community's common material and structural environment and the scope of

resources they have. At the same time the households in each community differ, both in terms of their different resource circumstances and different styles of managing their resources. Every household uses only whatever resources are available to them and that they know are available to them. A critical and valuable resource for every household is the household network. Besides the stories of the women (and some men), my stay in the two communities helped me to understand concretely how household heads experienced inner city life, and how they managed, well or badly, the work of subsistence in the city.

The foregoing chapters have described what I learned about networks people construct to survive in deprived conditions such as those in Apelo and Bagbag. Though households differ in terms of the size and usefulness of networks to which they have access, it is the networks squatters have that help them withstand the disadvantages of their deprived existence. As housewives, the community women stitched what were individual households into webs of relationships. The networks are created, maintained, and reinforced by women who are most affected by the scarcity of resources in their communities.

CONCLUSION

Most urban poor dwellers come to the city from peasant backgrounds. As a rural cultivator with very low income, little land, large families, highly variable yields, and few outside opportunities, each season, his or her household

always courted hunger and its consequences. Given the social reality of a crisis subsistence level, the peasant cultivator follows what Roumasset (1971 in Scott 1976) called the "safety first" principle. It means simply that the cultivator prefers to minimize the probability of having a disaster rather than maximizing his or her average return. It generally rules out choices which, while they promise a high net return on the average, carry with them any substantial risk of losses that would jepardize subsistemce. It likewise assumes that sub-sistence routines are producing safety results. However, despite the rationale, a poor peasant's life is never spared from crisis that may arise invariably due to climate, land shortage, or rising rent, among others. In these situations, he or she had to make choices and take risks like switching to cash crops, plant a risky miracle rice, take on new debt, or even banditry - ways and means to maintain a minimum subsis-tence. It is this kind of economic life that the peasant brings with him or her to the city where subsistence threshold is much lower because the threat of starvation for one's household is more imminent. It is against this background of the peasants' economics of subsistence, therefore, that I will build on to explain the basis for the present urban poor's economic viability in the city and the implications of this in their social and political life.

Peasant Principles of Urban Squatters

According to Scott (1976), based on his extensive studies

of peasant societies in Southeast Asia, there are two moral principles that govern peasant life: the **norm of reciprocity** and the **right to subsistence**. These principles make up the "little tradition" that they bring and manifest in their lives in the city. It is this socialized moral worldview that they apply in contending with the problems and crises they meet in their present situations as urban dwellers.

The Norm of Reciprocity

The moral principle of reciprocity permeates peasant life and social life in general (Scott 1976). Among peasants, reciprocity serves as a central moral value for interpersonal conduct. It is based on the simple idea that one should help those who help her or him or at least not injure them. More specifically, it means that a gift or service received creates, for the recipient, a reciprocal obligation to return a gift or service of at least comparable value at some future date. For example in Philippine agrarian settings, the pattern of personal alliances has been interpreted largely by reference to reciprocity, or the notion that "every service received, solicited or not, demands a return" with feelings of shame and embarrassment ("hiya"), when one fails to reciprocate, and debt of gratitude or obligation (utang na loob) providing the motivating force (Lynch 1973; Hollnsteiner 1973). In her study of lowland communities in the Philippines, Hollnsteiner (1973) identified three functions of this debt of gratitude reciprocity: (1) It is a means of distri-

buting resources from the upper to the lower class. (2) Debts of gratitude are a form of insurance that one can obtain a favor from others. (3) Furthermore, it gives way or intensifies personal alliances, often utilized for political favors. In agrarian setting, reciprocity is the motivating force in the exchange of food resources among peasants and in the resource-labor exchange between a peasant and landlord. Reciprocity, whether in peasant or non-peasant settings, is a strong moral principle that applies to relationships between unequals (like landlord-tenant or Aling Fatima, as empolyer of scavengers, and Apelo scavengers) as between equals (like between peasants or neighbors/friends). The vertical exchange between unequals commonly take the form of patron-client bonds where, as shown in the case Apelo Cruz, Aling Fatima is expected to provide for her clients' (the scavengers) material needs and protect them whereas the scavengers reciprocate with their labor and loyalty. The relationship is often further reinforced though ritual kinship where the patron becomes godmother or godfather to a client, say in marriage, or to the client's child in baptism or confirmation. Between unequals, a balanced exchanged becomes an issue because balance is not directly quantifiable. Nevertheless, both parties assess the disparities in the exchange and determine then the legitimacy of the relationship. For the client who is dependent on the scarce resource/s of her or his patron, the crucial question is whether the relationship of dependence is primarily

collaborative and legitimate or as primarily exploitative (Scott 1976). As long as she or he does not experience and feel that the exchange does not violate his or her sense of fair value and sufficiently fulfills his or her right to a decent human subsistence, the client is most likely to maintain the relationship. Because every day presents an existential dilemma for poor people, the poor face little choice when he or she resorts to relationships or exchanges, though may not all be balance (like with a more resource-laden patron), guarantee reciprocal and reliable support and insure the subsistence of her or his household. This "safety-first" principle (Roumasset in Scott 1976) defines the economics of subsistence among the poor, including the very poor living in squatter communities.

"Right To Subsistence"

Along with reciprocity, Scott (1976) provided strong evidence in his studies of peasant societies that the right to subsistence is an active moral principle among poor peasants. Based on data I gathered in this study of two squatter communities populated by former subsistence peasants, I believe that reciprocity patterns are inherent and necessary to a household's subsistence in communities marginalized by the organized welfare institutions. As long as the exchange processes do not jeopardize or deprive a household's crucial elements of subsistence, reciprocity remains a rational basis in their social interactions. In effect, the right to subsis-

tence defines the minimal needs that must be met for the members of the community within the context of reciprocity.

The "right to subsistence" assumes that all members of a community have a presumptive right to a living so far as local resources will allow (Scott 1976). What needs to be undersored is that subsistence as a fundamental social right implies not only the claim of the poor on the limited resources available in their community but also their claims on the resources of city institutions and organizations which allocate and distribute resources in goods and services. This subsistence is morally based on the most basic need in the hierarchy of human needs which is physical survival, making therefore the right to subsistence the minimal claim an individual makes on his or her society. The right assumes then a moral principle for the poor who passionately makes claim for it with a moral force.

At this point, I turn to the means, focusing on those employed in Apelo Cruz and Bagbag, by which the poor works out the subsistence ethic and makes the neccesary claims to insure some kind of subsistence security for themselves. Contrary to the hypothesis that the "safety-first" principle in their economics of subsistence forces the poor to rule out choices and strategies that carry substantial risks that would jeopardize their subsistence, their strategies, as evidenced in the accounts, constantly operate in circumstances menacing their basic right to human subsistence and threatening their very

survival. According to Fraser (1989), in late capitalist societies (like the Philippines), the needs of subordinated groups like the poor are defined outside official economic, male-dominated insitutions. Their needs are thrust into the "social" arena where they become issues subject to the politics of need interpretation. In this arena, the government and the powerful groups in society determine the fate of their needs since they possess the valued resources. In view of this, it becomes necessary for the the poor to invent new forms of discourse for interpreting their own needs, forms that challenge, evade, disregard, and/or resist the elements and impositions of agents or structures of domination.

Networks of Everyday Resistance

In that connection, two things then become understandable in what I saw in my two squatter communities: First, it is easier to see why women are at the forefront of their everyday struggle since organizations and institutions in the city and society at large are ruled by men who, in their positions, ignore poor women's self-defined needs and undermine strategies designed to fulfill them. Second, is the network nature that their everyday activities of struggle is built on and carried out. Though men participate in these networks that women create, it is women's experience as members of a historically marginalized group that provided them the necessary knowhow in creating a culture that can effectively work the dominant system to a minimum disadvantage (Hobsbawm 1973).

Though Scott (1989) described everyday forms of resistance among poor peasants, he stressed that these actions are not a peasant's monopoly. In his view, everyday resistance is an aspect of all unequal power relations and is "virtually always a stratagem deployed by a weaker party in thwarting the claims of an institutional or class opponent who dominates the public exercise of power" (p. 23). According to Scott, the most striking characteristic of everyday resistance by subordinate groups, both symbolic and material, is the pervasive use of disguise. This was illustrated in the feigned ignorance and conspiracy of silence when the water authorities and electric authorities were soliciting names of the culprits from Apelo residents for the bored bridge pipe and for the illegal electric connections among the Bagbag residents. The response (or non-response) though unorganized and uncoordinated, achieved a form of coordination and tacit understanding among the actions of mere individuals. Scott (1989) stated that disguise may be of two types, with many intermediate possibilities. First and most common is the concealment or anonymity of the resister as in the acts of the poacher, the pilferer, the deserter, and the tax evader. Similarly, rumor and gossip propagators, nicknames and character assassination are anonymous. By contrast, a great deal of symbolic resistance by subordinate groups use ambiguous messages delivered by identified messengers. Subordinate groups often deliver threats in the form of euphemisms that provide an avenue of retreat.

Some urban poor groups, in their pickets or demonstrations in front of government bureaucracies, like NHA who mobilizes the military when undertaking evictions and demolitions, hurl threats like "Your force shall be met by force", or if against land owners "Your wealth will be your downfall".

Many forms of resistance in everyday dangerous circumstances are intended to be ambiguous, to have a double meaning, to be garbled so that they cannot be treated as a direct, open challenge that may invite an equally direct, open retaliation. This is the kind of "voice" option that Hirschman (1970) believes subordinate groups resort to under domination as opposed to the "exit" or mere "cop-out" option. Subordinate groups know that the occurrence of direct open retaliation will be suicidal for them since their goal is to survive and persist. Open declarations of defiance are replaced by euphemisms and metaphors; clear speech by muttering and grumbling; open confrontation by concealed non-compliance or defiance (Scott 1989).

Because of its disguised nature, resistance takes a variety of forms, even in the forms that are often seen as compliance even when done grudgingly. Many studies on slum and squatters in the Philippines (e.g., Lopez 1975; Jocano 1975; Hollnsteiner 1975) analyze the poor's strategies as coping mechanisms. The studies fail to discern that having to work long hours (beyond eight hours per day) and compelling children to work, as early as the age of 7, are strategies that conceal

the same basic continuity or persistence present in everyday resistance like feigned ignorance and sobotage. From a broader view of class relations, these strategies are part of an existing class struggle whereby the subordinate class defends its fundamental material and physical interests to reproduce themselves and to alleviate their impoverished conditions of existence. While these forms of resistance are based on individual actions, they create patterns of behavior that assume a networklike quality specifically when resorted to against a system that works for the benefit of one sector. For the urban poor, these strategies of resistance are incorporated as a vital component in the repertoire of networks that contribute to their everyday survival.

Women and Networks for Survival

I began my research in Apelo Cruz and Bagbag with the basic question: How do and can my fellow Filipinos manage to survive and even flourish in these squatter communities? The magnitude of rural migration in slums or squatter areas gives rise to stereotypes about the nature of the growing majority of urban poor. The rural migrants are seen to "ruralize" the city by holding on to rural patterns and practices. It is these rural behaviors that the affluent urbanite accounts for the rural migrant's failure to survive in the market mode of exchange in the city.

However, this class-biased viewpoint is refuted in what I discovered about how rural migrants responded to the difficul-

ties and exigencies of survival in the city. Lynch (1973)
suggested that for Filipino people in general, "security is
sought not by independence but by interdependence". Certainly
interdependence prevails in low-income populations. Having
survived their rural subsistence crises by means of interde-
pendence, squatters maximize this practice as a network or
system that can provide some kind of security and welfare for
them in their disadvantaged positions in the urban eco-nomic
system and in the larger social system in general.

Informal Networks

My observations in Apelo Cruz and Bagbag show the leading
role of women in creating and determining the nature of net-
works in these communities. As managers of poor households,
their networks of social relationships function and are
maintained as an effective mechanism of survival. Supporting
Morais's (1981) and Hollnsteiner's (1963, 1973) findings on
social relations in various lowland communities in the Philip-
pines, residents in Apelo and Bagbag construct their own
personal alliance systems or informal networks, composed of
relatives, neighbors, friends, that are greatly utilized as
help resources in times of need. These social relations are
formed as personal bonds which are merged and validated by the
exchanges that occur in their everyday lives. Unlike the pure
economic exchange, sentiments like appreciation and generosity
are a primary factor in creating, activating and building-up
these relationships. A central norm in the bonds and exchange

of resources among the residents is reciprocity.

The form of reciprocity governing the enduring social exhanges is one of debt of gratitude ("utang na loob"). A relationship, when satisfying, takes the form of a private social contract. It progresses as a long-term, delayed exchange with expectations and obligations (Morais 1981). There are no formal rules for the repayment of gratitude though failure to reciprocate in a need situation stigmatizes one having "no sense of gratitude". Since social relations are a basis for reciprocity and reciprocity intensifies social relations, reciprocity pervades many of the relationships, both between relatives and non-relatives. Similar to many studies that look at the position of kin relations in a Filipino individual's alliance system (Lynch 1957; 1959; 1973; Davis and Hollnsteiner 1969; Mercado 1976), kinship remains an important relationship though it is only one of a number of important relationships for many of the residents. For a relative, including those within the nuclear family, to be in an individual's network, the relative must be perceived to be a <u>close</u> relative. The closeness is often rooted in sentiments (like appreciation or trust) sustained by reciprocity.

Although kinship is important, my data also shows that non-kin relations regarded as close friendships are considerably important for the residents. This validate studies in lowland communities which suggest that these close friendships often

supersede kinship (Lynch 1957; 1959; Schlegel 1964). Significant in these friendships is that they involve specific kinlike sentiments and obligations that is governed likewise by reciprocity. One type of friendship is the ritual kinship relationship that was cited by many of the squatter residents valuable in their networks. Ritual kinship is a dyadic bond that may be contracted on three occasions: baptism, confirmation, and marriage. Of these three ceremonies, the ritual kinship created in baptism and marriage are most important. The rites confirm the sponsoring or witnessing individual or individuals as godparents. According to Lynch and Fox's study on social organization in the Philippines (1956) the function of ritual kinship is more often the knowledge that one has a potential social ally than what others assert that ritual kinship creates bonds of kin-like sentiment between individuals. They argued that unless merged with other relationships of high affective content, ritual kinship at best is a utilitarian function. They saw ritual kinship as a mechanism for creating a formal social contact which extends one's connections rather than a bond of high emotional content. Nevertheless, for my respondents who relied on their "compadre"/ "kumpare" (a male) or "comadre"/"kumare" (a female) for favors or assistance, in more cases than not, these ritual kin are just "like kin" or even "more than a relative" because "they have been more willing to help and I feel more comfortable going to them". Though seen from an instrumental viewpoint,

they likwise conveyed a closeness that they believed is the basis for their mutual aid.

A relative, a neighbor, a friend, an employer, or any individual who is perceived with these important traits: helpful, kind, knows how to deal with others, generous and trustworthy (Morais 1981) are all potential ritual kin. Thus, relation with an already close neighbor or friend is even intensified when they are invited to be a ritual kin. For longtime residents in Apelo and Bagbag, they often talked about a ritual kin as a close friend who may be a neighbor (may be next-door or within the same block) or a friend who lives in some other part but still within the community. However, since not all "good" neighbors can be one's ritual kin, a neighbor who they perceive and relate with positively (i.e., helpful, knows how to relate, trustworthy) is a crucial element in their network. Neighbors are critical sources of help for their everyday needs (e.g., when short of rice or milk) or in unforseen emergencies (e.g., death or sickness in the family). Neighbors were generally, though not in all cases, talked about by my respondents in the two communities positively because they do help one another or with some understanding particularly when they cannot help because of their similar inadequate situations. Either way and even for those who have had a bad experience with a neighbor and, hence, distanced themselves from their neighbors, relations with a neighbor, the residents affirmed, is important.

What is apparent in all these personalized relationships is that, governed by the principle of reciprocity, they provide for the residents effective informal networks that primarily constitute the household's resource system. I will turn now to two other types of personalized social relationships that were cited as components' of the residents' social networks. But, unlike the foregoing, they are formal dyadic bonds founded also on reciprocity.

"Formal" Networks

One of the most frequently cited personal ally by the squatter residents is a "suki". The "suki" relationship is a social exchange that takes place in a commercial context, usually initiated and maintained by women being the principal consumers in squatter communities. For residents in both communities, residents pursued "suki" relationships mainly in the market, neighborhood stores, and hawkers. From the perspective of the buyer, the "suki" is one from whom he or she reularly buys or obtains service. Essential to the buyer is the seller's willingness to extend credit because of the regularity and loyalty. For the seller, on the other hand, a "suki" is a regular customer for whom he or she may extend special services, reduce prices, and guarantee good quality. Extending credit is not central though sometimes he or she may have to. Nonetheless, the "suki" relationship is "face to face personalized contact, usually couched in "friendliness" that results to mutual trust" (Morais 1981).

For residents of poor communities like Apelo Cruz and Bagbag, a satisfying "suki" relationship lasts because the seller trusts him or her enough to extend credit and as a good customer, he or she will pay on time. Furthermore, a good "suki" is kind and understanding when he or she gives special considerations in price and quantity. Thus, the "suki" seller of a small neighborhood variety store or in a market place is central in his resource networks because much of the little income they get is spent on food items. A store or market "suki" is a valuable resource for them to cope with their everyday needs.

Like the individual's personal relationships with a relative, neighbor or friend, a "suki" relationship is highly personalized since sentiments of trust, loyalty, and a debt of gratitude reciprocity sustain the continuing exchange. Moreover, an intimate "suki" exchange or interaction is often an exchange of gossip between two people who may share common interests. Hence, a good "suki" in the process becomes a good friend. But like one's personal friendships, the "suki" relationship encounters problems or difficulties due to credit debts. With no exception, all the store owners I talked with frustratingly complained about unpaid debts that threaten the viability of their small enterprises. At the same time, they seemed to rationalize this as an inevitable occupational hazard in a squatter community.

On the whole, "suki" relationships then not only regularize

commercial exchange but they also contribute to an individual's personalized social networks. According to Morais (1981), it is a relationship rooted in a dominant Filipino value placed on making public relationships personal.

Another formal bond in some residents' networks that is sustained through personalized means is the patron-client relationship. In Apelo Cruz, it was most apparently manifested in Aling Fatima's relationship with those she paid for scavenging. Furthermore, in both communities, a patron-client relationship existed usually between women residents whose services were hired (usually to do laundry) by the very few "better-off" residents. I classify this as one of patron-client because it is primarily a resource-labor exchange. Scott, who has done extensive studies on patron-client relationships particularly in peasant societies (landlord-tenant), and Kerkvliet (1977) noted that a wide range of services flow between patrons and clients. Patrons give their clients a means of earning a living, help and protection, and influence; clients offer patrons labor and personal favors ranging from household tasks to political support. Unlike most of the relationships in one's informal networks which are sustained by reciprocity between equals, the patron-client bond is a relationship between unequals but which emphasizes the moral idea of reciprocity of mutual rights and obligations that in turn reinforce the relationship (Scott 1976).

Thus, the patron-client relationship is significant because

it serves to redistribute unevenly distributed resources to those who need them. By the nature of the exchange, the patron gains more than the client since he or she controls property and capital and earns income with little personal labor. The client has little property and works long hours to make ends meet. In spite the unequal balance of exchange and reciprocity, the patron-client bond offers the needed economic security for the squatter client or subordinate.

Though the patron-client system is a dyadic bond, a form of patron-client relationship also exits, to my thinking, in the nature of the relationship between a non-government or government agency/organization working in the community and residents in need who were former or are current officers of the organization the former is assisting. This is manifested when help from one's informal network is not available, the resident/officer is compelled then to avail of the formal network that is available in the community. There is a kind of resource-labor exchange that characterizes the support when given because assistance from the formal organization is granted with consideration of what the resident/officer has done. Consequently, a kind of expectation and obligation that the latter can be depended on when needed by the former is tacitly forged. This is usually carried out through errands or some kind of labor the resident beneficiary will be available and willing to do. In Apelo, Aling Edita, as former president of the Daycare (lower part), was helped by INA-ANAK

which maintains the Daycare through the women. The help that Dindo, as Dona Marta's health coordinator in Apelo, receives from the city health unit is one of resource-labor exchange also. In Bagbag, the hard work of Aling Lydia in BIKTIMA paid-off with the financial help of the Foundation for Development Alternatives when her daughter fell ill and her son died. The Foundation works in the community through its direct assisatnce to BIKTIMA. Though the claim that an organization is not as unequal as an individual who is a patron (e.g., landlord), the exchange with the former has the same characteristics: the status of the patron is granted and the attitude of the client is one approximating deference. Moreover, a substantial degree of debt of gratitude reciprocity sustains the relationship.

In response to my earlier basic question, I found that with women at the front, survival in Apelo Cruz and Bagbag is kept viable through networks woven by women. All the households "manage" somehow and it was the women, as the key household players, who managed to allocate their limited resources and seek other available "help" resources mainly from their networks, however limited. It is the highly personalized networks that women cultivate that provide the affective and normative motivations for the exchange of resources in squatter communities. What is important is knowing what resources are available and having access to them. Though networks are vital, viability is not dependent, for example, on having more

relatives or knowing the right people. On the basis of the data, survival in communities with few material resources means availing the most practical option required by the circumstance. Because circumstances vary, the means to achieve their ends or needs vary. That there is no more than one kind of successful performance to survive was best summarized by Bourdieu (1977):

> "Only a virtuoso with a perfect command of his "art of living" can play on all the resources inherent in the ambiguities and uncertainties of behaviour and situation in order to produce the actions appropriate to each case, to do that of which people will say "There was nothing else to be done" and do it the right way... It is the art of necessary improvisations which defines excellence." (p. 8)

In my experience, for the households in my two communities the "art of survival" is a craft that spelled their lifestyle and life chances especially in Apelo Cruz where deprivation is extreme and subsistence crises grip households everyday. But more than an art, I saw survival as the ethos that sustained these communities.

In summary, as in the peasant societies they came from, there is a whole range of complex activities in squatter communities - from labor exchange in shelter construction to food sharing in celebrations and fiestas to shared grief and money in a death in community to a conspiracy of silence in front of government authorities - that are coordinated by networks of understanding and practice. As evidenced in the activities in Apelo Cruz and Bagbag, networks in squatter communities are more than vehicles of solidarity. More im-

portantly, they operate as mechanisms of survival created, reinforced and sustained by women who, to me, are the leading survivors in squatter communities because they share the greater part of the communities' deprivations and continue to suffer and struggle in a myriad of issues and problems beyond themselves. The problems emanate from their triple role as reproducers, producers, and community managers. Nonetheless, it is the networks women cultivate that constitute most of the resources of squatter households and communities. Influenced by their peasant backgrounds, these networks are embedded in two moral principles: the norm of reciprocity and the right to subsistence. More importantly, these principles are the bases for (1) the squatters' ideas and claims of justice and legitimacy and (2) their goal to survive and persist. What is striking in the squatters' efforts, individually or collectively, is that against the incursions of the state and other systems of domination, they have countered tenaciously by means of an array of everyday forms of resistance. Though W.I Thomas' theorem, "When people define situations real, they are real in their consequences," becomes relevant when squatters speak of their plight and wretched conditions, same theorem is negated, in the case of these squatters, because the full impact of the expected consequences are counteracted by the everyday resistance that squatters do best. Through their everyday resistance, they redefine present conditions and adapt these to their needs to some extent. Not undermining

their potential for the more direct, open, and collective defiance or revolution, these forms of everyday resistance, I believe, serve as the squatters' effective and durable weapons in their everyday radicalism.

LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This study was designed and undertaken within limitations that may affect how generalizable are my findings. I did not investigate the range and "reach" or density and connectedness of networks the way much of quantitative network analyses have done. However, I maintain that this study was able to show at the simplest level what network studies are basically required to begin at and achieve, that is, how a variety of people conceptualize the people they know and how they are given order in their social universe. What may be related to this limitation is the predominance of women's voices in the data. This research was conceived and conducted with no intent to focus on women. More important than the fact that it is women who are most accessible in communities, it was the women in these communities who spoke authoritatively about community problems/issues and their households' viability. Given my concern for networks, it was the women who knew networks best, in their ordinary terms.

While length of stay helps considerably the depth and amount of information in many ethnographic studies, my four to four and a half months fieldwork in each community may not fully account for the social patterns and injunctions of

squatter life. Yet, I feel that in my persistent attempts to participate in the various activities in their everyday lives, I was able to obtain substantial and accurate information at close range. Though a decision to focus the research on one of the two communities and be able to lengthen the fieldwork in one community may achieve more intensiveness, I believe that with two communities I was able at the least to validate what I heard and saw in one community. Thus, the two communities provided me a better grasp of the homogeneity and uniqueness of squatter communities.

Given the limitations, the findings of the study, though not conclusive, do suggest some policy and theoretical considerations. I would like to highlight the most important policy implications:

1. Taking into account the triple role of women in the context of low-income communities like squatters, it is imperative that housing and human settlement policies and programs be formulated not only on the basis of income but also on the basis of <u>gender</u>. This requires recognizing and understanding the needs of women differently or apart from men since since it is the women who are the primary users of the limited space and resources of their households and communities. Since women accept primary responsibility for child-bearing and rearing, they are most affected by housing and settlement projects. If housing and human settlements policies and programs are to be effective, they must meet the

practical gender needs of women. The problems of women in squatter communities are also community problems. Women as much as men have the right and duty to participate in programs that profoundly affect their lives. They should be involved in the planning and decision making as well as the implementation of housing programs and projects.

2. Taking into account and involving women should open more ground for community participation and self-help strategies in housing and human settlements policies and projects that aim to make the poor residents the true beneficiaries. Whether participation is initiated as a means or as an end, ultimately it is a question of who is participating and the accessibility of the project. Projects and programs based on a master plan designed solely by outsiders and that are simply enforced can never meet adequately the needs of poor communities.

3. Furthermore, policies and programs should not only incorporate women and allow for community inputs and participation in the design and implementation of housing and human settlement programs and policies. Above these elements is the primary consideration that low-income communities like squatters are not total homogeneous human settlements. In spite of common problems, each settlement or colony is unique in view of the circumstances and styles by which residents manage their deprived conditions.

4. The poverty conditions in any community are a manifestation of the "capability" or "incapability" of the city to

provide the basic services and infrastructures required for a human subsistence of its dispossessed population. As long as the city continues to marginalize and isolate its poor communities, there will be no stability. In an increasingly unjust system that does not respond to the demands of these poor city dwellers, more generalized and overt forms of resistance might emerge, despite seemingly hopeless odds for the poor. This underscores the need for pressuring city officials to revise their priorities and actions.

At the same time, the findings of this study point to important theoretical considerations and issues:

1. The leading and significant role of women in urban poor communities and the nature of the poor's everyday resistance draws attention to the kind of political culture emerging in urban poor communities.

1.1. With women playing the dominant and active roles in urban poor communities, the political arena, regarded as a "public" sphere where men dominate, is being redefined. There is a need to examine this new discourse, how it is being reshaped to serve and effectively respond to the demands of the growing poor in the city.

1.2. Furthermore, there is a need to take a serious look at the poor people's "everyday resistance". Riots, rebellions, and revolutionary movements have always occupied the center stage of political action. Data from Apelo Cruz and Bagbab indicate that the forms of everyday resistance are

forms of political action because they are geared to defend needs that have been "politicized". How is this everyday resistance, characterized as informal, undeclared, and disguised, shaping the evolving political culture?

1.3. These forms of everyday resistance that this research and other studies found to characterize what seems to be the pattern of actions of weaker groups or classes (like peasants, squatters) against the systematic appropriation of dominant groups or classes indicate a possible emerging theory that Scott (1989) termed as a "theory of political masking by subordinate groups". Two relevant questions arise then: (1) How will this form of political action influence the ways in which political processes and actors create "political space", allowing for legitimate social changes? (2) How will this form of political action contribute to the effectivity of subordinate groups as social forces?

2. In this current phase of democratization after years of authoritarian rule, urban organizations, as I observed in Apelo and Bagbag, are taking a more aggressive and active role in the political processes. Moreover, much of political in-teractions at present is between state agencies and coali-tions or alliances. What will be the impact of squatter coa-litions in the formation of an urban social movement? Unlike the more established movements among the labor and peasant sectors, there is no identifiable urban social movement. What role/s will squatter organizations play in the formation of an

urban social movement?   What identity then will this movement take as a major player in transforming the city?

Definitely, there are more questions that have to be dealt with in the current scenario shaping the urban arena in the Philippines. The democratic space that came with a change of regime facilitated the realignment and strengthening of political forces among which are urban groups that were repressed during the earlier regime. The nature of the political alliances that are formed and of the groups that partake in these alliances shape the stuctures of access to power (Karaos 1988).   That women have assumed and are dominating leadership positions, both as spokespersons and centerpersons, in urban organizations/groups and alliances at present gives a new dimension and significance to the ongoing political processes at all levels.   While this political reordering and positioning is going on under what still is a fluid and volatile democratic transition, the imposed marginalized status of squatters, and other underclass sectors or populations, persists and their future remains uncertain.

An Epilogue

The Philippines in 1989 was at a turbulent stage of its democratic transition. The national leadership was constantly beset with performance problems, policy conflicts, and dissatisfaction within and among its own high-ranking officials that were impeding the hopes for genuine changes the country needed after twenty-one years of worsening underdevelopment under the Marcos' regime. Compounding the unstable period was a major coup d'etat in December 1989 that eradicated whatever positive signs were beginning to take place (e.g., businesses were showing renewed financial vitality and a tourism boom).

When I left Apelo Cruz and Bagbag, both communities were themselves at critical phases, too. With a government in disarray at all levels, the deplorable conditions of urban poor communities remained unattended and the potential threat of unjust and unmonitored urban policies continue to impact on their everyday lives. However, squatter organizations like those in Apelo and Bagbag did not spare time and effort to permit broad political problems to suspend or deter the implementation of their plans and actions. I left the country on the first month of 1990 with the knowledge that the two communities were attempting to get a lot of things done for themselves. Back in the U.S., I wrote Precy in Apelo and Kiko in Bagbag asking how they were. My letter initiated regular communication between Precy and myself who updated me with

ongoing developments in Apelo. Kiko did not respond to my
letter (on the presumption that he did get my letter);
however, Mila, the FDA ccordinator in Bagbag (who I wrote when
I was not hearing from Kiko) wrote me a detailed summary of
what have transpired the whole year of 1990.

In Apelo, the first major change was on the residents' wa-
ter system. Upon consultation with community organizations,
hauling water from the bridge was terminated. In its place,
a legal motor-run water source monitored by the "barangay" was
installed. As of this writing, only one has been installed as
a source of clean water for the residents. Furthermore, be-
cause the supply is motor-run, it stops when there are brown-
outs or electrical interruptions which frequently occur espe-
cially in squatter areas due to short circuits as a result of
illegally overloaded electrical lines. Thus, the shortage of
water is still a problem for the overflowing population in
Apelo. Residents stand in line day and night though the peak
hours are in the morning. The residents pay uniform rates
depending on their water containers (e.g., small or large
pails or drums). However, because of the great demand for
additional sources of clean water, Precy hinted that some
residents still manage to get water from the smaller bored
holes on the bridge pipe that were not shut.

Precy and the rest of the Daycare women continue to run
projects to meet the community's survival needs. Their Day-
care and that of SAMAKANA continue to provide affordable

preschool education for Apelo's children. The small "botika" or medical store and health center are now in full operation. The trained women health workers do duty hours at the center. Another group of women are presently being trained by the same group of doctors involved in outreach health care for depressed communities.

Furthermore, Precy informed me that their Daycare was recipient of three sewing machines solicited by INA-ANAK, the socio-civic of women who have been financially supporting the Daycare, from the British consulate. In view of this, the youth group, whose mothers are mostly members of the Daycare, solicited funding from INA-ANAK and are now spearheading the renovation of the chapel near the Daycare which they intend to serve two purposes: the first floor as a chapel and the second floor as a livelihood center for the Daycare. In this connection, seventeen women volunteers are currently being trained in dressmaking which they eventually hope to be one of the projects for the livelihood center.

On the other hand, things are not progressing positively in the squatters' efforts to negotiate their purchase of land, as the private landowner has refused to sell land portions to the squatters. The squatters are aware that they are facing competition over the area from moneyed private groups and companies with City Hall sponsorhip. Presently, the squatters' umbrella organization on land is reexamining their next appropriate move.

In spite of the supposed change for a greater democratic space, Apelo Cruz continues to be a victim of continuing government clampdown on alleged communist-infested squatter communities. Precy informed me that the military raided the house of one of SAMAKANA's leaders who was their Daycare teacher. The military allegedly found several arms and arrested the husband who took his wife's identity (since the name could be male or female) and who the military thought was the person they were looking for. SAMAKANA, which has several chapters in urban poor areas throughout the country, has been tagged as a front organization of communists and, consequently, has been harrassed for their organizing work in urban poor communities. During my stay, I interacted with the SAMAKANA women of Apelo which provided occasions to verify the government's label. Based on my experience, if the efforts of these women to uplift their impoverished communities earned for them the "communist" label, then the thousands of other ordinary women in Apelo (and Bagbag) deserve that same name.

On the other hand, I learned that the land controversy in Bagbag is at a stalemate. At present, the issue is being examined and researched further and negotiations with private owners are being set. However, the alliance of ALMA-NOVA faced a setback when the national government's Dept. of Public Works and Highways (DPWH) did not endorse the position that the residents can buy their present lots from the original owners. According to the DPWH, the law requires that the land

should be given back first to its legitimate owners and it is the owners who have the right to decide whether or not they will sell to the present occupants. In spite of this turn of events, the Alliance is still pursuing dialogue and negotiation with the DPWH which appears to be the only government bureaucracy open to accommodate the Alliance's concerns.

Adding to the major blocks being faced by the Alliance is the earnest lobbying of the present Quezon City Mayor for DPWH to resume the implementation of the "City of Man" Project according to its original plan. This means disregarding the changes (in terms of reducing the area coverage to be affected) that the DPWH has made in favor of the squatters. In view of this, DPWH decided to suspend temporarily all negotiations and information about the Project.

Furthermore, community efforts to resolve the land issue have been deterred by internal problems and conflicts within the leadership and membership of BIKTIMA. This organization, which has been spearheading the activities of the Alliance, is presently undergoing a process of transition towards autonomy in finances, administration, and program. It is towards this end that BIKTIMA is reorganizing and consolidating its membership, data, and other available resources. Along with their move towards autonomy, they plan to restructure the organization as a "barangay" alliance, composed of smaller organizations in the community. At the same time, ALMA-NOVA plans to reinforce itself as an inter-area alliance

in Novaliches that will coor-dinate efforts of all other areas in Novaliches affected by the Project. More than a tactical alliance to challenge the proponents and true benefactors of the infrastructure Project, the reinforced Alliance intends to challenge any unjust encroachments and actions that have historically and ordinarily victimized the urban poor in Novaliches.

While I read of these developments in Bagbag and Apelo with serious concern, I felt hopeful because I knew the squatters were not giving up on whatever they can do to claim a little more of what is due a human subsistence. I marvel their resoluteness, their determination not to be discouraged, frustrated, or coopted in spite of internal conflicts (which to me are remediable) and external impediments (which to me pose greater obstacles) in their everyday crisis-ridden lives. I admired these communities more when I learned that the departure of Ning (for Apelo Cruz) and Larry (for Bagbag) as community organizers did not immobilize them. Inasmuch as Ning and Larry allowed the communities to develop through their own means, they were very valuable resources and support in the communities. Precy mentioned Apelo now has a new community organizer while FDA in Bagbag hopes to tap a local community organizer.

What is overriding in the updates about the two communities is the continued government strategy to make the poor "pay" in its overall scheme of "development". Apelo Cruz's blight

persists under the government's rhetoric that it shelters "enemies" of the government, i.e., communists. Bagbag residents are locked in a struggle of talks where their opposition, the landowners, have always been winners. I know I should not be disheartened for the people in these communities are not. But I cannot help but wonder how long the squatters' everday forms of resistance can remain viable strategies to stave off not only threats to subsistence but also these patterns that test the limits of their resistance.

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APPENDIX   A

Methodology

I designed my study as an ethnographic research project on
the belief that said method offers best the opportunity for
intensive research and, at the same time, the flexibility
that an outside researcher, like me, requires when stepping
into a totally different domain for the first time, in this
case, that of squatters. I did my fieldwork in a span of
eleven months, out of which I spent 4 1/2 months fulltime in
each community.

Entry

I chose the two communities for the sole reason that my
contacts had connections there. Not by design, however, my
entry in the two areas was facilitated by leaders of particu-
lar organizations in the communities with whom my contacts had
ties. I discovered that this was something inevitable since
organizations prevailed in both communities and, for practical
reasons and given the time constraints of the fieldwork, I
thought it best to abide by what I sensed was a "norm" in
these highly organized communities for outside researchers
like me. Thus, my entry and free movement in the areas was
"licensed" by the organizations of the community leaders
initially introduced to me by my contacts. Moreover, it was
a precautionary step since these organizations somewhat safe-
guarded my presence given the nature of the communities.
After I explained to them the objectives of my research and
the manner by which I hoped to accomplish my work, I was

welcomed with their (the leaders') hope that indeed I will learn something from the community and with their only request that I share the product with them. This I assured them.

In Apelo Cruz, it was the Samahan ng Nagkakaisang Magulang (Daycare lower part) who facilitated my entry. The household of a daycare teacher, Precy, served as my household base and she and her household were the first I met in the community. Baby, thus, became also my first key informant. Her house is just beside the daycare where many activities in the community were held. Her house and the Daycare served as my places of hangout, often times, just "watching" or observing everyone and everything around or that passes me by, or chatting with mothers who grouped themselves by the Daycare carrying their babies or watching their children play along the narrow sidewalk. The Daycare was also a site for some of my inter-views due to the personal choice of some respondents who feel that the interview can be more smoothly undertaken in the daycare, e.g., less noise, less disturbances.

In Bagbag, it was BIKTIMA who facilitated my entry. The household of BIKTIMA's liaison officer, Kiko, was my household base and was my first key informant. There were two other places that served as my base while in the community: the FDA staffhouse and Aling Pia's variety store. The staff-house was a venue of many activities of BIKTIMA and ALMA-NOVA. It was also here where I could locate at times the whereabouts parti-cularly of the officers. Aling Pia's store was my regular

stopover for a drink or a break. It was a strategic place for me to hang around and hear and witness the daily life situations in the area since the store is located along Abby Rd. that is never empty of children, youth, and adult interactions. At times, I attended to Aling Pia's buyers while she was busy with something. Aling Pia, in fact, acted more than a key informant to me; she was my frequent source of information for people's whereabouts also because she sees or gets to talk to them while tending to her store as early as sunrise.

I spent my first two months in each community walking around, being introduced to more and more potential respondents, visiting and chatting with these new acquaintances of mine in their homes, asking and learning about the community and obtaining leads to who and what will be relevant to my study, attending meetings, and just hanging around to be familiar with the people. In my talks with residents, I underscored my being an independent researcher and not being identified exclusively with my contact organization. This was something I had to do because I did not want to exclude the participation of residents who were members of other community organizations or groups. In my 4 1/2 months stay in each community, I did not encounter any difficulty that may be due to this aspect.

It was within these first two months that I felt who were most receptive to me and what I hoped to accomplish. I sensed that there was a perception among the men, including some male

leaders, that I would be better helped by women simply because of my gender. I observed this particularly in some instances when the male household head, usually the husband, happens to be around when I come to talk or do my actual interview with the female household head, usually the wife. In this situation, he would sit, converse or take part in the interview for a while, since I let him know that the interview is with both of them, but then freely gets out of the situation to do other things inside or outside the house. If he is within hearing or speaking distance, he puts in a sentence or two, often times done by the wife herself asking him what he thinks. However, this is not for every case when I chanced upon the male household head in the house when I come in for the interview since most of the male household heads are out working, for many 7 days a week. There were a handful of interviews where the husband talked with me as much, or even sometimes more than the wife. However, this gender differention was less a tendency in informal gatherings, like meetings or celebrations, where I can approach, talk to them, or watch while sitted or standing along each other whatever was happening. In Bagbag where there were more male leaders I interacted with, the male officers, say in BIKTIMA, felt free in inviting me in their little celebrations where there was much drinking, because the women were there, too, drinking it up with them.

In Full Swing

After my first two months, I was in full swing with my interviews, sweating out the heat of summer while in Apelo and rained out by the flood rains that coincided with my stay in Bagbag. Within this period, I was on my own, with my contacts just coming in when needed though I maintained everyday contact with them. In Apelo, I became a regular face to the totooed men who I never missed to pass when I entered the community. Whereas I usually walked pass them with staring eyes in my first two months, what I got during this period were non-verbal acknowledgements, like a nod as a recognition. In the same way, I no longer hesitated to smile at them. I was desensitized to the filth and pugnant smell emanating from the dead and polluted river. I learned how to get through narrow, watery-filled, stone filled passageways with less fear of sliding on ground that I knew was built on top of garbage. In Bagbag, I became an ordinary face to the billiard playing boys in Richland who before, I knew, followed me with their eyes where I was headed. I stood up to the dust caused by the numerous side cars and vehicles going to or from the highway. I was wiser now to look for landmarks, like the landfill to go further inside the community, SAMAKANA's sewing cooperative when going further inside Abby Rd., the "aratilis" (a kind of fruit) tree in Richland, the capiz-making house on the other side of Abby Rd., in order not to get lost. Just like everyone else in these two communities, I had to survive (though in

a different sense).

In Apelo, Precy's household was always aware of my where-abouts in the community. Again, this was deemed advisable for safety reasons. Whenever I can, I attended almost any meeting or assembly that I was informed/invited to, like the Daycare's health training for volunteer mothers, or that were even just open to the public. I got to observe the community's conduct and residents' voting behavior during the March "barangay" election where I was able to come as close as observing the canvassing of votes. There was great enthusiasm, excitement, and the usual confusion of unlisted names that characterizes elections in the country. Conspicuous were individuals doing some quiet campaigning to people entering the precinct. Crowds of people lingered outside the voting rooms, with lunches on hand, until the start of the counting past mid-afternoon. People, with their own papers, pencils, and ball-pens, then started positioning themselves when the counting started as only the poll watchers of candidates were allowed inside the classrooms for the counting. Designated COMELEC soldiers had to mediate to control the unruly crowd. There were 19 candidates out of which the seven with the highest votes end as members of the "barangay" council with the top candidate in the position of head or "barangay" captain. From the seven, two were women who both took part in my study as key informants.

There was the Daycare graduation in April, the youth's

outing, and community celebrations or events like the "peni-tencia"[1] during the Holy Week, their annual fiesta in the month of April, and community bingo conducted by an organization or "barangay. The fiesta was the most festive community event with a variety of activities like amateur singing contest, public dancing, other game competitions participated mostly by children, and rampant drinking.

On the other hand, in Bagbag, I was immersed in activities about the land issue which was their major concern and preoccupation during my stay. I attended meetings or assemblies and joined ALMA-NOVA officers and members in their meeting with the city's Urban Poor Affairs Office. I attended happy gatherings among neighbors like birthdays and a sad occasion like the wake of the son of one of my active key informants. Then there were, in both communities, a lot of story-telling that the women I regularly interacted with were engaged in when together and which I was let into. Common in these women's stories are a sharing of stories about people or incidents in the community, their own troubles and aspirations, and concerns like the unaffordable rising cost of living. In spite the anxieties that grip their everyday lives, what was admirable in the women in these communities was their enormous capacity to laugh a lot.

It was during my solitary moments, inside the Daycare or Baby's house in Apelo and at Kiko's house or the staff-house or Aling Pia's store in Bagbag, that I was able to put down my

thoughts, sort out my day's experiences and the day's goings on. During the last two months period in both communities, I was taken into two worlds of people which did not just pass by me. I was touched and transformed by them.

Exit

More than my skin darkening due to the extreme heat in Apelo and bounty of dust in Bagbag, I experienced deeper and internal changes in me. I started to feel during my period of stay in each community that the life outside the community I was in was not real. I started to question how a human community can be so deprived, so wretched, yet ignored by those outside the community. I felt different about my own comfortable home and that my own family's troubles were too petty. Many times, I felt anger towards the unreality outside the community. Yet, I knew that my communities did not teach me anger nor saw frustration; in fact, they showed me how to thrive in sub-human conditions.

After two or three weeks that I have completed my target number of interviews in each community, I conducted a validation session. Prior to officially leaving the areas, I invited all those who took part in the study to a feedback gathering. In Apelo, I held it at the Daycare center (lower part) and at the FDA staff-house in Bagbag. These were the only two facilities within the community that could accommodate my expected number of people to attend, around 20, and which I knew I could easily use. True to their word, more than 20 respon-

dents in each community honored me with their presence. Given my research objectives, it was mostly the women household heads who spoke to me and who deemed themselves in the best position to provide the data I needed. Thus, the sessions were predominantly female, with the few males who took part or who I just interacted with informally in attendance.

The validation session was an informal gathering where I presented the very preliminary findings from my interviews and observations and solicited their comments, elaboration or clarification. It was a session where I meant to think through with them what I heard and learned from them. I hoped that the session would also provide the residents with an opportunity to discuss and arrive at a consensus the initial findings I had. It was a difficult process because I gathered many of the community leaders, mostly women, who participated and have had backgrounds of differences and disputes. Though I did not aim it to be a forum for problems nor solutions, it served to confirm for them the imperative to unite rather than be divided in the face of their serious problems. It provided me the opportunity to validate what my data was indicating about the dynamics of the residents.

In summary, guided by the principles of ethnography, I employed a combination of field techniques: (1) Use of informants; (2) Formal, in-depth interviews with household heads (see Outline of Topics), community functionaries such as "barangay" leaders, small business and commercial establish-

ment ("sari-sari" stores) owners and community organizers; (3) Informal visiting, outside the interview situation, of residents or households ranging from a chat of 5 minutes to two hours of conversation, or just simply soaking myself ("patambay- tambay") in the community; (4) Observation, both as spectator and invited participant; (5) Attendance at meetings, public assemblies, and social gatherings; (6) Use of community facilities; and (7) Validation session. In total, I covered thirty households in each community; in Apelo, from the thirty households, I completed nine interviews with household head couples while in Bagbag I had four household head couple interviews out of the thirty. I gathered eleven key informants in Apelo and thirteen in Bagbag. Though I thought first it might not have been the most effective role, my role as a researcher (which was how I introduced myself) proved to be a good role because, considering the totally different communities I entered, I was able to assume a vantage point that enabled me to observe what I needed to observe, to communicate with and understand the ongoing worlds of people I wished to study, in a manner and fashion to which they had no objection.

To complete the ethnographic process, I subjected my data to ethnographic analysis which I endeavored to capture effectively and justly my learnings from the field.

**Outline of Topics
for Household Head Interviews**

I. Background Information

A. Personal Background
Age, marital status, religion, education, occupation
(primary and secondary sources of income), size of
household, household members working, average total
household monthly income (if possible), origin:
Manila/Metro Manila-born or migrant

B. Migration History
Place of origin, when moved in Metro Manila, job at time of
migration, education at time of migration, age at time of
migration, marital status at time of migration, reason for
migration, who accompanied migrant/s to the city, who did
migrant/s know in the city, location of first residence
within the city, first type of residence within the city,
number of residential moves after arriving in Metro Manila,
reason/s for choosing initial site within Metro Manila,
how first urban job was found, classification of first
urban job

II. Use of the Urban Context

A. Familiarity with environment
Area/s know well

B. General use of the city
1. Water Supply
Have direct water line, if not, where usually go to get
water (for drinking, washing, cleaning, bathing)

2. Electricity
Have electricity/direct electrical connection, if none,
how do you get electricity or what do they use

3. Sewerage and drainage
Own sewerage line

4. Toilet
Have water-sealed and flush toilet facility, if not,
what type used

5. Garbage Collection and Disposal
Use government facility in disposal of garbage, if not,
why not and how do they dispose of garbage

6. Health Services
Where do you usually go: to get help when someone is

sick, get immunization, for prenatal/pregnancy/maternal, for infant check-ups or child care, for medicine, for dental care, for emergency treatment

7. Police and Fire Protection
Ever needed police/fire protection, where did/do you go, peace and order condition in community, how is it managed

8. Education
Where do you take your children to school, how many children schooling

9. Land/housing
Ever had problem with eviction, what did/do you do, who do you go to, cost of rent, avail of housing loan, where get building materials, how maintain shelter needs

C. Problems and Solutions
Most pressing problem/s among urban services, what do you do, where do you usually go to get help (regularly and in emergencies), who is able to help and how, who do you help or able to help, status of public services since 1986 (new government)

D. How is a regular day for you/your household (i.e., from the time you wake up until nighttime)?

III. Informal External Relationships
(may overlap with certain things above)

A. Relatives
Type of contact like help in crises, help with housework, etc., with which relatives, how often, when, where relatives live

B. Friends
Type of contact, difference between friends and acquaintances, where do most friends live

C. Neighbors
Which ones count as friends, why, how much do you know about the others (like name, occupation, children, etc.), type of contact, contact of neighbors with each other

IV. Formal External Relationships

A. School
Contact with child's school

B. Church
Attendance, activities, children's attendance, type of

contact with representatives

C. Political Parties
   Membership, activities, attitudes

D. Unions
   Membership, union as source of help

E. Club and Voluntary Associations
   Awareness of local organizations, what types, membership in
   any, why member, who are mostly members, activities, fre-
   quency of participation/involvement, organization as a
   source of help

E. Public Institutions and Professional Services
   Have you ever had to: consult a lawyer, go to a government
   agency (e.g., Ministry of Housing, Social Welfare, Ministry
   of Health), borrow money from a bank or loan association,
   go to an employment agency or assistance bureau to find a
   job, seek social security or illness compensation from au-
   thorities, and seek assistance from media (TV or radio)
   public service, contact with social workers, health
   workers, etc.

V. Political Behavior

A. Political Awareness
   Political issues/concerns in the community, are services an
   issue, why/why not, how often they talk about political
   matters, with whom

B. Political Contact/Participation
   Ever asked help from a political leader (local or national)
   about public services, why/why not, help given, ever worked
   for a candidate, why, voted in local election, took part in
   direct action politics like demonstrating, barangay
   meetings, petitions, why/ why not

C. Consider that I am not from the community and I approach
   you and ask you who would be a leader in the community I
   can talk to. Who is the person that comes first to your
   mind?

VI. Attitudes

A. On Basic Urban Services
  1. The provision and delivery of basic services in this
     community in the past two years have:
         Improved
         Remained the same as before
         Worsened
  2. The reason/s for the problems on urban services:

(Reason/s will be recorded as given and will later be rated according to how many times cited.)
3. Do you think that any improvement or change in the system of public services will be:
    Much worse
    Bad
    About the same
    Little better
    Much better

B. Social Relationships in the Community
 1. How many of your relatives who live here can you count on when you need them?
    All
    Most
    A few
    None
 2. How many of your neighbors/friends can you count on when you need them?
    All
    Most
    A few
    None
 3. Do you feel that people who live here are united?
    Highly united
    More or less united
    Lack unity
 4. In comparison with your hometown or where you came from before living in the city, do you feel that there is more or less mutual help here among neighbors/friends?
    Much more help here
    Little more help here
    About the same
    Little less help here
    Much less help here

NOTE

1. The "penitentia" is a Holy Week street rite held on Good
   Friday. The main focus here are the masked flagellants who
   walk through the community. Though they are masked, the
   residents know who they are since many of the flagellants
   vow to do this for at least 5 consecutive years after which
   they can proceed to be soldiers or renew being a flagel-
   lant.

APPENDIX   B

Table 1

METROPOLITAN AREAS IN ASEAN COUNTRIES, THEIR PER CAPITA
INCOME, URBANIZATION LEVEL, ABSOLUTE POPULATION, AND
PERCENTAGE OF SLUM AND SQUATTER POPULATION

Country	Per capita income (in US $)	Nation urbani- zation level (%)	Population (in million)	Percentage of slum and popu- lation in capi- ta
Indonesia	$ 510	20.0	6.5	n.d. *
Malaysia	1,951	29.0	1.072	25.0
Philippines	656	37.0	5.9 (8.0)	45.0
Thailand	794	17.5	5.5	30.0

* no data

Source: Ruland, 1985, Table 1

Table 2

LEVELS AND TEMPO OF URBANIZATION
CENSUS YEARS 1903-1980

CENSUS YEAR	LEVEL OF URBANIZATION a	TEMPO OF URBANIZATION b
1903	13.1	-
1918	12.5	0.32
1939	21.6	33.36
1948	27.0	3.09
1960	29.8	1.27
1970c	32.8	1.45
1975	33.4	1.46d
1980	37.3	3.54

Source: Raymundo (1983)

a Percent in urban areas. The 1963 urban definition was used
   for census prior to 1975. The 1970 definition was applied
   to 1975 and later censuses.

b Differences between urban and rural rates of growth.

c 1963 urban definition was used in both 1960 and 1970 census
   data for comparability. If the 1970 definition is applied
   to the 1970 data, the level of urbanization is 31.8 percent
   instead of 32.9.

d Initial 1970 population figures were based on the 1970
   definition.

Table 3

POPULATION ESTIMATES FOR URBAN AND
RURAL RESIDENCE BY CENSUS YEARS a

Census Years	Total	Population	
		Urban	Rural
1970	36,684,486	11,677,820	25,006,666
1975	42,070,665	14,046,527	28,024,138
1980	48,098,460	17,943,897	30,154,563
1985	54,668,332	21,821,760	32,846,572
b 1988	(53,721,307)	(24,416,144)	(34,305,163)
1989	(59,986,988)	(25,321,600)	(34,665,388)

a Basic data from the National Census and Statistics Office
   as released through the 1988 Philippine Statistical
   Yearbook.

b Intercensal estimates from the same source.

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Jesusa Marco has been read and approved by the following committee:

Dr. Judith Wittner, Director
Associate Professor, Sociology
Loyola University of Chicago

Dr. Kathleen McCourt
Professor, Sociology
Loyola University of Chicago

Dr. Philip Nyden
Professor, Sociology
Loyola University of Chicago

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the disseration is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is, therefore, accepted in partial fulfill-ment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philo-sophy.

7/11/91
_____
Date

_____
Director's Signature