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# Hope, uncertainty, and the risk of disrupted everyday life

Urban poor perspectives on vertical social  
housing in Quezon City, Metro Manila



*Rafael Vicente V. Dimalanta and Jan Marvi F. Atienza*

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"Sitio San Roque, Quezon City, September 2019 Inklusibo/Facebook"

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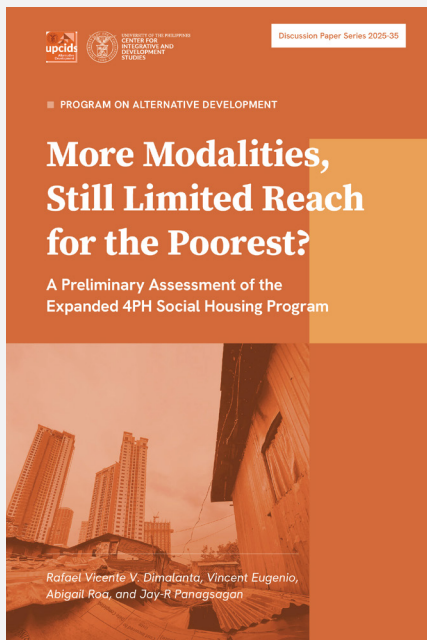
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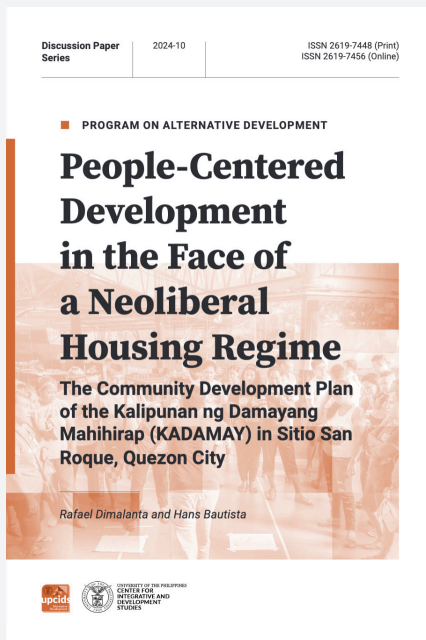
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# HOPE, UNCERTAINTY, AND THE RISK OF DISRUPTED EVERYDAY LIFE<sup>1</sup>

Urban poor perspectives on vertical social  
housing in Quezon City, Metro Manila

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*Rafael Vicente V. Dimalanta and Jan Marvi F. Atienza<sup>2</sup>*

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- 1 This builds on the policy brief entitled "Building with, Not for: Urban Poor Voices on High-rise Housing Development in Quezon City, Philippines," written by the first author and published by Inklusibo in April 2025. It is accessible at: <https://www.inklusibo.org/urban-poor-voices-on-high-rise-housing/>.
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## ABSTRACT

Since 2010, the community of Sitio San Roque in Quezon City, Metro Manila, has faced recurring threats of eviction. For over a decade, the urban poor people's organization KADAMAY San Roque has been at the forefront of asserting residents' housing rights. These sustained efforts culminated in a community-led counterproposal, which opened dialogues with the Quezon City Local Government Unit (LGU) on a prospective in-city, vertical (high-rise), rental social housing project. While the project offers hope that residents' everyday lives may improve, this hope is tempered by uncertainty. The vertical housing typology raises anxieties of disrupting their everyday lives - how residents work, move, care for one another, and organize politically. Meanwhile, the lack of clear project details and limited engagement with KADAMAY San Roque further add to these anxieties. Together, these uncertainties leave residents unsure whether the new housing will ultimately improve or worsen their everyday lives.

This paper examines the perspectives of urban poor residents in Sitio San Roque, focusing on their concerns about the proposed vertical social housing project and the proposals they articulated in response. Informed by the dimensions of everyday (city) life framework, the paper identifies eight key areas of concern regarding the proposed vertical social housing project: (1) Housing affordability, tenure, and eligibility; (2) Livelihood and location; (3) Basic social services and utilities; (4) Safety and access; (5) Housing unit livability and personalization; (6) Post-occupancy management; (7) Continuity of mutual support systems, political organizing, and autonomy; and (8) Participation. These concerns extend beyond the housing itself, encompassing related dimensions of everyday life such as employment (jobs and livelihoods), movement (transport), and social reproduction, including political organizing and engagement. The paper argues that social housing - especially in vertical typologies - must address these interconnected dimensions rather than focusing solely on housing provision; and that genuine people's participation is essential to making the co-creation of social housing development sustainable for residents.



# INTRODUCTION

The Philippines is grappling with a severe housing crisis, with a backlog of over 6.65 million units projected to rise to 22 million by 2040. This backlog reflects the needs for housing of the poorest households, including some 3.75 million informal settler families (ISFs) (Dineros 2022; UN-Habitat 2023). There is a dual housing crisis, where unmet housing needs coexist with thousands of unoccupied social housing units (Arcilla 2019; Arcilla 2023).

Quezon City (QC) is a critical site within this housing crisis. While originally envisioned as the postwar national capital and a planned city for government, housing, and education, its development towards this was unevenly implemented by postwar administration. This led to large tracts of land vacant and unused. It also attracted waves of migrants from the provinces and became a major resettlement site for ISFs evicted from Manila City (Pante 2019). Today, QC is the country's most populous city, hosting the largest number of ISFs in Metro Manila (NHA 2011; See Appendix A). QC's urban form has been shaped by land accumulation by elite families and private developers, speculative land use, and elite-driven planning (Ortega 2016)— dynamics that are not unique to QC, but are also emblematic of broader patterns across Metro Manila's cities (Shatkin 2004; Shatkin 2008; Mouton and Shatkin 2019).

## The community at the center of Quezon City<sup>3</sup>

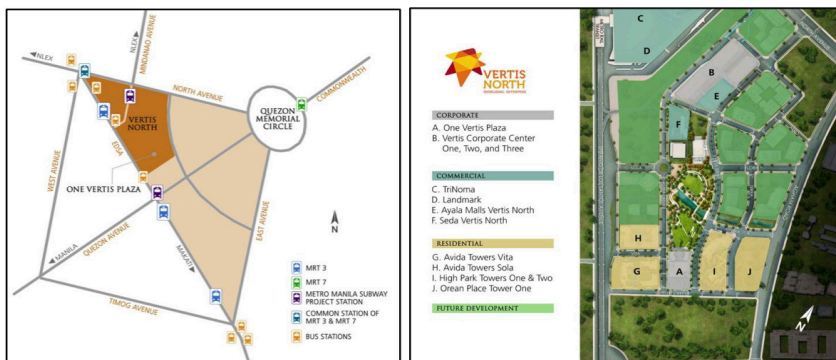
Sitio San Roque, one of QC's largest informal settlements, exemplifies these patterns. Established after World War II as a relocation site for surrendering guerrilla fighters, it soon attracted rural poor migrants who cultivated the land and gradually built a community. By the 1980s and 1990s, Sitio San Roque expanded further as low-income workers and evicted ISFs sought refuge in the area (Arcilla 2020a; Recio and Dovey 2021). Today, Sitio San Roque continues to host migrants, informal workers, and urban poor families in search of better opportunities in the city. Centrally located within QC's North Triangle, Sitio San Roque occupies 37 hectares of public land managed by the National Housing Authority (NHA). It is one of the largest urban poor communities in the city, housing thousands of informal workers engaged in vending,

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3 This sub-section mostly draws from Inklusibo 2019; Dimalanta and Bautista 2024; and Dimalanta, Cabaron, and Dones 2024; and Dimalanta 2025.

transport, construction, home-based enterprises, and other forms of casual (daily wage) labor.

In 2009, a public-private partnership (PPP) between the NHA and real estate giant Ayala Land, Inc. (ALI) was launched to transform Sitio San Roque into Vertis North - a high-end, mixed-use complex envisioned as part of QC's Central Business District (CBD) plan for the North and East Triangles (See Figure 1 below). By 2015, Sureste Properties Inc., owned by the Razon conglomerate, had entered the project through its plan to construct Solaire North on part of the site. What had once been open grassland transformed by the urban poor into a vibrant community became the target of government-backed, private developer-led development. Both Ayala and Razon currently rank among the Philippines' ten richest billionaires. The QC CBD plan, and the Vertis North project, exemplify the logic of global city-making in the cities of Metro Manila, as well as other Southeast Asian cities. Here, government and private developers pursue urban development as a project of projecting the metropolis as "world-class" and "modern"—often through infrastructure development, investment promotion, and investor-oriented narratives (Shatkin 2004, 2005; Mouton and Shatkin 2019). Within this paradigm, informal settlements such as Sitio San Roque are cast as "forgotten places," with their demolition justified as "progress" and "global competitiveness" (Shatkin 2004; Michel 2010; Ortega 2016). The alignment of government development agendas with the profit-driven projects highlights the corporate capture of urban space.



■ **Figure 1.** The photo on the left shows the location of the Sitio San Roque community (shaded in dark orange), highlighting its central position within Quezon City (sandwiched between Agham Road in the East and EDSA in the West), and how it overlaps with the Vertis North project; while the photo on the right illustrates the plan for the area, which envisions its transformation into a mixed-use development composed of corporate offices, commercial establishments, and high-end residential buildings. Source: Ayala Land Premier

Evictions in Sitio San Roque began in 2010, following the signing of the PPP between the NHA and ALI and coinciding with the term of former Mayor Herbert Bautista.<sup>4</sup> These evictions ranged from large-scale demolitions to more coercive and incremental tactics aimed to displace or forcibly relocate urban poor residents. Amid these eviction efforts, KADAMAY San Roque<sup>5</sup> emerged as a leading force in resisting displacement and defending the housing rights of the residents. Under its leadership, the community successfully staged a *barikadang bayan* (community barricade) in 2010 to prevent large-scale demolition (Arcilla 2020a). Over the years, the organization developed a range of resistance tactics including street occupations, *tumbalik* (collective home restoration), and negotiations for the construction of temporary shelter within the community (Dimalanta, Cabaron, and Dones 2024).

Following an assessment of the limitations of its primarily defensive tactics, KADAMAY San Roque developed its own alternative housing proposal in late 2018, known as the Community Development Plan (CDP). This aimed to present a concrete, people-led alternative that could serve as a foundation for engaging the QC LGU in dialogue, particularly to push for an on-site housing solution. Central to the CDP are the principles that housing should be decent, affordable, and mass-oriented. From early to late 2019, KADAMAY San Roque undertook the development of this CDP and submitted it to the new QC Mayor Joy Belmonte in December 2019. She expressed openness to the CDP and promised a ‘win-win’ solution in the dialogue with the organization, . She also assured KADAMAY San Roque that no large-scale demolitions would take place in the community, while affirming the QC LGU's commitment to dialogue with the organization for a housing solution. Although the COVID-19 pandemic disrupted the housing dialogues in 2020–2021, engagements resumed in 2022 and have continued through 2025 (Dimalanta and Bautista 2024; Dimalanta 2025).

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4 Bautista's tenure (2010–2019) in the QC LGU was characterized by multiple efforts against the urban poor: QC registered the highest number of ISF evictions among all Metro Manila LGUs between 2014 and 2018 (UPA 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018; See Appendix B), along with the relocation of more than 55,000 families to off-city resettlement areas, and an intensified anti-squatting city ordinance (Dimalanta, Cabaron, and Dones 2024).

5 KADAMAY (Kalipunan ng Damayang Mahihirap) is a nationwide grassroots alliance of urban poor organizations in the Philippines; it advocates for their access to basic social services, livelihoods, and broader welfare. It has a chapter in Sitio San Roque.

## Dialogues for social housing

Between 2022 and 2025, KADAMAY San Roque gradually became more open to in-city housing options, though it has remained firm in preferring an on-site housing solution. By February 2025, the QC LGU—through its Housing, Community Development, and Resettlement Department (HCDRD)—presented a possible in-city high-rise housing project for Sitio San Roque residents, including members of KADAMAY San Roque.

As of the June 2025 housing dialogue between the organization and the HCDRD, the housing project is known to (1) be located approximately five to six kilometers from Sitio San Roque and (2) consist of three vertical (high-rise) buildings reaching 12 storeys. It differs from most government social housing projects as (3) it will adopt a rental modality, rather than a homeownership model, with a reported monthly rental fee of PHP 800.00.<sup>6</sup> According to the HCDRD, the project will initially operate under a rental financing scheme, with the (4) potential to transition to a rent-to-own<sup>7</sup> arrangement over a still-to-be-determined period. Moreover, (5) a major private developer has been tapped by the QC LGU to carry out construction. This arrangement is expected to accelerate project completion. However, several key aspects of the project—such as potential rent increases, lease term adjustments, and the specific terms of the rent-to-own transition—have yet to be fully explained to KADAMAY San Roque, even in the most recent dialogue held with the HCDRD in June 2025. Negotiations between KADAMAY San Roque and the QC LGU are ongoing.

The ongoing dialogue between KADAMAY San Roque and the QC LGU on a prospective in-city rental social housing project represents a notable shift. Whereas previous QC administrations were widely perceived by KADAMAY as hostile toward ISFs, the current QC LGU under Mayor Belmonte has shown

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6 The PHP 800 monthly rent follows QC Ordinance No. SP-3016, S. 2021, which allows rate increases every three years (rate set by HCDRD) and provides for renewable three-year lease terms up to 25 years. Before each renewal, HCDRD assesses whether the renting household can afford to purchase a QC socialized housing unit (Quezon City Council 2021).

7 QC Ordinance No. SP-2793, S-2018 identifies rent-to-own as a potential financing scheme for selected LGU-led housing projects, particularly those on forfeited, donated, expropriated properties, or those housing projects found appropriate for a rent-to-own Scheme (Quezon City Council 2018).

greater openness to dialogue and recognition of long-standing urban poor demands, particularly in-city relocation, and alternative tenure arrangements.

While the inclusion of rental tenure and an in-city location—long advocated by urban poor people’s organizations (POs) in partnership with housing non-government organizations (NGOs) and now acknowledged by the QC LGU—has generated hope that Sitio San Roque residents’ everyday lives may improve, this hope is shadowed by uncertainties on multiple fronts: the vertical housing typology raises concerns about potential disruptions to everyday life—how residents work, move, care for one another, and organize politically. The absence of clear project details and the limited engagement with KADAMAY San Roque also create more uncertainty. These fuel anxieties over how the new housing environment will ultimately shape residents’ everyday lives.

## OBJECTIVES AND APPROACH

Against this backdrop, the paper aims to (1) surface the specific concerns raised by urban poor residents—most of whom work in the informal economy with low and irregular incomes—regarding their potential relocation to a vertical (high-rise), in-city rental social housing project; and (2) present their corresponding proposals for addressing these concerns in the project’s planning and implementation. By centering the voices of the urban poor, the paper seeks to contribute to a broader understanding—among government entities, policymakers, and other actors involved in the social housing delivery and policy landscape—of why institutionalizing genuine people’s participation, alongside integrating livelihood, transport, and social reproduction into housing development, is critical to ensuring that social housing supports and improves rather than disrupts the everyday life of the urban poor.

The paper is based on a series of participatory workshops with KADAMAY San Roque members facilitated by the first author (representing Save San Roque/*Inklusibo*). The initial workshops, held in September and November 2019, focused on identifying the spatial needs of specific groups within the community—including mothers, daily wage workers, informal transport workers, street vendors, and elderly residents—within the context of housing, and were attended by over 30 and 60 members, respectively. In March 2025, two additional workshops (during the organization’s weekly meeting) with more than 70 members surfaced residents’ concerns about a prospective relocation to an in-city, high-rise rental social housing project. Participants of

this workshop<sup>8</sup> first wrote down their concerns individually, which were then collectively discussed and processed in a follow-up workshop that created space to deepen these concerns and articulate corresponding proposals. This paper is further grounded in the authors' long-standing engagement with KADAMAY San Roque. Both were founding co-convenors of Save San Roque (established in 2019 to support the organization's development of its Community Development Plan) and, beginning in 2023,<sup>9</sup> have continued as volunteer researchers and advisors through its successor organization, Inklusibo, which continues to work closely with KADAMAY San Roque.

## PERSPECTIVES FROM THE URBAN POOR

This section outlines the concerns and proposals raised by urban poor residents of the Sitio San Roque community regarding a prospective in-city, vertical, rental social housing project in Quezon City. Their perspectives were surfaced through participatory workshops and analyzed through the dimensions of everyday (city) life framework, which emphasizes that housing is only one of the dimensions in everyday life.

To analyze the perspectives of the urban poor residents, this paper draws on Jarvis, Pratt, and Wu's (2013) framework on the dimensions of everyday (city) life. This framework situates everyday life within the home-work relationship and identifies four interrelated dimensions: housing provision (affordability, tenure, and access in relation to housing), employment (availability and security of jobs and livelihoods), movement (transport), and social reproduction (often-overlooked activities such as domestic and care work).<sup>10</sup>

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8 This particular workshop also benefitted from the assistance of UP College of Social Work and Community Development undergraduate students Audrey Cardinoza and Maxene Lati, who were then enrolled in the CD 122 class under Assoc. Prof. Marion Jimenez-Tan.

9 Formerly focused on housing rights advocacy as Save San Roque, Inklusibo has adopted a more research-oriented role, expanding its scope to informality in housing, transport, and other livelihoods; see: <https://www.inklusibo.org/who-we-are/>.

10 Care work encompasses both direct activities (e.g. feeding, bathing, or caring for an individual) and indirect activities (e.g. preparing and cooking food, cleaning, doing laundry, and shopping for household necessities). While domestic work is a subset of care work performed within the household setting, and may involve both direct and indirect care activities (ILO 2018).

Adapting Jarvis, Pratt, and Wu's framework to the case of KADAMAY San Roque highlights that relocation to vertical social housing is irreducible to the issue of housing. The everyday lives of residents extend beyond housing itself, intersecting with employment, movement, and social reproduction.

## Concerns and proposals from Sitio San Roque

The thematic analysis of the participatory workshops with Sitio San Roque urban poor residents identified eight key areas of concern, each of which can be understood in relation to the four dimensions of everyday life: (1) Housing affordability, tenure, and eligibility; (2) Livelihood and location; (3) Basic social services and utilities; (4); Safety and access; (5) Housing unit livability and personalization; (6) Post-occupancy management; (7) Continuity of mutual support systems, political organizing, and autonomy; and (8) Participation in the planning of the housing project.

### *1. Housing affordability, tenure, and eligibility*

**a. Financing scheme and tenure modality.** With high-rise housing, a primary concern regarding mobility for residents is the elevator system, and its continuous operations. Given that the maintenance fees for these elevators, which are essential to high-rise living, a pressing question from the residents was the additional fees they would be required to pay on top of the PHP 800 monthly rental fee. This remains an unresolved issue, as the HCDRD has yet to provide any estimate or approximation of the total costs. Residents are concerned about whether they will be able to afford the additional fees alongside the monthly rental, as well as other related expenses such as

- elevator maintenance and power charges for elevator use;
- maintenance of hallways, staircases, common spaces and facilities;
- wages for maintenance and security personnel; and
- utilities such as water and electricity are also additional costs to be considered.

Moreover, the existing local ordinance of the QC LGU on rental housing stipulates an increase in the monthly rental fee every three years. However, the HCDRD has yet to fully communicate this in their dialogues with KADAMAY San Roque and have not clarified yet if

there would be an increase of the monthly rental fee. This prompted questions from residents about whether their rental fee will increase in the near future. It is crucial for urban poor residents, whose incomes are typically low and irregular, that the total cost—particularly the monthly rental fees and potential gradual increases, along with the other fees mentioned above—be communicated to residents. They also emphasized that the total costs should remain affordable<sup>11</sup> for the urban poor. Otherwise, the prospective social housing project would not fulfill its intended purpose of providing affordable housing for the urban poor.

Another concern raised is the potential transition of the housing project's financing scheme along with its tenure modality—from rental to rent-to-own (rental towards homeownership). Residents also questioned whether they would be able to manage and afford payments if the payment changes from rental fee to amortization for the eventual ownership of the housing units, even as this transition is viewed positively by the residents themselves. The said transition, according to the residents, appears to sit on two key assumptions: (1) that the value of the high-rise housing units will depreciate over time, and more so (2) that securing stable housing will lead to improved economic conditions for urban poor households, eventually enabling them to purchase their units (at a depreciated price).

Residents, responding to these apparent assumptions, emphasized that even housing at a reduced cost may remain unaffordable, especially for those with low, irregular incomes and precarious livelihoods. More importantly, the notion that stable housing automatically results in improved economic outcomes seems to overlook the structural conditions that shape poverty. Stable housing alone does not guarantee improvement of their economic capacity, particularly when access to decent wages, stable employment, and other enabling conditions remains out of reach for residents.

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11 According to Baroy and Dimalanta (2022), most of KADAMAY San Roque members allocate no more than PHP 1,500 monthly for rent - even among households earning Php 20,000 or more - indicating a deliberate prioritization of other basic needs.



Considering these, residents proposed that, prior to any transition toward a rent-to-own scheme, an additional assessment should be conducted. This would help determine whether renters are genuinely capable of assuming the financial responsibilities that come with homeownership. Such a measure, they argued, is necessary to ensure that most beneficiaries are not set up to fail, but are in fact equipped to meet the long-term costs of owning their housing units.

- b. Tenant protection.** A major concern raised by residents was the need for clear safeguards against forced eviction from the rental housing. They questioned what would happen if they failed to pay the monthly rent and/or other fees associated with high-rise living. Their questions included whether penalties would be imposed for delayed payments, and how many months of non-payment would constitute grounds for eviction.

Responding to these, residents suggested that the HCDRD could develop concrete mechanisms to support tenants experiencing financial distress, particularly those with irregular incomes, and create a definitive procedure to be established with the realities of the poor in mind. As an additional safeguard, residents also proposed the use of a promissory note or written commitment to pay to demonstrate intent and reduce the risk of immediate eviction for those temporarily unable to pay.

- c. Beneficiary criteria.** Residents, drawing from their experience with the NHA's selection process during the past relocations of other Sitio San Roque residents, worried that certain groups such as solo parents, LGBTQIA+ individuals, and the elderly might again be excluded from the QC social housing project. They also raised concerns about whether adult children who have started their own families would be recognized as separate households. In dialogues with the HCDRD, officials indicated that those who have lived in Sitio San Roque for at least five years may qualify. However, in the absence of official guidelines, residents emphasized the need to ensure the inclusion of these groups.

## 2. Livelihood and location

According to the 2019 Socio-Economic Profiling conducted by KADAMAY San Roque with support from Save San Roque/Inklusibo (2019), majority of the organization's members are engaged in informal livelihoods, including daily wage labor, pedicab driving, vending, and home-based enterprises. Figure 2 below provides a visual representation of these livelihoods within the context of Sitio San Roque. These forms of livelihood are not merely individual occupations but part of a larger, interdependent, and interdependent<sup>12</sup> system rooted in the physical and social fabric of the settlement. Informal settlements offer affordable housing in strategic locations. Informal vending and transport, in turn, generate livelihoods, provide affordable goods and services, and sustain everyday mobility (Dovey and Recio 2024a; Dovey and Recio 2024b).



- **Figure 2.** Collage of photos depicting various informal workers in Sitio San Roque - including vendors, transport workers, and construction laborers - alongside a photo of informal housing and self-built streets in the community; Photo source: Save San Roque/SSR Documentation Committee

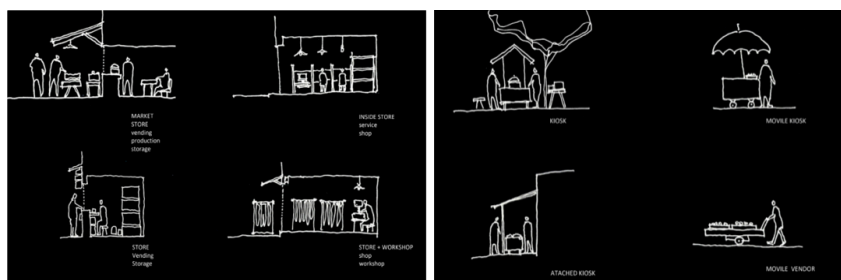
Given these deep interconnections, residents voiced one of their most pressing concerns: whether such informal livelihoods could be sustained

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12 Dovey and Recio (2024a; 2024b) conceptualize these interconnections through the concept of “inventraset” - a portmanteau linking informal vending, transport, and transport into an assemblage.

if they were relocated to the proposed housing project, situated five to six kilometers away from their current homes. Their settlement in Sitio San Roque stems largely from the area's proximity to work opportunities, including those created through such informal livelihoods. This location advantage is reinforced by its accessibility to social services and the affordable housing that the settlement itself provides (Inklusibo 2019).

**a. Availability of informal vending spaces.** Residents explained that a wide range of informal vending practices currently exist in Sitio San Roque, with each occupying a specific location and requiring distinct spatial conditions to operate effectively. As illustrated in Figure 3 below (based on Bewley 2020), these vending typologies can be broadly classified into stationary and mobile forms. Stationary vendors include: (1) Residents who operate small sari-sari stores or selling homemade products from the from their homes; and (2) Residents selling vegetables, meat, fish, groceries, cooked meals, or providing essential services such as barbershops, tailoring, and electronic repairs - typically operating from the ground floor of their homes, with residential areas above. On the other hand, the (3) mobile vendors are those who utilize carts or kiosks to navigate interior streets in the community or larger main thoroughfares such as Agham Road and EDSA.



■ **Figure 3.** (Left) shows the various vending typologies of stationary vendors, while (Right) illustrates the typologies of mobile vendors. Source: Bewley 2020.

Informal vendors in Sitio San Roque do not only cater to residents. Their goods (and even services) - often significantly more affordable than those in supermarkets, grocery stores, and other formal private establishments - attract low-income, and even middleclass consumers from outside the community. Along Agham Road or EDSA, many

of the vendors operate *karinderyas* (eateries), sell cooked meals, or offer snacks from carts or kiosks. These small vendors serve a steady stream of customers that include government employees from nearby offices, workers from formal private establishments, taxi and motorcycle drivers, as well as truck delivery drivers and their assistants. Meanwhile, large vendors located inside the community - those selling vegetables, meat, fish, and other perishable goods - also supply these same groups who seek out affordable and accessible food sources. These informal vending practices are closely tied to the community's spatial layout, the everyday routines of residents, and its centrally located position within the city.

Vendors provide affordable food and essential goods to a diverse range of non-resident customers. Relocation to a vertical housing project risks severing these linkages, disrupting both the income sources of residents and the availability of low-cost goods (and services) for low-income and middleclass populations. Residents emphasized the importance of ensuring that the design of the prospective housing project explicitly allocates space for various types of informal vending, to sustain these essential livelihood practices.

- For smaller vendors, including mobile vendors and sari-sari store operators, residents recommended that designated vending spaces could be incorporated into each floor of the high-rise buildings or within the shared community spaces. These would allow vendors to continue their livelihoods within the project. Alternatively, they proposed that residents could be allowed to personalize the frontages of their units to accommodate small-scale businesses, provided such modifications do not require major structural alterations.
- For larger vendors, particularly those dealing in perishable goods, groceries, and provision of essential services, residents suggested the integration of a wet market<sup>13</sup> within or near the housing project

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13 However, residents also noted that the suggestion of a wet market remains contingent on project details that have yet to be disclosed. Plans of the housing project had not been shared with KADAMAY San Roque. As a result, they remained uncertain about whether an existing wet market is present at or near the site of the housing project, or whether one is being planned.

to accommodate the nature of their form of vending. Additionally, vendors selling food items recommended the inclusion of parking slots for delivery vehicles, as these vendors typically transport products from wholesale markets in Commonwealth or Balintawak.

- b. Availability of informal transport spaces.** Pedicabs within Sitio San Roque typically serve a distance of approximately one kilometer, with their main route - beginning and ending at their designated terminal - extending from the front of Trinoma Mall (along North Avenue) to the front of the Philippine Children's Medical Center (along Agham Road) (See Figure 4 below). Tricycles, on the other hand, service wider areas - up to three or four kilometers - and often reach neighboring barangays (outside of the Brgy. Bagong Pag-asa which is where Sitio San Roque is) (Liang and Alegria 2020).

Residents emphasized that pedicabs and tricycles provide essential last-mile transport service - not only for those residing within Sitio San Roque, but also for nearby commuters who depend on these informal transport modes to transfer between roads and major public transportation hubs, particularly in cases where transit stops are inaccessible or too far from residential zones. Pedicabs and tricycles also provide access to markets, schools, and healthcare facilities situated near the community. Despite their importance in providing last-mile transport, pedicabs, most especially, are targeted in clearing operations by the Metropolitan Manila Development Authority (MMDA), with vehicles frequently impounded for allegedly obstructing roads designated for private vehicles (Inklusibo 2021; InfUr, SSR, and MMVA 2022).

Residents therefore proposed that designated terminals and routes be incorporated into the design of the housing project to legitimize and sustain the last-mile transport operations of the informal transport workers - responding to the expressed concern over whether the housing project would include spaces where they can legally operate and continue providing service to the residents.



■ **Figure 4.** Transport routes of pedicabs and tricycles in Sitio San Roque. Source: Liang and Alegria 2020

**c. Accessibility to current employment.** In addition to community-based informal livelihoods such as vending and transport, many residents of Sitio San Roque are also employed in the formal economy through irregular, contractual, and precarious work arrangements. These jobs are often scattered across various parts of the city and require reliable, affordable access to major thoroughfares. A key concern raised by residents is whether the location of the prospective housing project—five to six kilometers from Sitio San Roque—will allow them to continue with their current employment. Residents suggested that the housing project should have access to public transportation options, including last-mile transport such as pedicabs (or even tricycles), to ensure that daily commuting to and from the site remains viable for low-income workers.

### 3. *Basic social services and utilities*

There were concerns on the availability of basic social services and utilities in the prospective housing project. In terms of social services, they raised questions about the availability of schools, daycare centers, and health clinics either within the housing site or in its immediate vicinity. In their current location in Sitio San Roque, children can enroll in nearby public schools such as Bagong Pag-asa, San Francisco, Sto. Cristo, Esteban Abada, and Ernesto Rondon (Faminiano et al. 2020). Daycare

centers once operated within the community were demolished during the incremental evictions linked to the Vertis North project. Residents also currently live within reach of several public hospitals and health facilities.

In addition to social services, residents also highlighted the importance of securing basic utilities. Drawing from the experiences of neighbors who were previously relocated to off-site resettlement areas under earlier social housing projects, particularly those facilitated by the NHA, they identified recurring issues with the provision of water and electricity. In these earlier projects, relocated households frequently arrived at their new units only to find that water and electricity connections were not yet in place. As a result, residents were forced to apply for these services independently and bear the often-substantial installation costs.

In this context, residents proposed that the QC LGU consider integrating key social services such as a school, daycare center, and community health clinic within the housing project itself.<sup>14</sup> They also proposed that the LGU ensure the full and proper installation of water and electricity lines prior to relocation. Residents emphasized that access to basic social services and utilities must be guaranteed before the turnover of housing units.

#### 4. *Safety and access*

**a. Construction workmanship and quality of materials.** Residents expressed serious concerns about the quality of construction and building materials that may be applied and used in the prospective high-rise housing project. Their apprehensions stem from prior site visits to social housing projects facilitated by the NHA for the relocation of Sitio San Roque residents and implemented by private developers. Based on these, residents reported widespread issues such as the use of substandard materials, poor construction practices, and visible structural deficiencies. Given this context, residents feared that similar patterns may be repeated in the current project, especially due to its high-rise typology, where poor workmanship could have even more serious safety implications.

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<sup>14</sup> However, it remains unclear whether such facilities already exist in the vicinity of the housing project's site or are planned as part of the project itself.

In response, residents, particularly those with experience in construction work, emphasized the need to strictly adhere to proper building standards and to use high-quality materials throughout the construction process. They suggested the possible hiring of construction workers from the Sitio San Roque community for the prospective housing project. This, they argued, would not only create employment opportunities for local daily laborers, but also serve as a mechanism for community-led monitoring, helping ensure construction quality. Such involvement, they noted, would foster greater accountability, and increase residents' trust in the project.

- b. Accessibility for the mobility-challenged.** Residents expressed concerns about the accessibility of the prospective high-rise housing project, particularly for the more vulnerable groups such as persons with disabilities (PWDs), the elderly, children, and individuals with health conditions (including pregnant women). A major concern was the sufficiency of elevators in terms of quantity and size. Given that the project is expected to consist of twelve floors, residents feared that a limited number of elevators could create long wait times, increase crowding, and restrict mobility, particularly for mobility-challenged residents who are unable or with less ability to use stairs.

Another related concern involved the design of staircases. Residents emphasized that overly steep stairs, narrow treads, or the absence of handrails could severely hinder access for mobility-challenged individuals. They also raised the issue of indoor corridors and outdoor pathway design, noting that poorly lit or narrow spaces not only reduce accessibility, but also raise safety concerns.

Residents proposed that the building be equipped with a sufficient number of elevators large and durable enough to accommodate the expected volume of users. They recommended that staircases be constructed with appropriate width, fitted with handrails, and designed with low riser heights to ensure ease of use for all residents, especially the mobility-challenged ones. Additionally, they suggested that indoor corridors and outdoor pathways be adequately lit and made wide enough to allow for safe movement within the building, as well as around the housing project.



## 5. *Housing unit livability and personalization*

Residents raised concerns about the livability of the prospective high-rise housing units, particularly the fear that poorly designed spaces might resemble “bird cages”— cramped, restrictive, lacking natural light, and poorly ventilated. They expressed apprehension that the units might not include adequate openings, such as windows or balconies, that would allow for sufficient airflow and sunlight. In addition to issues of light and ventilation, residents also highlighted concerns about noise transmission. They noted that thin walls often fail to provide adequate sound insulation between units, raising issues of privacy and comfort. This concern is directly linked to earlier concerns about the use of substandard building materials.

To address these concerns, residents proposed large, well-placed windows and the integration of balconies in each unit. They particularly emphasized that balconies enhancing ventilation and natural lighting, while also serving as functional spaces for essential domestic and care work, especially laundry. At present, most residents do their laundry outdoors directly outside their homes - where they also hang their clothes to dry. The absence of a comparable space for laundry in vertical housing would present serious challenges,<sup>15</sup> especially for women who typically shoulder the burden of this work. Moreover, balconies were also envisioned by residents as a more flexible extension of the home, offering space not just for doing laundry.

Another related concern raised by residents pertains to the ability to personalize housing units after occupancy. For many residents, the sense of ownership involves the freedom to modify their units to a certain extent. While residents recognize the need to adhere to safety and building standards, they underscored the importance of clearly defining the allowable scope of personalization. According to them, even limited modifications to the housing units would significantly contribute to their sense of ownership and belongingness in their new homes.

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15 Some condominium high-rise developments typically provide laundromats or commercial laundry services on lower floors of the building, residents expressed concern that such services may be too costly for them.

Waste disposal in the context of vertical housing was also a concern raised by the residents. In Sitio San Roque, waste disposal has been relatively manageable, with most homes situated on the ground floor and having direct access to Agham Road, where garbage is regularly collected by the QC LGU. Residents questioned how garbage collection will be organized in a high-rise setting, where multiple floors and enclosed spaces may introduce additional logistical challenges and sanitation concerns.

## 6. *Post-occupancy management*

Residents raised concerns about the livability of the prospective high-rise housing units, particularly the fear that poorly designed spaces might resemble “bird cages”—cramped, restrictive, lacking natural light, and poorly ventilated. They expressed apprehension that the units might not include adequate openings, such as windows or balconies, that would allow for sufficient airflow and sunlight. In addition to issues of light and ventilation, residents also highlighted concerns about noise transmission. They noted that thin walls often fail to provide adequate sound insulation between units, raising issues of privacy and comfort. This concern is directly linked to earlier concerns about the use of substandard building materials.

Given these, residents stressed the need for clear post-occupancy mechanisms to ensure proper maintenance (including waste management). They regarded such mechanisms as integral to the project’s long-term success.

## 7. *Continuity of mutual support systems, political organizing, and autonomy*

**a. Mutual support systems (clustering of homes).** A vital aspect of everyday life in informal settlements is the web of mutual support that residents build with their neighbors—often on the same street or within tightly clustered homes (See Figure 5 below). In Sitio San Roque, residents described relying on this support system to borrow small amounts of money, share cooked food or basic supplies, and even lend household tools or items. This is especially crucial for domestic and care work, which is most often carried out by women, particularly the mothers; it allows mothers to take turns watching each other’s children, assisting one another with their domestic and care

work responsibilities during illness, and stepping in for each other during emergencies. Built on proximity and familiarity, this system supports the survival of the poor under conditions of marginalization and precarity, stretching their limited household resources and easing daily burdens.



■ **Figure 5.** Collage of photos showing the clustering of houses<sup>16</sup> in Sitio San Roque, with closely spaced horizontal units forming narrow alleyways and small shared spaces. These semi-public areas function as sites for social interaction, support in domestic and care work, and other activities among neighbors (including organization activities such as meetings for chapters under the KADAMAY San Roque); Photo source: SSR Documentation Committee/Inklusibo

Relocation to vertical housing threatens to sever this mutual support system existing in various parts of the community when residents

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16 The aerial shot of Sitio San Roque houses was sourced from Inklusibo's facebook page (see this [link](#)).

and their homes are re-organized into different floors and even buildings. There is a risk of undermining these established forms of interdependence when there is no recognition of this existing system. This risk is further heightened in the absence of accessible community spaces. What is at stake is not simply a change in the form of housing, but the erosion of the mutual support system that have made life in informal settlements not only livable, but collectively survivable. Residents proposed that the prospective social housing project cluster existing neighbors together within the same buildings or on the same floor to preserve the existing mutual support systems.

- b. Political organizing and autonomy (community spaces and representation).** A vital aspect of everyday life in informal settlements is the web of mutual support that residents build with their neighbors—often on the same street or within tightly clustered homes (See Figure 5 below). In Sitio San Roque, residents described relying on this support system to borrow small amounts of money, share cooked food or basic supplies, and even lend household tools or items. This is especially crucial for domestic and care work, which is most often carried out by women, particularly the mothers; it allows mothers to take turns watching each other's children, assisting one another with their domestic and care

The lack of community spaces for children to play and adults to socialize is a significant concern, as articulated by residents. Playgrounds and areas for social interaction are crucial not only for promoting healthy development among children, but also for fostering social bonds among adults. Residents also emphasized the need to have spaces for worship in the housing project.

Importantly, residents, at present, have access to physical spaces for organizational activities. KADAMAY San Roque and other POs in the community use these spaces for centralized meetings and coordination of community initiatives. In this context, residents raised concerns about where they would now gather and hold meetings—a practical issue tied to the potential absence of dedicated community spaces in the prospective housing project, especially for organizational activities. The loss of these spaces would not only limit

everyday interaction and coordination but could also create conditions that make the dissolution of existing POs more likely.

This concern is reinforced by an interconnected issue: during dialogues with the HCDD, it was reportedly stated that the various urban poor POs that existed prior to relocation—including KADAMAY San Roque—would be essentially dissolved once residents are transferred. The absence of physical space would exacerbate the limitations on political organizing and engagement, and the proposed dissolution of existing organizations signals a deeper risk to autonomy and representation of the urban poor residents. In the dialogues, it was explained that, in place of the current organizations, building-level officials would be assigned to each of the four buildings, with a federation of these representatives formed at a higher level. While this model introduces a new structure for representation, it warrants close attention, particularly because it risks weakening the autonomy that KADAMAY San Roque and other urban poor POs have long forged.

Each PO in Sitio San Roque has its own distinct history, shaped by different experiences of struggle and ideological positions. Merging these organizations into a single federation overnight, without a clear transition process, risks disrupting the fragile internal dynamics that have long existed among Sitio San Roque POs (see Arcilla 2020a; Dimalanta, Cabaron, and Dones 2024). While such transitions may pose added challenges in the implementation of social housing, residents explain that this is a necessary part of social preparation in social housing implementation, and should be undertaken with care and with recognition of the histories involved. Unresolved tensions amongst POs, if left unaddressed, may resurface later.

## *8. Participation in the planning of the housing project*

In the CDP housing counter-proposal developed by KADAMAY San Roque, the urban poor themselves were at the forefront of decision-making, design, and planning of their housing through a participatory approach to human settlement planning. This approach was concretely implemented through various workshops that drew out the urban poor's perspectives on their desired housing, built their confidence to engage in the planning process, and enabled them to articulate their needs and illustrate them spatially in their own housing designs, with the support of technical

professionals from Inklusibo (formerly Save San Roque) (Dimalanta and Bautista 2024). The strong sense of ownership exhibited by members of KADAMAY San Roque over the final output presented to the QC LGU was a direct result of their central and direct involvement in the planning and designing process (See Figure 6 below).



■ **Figure 6.** Collage of photos from the participatory planning workshops conducted with KADAMAY San Roque members for CDP; The images highlight the participation of urban poor in designing social housing. Photo source: Save San Roque/SSR Documentation Committee

This informs the residents' perspectives on the importance of people's participation for this housing project of the QC LGU. Having witnessed and experienced the value of the participatory approach— both in terms of the planning process and the resulting housing design— residents emphasized the need for the same approach to be adopted in this housing project. At a minimum, they proposed that the urban poor be meaningfully consulted on the final plans of the housing project and that the plan remain open to revisions following the consultations with the people. But ideally, they proposed a full participatory planning approach that includes the people throughout the process of developing the housing.

Although the housing project is initially framed under a rental financing scheme, it is expected to eventually transition to a rent-to-own model for Sitio San Roque residents. In this context, the application of a participatory planning approach becomes even more critical, as it directly



affects the long-term viability and acceptability of the housing project. Consequently, residents also suggested organizing a site visit to observe the vicinity of the prospective housing project, including its existing features and facilities in the vicinity, among others.

## RESONANCE BEYOND THE COMMUNITY

While this paper is grounded on the lived experiences of residents in Sitio San Roque—particularly their engagement with a prospective in-city, high-rise rental housing project in Quezon City—their concerns transcend the boundaries of their immediate context. The perspectives shared by the urban poor in Sitio San Roque are not isolated nor incidental; rather, they echo a broader set of uneasiness voiced by other urban poor POs and housing rights NGOs amidst the current trajectory of social housing projects towards vertical typologies.

This resonance becomes particularly evident when situated alongside the Marcos Jr. administration's flagship housing program, the *Pambansang Pabahay Para sa Pilipino* (4PH). Launched in 2023 by the Department of Human Settlements and Urban Development (DHSUD), the 4PH<sup>17</sup> sets an ambitious target of constructing one million housing units annually through in-city, vertical social housing developments. While its scale signals a bold commitment to addressing the national housing backlog, the program is primarily implemented through the participation of private developers and remains anchored in a homeownership model. It has been subject to widespread critique from urban poor POs, housing NGOs, and housing rights advocates for several structural shortcomings: unaffordable financing schemes for ISFs, low-income households, and informal workers; eligibility criteria that exclude workers in the informal economy; the absence of mechanisms for meaningful people's participation; and the dominant role of private developers in shaping and delivering social housing projects (See Dimalanta, Roa, and Panagsagan 2025; and Dimalanta et al. 2025).

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17 In July 2025, the Philippine government updated and rebranded the 4PH program as the Expanded 4PH, introducing three modalities of social housing delivery. One of these modalities extended the program's earlier focus on vertical housing to also include horizontal housing. For a discussion and preliminary assessment of the Expanded 4PH, see Dimalanta et al. (2025).

Although the prospective QC social housing project discussed in this paper is not formally under the 4PH, it shares several of its defining features: a vertical (particularly, high-rise) typology, in-city location, and the involvement of a private developer in project implementation (See Annex C). Its only key difference lies in tenure: the QC project proposes a rental scheme rather than homeownership. However, in June 2025, the DHSUD announced that under an "expanded" 4PH framework, it has begun exploring alternative tenure modalities, including rental housing (DHSUD 2025)—although this has yet to be institutionalized through official issuances.

The structural similarities between the QC housing project and ongoing 4PH projects help explain why the concerns raised by KADAMAY San Roque strongly resonated with representatives from a broad range of urban poor POs and housing NGOs operating across Metro Manila and beyond. During a public forum held in May 2025 on the emerging issues of the urban poor surrounding high-rise social housing, residents expressed a shared sense of unease about the prevailing direction of social housing projects, particularly the push toward denser vertical developments being implemented without meaningful mechanisms for people's participation. This growing emphasis on vertical housing typologies—whether implemented by LGUs or national housing agencies like the DHSUD—has far-reaching implications. Under the National Building Code of the Philippines (Presidential Decree No. 1096), buildings with five or more storeys are required to have elevators, making this requirement applicable to both the medium-rise and high-rise vertical housing typologies. These two denser social housing typologies are expected to comprise a significant portion of future social housing projects, particularly in cities and urban centers such as Metro Manila's LGUs where the government has been unable to maintain a pool of affordable land (Ballesteros, Ramos, and Ancheta 2022).

## **CONCLUSION**

### **Potential disruptions to everyday life**

Across the paper's findings, residents expressed a wide range of concerns that shape their apprehensions on relocating to the prospective vertical housing project. Framed through Jarvis, Pratt, and Wu's (2013) dimensions of everyday (city) life, the concerns and proposals of Sitio San Roque urban poor residents reveal how issues over housing are inseparable from work, mobility, and



social reproduction. Most evident among these concerns is the affordability of housing not only of the monthly rental fee, but of additional costs associated with high-rise living. For households with low, irregular incomes and precarious livelihoods, the cumulative burden of these expenses raises fears of financial strain and, ultimately, eviction. While the proposed shift from a rental scheme to a rent-to-own arrangement is viewed positively, residents expressed concern that it assumes an increase in their long-term economic capacity, which they find concerning. The potential transition could result in further displacement for those unable to meet amortization payments. Concerns over eligibility also surfaced, especially for certain groups (i.e. solo parents, LGBTQIA+ individuals, the elderly, and adult children forming new households).

The risk of livelihood displacement emerged as a major concern. Informal livelihoods such as vending and transport may be lost in relocating to the prospective housing project, leaving residents without sources of income. Similarly, residents working in the formal economy raised concerns about potential additional commuting challenges and costs. Concerns also extended to the availability of basic social services and utilities. Residents questioned whether the housing project would include access to schools, daycare centers, health clinics, electricity, and water. Safety and accessibility were also recurring concerns.

Residents also showed strong concern over the quality of materials and construction work, especially in building high-rise housing. They also worried about whether elevators would be sufficient and durable, whether accessibility infrastructure would be ensured for mobility-challenged individuals such as children, the elderly, and persons with disabilities; and whether indoor corridors and outdoor pathways would be well-lit and passable. Concerns about unit livability included inadequate ventilation, limited natural light, thin walls that compromise privacy, and the absence of balconies or dedicated laundry areas—all of which, residents pointed out, would affect livability in the housing units.

Everyday domestic and care work, particularly tasks such as laundry and waste disposal, also emerged as a pressing concern. These are currently carried out in semi-public spaces adjacent to homes, but may become more difficult in the context of vertical housing. Post-occupancy concerns added to these.

Residents questioned how shared community spaces would be maintained, who would be accountable for repairs and sanitation in the housing project.

Residents raised highly significant concerns about the erosion of mutual support systems and political organizing. In Sitio San Roque, they rely on proximity-based relationships to share domestic and care work. Vertical housing threatens to fragment these support systems. They were also alarmed by the potential dissolution of existing organizations without a clear transition process that respects organizational histories and long-standing internal dynamics, as new organizational models are introduced. Finally, residents emphasized the importance of participatory workshops in planning and designing the prospective housing project. This shows their insistence on being active agents in shaping their everyday lives.

While these concerns above largely map onto the four dimensions, the prominence of urban poor residents' political organizing and engagement highlights an important extension of Jarvis, Pratt, and Wu's (2013) conceptualization of everyday (city) life: the political is not a separate dimension but is deeply interwoven into the dimension of social reproduction. This extension is informed by Arcilla (2020b) and Dizon and Ortega (2023), whose work demonstrates how resistance and the social reproductive labor of urban poor women in the Philippines are mutually constitutive in the struggle for housing rights.

Taken together, the concerns and proposals of Sitio San Roque residents illustrate how vertical social housing risks disrupting how they work, move, care for one another, and organize politically. These disruptions span the dimensions of everyday life (i.e. employment, mobility, social reproduction, and political engagement) demonstrating their interconnectedness and showing that what may initially appear as architectural or technical concerns are deeply intertwined with everyday life of urban poor residents. These also underscore the issue of what Jarvis, Pratt, and Wu (2013) refer to as a "spatial mismatch," the gap between where residents live and where they work, which demonstrates that housing relocation, even within the city, can worsen everyday life if social housing efforts fail to account for employment, mobility, social reproduction, and political organizing and engagement.

## Bridging hope and uncertainty, recognizing the other dimensions of everyday life

Building on the disruptions outlined in the previous sub-section, the potential relocation to vertical social housing is marked by both hope and uncertainty—a tension that was one of the clearest and most recurring messages voiced by residents during the workshops. As one resident succinctly expressed: “*Sana maging mas maganda ang pamumuhay namin doon*” (We hope our ways of everyday living will be better there). On one hand, in-city, high-rise rental social housing is cautiously welcomed, carrying the hope of improving everyday life and marking a significant departure from the government’s long-standing reliance on off-city relocation programs that displace the urban poor outside Metro Manila (Dimalanta and Cunanan 2025). On the other hand, uncertainty surrounding the housing project generates anxieties. Residents worry about potential disruptions to their everyday life that is further compounded by the lack of clarity regarding the project’s details, and the limited engagement of the QC LGU with residents for this project.

In this sense, transparency and genuine people’s participation becomes a vital starting point for building trust and enabling co-creation that could, later, allow for anticipating and mitigating anxieties and potential disruptions to everyday life, such as spatial mismatch. By ensuring that social housing efforts consider the multiple dimensions of everyday life—housing, employment, movement, social reproduction, and political organizing—participation can bridge hope and uncertainty. It allows residents to assert their needs and influence the planning, design, and management of their housing so that social housing aligns more closely with the realities of the urban poor. This is especially crucial in vertical social housing, where the built form often restricts flexibility, making it imperative to institutionalize participatory mechanisms at every possible stage.

The paper shows that access to housing may not necessarily translate into improved everyday life for the urban poor if the other dimensions of everyday life are overlooked in the implementation of social housing. The findings suggest that advancing social housing—especially in vertical typologies—requires explicit policy changes, which include:

- a. Institutionalizing genuine people’s participation by ensuring that urban poor communities and their organizations are actively involved at every stage of social housing—from planning and design

to implementation, management, and evaluation. This requires participatory mechanisms that go beyond tokenistic consultation, granting residents decision-making power in shaping housing projects;

- b.** Co-developing social housing through participatory processes that account for the multiple dimensions of residents' everyday life by: (1) safeguarding and supporting their existing employment and livelihood activities (especially informal work, which includes both informal vending and transport); (2) ensuring that the location of housing is within reasonable distance of residents' employment and livelihood; (3) providing affordable and reliable transport and/or access to workplaces, schools, markets, and other essential sites; (4) designing housing that takes into account the social reproductive labor carried out within households (such as domestic and care work, often shouldered by women); and, at the same time, (5) protecting the autonomy and representation of people's organizations, recognizing them as stakeholders in the social housing project; and
- c.** Ensuring that social housing remains affordable and accessible through fair eligibility and tenure arrangements, while also guaranteeing safety, accessibility, and livability in vertical housing—concerns that can be substantially addressed when housing planning and design are pursued through participatory processes.

Taken together, these recommendations point to a broader challenge for government entities in charge of social housing: not merely to build more housing units, but to work with urban poor communities in reimagining how social housing is conceived, governed, and lived. If vertical typologies are pursued in social housing delivery, they must be approached with heightened caution, ensuring that all dimensions of everyday life for the urban poor are carefully considered; otherwise, such housing projects risk inadvertently overlooking and disrupting the everyday lives of those they are intended to benefit.

Dialogues on in-city social housing between the QC LGU and the urban poor POs in Sitio San Roque—including KADAMAY San Roque—continued throughout 2025. However, their sporadic scheduling and the lack of clear information initially left many questions unanswered. In response, residents

strengthened their collective power by forming the San Roque People's Alliance (SRPA), a broad alliance committed to defending urban poor rights and promoting an affordable, just, and humane relocation program. SRPA is composed of the major POs in Sitio San Roque: KADAMAY San Roque, Sandigan ng Maralitang Nagkakaisa (SAMANA) North Triangle Federation, Samahan ng mga Nagkakaisang Muslim at Kristiyano (SNMK), Samahang Nagkakaisa Tungo sa Bagong Pag-asa (SNBP), and NAGKAISA. United under SRPA, these POs sought to negotiate more effectively with the QC LGU.

By September 2025, the SRPA was able to have a formal dialogue with the QC LGU, attended by Mayor Belmonte and representatives from HCDRD and the QC City Legal Department (Quezon City Government 2025a). The dialogue focused on securing a affordable, just and humane in-city relocation housing for Sitio San Roque residents. As of November 2025, SRPA continues to engage the QC LGU to advance the residents' demands for in-city social housing.

This evolving situation highlights the urgency of institutionalizing transparent, participatory, and rights-based mechanisms in the social housing process. Such mechanisms are critical not only for building trust between government and affected communities, but also for ensuring the co-creation of viable and long-term housing solutions that reflect the needs and aspirations of the residents of Sitio San Roque.

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## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. ISF POPULATION PER LGU IN METRO MANILA (2011)					
LGU <i>(Arranged from the highest to the lowest population)</i>	Total Number of ISFs	Land Situation			
		Public Land		Danger Zones	Private Lands
		w/o government infra-project	w/o government infra-project		
Quezon City (Most Populous and Largest)	232,181	95,318	1,125	31,275	104,463
Manila City (2nd Most Populous and Densest)	30,913	4,884	0	26,029	0
Caloocan City	79,280	9,872	0	2,129	67,279
Taguig City	19,458	0	12,399	5,439	1,620
Pasig City	4,173	0	0	4,173	0
Valenzuela City	21,404	1,037	942	4,261	15,164
Parañaque City	28,539	13,632	0	3,320	11,587
Las Piñas City	14,107	927	0	2,161	11,019
Muntinlupa City	20,712	2,317	120	3,428	14,847
Marikina City	10,114	0	150	386	9,578
Pasay City	34,450	18,000	0	4,200	12,250
Mandaluyong City	23,847	21,412	410	1,031	994
Malabon City	27,203	0	0	1,849	25,354
Makati City	10,106	7,214	336	671	1,885
Navotas City	11,052	4,400	0	6,652	0
San Juan City	14,857	43	5,650	5,238	3,296
Pateros Municipality	2,029	52	0	1,977	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>584,425</b>	179,108	21,132	<b>104,219</b>	<b>279,966</b>
		<b>200,240</b>			

Note: Compiled by the author from NHA 2011; while the numbers from NHA are dated already, it remains the latest figure released by the NHA in response to a 2023 Freedom of Information (FOI) request.

APPENDIX B. CASES OF EVICTION PER LGU IN METRO MANILA (2014-2018)						
LGU	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Sub-total
Quezon City (Most Populous and Largest)	81	207	108	109	105	610
Manila City (2nd Most Populous and Densest)	18	37	169	127	29	380
Caloocan City	7	32	15	63	46	163
Taguig City	8	4	1	0	0	13
Pasig City	48	27	34	30	64	203
Valenzuela City	7	65	76	74	84	306
Parañaque City	22	29	17	19	5	92
Las Piñas City	8	29	31	77	25	170
Muntinlupa City	0	0	13	6	0	19
Marikina City	4	0	0	0	0	4
Pasay City	54	25	20	2	4	105
Mandaluyong City	3	3	8	4	4	22
Malabon City	20	5	8	4	34	71
Makati City	15	3	5	5	0	28
Navotas City	2	1	2	4	40	49
San Juan City	11	17	10	0	5	43
Pateros Municipality	17	22	3	0	0	42

Note: Data requested from UPA (Urban Poor Associates); consolidated by the author from UPA reports (2024, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018).

**Appendix C. Example of a QC vertical (high-rise) social housing project**

The images below is an example of a vertical (high-rise), in-city but non-rental social housing project located in Commonwealth, QC. It consists of four 13-storey buildings with 373 parking units, developed by a private developer (8990 Housing Development Corporation) and acquired by the QC LGU. The specific sample unit shown by the QC LGU does not have a balcony; and has limited window openings, with the bedrooms having the lone access to direct sunlight. While not the specific QC housing project discussed in this paper, it provides a visual reference for the type of vertical social housing under discussion (between KADAMAY San Roque and the LGU) (Quezon City Council 2024; HCDRD-QC 2025; Quezon City Government 2025b).



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