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From Slums to High-Rise Living: Assessing the Impacts of the Tondominium Housing Project on Former Informal Settlers from Vitas Katuparan, Tondo¹

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Background

The combination of inadequate and unaffordable housing programs for low-income households, persistently low wages, and escalating land values (Shatkin 2004; Ballesteros 2010; WB 2017) has pushed many Filipinos into informal settlements. This proliferation is particularly evident in areas such as Tondo, Manila City's largest and most densely populated district (PSA 2021). The recent rise of government high-rise, in-city housing offers a promising approach—maximizing land use while retaining access to jobs and services. However, limited empirical evidence exists on its actual impacts in the Philippine context, and this study addresses this urgent research gap by evaluating the impact of Tondominium on former informal settler families (ISFs).

Launched in February 2022, Tondominium is among Manila's vertical (high-rise) housing projects mandated under the Manila City Local Government Unit's (LGU) Ordinance No. 8730, aiming to provide decent and affordable housing for Manila residents from diverse income groups, while prioritizing low-income households and ISFs (Dawis-Asuncion 2023). According to Chapter 7, Section 53 of the said ordinance, eligible applicants must be legal-aged Filipinos residing in Manila City who do not own, claim, or are in the process of acquiring any real property (City Council of Manila 2021).

Spearheaded by the Manila Urban Settlements Office (MUSO) of the Manila City LGU, the ₱1-billion Tondominium housing project (Lamudi 2020) was constructed on government-owned land and features two 15-storey towers with 336 units, elevators, parking, playground, basketball court, and a livelihood center (Dawis-Asuncion 2023). Following a mixed-income housing model, the project accommodates former ISFs, LGU employees, and raffle winners. This MUSO housing project is located about 300 meters from Vitas Katuparan, a housing project developed by the National Housing Authority (NHA) in the 1990s for ISFs displaced from Slip 17 Philippine Ports Authority Compound, Delpan Flyover, Smokey Mountain, and Open Market (NHA 2020). Vitas Katuparan consists of 27 four-storey medium-rise buildings (MIT n.d.; Ocampo 2009; Ogsimer 2021).

In 2020, Vitas Katuparan buildings, along with the buildings of the Punta Tenement housing project in Sta. Ana, Manila were declared "condemned" by the NHA (NHA 2020). In particular, the Buildings 12 and 13 in Vitas Katuparan were prioritized for demolition to make way for the construction of a road leading to the cockpit arena in the location of the housing project (Barbosa 2024). Affected residents of the said buildings in Vitas Katuparan were offered two options by the Manila City LGU: rent units at the

1 This paper is a shortened version of an undergraduate thesis by the same author entitled "From Slums to Vertical Housing: An Evaluation of the Impact of the Tondominium Housing Project on Former Informal Settler Beneficiaries from Vitas Katuparan, Tondo," submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement in BA Social Sciences (Major in Area Studies) course in May 2025.

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Figure 1. The satellite image on the left shows the location of the Tondominium complex (outlined in green), in relation to the road where Vitas Katuparan Buildings 12 and 13 once stood (outlined in yellow), with an approximate walking distance of 300 meters between the two points. Source: Google Maps. Meanwhile, the photo on the right shows the precise location of the same road, with the cockpit arena (Coliseo de Manila) located in front of it, as photographed by the researcher from the Tondominium's rooftop.

LGU-run Tondominium housing project or relocate to an NHA housing project in Naic, Cavite. Monthly rent is ₱2,000 for households earning below ₱13,000 a month, and ₱3,000 for those earning above. Despite initial protests over affordability, more than 280 families from Vitas Katuparan have been relocated to the Tondominium housing project since its inauguration (Manila Today 2023).

Objectives and Methods

This paper examines the experiences of Vitas Katuparan residents who were relocated and became 'beneficiaries' of the Tondominium housing project, focusing on the challenges they faced in the different phases of the relocation to the housing project: before, during, and after. As a guiding framework for analysis, the study employed Terminski's (2012) Human Security model. It is a holistic framework widely used to assess the impacts of development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR) across various dimensions of human security (Terminski 2012; Zewude 2016). Guided by this framework, the project's impacts were analyzed based on selected dimensions of human security, namely: economic, food, community, cultural, environmental, and personal security. For instance, economic security assessed the relocation project's impacts on the beneficiaries' livelihoods and economic stability; community security examined access to social capital and services; environmental security evaluated safety from hazards and disasters; personal security inspected

safety and crime protection, and cultural security explored the beneficiaries' cultural adjustments and adaptation. Through these, the study meticulously conducted a multidisciplinary analysis of the relocation project's economic, social, & cultural impacts; the issues they encountered, and their coping strategies. It also assessed the aid they received from the government, NGOs, and other civil society organizations upon relocation. This paper was grounded on 20 individual interviews with the relocatees, followed by focus group discussions (FGDs) a week later to cross-validate collective narratives regarding the relocation process and to further explore emerging themes from the individual interviews. 2 FGDs were conducted with 4 participants each. Data triangulation was conducted using related literature, field observations, and interviews with a MUSO representative, community organization leaders, a Tondominium administrator, and the head of the Tondominium livelihood center. Thematic analysis was then utilized to interpret the findings.

Findings

Appendix A presents the lived experiences, perceptions, and challenges shared by the participants—the 'beneficiaries' and current residents of the Tondominium housing project. These form the basis of the thematic analysis discussed in the findings, which are organized into nine main themes. For the pre- and during-relocation phase, the themes cover: (1) relocation process

experiences and (2) weak support systems. For the post-relocation phase, the themes include: (3) affordability challenges, (4) diverse livelihood impacts, (5) social impacts, (6) cultural adjustments, (7) infrastructure and services, (8) coping strategies, and (9) general assessment.

Pre- and During-Relocation Phase

Relocation Process Experiences

Participation, Communication, and Screening Gaps. The relocation process was largely top-down, with multiple orientations conducted by the Manila City LGU that residents described as informative but not consultative. Moreover, during the initial resistance, community organization leaders reportedly faced red-tagging, which instilled fear, discouraged community organizing and collective action, and ultimately deterred them from influencing the relocation process. Poor communication on the part of the LGU also led some to misreport their income. Some understated theirs to avoid disqualification, while others overstated due to rumors that extremely low wages would render them ineligible for financial incapacity to pay. This reveals gaps in the information and beneficiary screening processes, as Ordinance No. 8730 (Chapter 7, Section 53) mandates that eligible beneficiaries must be from low-income families earning less than twice the poverty threshold set by the PSA (City Council of Manila 2021). In addition, this also reflects broader challenges in Philippine housing policy for the poor, where income verification among beneficiaries is increasingly difficult due to the prevalence of informal employment and the exploitation of housing programs by professional squatters and syndicates (Ballesteros 2009). Hence, improving income verification systems is critical in ensuring that housing assistance genuinely reaches the low-income and deserving families.

Concerns on Motivation and Transparency. Participants questioned the hasty relocation, noting that only buildings blocking the cockpit arena were demolished. They argued that the relocation was not solely for the residents' benefit but to promote better access to the arena, which is expected to generate significant revenue for Manila City LGU as outlined in Ordinance No. 8395 of the City Council of Manila (2015). Furthermore, some felt misled by overstated affordability claims, while house rules and rental rates based on income were not fully disclosed before resettlement. Consequently, some

view the process as manipulative, aimed more at persuading them to resettle and promoting political publicity than providing genuine support.

Efficient but Costly Application. A significant concern among the participants was the paradox of being displaced yet being required to apply and spend on several documentary requirements (See *Appendix B*). This added a significant financial burden to urban poor families who were already economically vulnerable prior to their displacement from their former residences and subsequent relocation. They reported spending approximately between ₱1,000 and ₱3,000 on certificate fees³ and transportation costs, with one recounting selling their phone to cover costs. Despite this, they described the application process as highly organized, with approvals granted in less than a month. This reduced tenure insecurity before relocation—a key issue in past government relocation projects (Herath, Lakshman, and Ekanayake 2017; Maningo 2022; Nikuze et al. 2019).

Weak Support Systems

Promised support—food assistance and a three-month free rent period—was unevenly distributed among the 'beneficiaries' of the housing project. Most participants reported receiving little to no aid aside from the free electricity for two days. Assistance from NGOs and community organizations was poorly recalled, reflecting their underutilization despite their proven importance in complementing government efforts in past relocations (Carrasco and Egbelakin 2022; Valeriano 2012). Moreover, no compensation was provided for lost assets, raising particular concern among original awardees and unit buyers in Vitas Katuparan, whose units reportedly cost between ₱40,000 and ₱120,000.

Only three participants reportedly joined the training programs in baking, vinegar-making, and soap-making provided by the livelihood center at the housing project. However, they deemed them ineffective due to a lack of capital and their one-time implementation, which limited the possibility of long-term income generation. Additionally, some also reported salary delays of up to two months. The livelihood center head acknowledged these issues, citing challenges including the perishability of goods, budget limitations, and difficulties in finding a market. The dressmaking program—initiated and facilitated by a Tondominium resident—was sustained for over two years, but participation was

3 Certificate fees refer to the costs of securing required government-issued documents for the housing application, such as birth certificates, Certificate of No Landholding, Tax Clearance Certificate, Certificate of No Marriage Record for non-married applicants, and Marriage Contracts for married applicants.

low due to lack of awareness, limited income potential, and irrelevance with their preferences and skills, as most were food vendors. Consequently, the training program also began catering to those not residing within Tondominium, with most now coming from the remaining Vitas Katuparan buildings. These barriers—insufficient funding, market access issues, limited promotion, and misalignment with the residents' actual needs and current livelihoods—suggest that the livelihood support system provided is not fully sustainable for the community, as it struggles to generate lasting engagement and economic stability among residents.

Post-Relocation Phase

Affordability Challenges. While relatively well-off beneficiaries did not mind the increased cost due to improved housing, most of the beneficiaries expressed affordability concerns. Due to higher living costs, some households resorted to fewer, cheaper, and less nutritious meals, while others reduced children's allowances or withdrew them from school to prioritize rent. Moreover, delayed billing notices also led many to assume that they were still under the rent-free period for several months, resulting in large accumulation of unpaid rent and eventual unprecedented financial strain. Their difficulties were largely rooted in their pre-existing vulnerabilities—irregular and low-paying jobs, unfamiliarity with paying rent and utilities (in the context of high-rise housing), large families, and low educational attainment. For instance, most participants had only reached or completed high school, while only one held a college degree. Former Vitas Katuparan unit owners and those previously reliant on informal utility connections were also unaccustomed to direct payment of rent and utility bills. This issue was more pronounced among former rooftop dwellers in Vitas Katuparan who had lived rent-free and relied on informally-connected utilities. These vulnerabilities were exacerbated by inadequate post-relocation aid and misaligned livelihood programs. Hence, during the program's early implementation phase, some voluntarily exited, while four households were forcibly evicted due to rent non-compliance and illegal renting of their units.

Diverse Livelihood Impacts. Most retained their jobs due to in-city relocation. However, many women lost their informal income sources due to initial prohibition and spatial constraints in vertical housing, particularly for businesses that depend on open spaces and foot traffic. Others failed to sustain their businesses due to higher living expenses, which constrained their available capital.

Contrastingly, some livelihoods benefited. One participant grew her home-based nail services, attributing it to better heat protection, which supported the quality preservation of her nail products, and the more economically diverse residents in Tondominium that expanded her client base.

Social Impacts. Relocating most ISFs to Tondominium helped preserve social capital, enabling continued access to existing financial and non-financial support networks and fostering strong neighborhood camaraderie. This facilitated collective response to challenges, particularly when they organized a fire truck during a three-day water outage and collectively solicited to replace broken lights and install CCTVs (closed-circuit televisions). The mixed-income occupancy also increased access to new customers (in the case of those who offer home-based services) and loan sources, especially from middle-income neighbors, unlike in a previous relocation project where purely low-income residency limited market opportunities (Abebe and Hesselberg 2013).

Nine participants reported reduced social interaction due to enclosed spaces, limited and often restricted shared spaces, and elevator malfunctions. Unlike Vitas Katuparan's open walkways that enabled spontaneous interactions, socialization in Tondominium is commonly limited to the ground floor. Elderly and low-income residents were most affected. One senior reportedly died from health complications worsened by social isolation and physical inactivity after relocation. Meanwhile, poor beneficiaries were compelled to increase workloads to meet higher living costs, leaving them with less time and energy to socialize. This may limit their ability to sustain or establish social capital, which is vital for survival, especially for poor households (Jocano 1975).

Cultural Adjustments. Relocation to a vertical housing, much less a high-rise one, required significant adjustments on the part of residents - especially to those who have been accustomed to living in mid-rise tenements and informal settlements. The adjustments necessitated in the relocation led to challenges in adapting to formal shared rules and responsibilities for public spaces, with reports of difficulties in waste management, pet care, and the upkeep of common facilities. Many residents also expressed frustration over the perceived loss of freedom due to rules imposed in the Resident's Handbook. Eventually, many adapted, noting that the rules and social expectations in a cleaner and more regulated



Figure 2. The photo shows the community-initiated *Pabasa* held on the ground floor of the Tondominium.

environment improved their discipline, sanitation, and clothing. They observed a reduction in negative behaviors stereotypically associated with slum-dwellers — patterns similarly observed among ISFs in Sri Lanka relocated to a condominium (Herath, Lakshman, and Ekanayake 2017). Hence, many acknowledged that the relocation helped cultivate a safer, cleaner, and more peaceful community life.

Proximity to their former homes allowed beneficiaries to continue attending festivities, as well as religious and social gatherings. However, they pointed out the absence of clothes-drying (laundry) areas and chapels, which necessitated them to buy dryers and rent venues outside for wakes, causing additional financial burden. Nonetheless, various events like feeding programs, Sunday masses, sports tournaments, and holiday celebrations were held on the ground floor, organized by the Tondominium building administrator and a volunteer group called the “Angels”, composed of five Tondominium residents. Through community agency and bargaining with the administrators, their community-owned Nazareno were brought to Tondominium, and traditions like *pabasa* (See Figure 2) and fiestas were preserved. Although some found celebrations less vibrant due to spatial constraints and visitor regulations (e.g., limited visiting hours and number of visitors), alternative festivities through games and performances were actively held. Hence, this reflects a cultural transformation rather than a complete disruption, as residents adapted their traditions to the new social and physical environment of the condominium.

Residents from other religious denominations, such as Born-Again Christians, shared that they do not participate in religious practices held in Tondominium, including the *pabasa*, fiestas, and Sunday masses, since these are rooted in Catholic traditions. There was also no indication of similar religious accommodations or gatherings for non-Catholic groups, which may suggest the need for greater inclusivity and recognition of religious diversity in community activities.

Infrastructure and Services. Social services, such as health centers, public transportation, and schools, remain accessible. However, as markets became slightly farther, they resorted to buying goods in bulk—a costly option for already struggling families. Hence, they proposed establishing a small market within or nearby to improve access to affordable goods and create income-generating opportunities.

Electricity via Kuryente Load system and water were available upon moving in. However, residents have experienced recurring water supply interruptions since 2024. Without a fixed water rationing schedule, residents were only informed through a group chat once it returned, leading many to leave faucets open with pails underneath. Since water often returned early in the morning, this typically led to indoor flooding and increased bills. Residents were not informed by the administrator regarding its culprit, making them feel neglected about a basic need. Meanwhile, a MUSO representative explained that it was probably caused by weak water pressure within the building.

Occasional elevator malfunctions, reportedly caused by frequent overloading beyond the six-person limit, can last for two to three days or at most, a week. These often hinder social interactions, discourage school attendance, complicate trash collection, and force residents to leave e-trike batteries in the parking, risking theft that affects their livelihood. They also pose safety risks during emergencies, especially when residents from higher floors require urgent medical attention. Initially, elevators had limited operating hours, but they began operating 24 hours daily, following a suicide incident and numerous complaints.

Garbage collection became a major concern following a contractor change in January 2025. Previously, waste was collected daily from large bins on the ground floor. Following the shift, these bins were removed, requiring residents to bring trash downstairs during collection times. This burdened those on higher floors and contributed to elevator overuse. As the truck stays only an hour, some residents were compelled to bring their trash back up, leading to waste accumulation and contamination. To address this, the LGU created a group chat for reporting uncollected garbage and prompting timely action. However, not all residents have access to this channel, with one reporting exclusion from the group.

Coping Strategies. Residents cope through mutual aid among neighbors, overtime work, sideline jobs, and operating small retail stores inside their units or on the ground floor. Although stores were initially prohibited, residents successfully lobbied for it, arguing the need to cope with increased living expenses. While previous studies highlight these microenterprises as economic resilience (Ejera 2023; Maningo 2022), the residents in the study also emphasized their psychosocial value as spaces for socialization and leisure amid social isolation in a vertical housing. Some residents also leave doors open to encourage neighborhood interaction, improve ventilation, and reduce electricity costs.

To avoid eviction, many appealed to local politicians. This explains why several families remain despite years of non-payment, and City Council of Manila (2021) Ordinance No. 8730, Section 57, which imposes unit cancellation after three consecutive months of unpaid rent. This reflects the political clientelism in housing policy, where short-term individual favors are used to maintain dependency among the poor, ensure continuous political support (Storey 1998), and undermine collective action for genuine reforms (Brumlick 1992, as cited in Storey 1998). In Tondominium’s case, this temporary relief of

retaining their homes can prevent them from collectively organizing and advocating for reforms that can significantly improve their lives in the long term, including unit ownership and better employment and educational opportunities.

General Assessment. Preferences were mixed—some preferred high-rise housing for accommodating more families, while many favored low-rise housing for earthquake safety and greater tenure security, given the 50-year lifespan of vertical housing projects stated in Ordinance No. 8730, Chapter 5, Section 33 (City Council of Manila 2021).

Overall, nine participants (45%) agreed with the relocation, citing improved safety and privacy, larger units, and cleaner surroundings. They also appreciated the solid unit partitions and the presence of guards, CCTVs, and administrators, which helped prevent trespassing, violence, robbery, and other crimes. The absence of regular government oversight in Vitas Tenement contributed to the neglect of shared spaces (De Leon 1979), leading to its eventual deterioration and condemnation. Contrastingly, Tondominium provides on-site administrative support, maintenance personnel, and essential facilities. The better housing quality also provides greater protection from disasters and environmental hazards, unlike Vitas tenements, where corroded metal stairs, missing safety handrails, and exposed drainages increase the risks of accidents (Aguila, Cobre, and Taguilaso 2020).

Participants also reported better health outcomes, largely due to improved ventilation and sanitation. They often compared it to their former settlements, where poor ventilation made the spread of contagious diseases easier, and improper waste disposal led to foul odors and illnesses. Hence, many beneficiaries hoped similar opportunities would be extended to others, especially those living in condemned Vitas Katuparan buildings facing demolition threats.

The seven participants (35%) who opposed the relocation and the other four (20%) who were undecided or “fifty-fifty” highlight issues that remain unresolved. These include insufficient post-relocation aid, strict rules, inadequate CCTVs, unsafe playground, perceived earthquake vulnerability, few unit defects, and water leaks. Water leaks from ceiling cracks caused by earthquakes are a prominent concern among those on higher floors. Some residents, commonly in corner units regardless of floor level, also experience water leaks from windows during strong rainstorms.

Moreover, reports of roof deck cracks were reportedly ignored by the Manila City LGU, despite Ordinance No. 8730 (Chapter 11, Section 77), which mandates the prioritization of major repairs in common areas.

Above all, affordability remains a major concern. Four households were already evicted, and over half face eviction threats. Thus, while Tondominium marks progress over earlier vertical housing efforts in Tondo, persistent affordability challenges and inadequate support may risk repeating past housing failures where residents merely returned to informal settlements (Poethig 1969; Kimuell-Gabriel 2016).

Recommendations

The following recommendations are based on both the analysis of findings and the participants' suggestions:

For the Tondominium Housing Project:

- **Political appeals are mere band-aid solutions** that put residents at risk for homelessness in the long term. Robust financial and livelihood support systems tailored to the residents' socioeconomic realities and needs are highly recommended.
- Given the instability of most participants' income sources, **livelihood support systems must be expanded** through resident consultations to facilitate trainings aligned with their needs and preferences. Partnerships with government agencies, such as Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA) and the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), are also crucial to provide expertise, expand resources, and enhance market and job opportunities. Beyond trainings, programs should also offer job referrals, start-up capital, follow-ups, mentorship, and impact evaluations to ensure genuine poverty alleviation.
- While many suggested a **rent-to-own scheme**, its potential impacts must be critically assessed to ensure affordability, and prevent cases of unit reselling and subsequently returning to informal settlements due to economic instability.
- **Infrastructure improvements** are also essential, such as ensuring efficient water supply and garbage collection, establishing mini markets on-site or nearby, installing additional CCTVs, and repairing the roof deck, windows, unit defects, and damaged playground barriers.

- **Installing vital spaces**, such as a chapel, daycare center, prayer room, and clothes-drying area, is also recommended for their cultural and practical importance.
- **Encourage and support more faith-inclusive community initiatives** by engaging with non-Catholic groups to better accommodate their religious needs and gain insight into the religious practices they wish to observe within Tondominium. This helps ensure that communal spaces and activities recognize the community's religious diversity.
- **Continuous community orientations** should be conducted to reinforce social accountability in maintaining public facilities, ensure community well-being, and promote long-term sustainability.
- **Regular earthquake drills** should be implemented to enhance disaster preparedness and mitigate the persistent anxiety commonly expressed by the residents.
- For a more timely response to common concerns, the local government must ensure **periodic post-relocation evaluations and conduct regular consultations** where residents can easily voice their concerns and suggestions beyond the building administrator.

For Future Housing Projects:

- **In-city, high-rise, and mixed-income housing, such as the Tondominium can be effective in densely populated areas with limited available land, as they maximize space, maintain proximity to jobs and essential services, and incorporate disaster-resilient features and maintenance systems.** As low-income families tend to be large, its 44-square-meter units are better suited to their needs than Vitas Katuparan's 28-square-meter units. Moreover, the mixed-income occupancy has been found to boost support networks and economic opportunities. Nonetheless, the displaced, low-income families must remain the priority. It is also important to note that numerous urban poor communities and advocacy groups prefer low or mid-rise developments for easier mobility, better accessibility, and stronger social capital⁴—underscoring the need to match housing design with the specific context and needs of the intended beneficiaries.
- **Initial unit inspections must be mandatory**, as it becomes difficult to coordinate repairs with contractors once units are turned over, according to a MUSO representative.

4 This is based on community development practice and advocacy work documented and observed by Inklusibo, including the experiences in Sitio San Roque's Community Development Plan (CDP), various mid-rise building (MRB) projects in Pasig, and recent developments in Caloocan.

- **Socio-cultural integration is crucial for strengthening camaraderie and boosting social capital**—both of which are essential for the residents' adjustment and survival. This must be promoted by relocating the entire or the majority of community members to a single and nearby site, adopting flexible rules, establishing essential public spaces, and ensuring adequate and responsive administrative support.
- **Implementing flexible unit assignments** makes social support networks more accessible. For instance, allowing families to live near one another helped ease the caregiving responsibilities of a resident whose partner was working overseas.

Most of the challenges identified stem from the lack of **meaningful consultation** with affected communities. Thus, future projects must pursue more inclusive, transparent, non-repressive, and participatory planning processes. This entails actively involving the community and funding civil society organizations to guarantee genuine representation in crucial housing decisions, such as housing type, location, and payment terms. It must also involve **affordability assessments** to ensure that payment schemes match the residents' income capacity, with targeted subsidies for vulnerable families. **Strengthening income verification systems** is also equally important to prevent misrepresentation and ensure a fairer process. Most importantly, housing alone is not enough; it must be integrated into broader anti-poverty strategies that guarantee access to employment and educational opportunities. To ease adjustment, relocated families should receive **adequate, equitable, and context-sensitive aid**—both financially (e.g., compensation for lost assets, loan access, cash) and non-financially (e.g., food assistance, livelihood programs). **Enhancing aid-tracking systems** is likewise critical to ensuring that assistance is equally distributed among beneficiaries. Without sustained assistance, these families risk falling into a cycle of displacement and deeper poverty. With the right intervention and a genuinely participatory approach that centers on the poor—government vertical housing may be developed and managed in ways that uphold dignity, livability, and inclusivity. •

Appendix A

Note: All acronyms used in the excerpts refer to specific individuals or institutional representatives interviewed in the study:

TA—T Condominium Administrator

LCH—Livelihood Center Head

COL—Community Organization Leader

MUSO—Manila Urban Settlements Office Rep.

Unless otherwise indicated, all statements are direct quotes from relocated residents who participated in either interviews or FGDs. The excerpts were lightly edited for readability and conciseness, while still maintaining the participants' original phrasing.

Appendix A. Thematic Table		
General Areas	Sub-areas	Excerpts
Relocation Process Experiences	Participation Gaps	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sinabi naman nila na magtatayo sila ng building, pero hindi naman kami kinonsulta kung ano yung gusto namin. • Inabot kami ng red-tag. Nawala na yung sundalo rito eh. Yung pangalan namin, nilalantad sa community: "Kilala niyo ba 'to? Umaakyat ba 'to ng bundok?" (COL) • Isang beses lang po ako sumama sa rally pero natakot ako kaya hindi na naulit.
	Communication and Screening Gaps	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ang nilagay ko nga ₱30,000 lang. Hindi ko dineclare yung tama. Binawasan ko talaga. • Yung una, may nagsabi na 'pag mababa yung income, hindi ka makakapasok. Kaya yung iba, nagpataas.
	Concerns on Motivation and Transparency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pinilit lang talaga kaming paalisin dun gawa ng daanan daw ng sabungan. Minamadali rin nilang tanggalin yung building. • Bago ilipat, sabihin agad kung ano yung patakaran o policies nila sa lilipatan para 'di nabibigla. • Nangamba, kasi hindi pa alam kung magkano monthly. • Pagkalipat na namin nalaman kung magkano. • Yung information na "Bibigyan ko kayo ng bahay, aakapin ko kayo dito" parang nakabulag sa iba. Parang ginamit lang kami sa publicity. Tinalo kami.
	Efficient but Costly Application	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Walang trabaho asawa ko at kakasimula ko pa lang sa trabaho kaya binenta ko cellphone ko para makakuha ng mga requirements namin. • Ang dami naming requirements bago kami makapasok. • By batch ang pagpasa ng requirements. Hindi nagsabay-sabay kasi magulo 'yun. • Madaling ma-approve, walang isang buwan basta kumpleto requirements.
Weak Support Systems	Inconsistent and Inadequate Aid	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sabi ng LGU magkakaroon kami ng isang sakong bigas, pera—wala naman. Hinintay namin 'yun para panimula dito. • Kung may natatanggap, hindi naman lahat nabibigyan. • Naabutan kong libreng upa, isang buwan na lang. • Wala akong natanggap na libreng upa. • Two years lang siya napakinabangan, tapos wala na. Kaya nalungkot talaga ako. ₱120, 000 yung unit, pinagawa ko pa. • Hindi makatarungan kasi 'pag giniba yung bahay mo, kahit papano dapat bibigyan kahit konting cash, 'di ba?

Appendix A. Thematic Table

General Areas	Sub-areas	Excerpts
	Ineffective Livelihood Program	<p>Experiences of those who Joined the Livelihood Trainings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yung paggawa ng sabon at suka ang natutunan ko. Gusto namin mag-business kaso hindi natuloy dahil kinulang sa puhunan. • Hindi napagpatuloy. Isang beses lang nangyari ang training, hindi na naulit. Hindi naging annual o regular. • May nag-test, siguro anim ang nakapasa kaso sahod nila inabot ng dalawang buwan. <p>Factors for Low-Participation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wala akong masyadong nababalitaan tungkol doon. • Wala na akong time. Kung iintindihin ko pa yung training, sayang din kita sa araw-araw sa e-trike. • Kailangan dito 'yung partner mo may work. Tulong lang. Hindi talaga usually malakihan income dito. (LCH) • 'Di nakikisali yung mga parents dito na gustong kumita. Wala namang may gustong manahi eh kaya kumukuha pa ng outsiders.
Affordability Challenges	Impacts on food and schooling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dati, tatlong beses. Ngayon, minsan dalawang beses na lang. Tanghali matutulog para gabi na lang kumain. Sa isang linggo, dalawang beses nangyayari yun. • Gulay at prito ang gusto kong kainin kasi matanda na ako eh kaso 'di na namin kaya. • Wala na kaming kakayahan. Kahit pampublikong paaralan, hindi sapat kasi bibili ka pa ng gamit. • Sa projects niya sa school, hirap kami. Sa baon niya, minsan limit, minsan wala. • Huminto na 'yung panganay ko sa kolehiyo. Sabi niya, "Mag-work na lang ako, priority na lang 'tong bahay." Kailangan ko rin kasi ng katulong dahil mahirap.
	Miscommunication and Unexpected Financial Strain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Binagsak nila ang bayarin. Five months. Ang sakit sa ulo niyan, ₱15,000. Within five days, mag-report ka, magbayad ka. Diyan na ako nagsimulang mapapraning talaga. • Dapat sana sinabi na sa simula pa lang na may babayaran na, eh di sana napag-ipunan. Nalaman namin nine months na. Hanggang ngayon, hindi pa namin nabayaran.
	Pre-Relocation Economic Vulnerabilities	<p>Irregular and low-paying jobs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ano lang ba yung trabaho ng mga tao diyan? Tricycle driver, nangangalakal, tindera o kargador sa Divisoria. (COL) • Pakyawan ang trabaho. Nakadepende lang sa araw. Si mama, vendor ₱500 isang araw. • Asawa ko estibador. Hindi kayang ma-estimate kasi on-call lang siya, hindi regular. Sa isang araw, ₱750 pero tatlong araw lang pasok kada linggo. <p>Unfamiliarity with paying monthly rent and utility bills:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nahirapan po kasi dito may monthly na upa. Doon, binili ng asawa ko ang unit ng ₱48,000 noong 2010. • Okay doon kasi wala kaming binabayaran na upa. Kuryente namin jumper lang pati tubig. • Dito ang dami mong iniisip na bayarin, lalo na po ako na hindi sanay sa monthly.

Appendix A. Thematic Table

General Areas	Sub-areas	Excerpts
	Voluntary Exits, Evictions, and Threats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Noong umpisa, yung iba voluntary lang bumaba kasi hindi na nakakapagbayad. Apat pa lang napapaalis ko rito—yung illegal na nagpa-upa ng unit nila at dalawang hindi nagbayad higit isang taon na. Noong una kasi medyo mahigpit. (TA) Yung apat, asan na sila ngayon? May ilan nangungupahan sa ilalim ng tulay, sa Aroma, sa Riverside. Mas malala pa sa dati, walang CR at marumi. Ang pinaka-kinakatakutan namin ay mapalayas kami. Ang tagal nanaman naming 'di nakakabayad. Halos siguro mahigit kalahati matatanggal dito pagka pina-implement ng gobyerno kasi halos magdadalawang taon na yung iba na hindi nagbabayad. (TA)
Diverse Livelihood Impacts	Sustained Employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trabaho, tuloy-tuloy pa rin kasi malapit lang dito.
	Informal Livelihood Loss	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bawal magtinda dito noong una kaya natigil na rin. Hanggang sa hindi na lang kasi ang dami na ring nagtitinda eh. Nang lumipat kami, wala na po akong tindahan kasi dito, sarado na eh. Doon kasi open, kaya mas maraming tao. Nagtitinda ako ng grocery sa Katuparan. Ngayon, wala na kasi wala ng budget at puhunan. Maraming nanay dito na walang trabaho. Dapat tulongan kami ng Manila City Hall magtayo ng livelihood.
	Business Growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Doon sa Katuparan, hindi siya nagki-click. Kasi 'yung mga tao doon, hindi nila afford at hindi ako nag-business ng ganito doon kasi 'yung consistency ng nail gel ko, natutuyo sa init, sayang lang. Dito, sobrang click niya, as in boom talaga kasi halo-halo na yung nakatira.
Social Impacts	Preserved social capital, Mutual aid	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Halos lahat kami sa Katuparan na nailipat doon, nandito rin. Sa mga kaibigan ko sa Katuparan, kahit malayo ang bahay, nagcha-chat kami. Maka-utang ng konti para sa meryenda o ano man. May isa pa akong anak na nasa Tower 2, minsan nagpapadala siya ng ulam. Nakakahiram ako halimbawa ng kutsilyo o kaya mainit na tubig kasi kami-kami pa rin naman eh.
	Boosted Social Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Madaling pakisamahan ang mga bagong kapitbahay tulad ng teacher dito. Madali siyang lapitan kapag kailangan ko ng tulong-pinansyal o utang. Karamihan ng mga bagong kabigan ko galing sa raffle. Madami din akong naging bagong kumare, kahit yung mga taga-City Hall.
	Reduced Social Interaction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sa Katuparan, sa pasilyo pa lang, dami mo nang ka-maritesan. Dito, 'di na masyado dahil sarado ang mga pinto. Dito lang ako sa bahay lagi. Bihira na lang, kumpara dati na open lang ang paligid. Dito, kailangan mo pang bumaba para makipag-usap.

Appendix A. Thematic Table

General Areas	Sub-areas	Excerpts
	Reduced Social Interaction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kung hindi ka bababa, hindi ka makakapagsalamuha sa mga tao. • Sa Katuparan, marami siyang ginagawa. Maraming makaka-usap at pwedeng gawin sa sobrang kalat. Dito, wala na siyang magawa kundi matulog at kumain hanggang sa na-trigger ang diabetes niya at namatay siya. • Hindi ganoon kadalas dahil may mga hanapbuhay na ang iba at busy na. Siyempre sobrang pagod din sa trabaho. • Hindi na po masyado nakikipag-ano sa kaibigan gawa ng hardworking. Kailangan talaga para makapagbayad.
Cultural Adjustments	Adaptation to New Norms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kinukutkot yung pindutan ng elevator, binabakbak pintura, sinisira yung mga fire extinguisher. (TA) • Alanganamang awayin mo 'yang 15th floor kasi kitang-kita mo sino yung dumura. Kaya lilinis na lang. May nagtatapon din ng dumi ng hayop sa bintana. Sumasabit 'yun sa bintana namin sa 2nd floor. • Hindi mahigpit doon tulad dito. Hindi kami sanay sa mahigpit. • Sa una, hindi kami aware sa mga patakaran dito pero nasanay din naman kami. Tsaka safe dito. • Doon, parang lagi kang makikipag-away. Dito, nabago kami at yung pakikitungo. • Dito kami natutong mag-adjust kung paano namin iikot ang sarili namin sa kabalahurahan kasi ang linis-linis dito. • May pagbabago kahit sa pananamit. Dati, yung tinulog mo, yun rin ang ilalabas mo. Dito, iniba ko na. Siyempre, parang nasa mas magandang tirahan na.
	Cultural Continuity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ganun pa rin, naiba lang ng bahay pero kagawian nandoon pa rin. Pumupunta lang ako sa Permanent Housing, gaya ngayon, fiesta doon. • Pag fiesta o magpapabasa, nandiyan ang Nazareno. Dating dalang namin yan sa Katuparan. Pumayag yung admin na ipasok dito.
	Missing Cultural and Practical Spaces	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Burulan wala. Kailangan pa naming dumayo sa Barangay 101. Lakad lang naman. • Paano 'pag hindi mo kayang mag-rent sa may kapilya? Paano na yung bangkay mo? • Sana meron tayong burulan o kapilya, tsaka prayer room. • Walang sampayan. Pag wala kang dryer, magtitiis ka ng patulo lang sa bintana. Bawal naman sa labas ng bintana magsampay dahil magmumukha kang eskwater.
	Cultural Disruption	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Medyo malungkot lang minsan, lalo na 'pag may mga kasiyahan. Katulad ng New Year, hindi ka na makababa. 'Di tulad dati sa Vitas, may paputok. Mas masaya kasi doon kaysa dito. • Kanya-kanya na kayo ng handa kaso sa loob na lang. • Yung fiesta siguro nabawasan kasi sa condo, merong limit sa bisita.

Appendix A. Thematic Table

General Areas	Sub-areas	Excerpts
	Religious Inclusivity Concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hindi ako sumasama sa fiesta. Yung mga kapitbahay lang. Mga Born-Again kasi yung pamilya ko. May misa sa baba, pero hindi ako sumasali kasi Born-Again kami.
Infrastructure and Services	Continuity and Gaps in Social Services Access	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Malapit lang yung naging paglipat. Tanaw-mata lang kaya parang walang nabago, yung tinitirahan lang. Medyo malayo na nang konti ang palengke kaya sana magkaroon ng maliit na market diyan sa baba o malapit sa amin. Magkaroon sana ng mini-market, yung parang talipapa para pwede kaming mag-business. Walang daycare center sa loob, sa labasan, meron. Kung pwede sanang ma-suggest yun.
	Water Supply Issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Walang abiso. Bigla na lang mamamatay yung tubig. Walang certain time ng pagdating ng tubig. Dumarating siya minsan tulog pa yung mga tao—madaling araw. Parang may sabotage. May oras lang ang supply, pero saglit lang. Nag-aabang lang kami ng pagbalik ng tubig kaya minsan bumabaha kaya lumalaki ang bill. Taon kami pinahirapan ng tubig nang sobra. Hindi namin alam kung sa Maynilad ba o dito na talaga sa Tondomiun. Itong mga nakaraang araw lang siya naging okay—yung laging merong tulo. Siguro pag may ginawa dun sa paligid. Pero merong pagkakataon din na humina yung pressure ng tubig. Hindi nakakaakyat sa building. (MUSO)
	Elevator Downtime Impacts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Minsan two to three days bago maayos, kaya hindi siya pumapasok sa school. Tinatamad na siya kasi ang layo. Pag nataon naman na dumating yung truck ng basura, maghahagdan. Kung may dalang battery ng e-trike, 'di mo na talaga maaakyat. Nanakawan kami ng battery ng e-bike dalawang beses. Wala ng habol kasi hindi nakuha ng CCTV. Binaba pa yung residente sa hagdan, duguan na. Kaya simula noon, hindi na pinapatay ang elevator.
	Garbage Collection Concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dapat patagalin diyan ng tatlo hanggang apat na oras yung truck para makababa lahat. Umaalis agad kaya yung mga basura umaakyat ulit. Mga inuud na. Nagpakuha ng basura, pero sobrang aga. Hindi advisable para sa may mga bata na napupuyat sa kakabantay. May group chat daw, pero 'di ako kasali.
Coping Strategies	Sundry Stores	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Itong sari-sari store nadala lang namin mula sa Katuparan dahil mahirap na ang buhay. Sa Katuparan, marami kang makikita, labas ka lang, malilibang ka na. Dito, para may libangan, mag-tindahan ka na lang. Yung dating walang tindahan, boring ka sa loob ng bahay. Kaya lang ako nag-eejoy ngayon dahil may tindahan.

Appendix A. Thematic Table

General Areas	Sub-areas	Excerpts
	Leaving Doors Open	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ako kasi, nagbubukas kami para pag may dumaan, nakita mo, “Hello!”. Pag may dumaan na kainuman mo, “Tara!” Nakabukas po yung pintuan kasi mainit. Nagtitipid din sa kuryente.
	Political Appeals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pagka hindi sila makabayad, lalapit lang sila sa pulitiko. Pulitiko naman, ginagamit sila kaya ‘di mapapaalis. (TA) Nagkaka-higpitan na ngayon kasi botohan. Paano kung ‘di na botohan? Siguro marami na kaming notice.
General Assessment	Different Housing Type Preferences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mas maganda mababa. May katapusan din kasi ‘to katulad ng Katuparan dahil may limit ang mga condo. Gusto ko mababa kasi ‘pag lindol, nakakatakot talaga kasi nasa mataas kami. Okay din ‘yung mataas kasi mas maraming tao ang nakakatira.
	Enhanced Personal Safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dito, kahit yung mga malilikot ang kamay, nagbago kasi may guard, lock, at admin. Sa Katuparan, minsan umuulan ng bote, maraming magulo. Mas okay kami dito dahil tahimik. Doon, paglabas hindi safe dahil open lang. Pwede kahit saan lumusot.
	Improved Disaster-Resilience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sa Vitas, halos lahat may tulo kasi light materials lang yung bahay. Dito mas okay. Hindi mo na mararanasan yung naghuhugas ka ng plato tapos nababasa ka ng ulan o kaya naman nabibilad ka sa araw. Doon, pagkatapos ng bagyo, sira na yung bahay namin sa rooftop. Sobrang hirap kaya sobrang thankful kami dito.
	Enhanced Privacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dati walang kwarto eh, maliit lang talaga. Dito may privacy na kami mag-asawa. Kahit may nagpapatugtog sa kapitbahay, makakapagpahinga ka pa rin. Doon, kahit anong isara mo, ‘di ka makakatulog. Parang soundproof na rin.
	Improved Health, Ventilation, and Sanitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Medyo lumakas-lakas na yung katawan ko. Mas malinis kasi dito. Doon kasi sa Katuparan, mabaho. ‘Di bale nang walang pera, basta walang sakit ang mga anak. Doon kasi, sakitin talaga. Maraming daga, ipis—lahat na ng dumi, nandoon na. Doon nga nagka-pneumonia anak ko. Mas okay talaga ang ventilation dito. Doon, ‘pag may sakit ka, magkakahawaan kayo kasi may isang maliit na bintana lang at walang exhaust fan. Dito, kung may sakit kapitbahay, hindi ka matatakot. Maganda dito, malamig. Kita mo, walang electric fan pero malakas ang hangin.
	Personal Safety Threats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ang CCTV lang namin dito ay nasa ground floor lang—sa parking, basketball court, at playground. Wala sa bawat floor. (TA) Sa baba, maraming nananakaw.

Appendix A. Thematic Table

General Areas	Sub-areas	Excerpts
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yung bakod ng playground sira, konting hangin lang, pwede na makadisgrasya. • Ang playground malapit sa Katuparan, may naghahagis ng kung-ano ano. Parang nag-titrip lang sila. May mga bata nang natamaan at nagkasugat.
	Structural Issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Habang tumatagal, may cracks na lalo nung naglindol. • Sa roof deck, makikita mo mga crack talaga. Sakit na ng building 'to. • Yung ilaw ko, pumutok dahil tumutulo yung kisame noong umulan. 'Di ko pwede ipagawa kasi roofdeck. Sinabi na raw ng admin sa MUSO pero walang update. • Pagkapasok pa lang, sira na agad yung lababo, may basag. Yung iba din dito, sirang bintana. • Nahirapan na kami habulin yung contractor kasi nabigay na yung unit sa benepisyaryo. (MUSO) • Kahit isara at may sako, pumapasok pa rin ang tubig sa bintana. • Kailangan, 'wag kang matulog, magpiga ka lang nang magpiga.

Appendix B

Checklist of Condominium Application Requirements by MUSO

CHECKLIST

Name of Applicant: _____
 Application Number: _____

REQUIREMENTS	PRESENTED (Pangkalahatang)	MISSING (Kulang)	REMARKS
A. Personal na Impormasyon ng Aplikante at ng Kanyang Kasambahayan			
1. Birth Certificate			
a. Aplikante	/		
b. Asawa o Kinakasama	/		
c. Anak o ng iba pang sinusupportahan	/		
2. Death Certificate ng asawa (kung bala)			
3. Marriage Contract			
4. Salaysay ng pagkakahitwalay (kung hindi legal na hitwalay)			
5. Salaysay ng nagsasama (kung nagsasama ng hindi kasal)	/		
6. Sertipikasyong hindi kasal (kung walang asawa ang pinuno ng pamilya)			
7. ID ng aplikante	/		
8. 1.5 x 1.5 ID photo ng aplikante	/		
9. Cedula	/		
a. Aplikante	/		
b. Asawa o Kinakasama	/		
10. Barangay Certificate ng aplikante at asawa o kinakasama	/		
B. Impormasyon tungkol sa Pangkabuhayan			
1. Certificate of Employment	/		
a. Aplikante	/		
b. Asawa o Kinakasama (kung walang trabaho ang aplikante)	/		
2. Sertipikasyong ng pagbabayad ng buwis mula sa Bureau of Internal Revenue			
a. Aplikante (kung walang trabaho ang aplikante)			
b. Asawa o Kinakasama (kung walang trabaho ang aplikante)			
3. Salaysay na nagsasagay kung magkano ang kinikita ng aplikante	/		
4. Sinumpaang Salaysay ng pinagkakakitaan	/		
a. Aplikante	/		
b. Asawa o Kinakasama (kung walang pinagkakakitaan ang aplikante)	/		
5. Sinumpaang Salaysay ng pagsuporta ng kaanak			
6. Sertipikasyon mula sa Kagawaran ng Kapakanan ng Panlipunan ng Lungsod ng Maynila Kung benepisaryo ng 4Ps o iba pang tilong mula sa pamahalaan			
C. Utilities			
1. Resibo ng pagbabayad ng mga utilities			
D. Walang Pag-aari ng Lupa			
1. Tanggapan ng Tagatatas ng Lungsod ng Maynila (Department of Assessment)	/		
2. Pangasiwaan sa Pataalan ng Lupain (LRA)	/		
3. Sertipikasyon mula sa pambansang Awtoridad sa Pabahay (NHA) na nagpapatunay na hindi benepisaryo ng nasabing chenya			
4. Sertipikasyon mula sa Tanggapan ng Paninirahang Urban (USO) na nagpapatunay na hindi benepisaryo ng nasabing opistna			
5. Sertipikasyon mula sa Habitat for Humanity na nagpapatunay na hindi benepisaryo ng nasabing opistna			
6. Pinakabagong larawan ng Pamilya kuha sa tinitirahang bahay	/		
Additional Requirements Presented/Required			
_____	/		

Verified by (Name and Signature): _____
 Date Verified: _____

Approved for recommendation by: _____

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