

**Social Networks, Peoples' Organisation and Popular Participation --
Process, Mechanisms and Forms in the Squatter Settlements**

In the recent years, governments in developing countries such as India and the Philippines have initiated a wide variety of programmes intended to improve quality of life of the urban poor living in squatter settlements. These programmes are generally designed and implemented through bureaucratic structures of the state. Access to the benefits sought to be delivered through these programmes and to the organisations implementing these policies, has been limited. As a result, the urban poor have gained little from these programmes. Most of the shortcomings in this regard can be traced back to inadequacies in the design of the programmes and the existing institutional arrangements effectuating them. The need for involvement of the urban poor, the beneficiaries of the poverty alleviation programmes, in planning and implementation of the programmes is now widely recognised as critical for ensuring steady and sustained improvements. The 'people oriented approach' to development programmes of the 'seventies for promoting people's participation, was dependent on bureaucracy for its implementation. It was, therefore, no surprise that there were sterile results in relation to its objectives and purposes and could only perpetuate dependency creating relationships. Based on the experience of the earlier approach, the quest for an alternative for a more meaningful and effective involvement of people has led to emergence of a new concept which according to Korten is not 'people oriented' but "people centred"¹. The distinction between the two is that whereas in the former approach, the state is acting to meet the needs of the people through government administered programmes while in the latter it provides an enabling setting that utilises peoples' initiatives and enhances the capabilities to organise their own development. An understanding of the participatory dimensions in the squatter settlements become crucial to the working of this new strategy from a pragmatic point of view.

This paper focuses attention on the nature, form and extent of community participation and action in the selected settlements in three metropolitan cities of India and Philippines. In this context, the pattern of social interaction between the inhabitants, the structure of peoples' organisations and their role in community mobilisation and action, the channels and intensity of participation and its effectiveness have been examined. It may be mentioned that the concept of participation has a considerable degree of vagueness and is amenable to diverse meaning and interpretations. For the purposes of this paper, participation refers to the involvement of the inhabitants in collective actions aimed at improving their quality of living environment in the squatter community and facilitating their empowerment. Data for this research study has been derived through household survey based on a structured questionnaire that was administered to 362 heads of the households². This information has been supplemented by secondary sources including

¹. David C Korten, "Strategic Organisation for People Centred Development", Public Administration Review, 44 (July-August 1984).

². A. Total Population in Squatter Settlements in the Three Cities:
DELHI - 2.3 million in 1089 Squatter Settlements (Slum and J.J. Department - Municipal Corporation Delhi - 1992-93).

official reports and interviews with the concerned government officials, representatives of the voluntary organisations working in the areas, and the community leaders.

Social Networks

The pattern of social organisation of a community forms the base for mobilisation and participation in collective action. This pattern in the squatter settlements has been viewed as the outcome of different social networks. Inhabitants of the squatter settlements manifest a high degree of heterogeneity in terms of caste, ethnic, linguistic, religious affiliations, place of origin, income, occupation and length of residence. However a common characteristic found in all the surveyed settlements is that they group together in dwelling clusters characterised by kin, caste, ethnic, religious, village or regional ties. Notwithstanding the characteristics of aggregation of the inhabitants in the settlements, they are involved in many stranded relationships with the larger urban society. Work places, schools, hospitals, various social services, transportation and communication networks, welfare and environmental improvement programmes, officials, workers of political parties, police, workers of voluntary organisations and others bring them into contact with multiple reference groups. These manifold relationships with different institutions of the metropolis influence their social organisation. In the absence of central institutions of any kind, social life in the settlements is organised around several groups of different size and of unequal importance; and the groups constitute a means of co-operation and social interaction. Network analysis³ has been used to understand regularities which give a minimum organisation to the inhabitants and to find out the extent and purpose of the interactive component that underpin the social networks.

A network is a social field made up of relations between households involved in reciprocal exchange of goods, services, money and for extending mutual assistance and support. Broadly, speaking, there are two types of networks of contact and reciprocal relations; *one* concerns with the social relations of inhabitants within the settlement, and the *other* in which participation is determined by the nature of links with the institutions based outside the settlement but within the metropolis. It is the small scale social field

HYDERABAD - 0.7 million in 662 Slums and Squatter Settlements - (Municipal Corporation Hyderabad, 1987).

MANILA - 1.94 million in 415 Squatter Settlements (Joint Survey by National Housing Authority and Metro Manila Commission - 1985).

B. No. of Households in the Selected Settlements and Households Interviewed:

DELHI - Two settlements each with 7227 and 800 households, respectively - Households Interviewed - 150.

HYDERABAD - Two settlements each with 1010 and 300 households, respectively - Household Interviewed - 150.

MANILA - Two settlements each with 800 and 600 households, respectively - Households Interviewed - 62.

³. Based on Mitchell, J Clyde, "The Concept and Use of Social Network" in J.C. Mitchell (ed.) Social Networks in Urban Situations, Manchester University Press, 1978.

which is emphasised here since it forms the core of the social networks in the squatter settlements.

The number of households constituting a social network varies from about 5 to 25 households in the surveyed settlements in the three cities. In Delhi and Hyderabad a majority of the households belong to groups of 10 households or less while in Manila such groupings are relatively larger than that in Delhi and Hyderabad. For most of the households the amplitude of social interaction extends upto 15 households. Groups containing more than 20 households form a small proportion of the network system in all the surveyed squatter settlements. The size of social networks is not static and changes over time subject to limitations of maintaining solidarity. Table-1 shows the size-wise distribution of social networks in the three cities.

Table 1
Percentage Distribution of Social Networks According to Size in the Surveyed Settlements

Surveyed Squatter Settlements in the Cities	5 or Less	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	More than 25	Total
DELHI	32.3	31.9	18.7	9.7	4.7	2.7	100.0
HYDERABAD	30.1	26.2	24.6	12.3	5.2	1.6	100.0
MANILA	14.5	24.2	32.3	12.9	11.3	4.8	100.0

Relations in a network are defined by the attributes of households constituting it. Kinship, caste, ethnic, religious, village and regional affinities are central to formation of the network organisation. These link together a large number of households in several groupings and introduce an element of stability in a fluid situation and serve as a means of ordering a heterogeneous population into meaningful social categories. More than 60 per cent of the social networks in each of the three cities are based on these primary affinities. The two prominent components for forming social networks are caste and regional ties in Delhi whereas groups based on caste affiliations and kinship relations are pronounced in Hyderabad. In Manila kinship and regional ties form the basis of more than half of the social networks. Among the social networks that cut across primary affinities, the groups based on similar occupations are dominant in Delhi while this is also true for the neighbourhood groups in both Hyderabad and Manila. It is observed that several social networks interrelate with each other to form a macro network. In the two Indian cities, Delhi and Hyderabad, groups belonging to the caste, religion or region band together to form an enlarged network of social relations. In Manila, kinship groups are connected with each

other while the larger social networks are formed on the basis of ethnic, linguistic or regional identities. The groups are linked together to form a settlement-wide interactive context and express larger bonds of solidarity. The social relationships that form the basis of social network and their distribution is shown in Table - 2.

Table 2
Percentage Distribution of Social Networks According to the Nature of Social Relationships

Surveyed Squatter settlements in the cities	Kinship based	Caste/ ethnic/ Religious affinities	Village/ Religious Ties	Neigh- bours	Friends	Co- workers	Total
DELHI	14.3	28.2	21.1	11.8	7.4	17.1	100.0
HYDERABAD	20.6	22.3	18.3	17.0	12.1	9.8	100.0
MANILA	27.8	16.9	25.4	14.2	9.8	5.3	100.0

It is essential to recognise that the mode of organising of the inhabitants in the squatter settlements is based on network affiliations. It is these groups which provide identity, mutual assistance, and supportive structure that enable the inhabitants, mostly rural migrants, lacking in capital, skills, security and regular employment to survive in an uncertain metropolitan environment. An important point to notice is that the social networks promote regular interaction among individual members. The interaction is reinforced by the norms of reciprocity and assistance. In this process individual members of the groupings develop a structured social network system that acts as a filter for mobilising group resources and collective action.

Participation in these groups serves two categories of the objectives. *One* relates to mutual aid and support and are largely confined within the specific social networks, and the *second* where the group as a corporate entity is engaged in activities oriented to improvement and development of large sections of the inhabitants in the squatter settlements. The important objectives of participation in the two categories are as follows:

Category 1:

- (a) Exchange of goods, money and services;
- (b) Job assistance;
- (c) Finding accommodation;
- (d) Family affairs and needs;
- (e) Providing social support; and

- (f) Information dissemination.

Category 2:

- (a) Collaborative petitioning for services with settlement leaders, government officials and political parties;
- (b) Contributing to self-help type of activities;
- (c) Involvement in solution of neighbourhood problems;
- (d) Involvement in the solution of collective problems of the settlement as a whole; and
- (e) Involvement in welfare activities of the caste/ethnic regional or religious groups.

The relative importance of the different objectives for participation varies from one city to another. Table 3 shows the rank order of purposes (based on score values of each purpose) that stimulate participation of the households belonging to different social networks in the squatter settlements of the three cities:

Considering the entire domain of co-operative action, it is observed that the intensity and frequency of participation among squatter dwellers is far greater in the first category of objectives than in the second that refers to collective action. The relative importance of objectives within each category varies between cities. It is found that among the ends in the first category, it is the exchange of goods, money and services that predominates in all the three cities while frequency of participation for other ends differs significantly. For example, job assistance occupies the second position in Hyderabad and Manila whereas it is 'social support' in Delhi. Involvement of the social networks for the purposes listed under the second category is more impressive in Manila as compared to Delhi and Hyderabad. In Delhi and Hyderabad, mobilisation of resources for activities relating to the welfare of members of the same caste, region, or religion and linguistic group is most important, among the ends in the second category, while in Manila it is the collaborative petitioning for services with local leaders, government officials and political parties that elicit highest level of response among its members. It is also observed that the overall contribution of social groups to promote self help type of activities is limited; the level of involvement in such activities is, however, considerably higher in Manila than in Delhi and Hyderabad. Examining the levels of participation for the various ends in the second category in the three cities, it is observed that there is a greater propensity to form macro-social networks in Manila than that in Delhi and Hyderabad. Such networks in Manila are committed to the development affairs of the settlement as a whole while in Delhi and Hyderabad they are generally disposed to promote the welfare of caste, regional or religious groupings.

Table 3

**Rank Order of Purposes Stimulating Participation in Social
Networks in the Three Cities**

Rank order of purposes Stimulating participation	Percentage Score		
	Delhi	Hyderabad	Manila
i) Exchange of goods, money and services	70.2	80.3	78.3
ii) Providing social support	67.7	64.0	58.4
iii) Finding accommodation	62.0	68.9	65.3
iv) Job Assistance	60.0	74.2	70.1
v) Family affairs and needs	48.5	58.3	61.3
vi) Information dissemination	42.0	47.1	60.2
vii) Involvement in welfare activities for caste/ethnic, regional or religious groupings	37.2	40.7	15.0
viii) Collaborative petitioning for services with local leaders, government officials and political parties	30.5	27.3	40.3
ix) Involvement in solution of neighbourhood problems	21.0	18.2	35.2
x) Involvement in solution of collective problems of the squatter settlements as a whole	15.7	12.1	30.7
xi) Contributing to self-help type of activities	12.2	10.4	29.0

Despite the predominance of small size social networks tailored to meet the needs and problems surfacing in administering mutual aid and cooperation among members, the networks are an important social resource in terms of organisation and to achieve high level of capacities at mobilisation. As the foci for many purposes, the social networks function as a mechanism for the inhabitants to get embedded in a fabric of social relationships and interrelatedness to act as links with the wider structures for community action. The networks also provide a base for identification of community leadership and social power. It has been noticed that even though small in size the groups, individually or in association with others, can effectively function as a pressure group for securing positions of power and influence within and without the settlement. The social network becomes a convenient mechanism to have a voice in the association for representing group interests as also for lobbying and bargaining with local leaders of the settlement, political parties, or non-governmental organisation, and government officials for provision of services and facilities. An important aim of these networks is to secure land titles for permanent settlement. Small sized social networks are thus closely associated with the whole concept of community action, involvement and participation.

Peoples' Organisations:

Life in squatter settlements is structured, to a large extent by consideration of survival first strategy. The emergence of community organisations reflects an awareness to cope with such problems that lie beyond the capabilities of individuals and small social networks. These organisations emanate from federalisation of social networks around issues of concern to all inhabitants. These relate to securing a legal title of land, provision of services such as drinking water, public toilets, regular electricity connections, drains, pavement of streets, health education and other common basic facilities for the squatter settlements. Since these services are territorially located, the local space becomes the basic unit for activities of peoples' organisations.

Peoples' organisations developed for differing reasons in the squatter settlements of the three cities studied. The organisations, of course, are highly influenced by the nature of social composition of settlements, the age and size of the settlements, the level of literacy, and quality of leadership among them. The initial stimulus, generally speaking, comes from the process of settlement formation. The illegal occupation of land and establishment of the settlement requires co-ordinated action and collective organisation. A common motivating force has been the need to present a united front to survive and resist a variety of external threats may it be for, eviction, demolition or relocation. Resident associations have also been formed as a result of state policy to encourage community involvement in state sponsored programmes for improvements in the living environment of the squatters. Community Development Programmes sponsored by the state, as in Hyderabad and in Manila in the 1970's, are instances that catalysed the formation of community organisation. Making demands for legalisation of tenure, provision of municipal services, undertaking of welfare programmes and joint petitioning or lobbying for these facilities with the state agencies, political parties and non-governmental organisations helps to promote and encourage mobilisation of collective efforts through community associations. Political parties, it is observed, also set up resident associations for extending their base as well to generate political articulation of the demands of squatters. Local leaders set up resident organisations either for playing the role of mediators or "power brokers" between the residents and outside agencies for provision of infrastructures and other services or for involving residents in devising collective solutions to problems and community work. Other types of organisations that have grown in the squatter settlements relate to sectoral or sectional interests.

The data collected from the household survey of the six squatter settlements in the three cities reveal that there are, mainly, seven types of community or people's organisations in these settlements. These comprise 1) Resident and Neighbourhood Associations represent interests of all sections of the residents and are organised on the lines for improving provision of services and facilities, protection against eviction, demolition and relocation; securing legal tenure to land, lobbying and petitioning with government agencies, political parties and non-government organisation for meeting the

various demands of the residents and for locating welfare and development programmes in their settlements; information dissemination and promoting community awareness and self-help type of activities; interacting with similar organisations and forming alliances or coalitions with peoples' organisations at the zonal and city levels; (2) Economic organisations are oriented to income generating activities, vocational training and financial help and credit; (3) Co-operative societies are set up for securing land and financial and technical assistance from government agencies and other institutions like banks; (4) Women's associations/Mothers' clubs aim at providing welfare and vocational training for women and child care and pre-primary education and promoting gender equity and womens' rights; (5) Youth and old mens' associations embrace social interactions for tackling problems and promoting specific interests and welfare of the concerned groups; (6) Socio-Cultural Organisations are formed around cultural activities like television viewing, basket-ball playing, and organising cultural activities like Ram Lilas, Kathas, prayer groups, fiestas etc.; (7) Caste, Ethnic, Religious, Regional/Linguistic associations function as resource group for the constituent participants for providing identity, mutual assistance and support. The associations may also help members in finding jobs and accommodation, settling disputes, or meet social and economic crisis and undertake ceremonies like marriage and funeral. An important recent activity is in the form of counselling for availing the benefits of reservation policy (applicable to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, and backward caste organisations in Delhi and Hyderabad). The networks also act as agencies for political mobilisation to provide support to political parties and loci of power at the settlement level for the respective, caste, ethnic, religious, regional or linguistic groups.

A feature of these organisations has been that a major proportion among them relate to sectional interests for specific demands and needs of the residents. Associations based on caste, ethnic, religious regional or linguistic affinities are prominent both in Delhi and Hyderabad while it is so in Manila for organisations that are oriented to specific interests and needs of the residents. Notwithstanding the particularistic nature and specific purpose of organising, the diverse local organisations reflect a substantial degree of community activity generated by the residents. Although they may not be very effective in obtaining collective benefits for the settlement as a whole, each organisation is an aggregation of individuals adhering to a common interest and serves as an useful building block for mobilisation for collective action. They also provide a mechanism for incorporation of specific needs and demands in aggregating community wide or collective interests of the settlement as a whole. The following table shows the various types of local organisations according to their purpose:

Table 4

Types of Peoples' Organisations in the Squatter Settlements

in the three Cities (Percentage Distribution)

City	Types of Peoples' Organisations									Total
	Residents Associations/Neighbourhood	Womens Associations/Mothers' Clubs	Economic (Livelihood & Skill training)	Co-operative Society	Chit-Funds	Youth Organisations	Oldmens Associations	Socio-Cultural Organisations	Caste, /Ethnic Religious/Regional Linguistic Associations	
Delhi	20.0	8.0	-	-	12.0	8.0	4.0	16.0	32.0	100.0 (25)
Hyderabad	15.8	10.5	-	-	10.5	5.3	-	10.5	47.4	100.0 (19)
Manila	36.6	10.0	3.3	3.3	6.6	6.6	3.3	17.0	13.3	100.0 (30)

Role and Effectiveness of Community or Peoples Organisations:

The strength and significance of a community organisation depends upon the size of its membership and the level and frequency of mobilisations for collective action. It is observed that the level of involvement of the residents in their associations is low both in Delhi and Hyderabad. Only one fifth and one sixth of the household heads were associated with one or the other association of the residents. Associations based on caste, regional, religious, or linguistic affinities have in general greater numerical strength, especially the associations based on caste. The important thing about these associations is that even though members do not actively participate there is high degree of cognitive commitment to each other. The traditional structures provide a system of strong bonds of identification, mutual support and assistance, cohesion and collective orientation. The strong sense of common identity ~~proves a considerable advantage for survival of the inhabitants of the~~ squatter settlements in the context of the indifferent and most of the time hostile socio-economic environment of the metropolitan city.

The fact that these people's organisations are centered around particularistic loyalties is no reason to dismiss their relevance to the struggles of the poor to develop qualitatively different living conditions. Although membership of the specific social groups was restrictive the organisational structure, the objectives and functions are invariably similar to that of the settlement wide or other types of associations representing common and non-segmental interests. What does take place is the widening of institutional organisation in which more and more strata get involved in problems of the settlement as a whole through identification of the diverse interests. In the context of competitive pluralistic universe, these associations provide a setting for the poor (particularly the scheduled castes, tribes and backward castes who preponderate in the squatter settlements

in Delhi and Hyderabad) to articulate their demands in an organised form and gain a political voice for themselves. It has been further observed that notwithstanding their segmental character, they seek to work in partnership with other groups of local inhabitants and associations to secure legalisation of land tenure basic services and community facilities.

Womens' associations, though in an incipient stage are getting increasing response in Delhi while it is still lukewarm in Hyderabad. The emergence of womens' association, the most disadvantaged sections of the population of the squatter settlements, is indicative of the realisation on the part of women to organise themselves for action around issues critical to them and make demands for not only their rightful place in the community life but more so to fight against injustice within and without the four walls (!) of their homes. The shift from passive and non-participatory role to collective efforts in identifying their problems and devising solutions lies in the realisation of the ways through which they can overcome the oppression that keep them powerless.

In contrast to Delhi and Hyderabad, involvement of the inhabitants of the squatter settlements in Manila is far more widespread and intense in organisations representing collective interests and engaged in activities that promote the welfare of the entire community. Socio-cultural associations, mothers' clubs and youth organisations, in that order follow the residents' associations in the numerical strength of their memberships. Associations based on ethnic, religious or regional ties do not receive the extent of support witnessed in Delhi and Hyderabad. Overall associational life in the squatter settlements of Manila is more extensive and entrenched when compared to Delhi and Hyderabad.

The Table 5 shows the extent of membership in the different types of peoples' organisations in the surveyed settlements of Delhi, Hyderabad and Manila.

Table 5
Showing the Pattern of Membership of Peoples' Organisations in the Squatter Settlements in the Three Cities

City	Extent of Membership (Percentage Distribution)								
	Residents & Neighbourhood religious Associations	Womens Associations/ Mother's Clubs	Economic (Livelihood & Skill Training)	Co-operative Society	Chit-Funds	Youth Organisations	Old Men's Associations	Socio-Cultural	Caste, Ethnic
Delhi	20.4	12.6	-	-	25.3	7.3	5.4	15.1	32.3
Hyderabad	15.3	6.5	-	-	23.8	6.8	-	14.2	36.3
Manila	48.6	21.5	4.7	6.2	17.3	19.3	5.2	28.5	11.2

Having outlined the complex nature of interests and different levels and modes of their articulation, we now outline the role and effectiveness of resident associations in

promoting common interests. The importance of residents' associations is a measure of the emphasis placed on collective mobilisation and action to meet with the problems that effect day to day life in the settlements. Their effectiveness is assessed with reference to (a) raising community awareness (b) helping residents to articulate their priorities for services and facilities (c) enhancing provision of services and facilities and increasing the community's role in the implementation of programmes designed to improving their living conditions, (d) generating interest in community self-help, and (e) contributing to peoples' empowerment⁴.

In Delhi, of the five resident associations in the two squatter settlements, three associations each have been set up at the initiative of three different political parties. In the other settlements the associations are a-political in character though these do have links with different political parties. The stimulus to form associations has mainly stemmed from the process of forming of settlements and the need of securing their continuance at the present locations. The associations are loosely organised inspite of the fact that these have a formal constitution spelling out aims and objectives, rules, etc. In actual operation the associations do not operate strictly within the established institutional framework. Elections in these associations are rarely held and the same set of office bearers continue for long periods. The strength of members varies from 100 to 300 as reported by association heads. There is, however, no formal record of names of the members. It seems that a group of local leaders of the settlement operate the associations and most of their followers only become members or are deemed to have become members. Meetings of the associations are held infrequently and these too without formal advance intimation.

The associations function in an organisational environment that is conditioned by people who rely mostly on traditional ties to band together to solve their problems. The associations tend to become extensions of kinship, caste, religions and regional groupings. In this process, the primary loyalties are synchronised with secondary group relations by blending apparent divergence in aims and interests. What is significant about this duality is that the associations in incorporating familiar social networks perform an important role in providing a framework for working together and community based integration cutting across narrow loyalties. A greater emphasis on non-primary ties engendered by associations impules a more favourable perception of collective action. The development of associations needs to be interpreted as signifying the recognition of collective consciousness, though nascent. It may be stressed that the illiterate who constitute the bottom most of the socio-economic hierarchy, have little experience in organising around common issues and problems. The fact that associations, despite their limited roots and weak organisational structures exist at all in such a milieu is of crucial importance. This view is corroborated by the response of the surveyed households relating to the questions about the knowledge of existence of associations, attendance of the members in the

⁴ Based on A. Hughes "Alternative Forms and Levels of Participation. A General Survey" -in F. Lisk, (ed.) Popular Participation in Planning for Basic Needs, Brookfield UT: Gower Publishing, 1985.

meetings, mechanism of solving community problems, and perception about the role of the associations.

Knowledge of the existence of associations is widespread. More than two-thirds of the respondents confirmed this. More than half of the members attend the meetings whenever these are held. Majority of the respondents expressed that the best way to solve community problems is to take collective action with others while about half of them appreciate the efforts of association for collective mobilisation on various issues. With regard to the beneficiaries, the opinion was divided. One group regarded that the associations do function to secure improvement in the living environment of the settlement whereas an equally significant was the group which felt that the associations are used to promote only the interest of the office bearers. The third group had no opinion.

The squatter associations often seek to encourage consensus in identifying priority needs among the inhabitants. However, they vie with each other in the distribution of specific services in their respective areas of influence. Another important aspect of the operations of these associations is in the place and influence exercised by individual leaders. Most of the associations are identified by the individual leaders, despite membership.

Generally speaking, the leaders of the resident associations are not always very conscious of the bureaucratic decision making processes to take timely and full advantage of state patronage for improvement of living conditions in squatter settlements. On part of the public authorities, dealing with squatter problems, there is high degree of opaqueness in informing the beneficiaries individually or collectively, regarding the schemes and programmes which are sought to be administered for their welfare. There is complete absence of any consistent policy for allocation of financial resources for essential services and community facilities to different squatter settlements. The same holds true regarding a set criteria for approvals and regularization. Services and facilities are provided on a selective and ad hoc basis. Compartmentalisation in the matter of administration of the welfare programmes among several agencies combined with lack of co-ordination among them results in enhancement and diversity of discretion with officials at all levels. Consequently, there is perennial uncertainty with regard to settlements that qualify for regularization and upgrading or for provision of the select services and facilities. There is also no established procedure or reliable method of addressing the government agencies for channelling demands for regularization of settlements or for providing the required services and facilities. Given this state of affairs, the settlement leaders tend to petition all those in power whom they believe can intercede on their behalf to help their cause.

It was observed that the leaders of the five different associations in the two surveyed settlements took assistance of outside agencies to exert pressure on the government for stopping eviction in the case of one settlement, assurance for regularization for the other and provision of some services and facilities in both the settlements.

The efficacy of local leaders in terms of their power and mustering support for the associations they represent lies in their ability at establishing access to government officials, political parties, local politicians and other influential people to secure benefits for the

settlements. This process has led to the formation of a network of patron-client relationships involving outside agencies and leaders of the resident associations. The involvement of government officials, while implementing the programmes of improvement in the squatter settlements is most often through leaders who act as intermediaries or linkmen between the government and the settlement community. The implication of this relationship has been that the priorities of the needs of the two settlements get modified to legitimise official action.

All the five associations have similar demands articulated by various leaders. Petitioning and lobbying have been the principal forms of demand making though on several occasions demonstrations and protests have been organised. The focus of demand making is confined to short term immediate solution of the problems rather than on long term needs. The nature of demand making is defensive (protection against the threat of eviction) and to a lesser extent ameliorative (provisions of basic services and facilities). Success in getting the demands met to some extent lies in the leaders' ability to manipulate the patrons which in turn is dependent upon their capacity to mobilise support of the inhabitants in their support. However, it is a transactional relationship. Political parties and politicians solicit inhabitants of the squatter settlements for their strength as voters and the government institutions respond to their needs as they form a crucial element in the socio-political structure of Delhi.

The functioning of the associations though largely governed by clientelist attitude of their leaders should not be taken to minimise their relevance to the struggle of the poor in improving their quality of life. There is evidence to show that the associations have acted as agencies for mobilising the inhabitants in forcing public authorities to yield to their demands. For example, in one settlement the inhabitants organised to resist eviction, though with the help of one political party. In another instance they exerted pressure on the government to provide relief to a large number of inhabitants whose huts were destroyed in a major fire in the settlement. In the other settlement such collective action led to the provision of ration cards (access to public distribution system) and construction of storm water drainage for preventing flooding of the settlement during rainy season. Such examples illustrate that there are signs of a growing consciousness among the inhabitants to organise in manifesting their power to gain access to public resources. Thus while the present role and effectiveness of people's organisation are constrained by several patron-client bonds and cross cutting pressures of kingship, caste and religion, at the same time they are also embryos of an institutional base for learning to work collectively and to evolve strategies for gaining relative autonomy and empowerment.

In Hyderabad, the Municipal Corporation initiated a programme of Urban Community Development in 1968 to co-ordinate and implement the various programmes for improving the quality of life of people living in the slums and squatter settlements. The programme in its earlier stages (1967-76) covered 52 slums in the old city consisting of about 12,000 households. By 1990 it expanded to cover 500 slums accounting for 75 per cent of 1,17,550 households in the 662 slums and squatter settlements. The thrust of the

programme is to harness peoples initiatives and capacities and motivating them to establish community based organisations to enable them to identify and prioritize the needs and take a leading role in devising collective solutions for the identified concerns. The activities undertaken under the Urban Community Development Programme relate to improvement of physical infrastructure, housing, health and nutrition, education and child welfare income generation and co-operatives. All these activities are undertaken in such a way that people participate in their programming and implementation according to their felt needs and priorities.

As envisaged in the Urban Community Development Programmes, *basti* development committees (resident associations and *Mahila Mandals* (Women's organisations) have been formed in the two surveyed settlements. In contrast to Delhi, where resident associations, despite their limitations and constraints emerged from within the settlement communities, the *basti* development committees have been set up with the assistance of outside mobilisers (community workers as members of staff of the urban Community Development Programme). However, the community workers have not been able to generate a continuing interactive process between the different sections of the inhabitants and motivate them enough for involvement in organised efforts in implementing programmes as envisaged under the Urban Community Development Programme.

While setting up the *basti* development committees the UCDP workers, instead of identifying leadership resources at the grass-roots level, choose to seek support of the existing local leaders in the settlements which had invariably been propped up by political parties, local politicians, councillors or local members of the Legislative Assembly. As a result, *basti* development committees did not strike roots among the inhabitants and remained ineffective in evoking widespread response for community action. The *basti* committees, with domination of nominated office bearers function in an *ad hoc* manner. These are often controlled by a caucus of local leaders who take upon themselves the responsibility to articulate all community interests and local problems, ofcourse, as perceived by them. They act as 'brokers' in transactions with the outside patrons for allocation of resources for provision of basic urban services and community improvement programmes. A key feature of the system is that residents have come to believe that for basic civic services it is only those installed leaders, and not the associations, who matter. In this process the Urban Community Development Programme has become linked to the political power base. A patronage system has come into operation in which the outside patrons influence the implementation of various activities under the Urban Community Development Programme in a manner that favours the clients (local leaders of the settlement) who in return subserve their varied interests. Involvement of the inhabitants in community development process is limited to passive participation associated with their dependence on local leaders for whatever they get done for improvement of the living environment of the squatter settlements. Urban Community Development Programme, due to its high vulnerability to pressures of powerful patrons, reinforces the patron-client bonds with the result that the primary objective of building community based organisations has

got defeated.

The inability of the Urban Community Development programme to further its objectives also stems from the fact that the programme has been extended to the surveyed settlements in its third phase which coincided with its routing the habitat programme. This led to an emphasis on visible products like provision of housing. The community workers got wholly occupied with lining up inputs around shelter and environmental improvement schemes instead of seeking to harness the potential and develop abilities of the inhabitants to work together for mutual benefit and to find solution to common problems. The Urban Community Development Programme has, in essence, developed into an administrative programme delivery structure of the Municipal Corporation.

There are two residents' associations, one each in the two squatter settlements, of Manila. These are sub-divided into several neighbourhood organisations. Each has a formal constitution, rules and a large regular membership. The office bearers are democratically elected, annually. A significant aspect of these associations is that these have been a part of the changing political landscape in the squatter communities for more than two decades. An appreciation of their mode of organisation, role and effectiveness can be had from a review of the broad context of the history of the formation of peoples' organisations over the years. Unlike, both in Delhi and Hyderabad, squatter settlements in Manila are characterised by a high degree of grassroots organisations as a part of the struggle of the urban poor groups.

The impetus for a organised mobilisation directed towards influencing government policy came from the attempts in community organisations initiated in the early 1970's by groups belonging to major squatter settlements. In Tondo Foreshore Area, reputed to be the largest squatter settlement in South East Asia, the inhabitants formed Zoto or the Zone One Tondo organisation for the first time in Metro-Manila to demand land and basic services from the government. Employing the tactics of "human-barricades" against demolition squads, holding mass action and mobilisations for articulating the rights and demands of the squatters, they pressurised the government to stop demolition, adopt on-site development programme and in-city relocation. Its influence radiated throughout the city resulting in the formation of many peoples' organisations in the squatter settlements.

The growth of peoples' organisations in the squatter settlements in the subsequent years since the establishment of ZOTO is a product of two major forces. One, the response of the squatters to the government policies. During the Marco's regime, the relationship between the government and mass of squatters grew extremely tense with intensification of the repressive measures under the proclamation of Martial Law in 1972. President Marcos under a decree enacted an *Anti-Squatting Law* in 1975 which made squatting a criminal offence punishable with imprisonment upto one year or a fine of Pesos one thousand. This was followed by large scale demolition and relocation in the Manila city. These measures accelerated the process of development of urban poor organisations which were more effective and were sustained with broad based mass support. This led to the incorporation of the peoples' organisations into the wider popular political movement oriented towards

the overthrow of the Marcos regime and restoration of democracy. This linkage facilitated the broadening and consolidation of the squatters organisations. And two, the opportunities offered for peoples participation in the political institutions installed by the democratic government in Philippines in 1986. Since the change of the authoration regime with the establishment of democracy was a result of the mass movement, the new political system provided for specific representation in the Congress for labour, peasantry, women, urban poor, youth and the handicapped. Representation of NGOs in local government councils was also institutionalised. The new President Aquino held a series of dialogues with leading urban poor organisations on the conditions of the urban poor. The Presidential Commission for the Urban Poor was established in 1986 to achieve wide spread participation of the urban poor through empowerment of peoples' organisations, formation of consultative mechanisms and to facilitate the urban poor access to basic services and programmes. Grass roots organisations inspired by these events multiplied in the squatter communities.

The two resident associations are the product of the history of squatters in Manila. These associations are well organised. Leadership of these associations resides in the economically better off and better educated individuals of the concerned settlements. Organising efforts are largely community centred. These are built on raising consciousness among inhabitants of the immediate milieu that they belong to and of the shared character of problems they face by emphasising the links of individual felt needs to significant community problems. In this perspective, the associations' activities have been focussed on specific and concrete community issues and demands. The associations have been able to motivate members for their active involvement in various ways, such as going for joint representation, dialogues with officials, putting up human barricades, picketing, organising marches and demonstrations for asserting their rights and voicing their demands. Such collective mobilisations have invariably been rewarding. Provision of street lighting, garbage disposal, pavement of roads, health care facilities, pre-primary and elementary school education came to the squatters only after prolonged agitations. By raising community consciousness and enabling inhabitants to undergo an experience of tackling specific issues the associations have created some conditions for the people's power to emerge. A reflection of such empowerment is evident in the government efforts to consult the inhabitants in provision of some necessary and basic services in these settlements.

A significant development has been the broadening and consolidation of the base grassroots organisations due to formation of alliances and coalitions of the urban poor at the area, zonal, city and national levels. Some of the important alliances and coalitions include PAMALU (Union of the city's Poor), Allyansa (Alliance of the Poor against Demolition), SAMA-SAMA (Poor Peoples' Association for Humane and Just Housing), Peoples' Force, Peoples' Foundation of Organizers for Community Empowerment, ZOTO (Zone One Tondo Organisation) TAMASA; and SUMADI. The two largest national alliances are KPML and PUKSA-LUPA. Both the resident associations are part of area and city level organisations. (One belongs to Payatas co-ordinating Council, an area level

organisation and SAMA-SAMA, city level coalition and the other to ZOTO operating at both zonal and city levels).

The formation of alliances and coalitions has gained momentum in recent years following the intensification of land and housing issues. Efforts at organisation are now increasingly oriented towards linking local community specific issues and problems to sectoral (urban poor as a whole) and national problems through the use of various forms of mobilisations. The extent of mobilisation has varied between community action to larger multi-sectoral and multi-community mobilisation. The efforts of these organisations have generated an upsurge in mass actions, city wide protests, publicity campaigns and negotiations with government agencies involved in the formulation of policies and programmes directed towards the problems of squatter settlements.

Most of these organisations articulate the demands of urban poor for improved living through political action to pressurise the state to introduce changes in the present distribution of land housing resources and basic services. In addition to community specific issues around which individual communities have been mobilised, a number of city-wide issues have gained recognition from the state. Some of the more important achievements in this direction are: 1) moratorium on demolition and eviction; ii) deferment of amortization payments in government housing projects; (iii) enactment of Urban Development and Housing Act incorporating the provision of urban land reform for equitable distribution of idle lands in Metro-Manila; iv) establishment of a Tri-sectoral consultative and coordinating mechanism constituted of representatives of urban poor organisation, non-governmental organisation s(NGOs) and government agencies for devising solutions for problems of the urban poor by interfacing the different approaches of the constituents and for monitoring and evaluating policy making and implementation of programmes; (v) articulating a common agenda for the urban poor and a creation of a government agency of the urban poor (the Presidential Commission for the Urban Poor); (vi) representation of the urban poor in the Congress (National Legislative Body); vii) peoples' participation in government agencies concerned with various programmes relating to the welfare of squatter communities; (viii) developing the methodology of community organising and maximising its potential.

As a result of these achievements there is a growing understanding of the need for collective action and organisation among the inhabitants for establishing a self-identity in the political system. This process has been facilitated by the support and involvement of middle classes, intellectuals, professionals, university teachers and students, church groups and the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) who take part in lobbying efforts, in generating strategies needed to articulate the interests of the squatter communities and in the formulation of legislative proposals for the welfare of urban poor. Developmental NGO's have established links with community based organisations and catalysed their formation. NGOs provide mechanisms for incorporation of community specific demands into larger movement for social reform. The NGOs in Phillipine have spearheaded the formation of the sector-wide and multi-sectoral alliances for political mobilisation.

There are problems associated with the organisation processes at the grassroots. The formation of alliances and coalitions are hinged to different political positions. Local community organisations that are constituents of alliances and co-alitions inevitably internalise these political orientations. Differences in political and ideological orientations not only create cleavages among the member organisations in the alliances and coalitions but also in the community organisations at the grass root level. Consequently, such differences hamper the development of effective community strategies, common programmes and parameters for community action. Political processes keep away many of the inhabitants of squatter settlements who have a different political or non-partisan orientation from participation in the community based organisations. Secondly, there is a tendency among the alliances and coalitions to overlook community specific issues and problems in favour of sectoral and national problems when identifying issues around which collective action is to be mobilised. This discourages inhabitants of the squatter settlements to involve and take interest in the efforts of local organisations. Besides, the alliances and coalitions and the NGO's supporting them implicitly act as patrons and mobilizers thus constraining the autonomy of local organisations. Finally, sometimes, the resident associations when making demands on the government seek the mediation of the Chairman of Barangay Council (basic local administrative unit) and politicians which have influence with the government agencies thus bringing into operation the traditional system of patron-client relationship. The extent to which the system provides benefits to the communities it becomes an instrument of patronage and thereby circumscribes the autonomy of the community organisations.

Levels and Forms of Participation in Community Affairs⁵

Residents of squatter settlements for obvious reasons have to strive for residential security and basic civic and other social services. Both in India and the Philippines the state plays an important role in this regard. Collective involvement of residents of the squatter settlements is essential to exert pressure on government agencies. The degree of participation in organised efforts for demand making, relatively speaking, is highest the Manila while it is moderate in Delhi and low in Hyderabad. The extent of participation is reflected in the following table:

Table 6

Percent of Households in which any Member Participated in Organised Efforts for Demand Making in the Three Cities

Surveyed Settlements in the three Cities	Organised efforts in demand making
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^{5.} The findings are based on the participation of heads of households or any other member in community affairs during the last three years preceding the year of inquiry (1992-93).

	Participate	Do not participate	No response	Total
DELHI	42.0	50.6	7.4	100.0
HYDERABAD	28.0	63.0	9.0	100.0
MANILA	59.8	36.2	4.0	100.0

Active involvement in demand making evokes different patterns of response for residential security and provision of services in each city and between the three cities. Prevention of eviction and demolition and regularisation of settlement is a major rallying issue and evinces uniformly high level of participation in all the settlements, though with varied intensity. Collaborative efforts in demand making for securing delivery of services do not match that of residential security. Besides security of tenure demand for some services draws greater community interest than others. Demand for water and toilet facilities attracts higher levels of participation than for services like health care, school facilities, environmental sanitation, electricity, pavement of streets and vocational training and livelihood programmes in all the settlements. Whichever type of services are involved in three cities, the level of participation in organised efforts is the highest in Manila and lowest in Hyderabad.

Table 7 presents the data on variation in levels of participation in demand making for various services in and between the three cities.

Levels of Participation in Self-help Programmes:

The level of involvement in self-help community action in local development projects is low among the residents in all the settlements in the three cities. It is extremely limited in Delhi and Hyderabad since only one out of ten respondents, participated in self-help type of activities. In Delhi, participants contributed money and labour in installation of hand pumps and contributed labour in construction of drainage in some parts of the settlements. In Hyderabad the residents contributed money and labour in construction of a community centre in one settlement and cleaning of drainage in the other. In Manila

Table 7
Levels of participation by type of services among those involved in organised efforts for demand making in the squatter settlements in the three cities

Per cent of Households in which any member participated in demand making efforts for the type of services sought

Prevention Vocational of eviction, demolition	Water	Toilet	Health	School	Environ- mental sanitation	Electri- city Streets	Pathways and training
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	Livelihood & regularisation of settlement programme								
DELHI	70.0	53.1	46.8	35.9	32.8	-	29.6	-	-
HYDERABAD	62.3	43.5	40.9	27.6	31.7	22.7	-	-	-
MANILA	84.5	64.8	54.2	-	-	40.5	-	43.2	38.2

collaborative efforts to improve physical environment and services elicited much greater response as compared to Delhi and Hyderabad. Nearly one-third of the respondents were involved in contributing labour and money for putting up school facilities and labour in digging wells, and levelling of streets and providing volunteers for health education. The limited initiative in alleviating common problems through direct co-operative action and variation in this regard in the three cities seems to be largely due to the level of expectation that the residents have from the local authorities and/or state and central government agencies to provide services. In Delhi and Hyderabad, an overwhelming majority of residents depend upon local, state or central government officials while this is not so in Manila. Table 8 shows the pattern of response relating to the responsibility of solving community problems:

Table 8
Pattern of Response Indicating Responsibility for Solving Community Problems (Percentage Distribution)

	DELHI	HYDERABAD	MANILA
Responsibility to solve Community Problems			
i) Community Itself	9.0	7.2	24.2
ii) Local Authority	21.8	44.1	28.7
iii) State and/or Central Government	59.7	20.4	22.2
iv) Community, Local Authority and State and/or Central Government	9.5	29.3	24.9

Forms of Participation in Demand Making

Respondents reported several ways of participation in community action for demand making. These comprise attending community or association meetings; petitioning through signing of letters, registering complaints, dialogues and negotiating with concerned government agencies; lobbying with officials, politicians, influential persons, political parties and non-governmental organisations; and protests through demonstrations, picketing, 'human barricades', participating in public rallies and marches. In Delhi, petitioning to appropriate government agencies followed by lobbying with political parties, politicians and influential outsiders are the major forms of participation in demand making. Support to protest in the form of demonstrations, picketing (Dharnas) and marches is becoming

significant element in community action particularly in respect to prevention of eviction and demolition. In Hyderabad, lobbying is the principal method for demand making while not many are involved in other forms of community mobilisation. In Manila, most participation is directed towards protests in one form or the other. Lobbying with non-governmental agencies for securing collective interests of the settlement community also draws substantial attention. Overall, the diverse forms of participation in collaborative efforts for demand making generates widespread support in Manila in contrast to both in Delhi and Hyderabad.

The table below shows the various forms of participation among the respondents in the three cities involved in the organised efforts for demand making:

Table 9
Forms of Participation Among the Respondents in the Three Cities

Surveyed Settlements in the three cities	Percent of households in which any member participated			
	Attendance in Community or Association Meetings	Petitioning	Lobbying	Protest
DELHI	28.3	53.5	42.4	30.7
HYDERABAD	12.7	32.3	44.2	16.0
MANILA	51.3	37.2	40.5	63.5

Channels of Demand Making:

The channels for demand making differ among the residents in the squatter settlements in the three cities. These variations can best be explained in the context of several factors such as the manner in which the government agencies respond to demand making, strength and effectiveness of community based organisations, extent of common identity and sharing of interests, perception of residents as to who best represents their interests, role of leaders and extra-community linkages and operation of patron client network system.

As discussed earlier, both in Delhi and Hyderabad, the structure of community based organisations is weak and are operated by a group of local leaders. Besides the associational framework, there are several other leaders who exercise considerable influence over different groups of residents. Settlements lack community wide co-operation in making efforts for the solution of common problems. Patron-client links between the local leaders, government officials and politicians and political parties influence government action. Residents believe that the leaders and outside agencies having better

access to government institutions enhance their chances for a successful outcome of demand making. It is for these reasons, that a large majority of the residents in these two cities seek the support of leaders and outside agencies in demand making.

Unlike Delhi and Hyderabad, the situation in Manila is entirely different. Residents' organisations have community wide base and are effective in generating consciousness of common interest and involvement in local community development among the residents. They are linked to coalitions or federations of urban poor organisations. Resident organisations have been supported by developmental non-governmental organisations, intellectuals, professional and other public interest groups. These linkages and support systems have given the residents a heightened sense of power and confidence and to a large extent enabled them to break away from clientist attitudes and acquiring a relatively autonomous position towards politicians and political parties. There are increasing signs of the squatter communities in becoming active elements in decision making relating to the choice of programmes to be implemented by the government agencies. It is against this background that resident organisations and community mobilisation act as the main channels for demand making.

The following table indicates the various channels of demand making utilised by the residents in the squatter settlements in the three cities.

Table 10
Channels of Demand Making

Channels of Demand Making	Per cent of respondent in the Squatter Settlements in three cities using		
	DELHI	HYDERABAD	MANILA
Through Resident Association	15.3	11.5	36.4
Community Mobilisation	16.1	3.4	18.1
Local Leaders	49.2	36.2	11.8
Politicians, Political Parties and Influential persons	14.4	32.9	11.8
Non-Governmental Organisations	-	-	20.0
Direct Approach to concerned government agencies	5.0	11.2	5.7
No Response	2.0	4.8	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Conclusions:

Social networks constituted of small groups based on kinship, caste, ethnic, village or regional affinities form the cornerstone of co-operative action among the residents in the surveyed squatter settlements in the three cities. They mainly aim at collectively dealing with survival and social needs. Nevertheless they constitute building blocks for community wide organisation and action. In Delhi and Hyderabad, it is local organisations, beyond the level of social networks, based on particularistic loyalties and sectional interests that dominate associational life of the residents in the squatter settlements. People based mechanism representing common interests of all sections of residents have limited role in these cities. Even in Hyderabad where an officially sponsored Urban Community Development Programme is in operation, community based organisations have been ineffective in stimulating widespread involvement of residents in community affairs. In both the cities, the residents depend on local leaders and extra-community linkages for securing access to services and facilities and regularisation of settlements. The operation of a network of patron-client system consisting of local leaders, government officials, politicians, political parties and influential persons greatly constrains the development of a broad based community organisation and collective mobilisation for demand making. Clientelism is the major instrument for whatever improvements are effectuated. The gap between government agencies and residents reinforces the patronage system. Most organised efforts in these cities are centred around prevention of eviction and demolition

and are far less concerned with provision of services. In Manila, community based organisations are much more entrenched and have induced community wide participation in organised efforts in demand making. Focussing on specific and concrete community issues and demands, they have been able to stage common action to negotiate with government agencies for provision of basic services and legalisation of land tenure. Organising is oriented towards the formation of coalition or united front of squatter communities. Community centered demand making has considerably reduced the operation of patron-client relationships between the squatter communities and the politicians or the government officials. Residents are increasingly acquiring capacity to set their organisational and programmatic goals and the means to achieve these goals. The role of non-governmental organisation in this direction has been crucial. Organised efforts to make demands on the state for a better distribution of welfare opportunities have led to the institutionalisation of community participation in government decision making. Community based organisations in Manila are increasingly consulted both in regard to choice of programmes and in their implementation. It may, however, be mentioned that in all the cities the state is the conditioning institution as to how the demands are framed and the avenues for their representation.

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ABSTRACT

There is growing recognition of the Capacity of the residents in Squatter Settlements to organise and mobilise collective efforts in devising solutions to common problems encountered by them. It is in this context that the nature of participatory structure and limitations, strengths and role of community based organisations in achieving qualitatively different living conditions are discussed in this paper. While outlining the barriers to participation and organisation, it also examines the level and form of participation in organised efforts in demand making and the channels used.