An Initial Analysis on the Young Marx's Theory of Human Nature and Slum Space

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to address the absence in global literature of researches that utilize the initial thoughts of the Young Marx, specifically his Theory of Human Nature, in explaining slum space maximization techniques. This research employed descriptive-qualitative interviews with purposively-sampled families in an informal settlement area in Manila. By exploring the congruence of the Theory of Human Nature of the Young Marx with the actual slum space maximization strategies of families in a real slum area, the study gave initial empirical evidence to the theory. In line with the Duterte Administration's thrust for infrastructure establishment, socialized housing with good materials must be built in relocation areas in CALABARZON. But this must go hand in hand with livelihood assistance and jobs creation in the resettlement areas so that the informal dwellers will not be inclined to return to their old slum spaces in the overpopulated, space-deprived city. A holistic and humanistic approach to planning resettlement or relocation areas is needed.

Introduction

Studies on slums have often focused on their health and sanitation needs, how resilient informal dwellers are in the midst of the onslaught of environmental or natural disasters, and assessments of their other necessities and ways of governance as catalytic to empowering them and improving their living conditions. Discussions of informal settlements involving theoretical considerations were mostly guided by Marxist and Neo-Marxist paradigms, and how these were able to explain the evolution of slum spaces or their emergence in urban areas in both developed and developing societies. There is a gap, however, in the global literature in terms of the early insights of the Young Marx in relation to slum space maximization. This research seeks to fill such gap in the literature by utilizing the ideas of the Young Marx as juxtaposed to maximizing

slum spaces. The results of this study are not just integral to social science theorizing, but are also essential in coming up with policy recommendations and/or inputs for policy formulation that the Philippine government may implement to improve the lives of slum dwellers in the country.

Theoretical Considerations

In terms of the theoretical lenses used in analyzing informal settlements, Marxist and Neo-Marxist paradigms have often guided such endeavours (Afenah, 2009; Bari, 2016; Chen, Harvey, Kihato & Skinner, 2018; Di Muzio, 2008; Foster, 2016; Hesketh, 2011; Pratschke 2010; Victor, 2009;). The Marxist perspective would often look at slum settlers as proletariats with no sufficient means to buy a decent abode. This is because the laborer's (proletariat) wage is short changed by the capitalist, who takes his part of the laborer's wage as profit. On a similar plane, Neo-Marxists would look at slum settlements as shaped not just by their physical attributes, but by capitalist processes of accumulation (WIEGO and Cities Alliance, 2018). Thus, the political economy perspective of Marxists and Neo-Marxists provides a significant insight for those in development work – those who are fighting for human rights, social justice, and inclusion of slum dwellers in the city's political arena or citizenship spheres. It brings into fore how capitalism leads to the marginalization of informal settlers (WIEGO and Cities Alliance, 2018).

There is a dearth, however, in utilizing the theory of the Young Marx, specifically his thoughts on Human Nature, in analyzing informal settlements and/or the lives of slum dwellers, with focus on their slum space maximization techniques.

The Young Karl Marx on Human Nature

The Young Karl Marx basically believed that human nature has both constant and mutable elements - he maintains that human beings have universal qualities that do not change through milieus and among various cultures, but people also have historico-specific and culturally-contextualized qualities (Leopold, 2009; Wallimann, 1981).

Marx also stated that the concept of 'need' is concerned with the things that one cannot do without or the things that are necessary. He also mentioned the concept of 'non-volitional needs.' What makes a need 'non-volitional' is that its outcome (the 'in order to ') is, in principle, independent of any desires, wants, and preferences that a person might have. For example, the claim that 'humans need vitamin C in order to avoid infections' refers to a non-volitional need. These needs are 'in principle' independent of such desires because, although a non-volitional need for some thing can be, and often is, accompanied by a desire for that thing, this is not a necessary characteristic of such a need. Individuals do not lose their nonvolitional need for a thing if they happen not to want it (Leopold, 2009).

There are more or less, two types of non-volitional needs. Restricted non-volitional needs are what human beings require in order to survive or avoid harm. On the other hand, expansive non-volitional needs specify those needs that are what human beings require in order to flourish. These expansive types provide a more demanding list of conditions since for an entity to flourish it must typically do better than merely survive or avoid harm. In order to flourish, an entity must do well (Leopold, 2009).

What the young Marx is trying to say here is that an expansive non-volitional type of needs makes it possible to reconstruct his model of human flourishing. In the *Manuskripte*, Marx describes the dependency of individuals on certain natural objects as a 'need' in those situations where those objects are 'indispensable' for 'the exercise and confirmation' of the 'essential

powers' of human beings. Marx basically says that human beings can be said to 'need' an object when it is necessary for human flourishing. He also acknowledges that it is not only human beings which have these kinds of needs. He mentions the need of humans for food as similar to how plants do need sunlight; sustenance is for people, like sunlight for the plant, is stated to be 'an indispensable object which confirms its life' (Leopold, 2009).

Based on the aforementioned concept of needs, a long list of basic physical needs can be reconstructed from Marx's comments. Marx refers to a human need for sustenance ('eating, drinking' and, more generally, 'nourishment'), for warmth and shelter ('heating' and 'clothing' and 'dwelling'), for certain climatic conditions ('light' and 'air'), for physical exercise (the need 'to move about' and the need for 'physical exercise'), for basic hygiene ('the simplest animal cleanliness'), and for reproduction and (heterosexual) sexual activity (he writes of 'procreation' and describes sexual relationships between women and men as characteristic of the 'species') (Leopold, 2009).

Marx states that these basic physical needs are not always met in the modern social world. He also says that they are not even met in the most economically advanced areas of the world. For example, the need for light and air is constrained by 'the pestilential atmosphere of English basement dwellings', and the need for clothing is scarcely fulfilled by 'the fantastic rags in which the English poor are clothed'. Broadly speaking, Marx implies that, in terms of satisfying basic physical needs, the 'savage' and the 'animal' may do a lot better than the dwellers of the 'little Ireland' which can be found in the areas of the industrial towns of France and England (Leopold, 2009).

As aforementioned, Marx states that these basic physical needs may be shared with (non-human) animals. But this does not mean that Marx believes that those needs are any less 'human'. But he is concerned, however, about the social conditions in which people have no other aim than to satisfy basic physical needs. Specifically, he states that the person who, as a result of poverty, is 'burdened' by basic physical needs is not only likely to neglect refined sensibilities (a person 'has no sense of the finest of plays') but is also most likely to satisfy those basic needs in the 'crudest' of ways. Marx observes that 'it would be hard to say' how a starving man satisfying his hunger differed from an animal eating. In these situations, Marx says, the individual is reduced to 'nothing more than an animal' (Leopold, 2009).

In the present study on slum settlements, the young Marx's theory on human nature, specifically his thoughts on how impoverished human beings satisfy their non-volitional needs in the "crudest" of ways, will be used as theoretical frame to analyze the maximization of slum spaces by slum dwellers. The space maximization techniques of slum dwellers will be viewed as an empirical example of this "crudeness" that affects the other needs or aspects of being human, the primary cause of which is poverty.

Urbanization and the Emergence of Slums

Slums have been a persistent characteristic of cities in the United States and in Europe ever since the Industrial Revolution, and have continued to exist in some of these areas until the 20th century (Marx, Stoker & Suri, 2013). Much of the popular slums in the past were located at the periphery of cities driven by economic boom, and this has magnetized migrants as well as opened to them access to available economic opportunities in the area. During the 18th and 19th century, the newly established factories and shops in the Whitechapel area of East London was a major pull factor for indigent rural migrants. Meanwhile in an area in New York City on the side of the Hudson River of Manhattan,

immigrants were magnetized because of its nearness to docks and railroads and to an adjacent growing urban area. Much of the policy practice of city governments in the past involved radical planning initiatives, specifically in solving congestion and sanitation problems in these highly populated areas. For example, Haussman's overhaul of Paris from the 1860s-1870s included changing most of the city's physical infrastructure and establishing a sewerage system and spacious roads to replace slum settlements. In more recent years, during the 1960s, Singapore promoted a mandatory savings scheme which was intended to cover the cost of constructing public housing so as to empower slum dwellers economically by enabling them to buy subsidized houses (Marx et. al., 2013).

Though slums may also exist in developed and rapidly developing countries in the contemporary era, large informal settlements proliferate in countries with slow or stagnant economic growth (Marx et. al., 2013). Sub-Saharan Africa has seen the highest rates of slum population in recent years. It is hard to establish actual counts of slum dwellers though because of difficult data collection circumstances in informal settlements (e.g. ensuring the safety of field researchers, high mobility and turnover rates of survey participants) (Marx et. al., 2013).

The term "informal settlement" is broad and may cover in its definition communities in rural areas, shacks in backyards and unlawful occupancy of buildings (Massey, 2013). Naidoo, Chidley and McNamara (2008) defines informal settlements as dwelling places of communities that are housed in abodes that the dwellers constructed by themselves, and are on land which does not belong to them and does not have the authorization of the owner of the land. The illegal occupation of the area is usually in contrast with the criteria set by the city's land use plan for that locality and the informal housing structures are built without recognizing the policies in building codes (Angignu & Huchzermeyer, 2009).

Issues and Challenges in Informal Settlements

As mentioned above, the development of informal settlements or slum areas is an outcome of the spatial issues resulting from rapid urbanization, socioeconomic inequality, urban concentration of economic opportunities and the influx of population and/or densification. Thus, most informal settlements are present in the urban areas of developing and underdeveloped areas of the world (Akanle & Aderaje, 2017; Kalan, 2014; Levy, Marx & Satterthwaite, 2015; Marx et. al., 2013).

Early literature on slums or urban squalor have delved on the social problems that accompany it such as crime (Park, Burgess & McKenzie, 1925), but in recent years the rise in social movements for the empowerment of the urban poor and the concomitant paradigm of inclusive growth in economic development have broaden as well as shifted the focus of researches on informal settlements to improving their socio-economic and health conditions, increasing their access to basic services and utilities, and/or searching for the best relocation or resettlement sites for informal settlers or turning their current abodes into redeveloped or improved spaces.

The high risk of informal settlements to environmental hazards and disasters has been a core concern in building community resilience (Ahmed, 2014; Cord Aid, 2015; Patino, 2016; Wamsler, 2008; Wilhelm, 2010; Woolf, Twigg, Parikh & Karaoglou, 2016; Yu, Shannon, Baumann, Schwartz & Bhatt, 2016). This is evident in global literature since the repercussions of climate change and the relationship of resilience and social cohesion is deemed integral to managing disaster risks (Mancini & Suilleabhain, 2016;

Patel & Gleason, 2018). The vulnerability of slum dwellers to natural disasters such as typhoons, floods, landslides, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions and droughts is compounded by living near mountainsides and the low quality of their housing structure (Wamsler, 2008). Informal settlers found along or beside urban rivers and streams are usually prone to urban flooding. But slum dwellers have developed a resilient spirit and a sense of community that has enabled them to rise above any catastrophe that may afflict them. Resilience is also seen as imperative in shaping the consciousness of children in slums so that it will become part of their adaptive trait as adults, which is necessary in slum living (Ombati & Ombati, 2016; Ratioran & Phlainoi, 2014). Resilience is about the capacity to adapt to a hazard or disaster as well as the ability to "bounce back" right away in order to face the present problem and its future consequences. Hence, resilience entails highly efficient disaster risk reduction that is preventative of an actual disaster (Wamsler, 2008).

Since slum settlements are overpopulated, highly dense and lacking in space, health issues are central to studies concerning slums (Ezeh et al., 2016), most especially reproductive health and family planning issues (APHRC, 2014; Beguy, Crichton & Zulu, 2011; Beguy, Mumah, Wawire, Muindi, Gottschalk & Kabiru, 2013; Ezeh, Kodzi & Emina, 2010; Irani, 2012; Kenya Medical Association (KMA) & Reproductive Health and Rights Alliance (RHRA), 2013; Marston et al., 2013; Merkel et al., 2008; Medecins San Frontieres (MSF), 2010; O'Reilly & Washington, 2012; Padmadas, 2017). Communicable diseases are commonplace in highly congested areas. The gendered nature of the need to control the burgeoning population is still apparent, as well as its implications to the provision of health services and utilities. The need to improve access to health care for the impoverished slum settlers (Bellows, Kyobutungi, Mutua, Warren & ezeh, 2012; Medici Senza Frontiere (MSF), 2018; Wairiuko, Cheboi, Ochieng & Oyore, 2017) and the detrimental effects of slum living on its most vulnerable population, the children (Fink, Gunther, & Hill, 2014; Jankowska, Benza & Weeks, 2013;) and the aging (Wilunda et al., 2015), have been widely researched. The implications of sanitation on the slum population is also a major concern (Corburn & Karanja, 2014; Future Health System (FHS), 2018; International Institute for Environment and Development (IIEI), 2017). This is because of the link between access to water and human waste management. The relationship of climate and health is also seen as an emerging issue that needs to be addressed (Scovronick, Lloyd & Kovats, 2015).

Policy and program interventions by governments and civil society organizations have targeted the poor quality of houses, the lack of services and utilities such as water and electricity and the nature of livelihood and economic opportunities in slum settlements (Akanle & Aderaje, 2017; Gelder, 2013; Kalan, 2014; Levy et. al., 2015; Marx et. al., 2013; McRae, 2015). Urban renewal, urban regeneration or slum upgrading schemes has given the necessary uplift to the blight and degeneration of houses in slum areas (Alsharif, 2013; Bobadoye & Fakere, 2013; Duah, 2014; Duah & Bugri, 2016; Katerji & Ozakca, 2015; McManus, 2011; Panzo, 2013; Setiadi & Nalau, 2015; Thompson, 2017; UN Habitat, 2014). Not all urban redevelopment programs, however, are sustainable in the long run, hence, sustainability issues must also be addressed (Bolay, 2011; Collins & Shester, 2010; Hindman et. at., 2015; Sheth, Velaga, & Price, 2009; Space Synthax, 2010).

Concomitant to sustainability issues is the rise in participatory approaches to urban renewal, so that redevelopment efforts are reflective of the actual needs of the informal settlement population (Arcila, 2008; Calogero et al., 2017; Chatterjee, 2015; Pankhurst &

Tiumelissan, 2013; PSUP, 2015/2016; SERI, 2018). Participatory approaches democratize decision-making, which is reflective of the global trend towards bottom to top urban planning instead of the traditional top to bottom planning perspective. The challenge of urban governance with particular focus on managing slum areas is also taking its toll on local governments, thus, necessitating the involvement of other sectors (e.g. private entities, civil society organizations) (Alaedini & Fardanesh, 2014; Chapman, 2015; Egolum & Emoh, 2017; Iwuagwu, Onyegiri & Iwuagwu, 2016; Massey, 2013; Minnery et al., 2013; Molen, 2014;). Private sector assistance is very much welcome in terms of ensuring the sustainability of slum projects, while civil society organizations are helpful in initiating community efforts or in organizing informal settlers into a collective. There is also a rise in the number of studies supporting in situ renewal (Ehebrecht, 2014; Kiddle, 2011; Hermanson, 2016; Stenton, 2015) as opposed to the traditional view of relocation or resettlement. In situ renewal enhances the present conditions of slum settlements by taking into account the available resources in the locality as well as improving the nature of physical infrastructure of informal housing, among others.

Since most of informal settlers are lacking in the basic indices of development (e.g. education, health, income), their participation in the political activities of their city has been very much limited. Such political marginalization has given birth to the emergence of social movements among slum settlers with the end goal of increasing their political participation or engagement in citizenship, as well as demanding for their land rights and improving their access to basic social services (Auerbach, 2013; Brooks, 2016; Desai, 2008; Gukurume, 2012; Inal & Gezgin, 2017). Social movements have become a necessary social force to ensure that slum settlers are able to exercise their basic human rights as well as enjoy the fruits of social justice despite their low income status. Concomitant to these are initiatives towards legal recognition of slum dwellers by the local or national government and/or land titling of their illegally situated abodes (Lucci, Bhatkal, Khan & Berliner, 2015; Nolan, Bloom & Subbaraman, 2017).

Urban Growth in Metro Manila

The evolution of Metro Manila was fundamentally caused by economic and legal factors (Jones and Douglass, 2008). Metro Manila started as the pre-colonial settlement Maynilad and it eventually developed into Intramuros during the Spanish colonization; into the amalgamated City of Manila from the early 1900s to the 1960s; and into the Greater Manila or Metropolitan Manila Area from the 1970s to the contemporary period. Metro Manila, similar to other urban areas in the world, started as a "mother" city that expanded its territory through history by amalgamating its adjacent areas as these localities became part of the "mother" city in terms of functions. The expansive growth of Manila was primarily through legal means (Jones and Douglass, 2008).

Maynilad from way back is very strategic geographically in terms of trading because of its nearness to Laguna de Bay and inland communities, and its accessibility to the merchandise of the natives and foreign merchants, specifically from China, before the Spanish colonization (Reed 1967 in Jones & Douglass, 2008). In 1565, Cebu, Iloilo and Manila became the locales of the Spanish, where they built settlements and fortresses. The City of Manila was subsequently established in 1571. Manila then was a walled city called the Intramuros (within walls), which was around 1.2 square kilometres in spatiality. The Intramuros contained the Spanish state and church's administrative institutions (Serote 1991 in Jones & Douglass, 2008). Soon Manila became the capital of the Spanish colony and the center of commerce. As a great port

area that is located near the rice fields of Central Luzon, the colonizers made Manila its command center (Phelan 1959 in Jones and Douglass, 2008). Up to this day, Manila continues to be the country's commercial and maritime trading center.

Manila or Intramuros then saw the growth of its population as well as its adjacent suburbs and towns. These nearby areas are where the supporting economic activities of Intramuros are located the most. In the 1790s, the City of Manila was formally opened to American and European ships. This resulted to the engagement of suburban areas with export-import merchandising, and to export materials processing and manufacturing such as cigars and Manila hemp (Jones & Douglass, 2008). At the same time, residential areas also expanded to the suburbs to become home to the population of Spanish colonizers who wished to live outside of Intramuros. It also became the abode of Chinese businessmen and Filipinos engaged in non-farm activities with wages (Jones & Douglass, 2008).

American colonization began in 1898. In the year 1903, by virtue of Government Act No. 183, Intramuros and 12 adjacent towns were amalgamated to become the new City of Manila (Reyes, 1998 in Jones & Douglass, 2008). During this time, the city had 190,000 dwellers and 876 manufacturing companies. The city was the capital of the Philippines during the American period as well as after the Philippine Independence in 1945. Manila is the favored locale for the establishment of manufacturing firms until the mid-1950s. It was in the late 1950s that manufacturers started to locate in nearby municipalities (Mandaluyong, San Juan, Pandacan, Caloocan, Taguig and Paranaque) (Luna, 1964 in Jones & Douglass, 2008). According to Luna (1964), the change in industry location is due to four reasons: 1) lack of expansive space; 2) traffic problem; 3) increasing land cost, and 4) limited operation of toxic industries. Concomitant to the growth of industries is the growth of population that sprawled to these adjacent municipalities by the 1960s. This necessitated the development of more residential areas in these areas.

The urbanization of Manila and its nearby cities and municipalities eventually resulted to the usual urban problems such as lack of transportation infrastructure and traffic jams, insufficient potable water, unsanitary waste disposal, inadequate drainage and sewers, and urban flooding (Jones & Douglass, 2008). These urban problems were not addressed during the Postwar Era and was due in part, to patchy solutions and non-coordinated initiatives by local government, and to legal-territorial disputes over who is accountable for the delivery of services (Mercado n.d. in Jones & Douglass, 2008). In 1975, Presidential Decree 824 was promulgated after consulting with Metro Manila dwellers. It is stated in PD 824 that the City of Manila and the 16 cities and municipalities surrounding Manila is a legal entity called the National Capital Region (NCR). By 1995, Republic Act 7924 reasserted the cities/municipalities of the NCR or Metro Manila as well as established an administrative organization, the Metropolitan Manila Development Authority (MMDA).

As of today, Metro Manila still primarily functions as the center of economic activities, service provision and governmental endeavors in the Philippines. Higher education and hospital care services provision remains high in the NCR. Hence, it is not surprising that the average Filipino considers Metro Manila the gauge for availability of jobs and services, which makes it a continuing magnet for migrants (Jones & Douglass, 2008).

Housing Backlog in the City

Manila is considered as the most densely populated city in the Philippines. There are 42,857 people per square kilometer.

Manila's total land area is around 42.88 square kilometres. According to census data, the city has a population of 1.78 million in 2016 (World Population Review, 2018). The concentration of population in the city is a result of the centrality of the location of economic and social services that has historical roots. People from various regions of the country have migrated to Manila to work, study or settle down. This influx of population has created a highly heterogeneous city. Such heterogeneity had its ramifications - social problems such as social conflict, criminality, and inefficient garbage disposal. Considered a persistent environmental problem in Manila, urban flooding can cause cancellation of classes and suspension of work in the city. Environmental degradation and lack of proper drainage have caused much of urban flooding, and such have also been causing much of the damage in roads, vehicles, houses and other property (Miranda, 2012). The densification of the city has also created bad traffic jams that have impacted on the work and/or economic productivity of Manila's labor force. Urban development in the city has been more of sporadic reactions to emerging pockets of unorganized population residing in the economic hubs rather than crafting well-planned communities. It was more of the private sector that paved the way to urban developments through the establishment of large malls, condominiums and gated communities. Hence, it is not surprising that Tyner (2009) characterized Metropolitan Manila as a city of contradictions where inequalities in the social and spatial dimensions are apparent side by side.

The housing problem in Metro Manila is due to the tight competition for its finite land (Jones & Douglass, 2008). Land is utilized for economically productive purposes as well as trading. Thus, housing provision for the middle class and the urban poor is becoming unavailable because it is not highly profitable (Santiago, 1996 in Jones & Douglass, 2008). The high cost of land in Metro Manila (and its increasing trend) continues to be a major hindrance for middle and low income groups to own their own.

In a study by Ballesteros (2009), the lack of housing provision during 2005-2010 was estimated to be around one million. But Ballesteros adds that this figure is a low projection because the population of slum dwellers in the area of Manila was estimated to be more than 70,000. In a related study, Porio (2009) has more or less the same estimate of the dearth in housing units needed. Concomitantly, the rise in the prices of property as a result of city developments (e.g. construction of malls, offices, condominiums) is detrimental to low-income urbanites (Valeriano, 2012). This is further exacerbated by inflation and other economic phenomena (e.g. fluctuation in the Peso-Dollar rate, price of oil in the world market).

The congestion of Manila is a significant challenge in meeting its housing backlog especially for the city's poor families. There are various factors affecting their access to good housing, the most primary of which is the price of housing units and/or land. There are socialized housing programs by the government for the benefit of low-income urbanites, but these are not sufficient to address the housing backlog in the city (Coker, 2016; Villanueva, 2010).

Slum Spaces in Metro Manila

During the 1950s, industrialization led to the influx of rural migrants to Manila in order to work. But the problem of employing all the settlers came in. This was further aggravated by the dearth in rural development efforts in agrarian areas. Later on, issues pertaining to land tenure and housing became the primary concern of civil society organizations that cater to the urban poor (Lara et al., 2017).

It was during the 1950s when the slum/squatter problem was first considered an issue, and the government's response was often an exercise of social control. Slum dwellers in Intramuros were coerced to move to Sapang Palay and to other resettlement areas. From a punitive standpoint, government began to coddle informal settlement communities because politicians as elective officials needed the votes of these people. During the time of Martial Law, there was an order regarding removing illegal settlements along private and public properties. After one year of enforcing the removal of informal settlements near waterways and/or rivers, elections ceased, hence, there was a lull in political patronage (Karaos, 1996; Laquian, 1980). At present, government officials still show this pendulum-like behavior between toughness and kindness (Laquian, 1980). Concomitantly, the process of urbanization or the influx of settlers to cities and the development of slums that came with it were also being experienced by other developing countries during that milieu. Much of the interventions by governments in developing societies were shaped by the World Bank, especially in terms of addressing the problem of informal settlement (Lara, Castro & Yap, 2017).

Low-cost housing and resettlement areas constructed by the government for informal dwellers have been located in accessible sites near Metro Manila such as Rizal and Cavite. In terms of private sector-led residential projects for low and middle income buyers, housing locations are found in the outskirts of Metro Manila and in Rizal, Cavite and Laguna. Much of the primary consideration in selection of areas for housing projects is its accessibility to Metro Manila (Jones & Douglass, 2008).

Recent literature on slum dwelling in the Philippine context revolved around discussions on democratically empowering informal settlers and their struggles for asserting their rights (Coker, 2016; Lagman, 2012; Porio, 2017; Villanueva, 2010). Descriptions of urban poverty have often accompanied discourses on slums (Porio, 2009; Garrido, 2013). Urban regeneration and relocation programs have also been tackled (Valeriano, 2012; Altea, 2013). Attempts to develop an informal settlement growth model and an exploration of the concept of informality in relation to governance are emerging concerns (Recio, 2015; Lara et al., 2017).

Methodology

This research is a descriptive-qualitative study that is part of a larger project. The field site or slum area is in one of the barangays in Pandacan, Manila. The location of the field site was purposively sampled based on: 1) a zonal valuation report of the Bureau of Internal Revenue (1996), which categorized it as a priority area in development planning, and 2) it fits one of the major characteristics of slums based on the definition of UN-HABITAT of slums as lacking adequate living space – more than 2 people are sharing the same room. Thirty (30) families were purposively sampled based on the criteria that the family must be employing space maximization techniques in their abode. The average number of family members is 6. These same families were interviewed by field researchers in the local language using a descriptive interview questionnaire that delved into the slum space maximization techniques of each family. The descriptive interview instrument was validated by three social science faculty.

The head of the family primarily answered the interview questions as to what particular areas of their abode were used for specific social activities (e.g. dining). Their responses were tallied as descriptive frequencies which were subsequently turned into graphical representations. The graphical representations of the descriptive

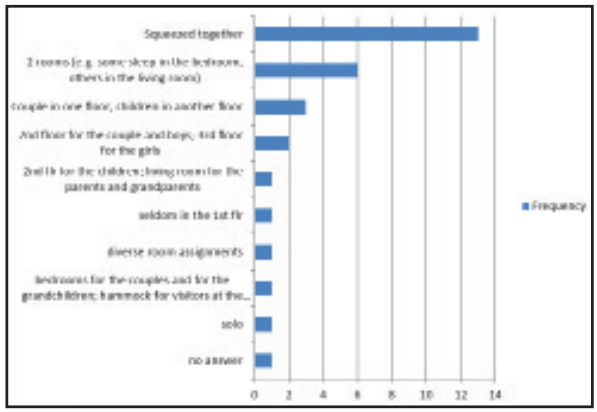

Figure 1. Maximizing Sleeping Space/s

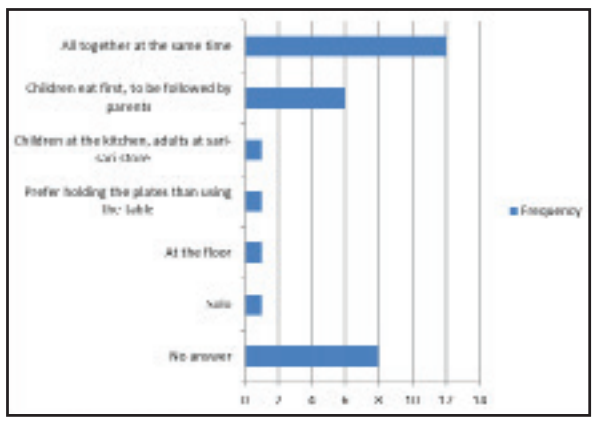

Figure 2. Maximizing Dining Space/s

frequencies were analyzed in terms of which areas of the house were used the most for satisfying non-volitional needs, as described by Marx in his Theory of Human Nature.

Findings

The typical sampled houses in Pandacan can be described as having one to three floors that usually doesn't have a divider. Each floor of around 5-10 sq m also serves multiple purposes, for example, the first floor may serve as living room and dining area at the same time, while the second floor or bedroom may also be used as study area. This is part of the space maximization technique of its dwellers. But what makes it challenging is having an average number of 6 family members to maximize the said space/s.

Figure 1 shows that "being squeezed together" and "two rooms" are the most common ways and spaces for sleeping. Given that the average family size of these sampled families is 6, it is hard to imagine the reality of satisfying this restricted non-volitional need of sleeping - 6 people squeezed together sleeping in a 5-10 sq m floor area. Though it may seem to be a better strategy to sleep in 2 rooms (e.g. bedroom and living room), a family of 6 that distributes 3 members in each room is still crude because UN HABITAT states that ideally, not more than 2 people should share the same room.

Figure 2 on the other hand reveals that "eating altogether at the same time" and

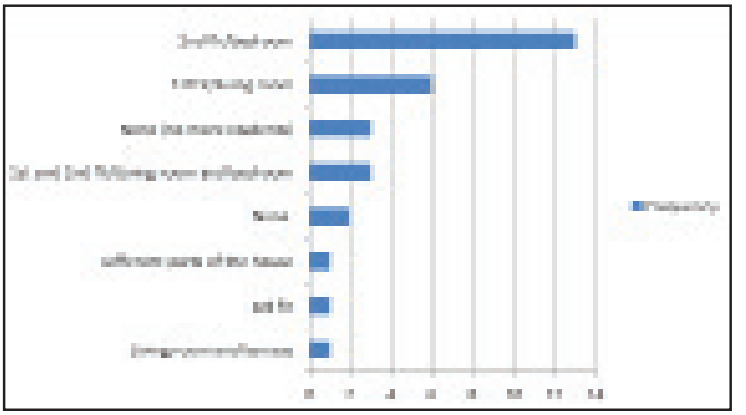

Figure 3. Maximizing Academic Space/s

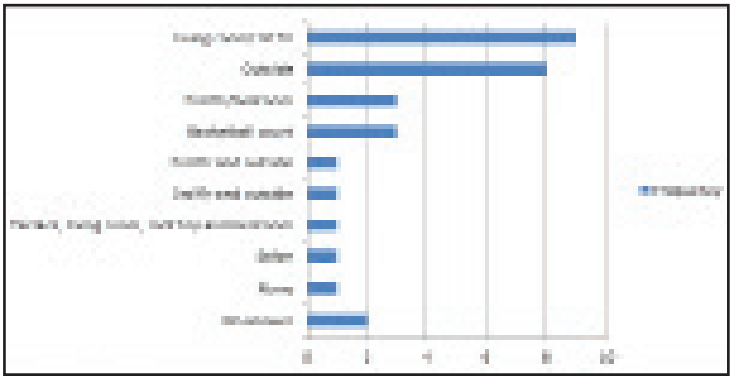

Figure 4. Maximizing Recreation Space/s

"children eat first, followed by parents" are most resorted to by the informal dwellers. Eating altogether at the same time is usually undertaken in a small dining table, making it very crowded for the average family size of 6 - again the crudeness of satisfying the restricted non-volitional need of eating. The technique of making the children eat first, followed by the parents seems to be a better strategy to make eating a more comfortable experience. But this also shows the sacrifice that parents do for their children because they may end up eating less or almost none at all.

On the other hand, Figure 3 shows that the second floor/bedroom and first floor/ living room are considered conducive to their children's academic activities. The caveat though is that snoring can distract a child from studying. A noisy living room can also be distractive for a child who reads. Again, this shows the crudity of means to achieve the expansive non-volitional need to study.

Figure 4 reveals that the living room (or first floor) and the outside of their abode is the best recreation space according to the respondents. Watching television in a crowded living room seems manageable. The small space of the living room though is difficult for children to use as play space especially if there are adults in the living room. Playing outside the house is also resorted to, but it is quite dangerous because it makes children vulnerable to crime victimization (e.g molestation, kidnapping or child trafficking) and harm (e.g. road accidents). Such are the crude ways of fulfilling the expansive non-volitional need for recreation.

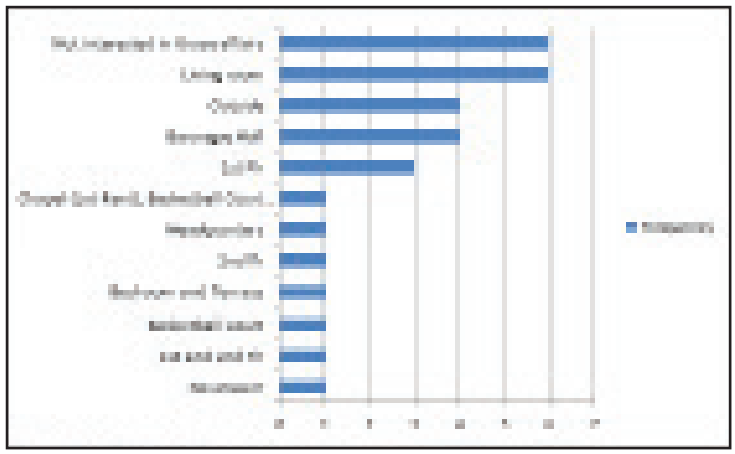

Figure 5. Ways to Maximize Political and Economic Space/s

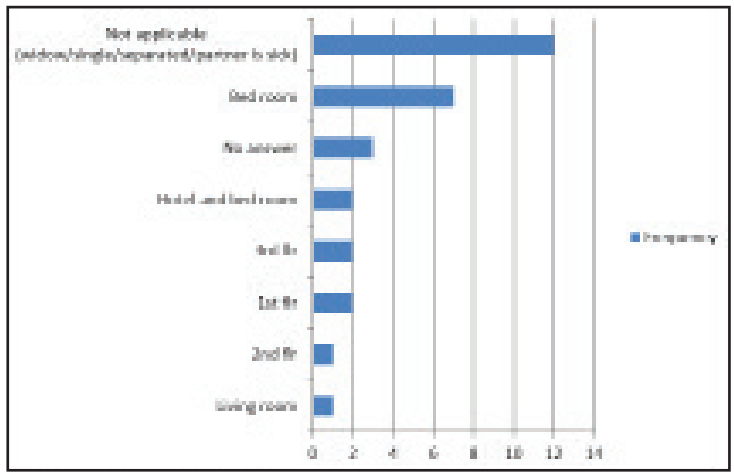

Figure 6. Ways to Maximize the Sexual Activity Space/s

Interestingly, Figure 5 shows that a great number of respondents are not interested in political and economic affairs. This resonates what Marx said regarding persons in the quagmire of poverty. He said that those who are 'burdened' by basic physical needs (restricted non-volitional needs) are likely to neglect refined sensibilities. Interest in political issues and economic affairs are examples of refined sensibilities. But for those who show interest, the living room, the area outside of their house and the barangay hall are usually resorted to. Though the area outside of their house and barangay hall are ideal spaces for the larger area these offer, discussing in a crowded living room is a crude way of fulfilling the expansive non-volitional need for political and economic discourse.

It can be surmised from Figure 6 that sexual activity for most of the respondents is no longer applicable (e.g. widow, partner is sick, single, separated). But for those who still do it, it is performed most of the time in the bedroom. This is a major challenge given that there are no dividers in the rooms and there are children sleeping with the couple. Such is the crudity of fulfilling the restricted non-volitional need for sex.

Discussion and Conclusion

The space maximization techniques of the sampled slum dwellers in Pandacan area were congruent with the Young Marx's thoughts on human nature, specifically, on how an individual may as a result of poverty be 'burdened' by non-volitional needs, and that this person is most likely to satisfy those non-volitional needs in the 'crudest' of ways. This is most evident in sleeping "squeezed together" as shown in Figure 1. Eating on a crowded table is also done together to maximize space (see Figure 2). Figure 3 showed that the second floor/bedroom and first floor/living room are problematic areas for their children's academic activities because of possible distractions during studying. Figure 4 on the other hand reveals that the living room (or first floor) and the outside of their abode is the best recreation space according to the respondents. The crudity of means is manageable for adults, but not for children. Also, Marx's insight that a person living in the quagmire of poverty is most likely to neglect refined sensibilities (e.g. interest in political and economic analysis) is resonated by the informal settlers' lack of interest in political and economic affairs (see Figure 5). But for those who show interest, the living room, the area outside of their house and the barangay hall are usually resorted to. Discussing in a crowded living room though is a crude way of fulfilling the expansive non-volitional need for political and economic discourse. For those who still engage in sexual activity, Figure 6 shows that it is performed most of the time in the bedroom. The crudity of satisfying this restricted non-volitional need is made problematic by the presence of children in the bedroom that has no dividers.

This study was able to provide new literature in global studies by utilizing the initial thoughts of the Young Marx, specifically his Theory of Human Nature, in explaining slum space maximization techniques. By exploring the congruence of the Theory of Human Nature of the Young Marx with the actual slum space maximization strategies of families in a real slum area, the study was able to give initial empirical evidence to the theory.

Recommendations

Informal settlers are people and are supposed to live in abodes that are fit for human beings. In line with the Duterte Administration's thrust for infrastructure establishment, socialized housing with resilient materials must be built in relocation areas in CALABARZON. But this must go hand in hand with livelihood assistance and jobs creation in the resettlement areas so that the informal dwellers will not be inclined to return to their old slum spaces in the overpopulated, space-deprived city. A holistic and humanistic approach to planning resettlement or relocation areas is needed.

In terms of this study's implications to the education sector, it is imperative to integrate the non-volitional needs of learners in the school's curriculum and its accompanying programs, projects and activities. For example, schools may consider extending library hours or opening on Saturdays to accommodate learners who have no decent place or nook to read or study at home. The curriculum must also include gender-sensitive concepts such as body boundaries or the idea of "good" or "bad" touch, so that learners sleeping in "squeezed together" slum space-maximized houses will know if a family member or relative is already a sexual perpetrator (e.g. molester and/or incest rapist).

Concomitant to this is a multi-sectoral (or multi-agentic) approach to education. Schools, parents, the local government, government agencies, private entities and civil society organizations must work together to address the non-volitional needs of learners since the fulfilment and non-

fulfilment of these needs affect learning outcomes. For instance, a regular feeding program for elementary school children that provides nutritive and sufficient food can be sponsored by a private entity and implemented by the local government with the assistance of a non-governmental organization in schools where most students are experiencing "eating altogether at the same time" at home in a crowded slum space-maximized dining area. Schools can also tap the support of the local government and private foundations for expanding the school's premises to provide a bigger or larger playground or play space for children who live in houses that are deprived of safe recreation spaces.

Since this study is limited to an initial descriptive application of the Theory of Human Nature of the Young Marx on slum space maximization techniques, areas for further research in line with the study would be a phenomenological approach to interviewing the heads of the family in the slum areas. How they feel about the crudity of their housing situation and how they view life's meaning in this context may generate deeper themes about human nature.

It is also interesting to explore the narratives of the breadwinners of the families in informal settlements. Such inquiry may result to more nuanced and detailed experiences of slum life which may explain the deeper meanings that they give to or are rooted from their slum space maximization. Concomitant to this is an exploration of the gender differentials among breadwinners of families in slum areas which may unearth intersections between class and gender.

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