What Makes a Community: Displaced People's Sense of Community and Human Rights in Resettlement

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Abstract

Resettlement in the Philippines is a phenomenon that often results to deprivation and displacement of many local communities and threatens human dignity and freedoms. Present literature on resettlement programs and communities often overlooks the subjective dimension of resettled community, e.g. people's sense of belonging to their place and community, and how these sentiments are linked to the attainment of human rights in resettlement. Using Q-methodology, a hybrid between qualitative and quantitative methods, this article discusses the process and results of a research on the subjective dimensions of a resettled community in a province south of Metro Manila. It underscores how, despite dispossession and deprivation, resettlers are able to build social ties and forge a sense of community that is shaped by the conditions and contexts of resettlement. The sense of community and the attainment of human rights are inextricably linked to one another.

Keywords: resettlement, sense of community, human rights

Overview

Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann (1995) opined that the "obligation of the citizen to the community is an essential cornerstone of a rights-protective political regime." Therefore the principle of commitment to the community is essential in realizing human rights.

On the other hand, housing or the provision of living spaces for people is a basic need. It is recognized as a fundamental human right under the universally accepted International Bill of Human Rights specifically the International Covenant on the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). A broader definition would be the "right to adequate housing" where people's access to shelter encompasses living in security, peace and dignity expounded by the Office of the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights (2009).

In 2008, government forces claimed that residents in an urban area were informal settlers; and were living in a site proclaimed as a danger zone and/or an area for public use, hence, were relocated to a rural area. The bigger dilemma though, relates to the issue of resettlement(s) where in the Philippines it has become a phenomenon for it often results to deprivation and displacement of many local communities and which threatens the very human dignity and freedom of the people displaced.

The National Housing Authority (NHA) defines resettlement program and housing as the "acquisition and development of land and housing units for displaced families from sites that are either danger zones or allocated by the government for infrastructure projects." Off-city relocation is the more dominant approach in resettling urban poor families. Informal settlers are transferred 25 to 90 kilometers away from their city of origin. Most of these resettlement areas are located in Cavite, Bulacan, Rizal, and Laguna. Families affected are usually poor, whether they came from urban or rural poor communities who cannot afford decent housing.

In recent years, the NHA together with the Local Government Units (LGUs) have engaged on endorsing post-disaster resettlement and housing programs for informal settler families particularly those residing in danger zones around Metro Manila. Starting 2013, some 120,472 informal settler families living in environmentally-risky communities were relocated by the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG) from Metro Manila to off-city resettlements (DILG-NCR, 2017).

Despite government's claim that resettlement is a sustainable solution, the reality is that resettlement challenges the fundamental and inalienable human rights statutes and principles in varying degrees. Displaced families experience its negative outcomes which include unsafe and substandard housing infrastructure, insecure livelihoods, lack of access to basic services and even a lack of social cohesion. Making matters worse, relocation and resettlement as initiated by the government or other large institutions often render relocatees voiceless in the resettlement process (DILG-NCR, 2017).

Projects of government and private entities disguised as 'shrouds of development' further aggravates displacement. These development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR) usually involves direct control of formerly undisputed lands lived overtime by communities. Some examples of these lands now in dispute are related to mining, urban development programs, industrial parks and building of infrastructures such as highways, bridges, and dams. Another type of DIDR involves policies that cause forced migration. Policies, for instance, that transfers jobs to other regions affect migration of people (Stanley, 2004).

The present administration boasts of a 'Golden Age of Infrastructure' through its "Build Build Build" (BBB) program. Under the BBB program, more than 60 mega-projects (including flagship projects of road networks and bridges, irrigation facilities, public transports such as airports, seaports and railways, urban infrastructure and flood control) will

be installed in almost every region of the country. Unfortunately, fast tracking of massive infrastructural projects may result to more suffering and deprivation of many local communities. From communities' experiences, making room for highways, roads, urban expansion and economic hubs, entails uprooting people from their lands, workplaces and livelihoods (Rivas, 2018).

This study points out that existing literatures on resettlement programs and resettled communities more often focused on the material opportunities and deprivation faced by *relocatees* but overlooks the subjective-dimension which could have answered questions pertaining to the sentiments of the displaced communities about their belongingness to their place and community or on how these sentiments about their community maybe linked to human rights attainment in resettled environment. Resettlement per se poses and contributes to a number of challenges in the attainment of human rights particularly on the right to adequate housing. Nevertheless, displaced communities possess the sentiments and resources that propel people as rights-holders to make their claims to adequate housing.

It also contends that despite the massive movement and relocation of people in the Philippines due to environmental pressures and development projects, there is still a shortage of knowledge illuminating how displaced communities are linked through social ties and share common perspectives. Furthermore, it asserts that sense of community (SOC) is usually understood as a contributor in advancing various social change agenda (Hyde & Chavis, 2008). However, there is also limited knowledge exploring how this sentiment about the community enable or discourage human rights attainment in resettlement.

Given these contexts, this study aims to contribute in improving the theory and practice of rights-based development work with resettled communities by incorporating concepts in human rights, community study, and social psychology. It would also attempt to contribute at increasing ones understanding on people's sentiment of community as a

mechanism for mediating practices for human rights attainment. Knowledge on displaced people's SOC can be utilized to advance the protection and fulfillment of the right to adequate housing for underprivileged communities.

Legal Bases on Human Rights and Resettlement

The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)-UN Habitat (2009) elaborates on the "right to adequate housing" as recognition of the right to an adequate standard of living enshrined in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The right to adequate housing frames the rights and obligations that need to be guaranteed in the context of housing and resettlement. It contain freedoms such as freedom from forced removal from land or residence and right to choose one's living area; the entitlements such as right to a secure tenancy without discrimination and participation in decision-making related to housing. Beyond the provision of physical structure of a house, adequate housing entails other conditions to ensure adequate standards of living particularly security of tenure, availability of services, affordability, habitability, accessibility, location (such as accessibility to employment) and cultural adequacy (OHCHR-UN Habitat, 2009).

Other international treaties and documents also stipulate the conditions that need to be met in relation to resettlement. The International Covenant on the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and The United Nations Commission on Human Rights and Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights (1990) ensures that every person has a right to a secure tenancy and right to development. In addition, if a forced relocation happens, the Comprehensive Human Rights Guidelines on Development-based Displacement, the United Nations and the Commission on Human Rights declares that conditions for resettlement must have a just and

equitable compensation, safe and secure land or housing and equal rights to vulnerable groups.

Guided by these rights, resettlement programs should promote policies and processes that prevent or reduce harm to people's lives. Relocation must be avoided, prevented or more sustainable alternative interventions must be sought if relocation will lead to suffering and deprivation of communities. Aside from avoiding and reducing threat to wellbeing, resettlement policies and actions should promote higher quality of life for people, especially to the most vulnerable.

Philippine legislations related to resettlement ensure housing for every Filipino people. For instance, RA 7835 or the Comprehensive and Integrated Shelter Financing Act of 1994 declares that "the state shall take on a housing program that will make available decent and affordable housing to the poor" while RA 7279 referring to the Urban Development and Housing Act of 1992 stipulates that government "shall uplift the conditions of the poor, homeless citizens, and resettlement areas through decent and affordable housing". In relation to eviction, Section 10 of the 1987 Constitution stipulates that "poor communities shall not be forced evicted nor their homes demolished, except under the law and in a just and humane way" while Executive Order No. 152 of 2002 stressed that "any demolition or eviction activities shall secure first a permit from the Presidential Commission for the Urban Poor (PCUP)".

These legal instruments enumerate the rights of Filipinos, especially the underprivileged to affordable and decent housing, coupled with basic services. These laws also protect the rights of people from unjust demolition and displacement.

Conceptual Framework

- **Definitions and Scope of Sense of Community (SOC)**

Sense of Community (SOC) may refer to one feeling belonged or one matters to the community or that one's needs will be met by one's community. There are four factors contributing to the fulfillment of this concept, namely: membership, influence, integration and fulfillment of needs and shared emotional connection. *Membership* refers to the sense that one belongs to the community and that there are meaningful relationships inside. *Influence* signifies a feeling that one matters and makes a big contribution to the community. *Integration and fulfillment of needs* refers to the feeling that one's needs are prioritized and met by the community. Finally, *shared emotional connection* is the belief that the members of the community, including one's self, share a common history and similar experiences (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

The paper adopts McMillan and Chavis (1986) definition of SOC since their definition incorporates the four categories mentioned above. This definition and categories has been confirmed and validated through factor analysis and multiple linear regression in the quantitative studies of Perkins, Florin, Rich, Wandersman, Clavis (1990) and Peterson, Speer, McMIllan (2008). Supporting this are studies from Rivera-Segarra, Rivera-Medina, and Varas-Diaz (2016), Jason, Stevens, and Ram (2015), Stevenson, Jason, Ferrari, and Hunter (2010), Mammana-Lupo, Todd, and Houston (2014), Perkins and Long (2002), Hughey, Speer, and Peterson (1999.

Granting that an actual community is not unitary, standardized, congruent, fixed nor unmoving, an SOC integrating the four categories mentioned earlier would prefer to lean on positive dimensions primarily because an SOC is a psychological construct, not the actual community (Mammana-Lupo, Todd, and Houston, 2014). This contention is supported by studies that show strengthened association between SOC and a few individual characteristics like personal networks, self-efficacy, perception of discrimination and loneliness, and

depressive symptoms that are also related to how individuals interact with their communities. For example, one of the studies found that people who regularly travel back and forth to urban and rural areas have less solid personal networks compared to those who stay in one place (Maya-Jariego & Holgado, 2015).

Conversely, the McMillan and Chavis' (1986) model of an SOC falls short being able to be empirically tested over longer period of time and its application to geographical communities only. Hence, it was suggested that SOC is better understood within the macro- and microsystems, or an ecological model. (Jason, Stevens, & Ram, 2015)

Building and strengthening the SOC has been recognized by psychologists and other practitioners as an important goal in advancing a wide range of social agenda and the promotion of social justice and social change (Hyde & Chavis, 2008 and Pretty, Bishop, Fisher, & Sonn, 2007). It is also conceived as a state and as a result of particular social processes (Pretty, Bishop, Fisher, & Sonn, 2007).

SOC was found to increase health and wellbeing, as well as the resilience to face different stressors (Chavis & Newbrough, 1986; Hyde & Chavis, 2008; Farahani, 2016). Through hierarchical linear modeling (HLM), it was found that drug abstinence-specific self-efficacy was positively related with SOC. This means that SOC could be a factor to increase the likelihood of rehabilitation for those addicted to drugs (Stevenson, Jason, Ferrari, & Hunter, 2010). Moreover, in children of Chinese migrants, SOC mediates between perception of discrimination and loneliness. This means that SOC may be a factor in decreasing perception of discrimination and thereby decreasing loneliness (Liu, et al., 2014). Finally, using hierarchical regression analysis, it was found that feelings of belonging mediate depressive symptoms among the elderly in assisted-care housing. SOC reduces their susceptibility to depression (McLaren, et al., 2013).

SOC was also shown to be a strong predictor of behaviors such as participation, helping and volunteering of community folks for their fellow community members (Davidson & Cotte, 1989; Hyde & Chavis, 2008; Farahani, 2016; Miranti & Evans, 2018). Other studies pointed out that having a sense of community relates to civic forms of engagement, protest activities, public deliberation, and political campaigning or voting. It can help in various areas such as community-building, community development, social capital, service provision, self-help groups, and prevention and resilience in mental health interventions (Hyde & Chavis, 2008; Perkins & Long, 2002).

- **Sense of Community and Resettlement**

Relocation was found to have negative effects on having a sense of community. In a post-disaster resettlement in Taiwan, the community was not able to attain a consensus whether to relocate or not prior to resettlement. Some groups did not want to transfer permanently while others wanted to relocate. This predicament resulted to a low sense of community (Fu, Lin, & Shieh, 2013). In another study of the same context, some relocation processes resulted to unfavorable social conditions. For example, more than 1000 people of different social, economic and cultural backgrounds were brought to live together in resettlement sites after a tsunami in Sri Lanka. It was challenging to attain an SOC in this situation because the relocatees had different socio-economic and cultural classes (Ruwanpura, 2009).

- **Sense of Community and Human Rights**

Very few studies link the sense of community to human rights. Twose & Cohrs (2015) mentioned about predictors in promoting human rights, such as the "sense of belonging to a global community" and subordinate group's formation of a social identity. Hackett, Omoto, and Matthews (2015) studied the psychological determinants that propel

people to take action and promote human rights. One of their findings stated that people's sense of being is part of a global community which mediates the values of being concerned with human rights, and to partake in actions for their attainment. Staerklé, Clémence, and Spini (2015) refers to the study of Grabe and Dutt (2015) on Nicaraguan feminists saying that social identity formed through participation in social movements can lead to commitment to human rights. Subordinate groups who have learned to interrogate their context of oppression construct a social identity to claim rights.

- **Displaced People's Sense of Community and Human Rights**

The sense of community in displaced and resettled community can have unique attributes compared to other geographic communities. Psychologists and development practitioners working in solidarity with resettled communities need to understand people's capability of developing SOC amidst the challenging environment posed by displacement and deprivation. It should also be recognized that SOC as a condition and a resource can propel people to act towards desired changes in a resettlement community. SOC is a social asset that is commonly overlooked by the local government, businesses, and other large institutions concerned with post-relocation/resettlement. Desired community progress such as community economy, solidarity economy, and other social development aspirations start with social ties, reciprocal engagements, and community relationships (Perkins & Long, 2002).

The study strongly affirms that SOC should be seen as embedded within the macro- and microsystems, or understood in an ecological model (Jason, Stevens, & Ram, 2015). Social cohesion and identity reflect the social and physical contexts within which these cohesion and identity operate (Pretty, Bishop, Fisher, & Sonn, 2007). The context of the place can change and influence residents' affect, cognitions and behaviors (Heft, 2001, as cited in Pretty, Bishop, Fisher, & Sonn, 2007). As such, displaced people's SOC must be

understood in the context of resettlement that could have moderated these sentiments of connections to their community.

Lastly, as mentioned, SOC is utilized to promote social change and social justice (Pretty, Bishop, Fisher, & Sonn, 2007). Striving to build sense of community can catalyze transformations in the community (Hyde & Chavis, 2008). However, how SOC enables the promotion and attainment of human rights in resettlement needs to be better understood. This study asserts that SOC influences displaced people's attainment of human rights in resettlement. In human rights-based approach, one big task is to build the capacities of rights-holders to assert and claim their rights. This study posits that SOC can enable or discourage people as rights-holders to make their claims regarding adequate housing.

Method

- **Study site**

The research studied a resettlement area found in a province south of Metro Manila. Government initiated an involuntary resettlement, claiming that the residents were previously informal settlers living in proclaimed danger zones and areas for public use. The first wave of resettlement was in 2008 and the latest was in 2010. However, the continuous exodus of peopel meant new houses have to be built to accommodate new relocatees. In 2016, from the original 1,031 resettled households, only 535 still resides in the sites, the rest returned to Manila because of livelihood.

Currently, there are 3, 476 people living in the resettlement site. It now offers a community elementary school, a high school, a health center and a church. Table 1 shows the characteristics of both the sending locality and the receiving locality.

Table 1 *Characteristics of sending and receiving locality*

	Sending Locality	Receiving Locality
Income class	First class city Php10.751 billion revenues	Second class municipality Php24, 990,133.57 revenues
Population	529,039 (2010 census)	80,453
Land area	27.35570km²	65.40 km²
Main source of income	financial and business center	Pineapple agriculture and some fishing

- **Participants**

Sixty-four people participated in the study. Twenty-four of them took part in the focus group discussions (FGD's) while forty joined the Q-methodology sorting. The FGD's were transcribed and analyzed using Atlas.ti. Most of the participants were women aged 30-80 years old.

- **Q-methodology**

The Q-methodology was first introduced by British physicist-psychologist William Stephenson in the 1930's (Brown, 1980, as cited in Shinebourne & Adams, 2007). Its aim is to identify broad categories of common themes regarding a specific subject matter (Shinebourne & Adams, 2007). It is similar to an inverted factor analysis. But instead of analyzing the categories of factors, it analyzes the types of reasoning each participant employs over other participants regarding a certain topic. It identifies groups of participants who talk about a group of statements in comparable ways (Watts & Stenner, 2005).

The advantage of this method is that it observes and determines patterns termed as "pattern analytic". It also serves as a taxonomic tool that classifies arrangements and systematic schemes (Stenner & Stainton Rogers, 2004) and does not require a large number of participants. Typically, 40-60 participants are sufficient to come up with fruitful data (Watts & Stenner, 2005). Finally, this method is beneficial in producing a rich set of data

(Simons, 2013) because it seeks meaning through relative statements from the perspective of the participants (Shinebourne & Adams, 2007).

However, the Q-methodology cannot be classified as a statistical analysis that is equivalent to r-statistics (Watts & Stenner, 2005) because it is not a method used for measuring (Stenner & Stainton Rogers, 2004), neither a qualitative nor a quantitative method (Cordingley, et al., 1997, as cited in Simons, 2013), rather it is categorized as a qualiquantological method that signifies a hybrid between a qualitative and a quantitative study (Stenner & Stainton Rogers, 2004).

First Step. In conducting Q-methodology a series of statements were developed that widely cover the topic on Sense of community (Simons, 2013). Shinebourne and Adams (2007) recommend to derive the list of statements from a previous FGD with the same group of participants regarding SOC.

Second Step. A number of statements were identified with the overall goal of representing each theme regarding SOC (Simons, 2013). There are no rules regarding the number of statements or items required because it depends on the subject matter being talked about. In addition, a Q-set of statements can never be complete because it is impossible to incorporate all the themes and opinions about the said topic (Watts & Stenner, 2005).

For this study, a total of 25 statements were used. Below are some sample statements for the q-methodology sorting translated into English by the researchers:

1. I usually drink alcohol to make friends with new neighbors.

2. I usually participate in feasts and celebration.

3. I am more of a leader in the community.

4. I have more obligations in the community.

5. I usually volunteer to receive something in return.

6. I usually talk to my neighbors.

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Third Step. Data were gathered by assisting the participants to sorting the statements in the q-sorting table (Simons, 2013). The table permitted the participants to rate each statement in a continuum from most describes to least describes. Figure 1 shows the q-sorting table used in this study.

Figure 1 Q-sorting table

Note: items placed towards the right most describes the participants and least describes towards the left

Participants were asked to group the statements into three files that correspond to statements that describe them, do not describe to them, and neutral. Second, from the piles, they were asked to choose statements that either most describes them or least describes them. For the statement that most describes them, this was placed on the rightmost corner of the Q-sorting table. For the statement that least describes them, this was placed on the leftmost corner of the Q-sorting table. Third, they were asked to place the remaining statements according to how they think it describes them. Fourth, they were given a chance to change the arrangement of the statements in case they change their minds. Finally, they were asked follow up questions to explain their answers. Some of the questions asked were:

1. Why do you think this statement most or least describes you?

2. Why did you put this statement in the neutral column?

3. Why do you think this statement describes you more than the statement next to it?

4. Why do you think this statement describes you less than the statement next to it?

Fourth Step. The last step in the Q-method, data was analyzed and results interpreted (Simons, 2013). The data gathered were encoded and analyzed using the PQ Method software.

- **Procedures for the FGD**

As recommended by Shinebourne and Adams (2007), the first FGD was used to generate statements for the Q-sorting while the second FGD was used to validate the results of the Q-methodology. Q-sort participants also became participants of the FGD's. Other FGD participants were community leaders in the resettlement site. Discussions included people's perception of human rights in resettlement; experience of human rights before, during and after relocation; violations of human rights in resettlement; people's feeling about their community; and the interface of sense of community to attaining human rights in the resettlement.

The FGD was analyzed using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis sorts and categorizes words, phrases, and sentences with sensitivity on the connotations of the words used. It is a grouping of quotes and materials that are organized based on common topics and into a structure that explains the study's focus. It looks at patterns of ideas emerging from the collective data gathered (Parker, 2005).

Data were organized and analyzed using the following analysis questions:

1. What is the context of resettlement?

2. What are the community's experiences and perception of human rights in resettlement?

3. What are categories of sense of community in resettlement?

4. How is displaced people's sense of community linked to human rights attainment?

Results and Discussion

- **Human Rights Concerns Before, During and After Resettlement**

Before Resettlement. People's Right to Information were violated. Participants recalled diverse experiences of their displacement and relocation. Even before the displacement, the general community members were often left in limbo about the status and processes of their resettlement. In-spite of having local community leaders and/or organizations, needed information and decisions made during negotiations where concentrated within the leadership of community organizations. People were kept uninformed until the decision to evict was finalized.

Families evicted were given misleading information. Government agencies persuaded people to leave their homes in the city by promising new housing in the resettlement site. Only to be dismayed later at finding out that they will have to build their own makeshift houses once they reach the resettlement area. Prior to demolition, some of them participated in the protest actions and negotiations to stop or delay the eviction, but with futile efforts. Many of the settlers were displaced without ample preparation.

During Resettlement. Community members who came to the resettlement site were from different batches (starting 2008 to 2010) and different barangays of the *sending* cities. They narrated arriving in an empty lot of the *receiving* municipality with no housing units. It took some time for them to adjust in a new place and with new neighbors. Many expressed

that because they grew up in the city, they were not used to rural living including the lack of city infrastructures, working in an agricultural-setting and the absence of the city vibrancies.

To some who had more resources than others, the transition to the resettlement condition was much easier. For example, they rented a place near their housing unit(s) while the utilities and facilities supplies were being completed. But to the majority, building their units took time for they had very little income and resources to build their houses. Sectors who were mostly and greatly affected during the early phase of settling down were small children, the elderly and the women tasked to care for the children. Because of their stationary location, it is the women who become community leaders. It is typically the men who usually leave the resettlement site to find jobs either outside the community or go back to their old work in the sending city.

"Patao Lang, Walang Pabahay." In spite of being given spacious lots in the rural environment, there was no appropriate materials and financial assistance given as support in building decent shelters. Those evicted were doubly forced to demolish their own homes and keep whatever housing material they can during the demolition. Whatever were salvaged like pieces of woods, roofs and other materials from their original houses were used to build makeshift houses in their new relocation site. The condition presented denies displaced people on the right to adequate shelter with appropriate material and financial assistance.

"Kanya-kanyang diskarte (ang mga tao). Dadaing ka sa iba, pero pare-pareho lang naman kayo." There were relief packs, but were insufficient. The lack of electricity results to total darkness at night. People cook their food by burning paper. People recounted how each one of them tried to be resourceful to adapt to their situation. They have no one else to turn to channel their painful stories except with their already distraught neighbors experiencing the same situation.

"*Walang nakinabang (sa dati naming pinanggalingan).*" There were also issues in sharing the benefits of resettlement as a development endeavor. The sending city explained that the resettlement program's purpose was for beautification. Now, their former urban homes were turned into playgrounds and for training K-9 dogs. A relocatee could not help but expressed resentment that dogs benefited more than the people.

After Resettlement. **There were very little livelihood opportunities in the resettlement site.** The receiving municipality, being an agricultural locality, was unable to provide employment to former city dwellers. The resettlement program of the government adequately failed to consider the accessibility of employment opportunities for resettled communities. People asserted that accessing livelihood is a right. However, the glaring neglect to ensure jobs in resettlement push people to find employment usually back in their original city.

Harm and insecurity brought by the displacement are still unresolved. Even after 10 years, electricity connections and water supplies remains unstable and lacking still. A source of concern among community members related to safety and security. Neighbors organized among themselves and took the initiative to connect their power supplies outside their own community so that they could have a steady supply of electricity.

Land Rights. People are also still waiting for the government's promise to award the land titles to them. "*Ang hinihintay namin ay ang karapatan naming makuha ang titulo ng lupa (rito sa resettlement) para may pinanghahawakan na kami.*"

- **Linking the 5 SOC Categories. Its Contexts and Human Rights**

The experiences shared provided a backdrop on how displaced people's SOC unfolded, describing distinct sentiments of belongingness and social connection in resettlement. The results below shows the culled categories related to SOC. After presenting

each category, the statements that most describe and least describes each category were also presented. Finally, the defining statements that made a significant difference between categories that seem alike were presented. This is in order to indicate the particular difference between categories.

The following categories were culled out from the q-methodology:

Table 2 *Categories of Sense of Community*

Category Number	Sense of Community
Category 1	SOC through Restoring livelihood
Category 2	SOC through Fatalism
Category 3	SOC through Accessing assistance from the sending city
Category 4	SOC through Social Relationships
Category 5	SOC through Community Leadership

Category 1 is SOC through Restoring livelihoods. It means that the resettlers found their SOC through re-establishing their sources of livelihoods. They began to rebuild or initiated looking for other sources of income as an alternate sources of living. (See Table 2)

> Namamasukan sa [Metro] Manila, iyong asawa ko po. Driver po sa [sending locality] po. Doon kami dati… pero na-transfer na kami rito. So siya, natutulog siya sa Cainta [nearer to the sending Locality than the receiving locality]. Every Saturday, umuuwi siya rito – Socorro, 49, Female

> Dito nagtatrabaho ang anak ko, nagdedeliver ng tubig sa bawat residente rito. Wala naman kasing nagdideliver ng tubig rito kaya may pangangailangan para doon. Tatlo lang kasing gripo ang pinag -iigiban namin. Sidecar ang gamit. – Iluminada, 73, Female

> Provincial rate kasi rito eh. Sa isang araw kulang pa ang Php200.00 na kikitain para sa mga anak ko. Lalo na lima ang anak ko. – Lilibeth, 43, Female

In these statements, the Items that most described their ways of thinking are Item 25 and Item 24. Statements that least described Category 1 are Item 7 and Item 9. (Refer to Table 2.1)

SOC through Restoring Livelihood is influenced by the livelihood conditions in resettlement. Although resettlers believe that provision of jobs is a right, they have individually assumed the obligation to find jobs on their own from their old place. This also

shows that the state failed its duty to provide adequate opportunities for resettled people to

gain their living.

Table 2.1
Category 1: SOC through Restoring livelihoods

	Statements	**z-scores**
Item 25	The wives are usually left in the new resettlement while the husbands work in the city	1.80
Item 24	My husband or I find more livelihoods in our city of origin.	1.51
Item 7	It's more difficult for me to acquire basic services like water or electricity	-1.30
Item 9	The materials used for the resettlement houses are more durable	-1.92

Note: A higher positive z-score indicates statements that most describe the category while a lower negative z-score indicates statements that least describe the category

Category 2 is SOC through Fatalism. It described those who have accepted that it is

their lot to relocate. They have acceded that such is their luck and agreed that they cannot do

anything but to transfer to the new site. (See Table 2)

> Dati naninibago kasi since birth, nasa [urban municipality] po ako. Noong dumating ako rito - bundok, puno, ilog, usok. Pero ngayon, gusto ko nandito na ako. - Lilibeth, 43, Female

> Mag-think ka ng positive. Una, hindi mo na kailangang magbayad nang malaki sa bahay. Tapos kung walang tubig, pwede ka namang mag-igib sa poso. At least lesser ang magiging gastos mo. Sa pag-aaral ng mga bata, malalapit ang schools at hindi crowded ang mga sasakyan. – Melanie, 36, Female

The statements that most describe Category 2 are Item 10 and Item 11. Statements

that least describe them are Item 18 and Item 3. (See Table 2.2*)*

Table 2.2
Category 2: SOC through Fatalism

	Statements	z-scores
Item 10	I have accepted living here more. I do not want to transfer to another resettlement area	2.04
Item 11	I do not have much choice but to live here	1.40
Item 18	I get invited in the meetings and activities of the receiving municipality more	-0.94
Item 3	I am more of a leader in the community	-1.88
Note: A higher positive z-score indicates statements that most describe the category while a lower negative z-score indicates statements that least describe the category		

Statements that made a difference between Categories 1 and 2 are Item 24 on my husband or I find more livelihoods in the sending municipality with a difference score of 2.27. This implies that the resettlers whose reasoning falls under Category 1: SOC through restoring livelihood endeavored more to find sources of income from the sending municipality than those under Category 2: SOC through fatalism.

SOC through Fatalism was shaped by several factors in the process of resettlement. First, the government's provision of affordable housing in the resettlement influences people's acceptance of their fate. Yet, people's experience of failed negotiations with the government, eviction and demolition of their own houses, coupled with their lack of other options, also influenced people's sentiment to accept their fate. Powerlessness and acceptance of their destiny also reflect the ten years of inadequate government's support, neglect for adequate jobs and social services and the impunity related to the gross violations of rights during the eviction and relocation process.

Category 3 is SOC through Accessing assistance from the sending city. It describes people who get their SOC by claiming support from their city of origin. They continue to receive provisions from their city of origin since they are still listed as residents of the said place. They carry on acquiring assistance from the sending municipality. (See Table 2.3)

> [Nakakatanggap kami dati] ng school uniform, pamasko, medical mission, yellow card, PhilHealth. – Mary Jane, 43, Female
>
> Sa senior [citizen], malaki talaga ang nakukuha [namin mula sa sending locality]. Every six months, Php1,000. May mga age-bracket. – Rosario, 62, Female

The statements that best describe Category 3 are Item 16, Item 5 and Item 15. On the other hand, statements that least describes this category are Item 17, Item 2, Item 6, Item 20 and Item 18. (See Table 2.3)

Table 2.3
Category 3: SOC through Accessing assistance from the sending city

	Statements	z-scores
Item 16	The sending municipality does not neglect us more	1.83
Item 5	I usually volunteer to receive something in return	1.40
Item 15	I receive more benefits from the sending municipality's local government	1.39
Item 17	I know the politicians of the receiving municipality	-1.52
Item 2	I usually participate in feasts and celebration	-1.30
Item 6	I usually talk to my neighbors	-1.06
Item 18	I get invited in the meetings and activities of the receiving municipality more	-0.84

Note: A higher positive z-score indicates statements that most describe the category while a lower negative z-score indicates statements that least describe the category.

The statements that made a big difference between Categories 1 and 3 are Item 5 with a difference score of -2.28 and Item 24 with a difference score of 1.94. This means that the resettlers whose reasoning falls under Category 3, which is SOC through accessing assistance from the sending city, are more motivated to volunteer in community activities because of assistance from the sending city.

SOC through Accessing Assistance was facilitated by people's notion that they deserve the right to services and benefits from their former LGU. They believe that unless all needed services are in place, their former LGU should fulfill the right to provide adequate assistance in the resettlement. These notions and the deprivation of services in resettlement promoted behaviors to demand rights, particularly health, education and elderly social services from the sending LGU.

Category 4 is SOC through Social relationships. The type of reasoning for Category 4 encouraged the resettlers to establish networks and connections among themselves and among other people in the receiving city. They created rapport or bonded with residents of the new area. They generated friendships and affiliations with the people from the relocation site. (See Table 2.4)

> Sa senior [citizen], malaki talaga ang nakukuha [namin mula sa sending locality]. Every six months, Php1,000. May mga age-bracket. – Rosario, 62, Female
>
> Di ba mayroon kaming HOA (Homeowner's Association), kakailanganing tulong, may ambagan kami o monthly dues na maaaring maibigay na tulong… Noong ang tatay ko na-ospital, nakahingi kami ng tulong sa munisipyo ng [receiving locality].– Melanie, 36, Female
>
> Halimbawa po ay may namatay, kagaya sa chapel na may ibinibigay na koleksyon every Sunday. Ginagamit po naming pang-abuloy iyon. – Nilda, 54, Female
>
> Halimbawa Sunday, minsan may okasyon, minsan lalaki, minsan babae ang nagsasalu-salo. Pero sinisigurado naming mayroon pa rin peace and order. Kapag mayroong nagkagulo, police matter na iyon. – Badeth, 39, Female

The statements that best described category 4 are Item 21 and Item 22 while those statements that least described them are Item 19, Item 13 and Item 8. (See Table 2.4)

Table 2.4
Category 4: SOC through Social relationships

	Statements	**z-scores**
Item 21	We usually help each other inside the community	1.86
Item 22	We have more organizations and associations who help the community members	1.16
Item 19	I don't usually go outside the resettlement area	-1.13
Item 8	There's more conflicts between neighbors because there's no water or electricity	-1.60

Note: A higher positive z-score indicates statements that most describe the category while a lower negative z-score indicates statements that least describe the category

The statements that made a big difference between Categories 3 and 4 are Item 5 having a difference score of 1.98 and Item 2 with a difference score of -1.73. This means that the resettlers who reasons fall under Category 4 took part in community activities like festivals and celebration even without receiving anything in return compared to resettlers under Category 3.

Category 5 is SOC through Community leadership. It described people who took on formal and informal leadership positions. They believed that they have obligations towards their community and serve as point persons in community activities or tasks. They functioned

as people in charge and serving as formal or informal leaders of different organizations inside

the community. (see Table 2.5)

> Sa tingin ko, isa akong lider, kahit ako ay matanda na, marami pa rin akong pangarap para sa lugar na ito. Basta't kami ay nagkakaisa, makakamit namin ang mga pangarap na ito. Dapat ay nagkakaisa. Kung magkakanya-kanya kami, hindi masosolusyunan ang mga problema rito… Dapat kapag lider ka, kinakausap mo ang mga tao. Dapat pinapakinggan mo ang mga sinasabi nila, hindi lang sa block mo kundi sa lahat ng block rito. – Iluminada, 73, Female

The statements that best describe Category 5 are Item 3 and Item 4. On the other

hand, the statements that least described them are Item 19, Item 5 and Item 1.

Table 2.5
Category 5: SOC through Community leadership

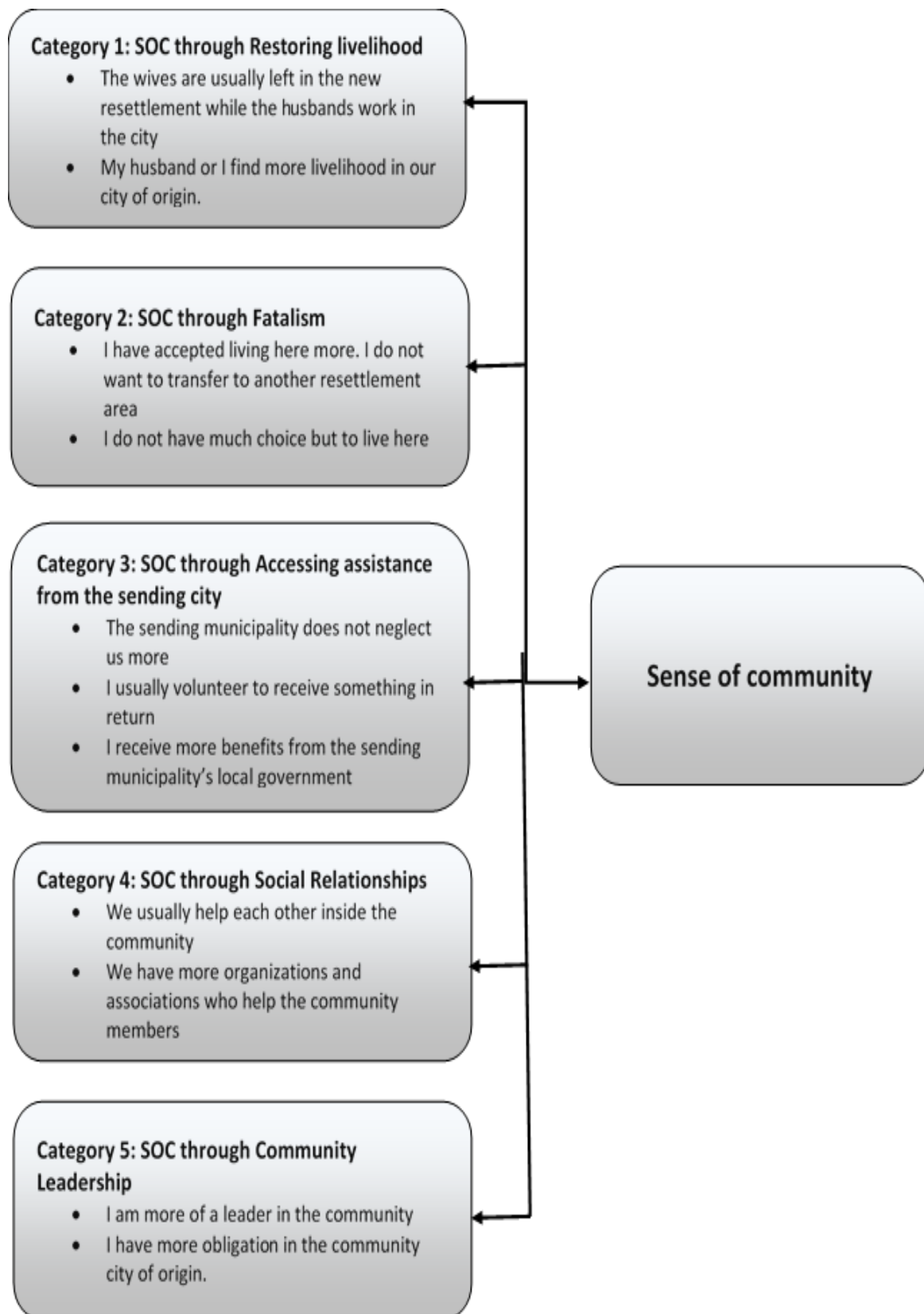|	**Statements**	**z-scores**
Item 3	I am more of a leader in the community	1.26
Item 4	I have more obligation in the community	1.16
Item 19	I don't usually go outside the resettlement area	-1.06
Item 5	I usually volunteer to receive something in return	-1.24
Item 1	I usually drink alcohol to make friends with new neighbors	-2.03

Note: A higher positive z-score indicates statements that most describe the category while a lower negative z-score indicates statements that least describe the category.

The statements that made a big difference between Categories 4 and 5 are Item 6 with

a difference score of 2.07 and Item 3 with a difference score of -2.73. This meant that the

resettlers whose reasoning fall under Category 4 endeavored more to converse with their

current neighbors even though they are not community leaders. On the other hand, resettlers

whose reasoning fall under Category 5 believed more that they perform leadership roles in

their community.

Both SOC through Social Relationships and SOC through Community leadership

were shaped by the need to fill the gaps in relation to inadequate standards of living in

resettlement. Through social relationships and leadership, people collectively addressed

community problems.

Figure 2 shows the summary of the five categories related to SOC along with the

statements under each category.

Category 1: SOC through Restoring livelihood
- The wives are usually left in the new resettlement while the husbands work in the city
- My husband or I find more livelihood in our city of origin.

Category 2: SOC through Fatalism
- I have accepted living here more. I do not want to transfer to another resettlement area
- I do not have much choice but to live here

Category 3: SOC through Accessing assistance from the sending city
- The sending municipality does not neglect us more
- I usually volunteer to receive something in return
- I receive more benefits from the sending municipality's local government

Category 4: SOC through Social Relationships
- We usually help each other inside the community
- We have more organizations and associations who help the community members

Category 5: SOC through Community Leadership
- I am more of a leader in the community
- I have more obligation in the community city of origin.

Sense of community

The study confirmed that even in a new resettlement area they were able to develop a sense of community. While self-efficacy was not included as a measurement, similar to that of Stevenson, Jason, Ferrari, and Hunder (2010) study, the sense of determination of resettlers was recorded particularly on how they felt when establishing new social networks to help each other especially on health issues and death. Also, despite the depressing encounters, they continue to dream of a future for their new community.

Maya-Jariego and Holgado's (2015) studies of people who live or travel back and forth in two localities experienced less solid personal networks were also applicable in this cases. During the FGDs, participants mentioned how their spouses would move to and fro the sending and the receiving municipality to find work or other sources of income. When work is found, husbands would often go home only during weekends. The arrangement is a cause of conflict between couples. As expressed during the sessions, the husbands would go home only during weekends. As articulated by Liu, et al. (2014), challenges in family life have an effect on people's SOC.

- **Link between Displaced People's Sense of Community to Human Rights Attainment**

Resettled people's SOC reveal behaviors and perceptions that can be supportive or unsupportive of claiming human rights.

Table 3 summarizes instances where sense of community enables or hampers the capacity of rights-holder to make claims.

Table 3
Displaced People's Sense of Community and Human Rights

Categories of Sense of Community	People's notions and behavior supportive/unsupportive of right-holders in making human rights claims
SOC through Restoring livelihood	Resettlers have the notion of "Karapatan namin ang kabuhayan". However, the glaring lack of livelihood opportunities in the resettlement has already forced households to restore their livelihoods mostly by accessing jobs in their former place. Because of this, rights-holders no longer demand for their right to adequate livelihoods.
SOC through Fatalism	People feel, "Wala na kaming magagawa" and "Naka-move on na kami". They also recalled, "Wala ring nangyari noong lumaban kami". These sentiments no longer push people to hold government liable to human rights violations. On the other hand, people accepting their fate in the resettlement facilitate the motivation to demand for other rights (such as right to social services).
SOC through Accessing assistance from the sending city	People have the notion, "Karapatan naming makatanggap ng mga benepisyo". This SOC relates to people's behavior to claim social services and assistance from their former city government.
SOC through Social Relationships	Their SOC result to behaviors that promotes the wellbeing and rights of the community. People form groups to access electrification service. Forming their Homeowner's Association was also helpful in taking care of the wellbeing of the community.
SOC through Community Leadership	People were able to access services by asking help from community leaders. For instance, people turn to their block leaders to request health assistance from the government.

The SOC through Restoring Livelihood and SOC through Fatalism demonstrate people's resignation from demanding claims for rights that were grossly unfulfilled or violated such as the right to adequate livelihoods and inadequate social services. to people's attitude against resistance to violations.

SOC through Accessing assistance from the sending city and SOC through Social Relationships enable behavior supportive of human rights attainment. People believe that by coming together, they can strengthen their voice. Their relationship with the LGUs of both

the sending city and the receiving municipality are important in claiming their rights to social services. It shows that intergroup processes can be vital in human rights promotion.

Similarly, the SOC through social relationship and SOC through Community Leadership can be a mechanism to promote human rights. People believe that it is their right to voice out their concerns. They do this by turning to their leaders, who will then represent people's concerns when negotiating with decision-makers.

Conclusion

The study highlights the often overlooked dimension of community life which is people's sentiments of connection to their community. Despite the dispossession and deprivation characterizing resettlement, people were able to build meaningful social ties. The SOC are linked to social identity and social cohesion in resettlement through restoring livelihood, fatalism, accessing assistance from the sending city, social relationships and community leadership.

The conditions and contexts of resettlement shape resettler's sense of community. Deprivation of basic human rights in resettlements influences a displaced people's sentiments of their place and community. The collective sentiment to access services from their former locality stems from the deprivation of the right to adequate housing and support. The SOC through fatalism was influenced by the impunity related to the gross violations of rights like relocation without housing, absence of financial support and access to basic services.

Sense of community and the attainment of human rights are linked to each other. The five SOC categories showed the tendencies of displaced people to yield to what the present environment has to offer such as accepting one's faith (Fatalism) or shouldering the obligation to look for work rather than demand for it as a right (Restoring Livelihood). But it also showed that it can facilitate collective efforts to enhance community life, promote well-being, the value of helpfulness and support from the community members as well as

nurturing relationships with the LGU (receiving municipality) and community leaders in order to support rights-holders to pursue making claims related to adequate housing.

The results of the study elucidate the complex realities faced by resettled communities, including the human rights issues before, during, and after resettlement. For states and other duty-bearers, impunity in connection to human rights violation in resettlement must be met with adequate response. State agencies that failed to anticipate, mitigate and rectify harm in resettlement need to be held accountable for the losses and victimization of displaced people. Resettlement governance that compels sending LGUs to continue providing assistance to resettled communities must be unceasingly upheld.

For development workers, psychologists, human rights advocates and legislators, development work should not only look into material conditions but also the subjectivities of displaced people regarding their place and community. This study may serve as basis for social psychologists and development workers to further measure the sentiments and behavior of displaced communities regarding human rights promotion by facilitating the development of creative strategies and mechanisms on how to cultivate attitudes supportive of human rights thru community organizing, formation of community organizations or setting-up of pro-poor development plans and/or develop capacities of rights-holders capacities to claim their rights via leadership development, negotiation skills and strengthening capacities for protecting human rights.

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