

# Shelter, Security and Social Protection for the Urban Poor and the Migrants in Asia

Presented by,  
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# URBAN POVERTY AND HOUSING IN MALAYSIA : DILEMMAS AND CHALLENGES

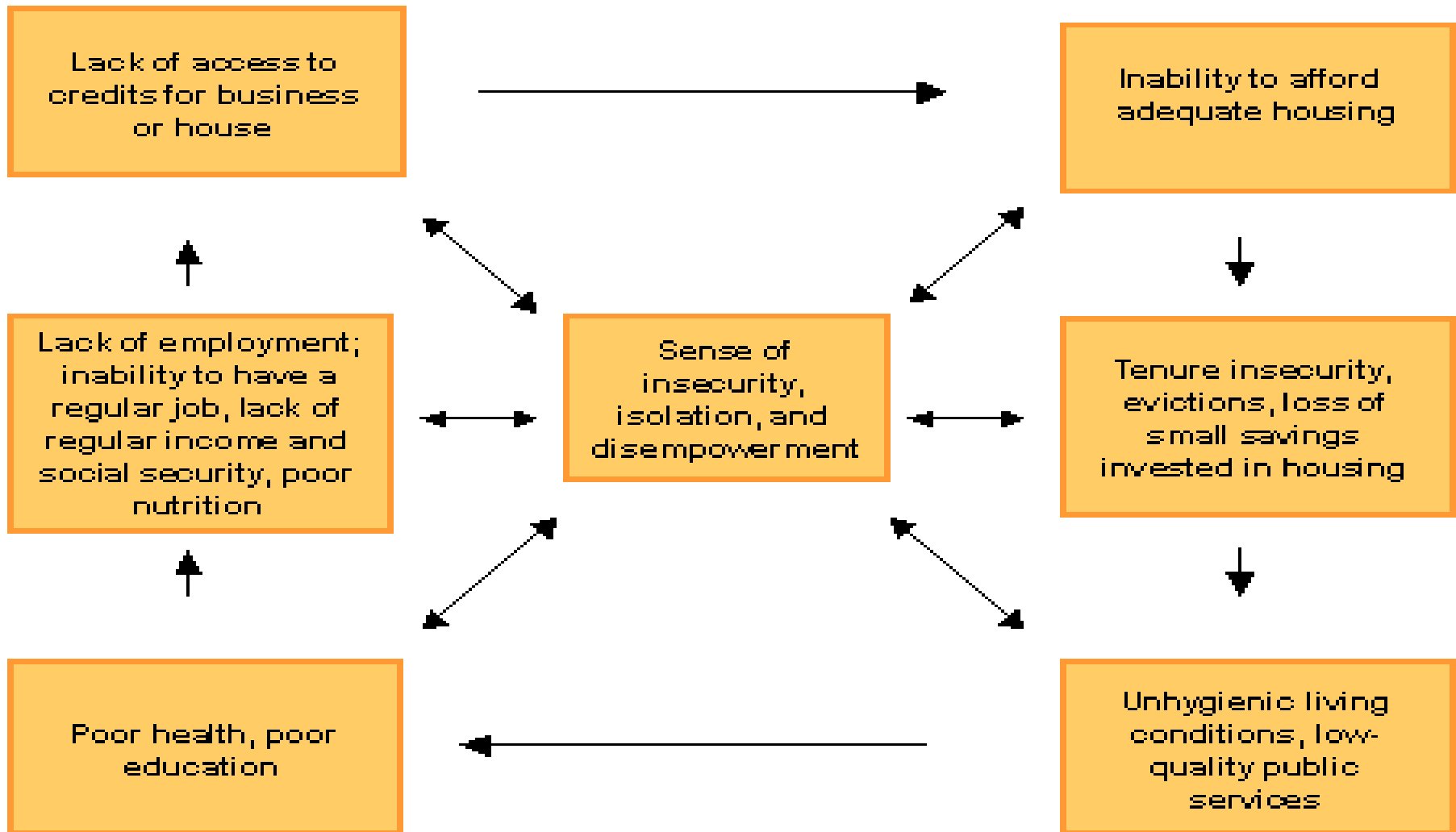
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# Structure of presentation

- Outline of presentation
- Introduction
- Increased importance of Urban poverty in Malaysia
- Poverty in Malaysia : An Overview
- Causes of Urban Poverty
- Housing Policies in Malaysia
- Concept Of Low Cost Housing

- Introduction
- The growing interest in urban poverty in developing countries has been brought about by various factors, the rural bias in past development strategies, rapid rates of urbanisation, rural urban migration and structural transformation of the economies of these countries. It is recognised that rural and urban poverty are interrelated and overall success of poverty eradication programmes requires a balanced approach.
- Challenges faced by the urban poor include limited access to employment opportunities and possibilities for earning incomes, inadequate and insecure housing, violent and unhealthy health threatening environments, limited access to education and health facilities ,lack of social protection and disempowerment and increased susceptibility to violence and crime .
- Urban poverty with its multidimensionality has been described as more than a collection of characteristics, it is a dynamic condition of vulnerability or susceptibility to risks.
- Urban poverty can lead to multiple deprivations which turn can bring about cumulative impacts on the urban poor.(See Diagram 1)



# Increasing Importance of Urban Poverty

- Rates of urbanization
- R-U migration
- Government Policies –NEP

# Rates of urbanization

- The rapid rates of urbanization and development that has occurred in Malaysia over the last three decades has a tremendous impact on urban poverty. Tey notes that the level of urbanization in Malaysia increased from 28.4 percent in 1970 to 61.8 percent in 2002 with the number of urban dwellers increasing more than fourfold. Tey Nai Peng “ Trend and Patterns of Urbanization in Malaysia , 1970-2000 “ in Ness G. D. and Talwar P. ed Asian Urbanization in the New Millennium Marshall Cavendish Academic 2005, pp178-221
- The growth in urban population has been due to natural increase, rural urban migration, reclassification of rural areas and the agglomeration of built up areas.
- Natural increase was the most important factor explaining the growth in urban population accounting for 46 percent of the growth between 1991 and 2000 while migration and reclassification accounted for 33 percent and 21 percent of population growth respectively

- In 1970, 47 percent of the Chinese, 35 percent of the Indian and 14.9 percent of the Malays lived in the urban areas. By 2000 these proportions had increased to 85.9 percent , 79.7 percent and 54.2 percent respectively for each of the ethnic groups
- The pace of urbanization has been the highest for the Malays who registered more than 263 percent increase in urban population compared to 129 percent for Indian and 81 percent for Chinese over the period 1970-2000.
- The differential rates of urbanization amongst the different ethnic groups contributed to changes in the ethnic composition of the urban population. In 1970 the Chinese accounted for 58.5 percent of the urban population while the Malays and Indians accounted for 27.6 percent and 12.8 percent respectively, with “Others” making up the remaining 1.1 percent,

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- In 2000 the Malays accounted for the largest share of the urban population at 43.9 percent while the Chinese share had decreased to 33.0 percent whereas the Indians and “Others” accounted for 9.3 percent and 12.9 percent of the urban population respectively.

- Poverty in Malaysia : An Overview

- While poverty has always occupied centre stage in Malaysia's development policy, strategies and programmes. It has been mainly rural Malay poverty that has been the focus of attention and urban poverty only received cursory attention.
- In the period leading up to the launch of the Ninth Malaysia Plan (2006-2010) there was much debate and discussion on urban poverty and low income families in the country thus leading to much anticipation about urban poverty in the forthcoming Plan.
- However the Ninth Plan does not differ significantly from previous Plans in its treatment of urban poverty and issues pertaining to urban poverty and low income families have moved to the back burner.
- Poverty in particular urban poverty should be seen as a process and there are a host of mitigating factors that cause individuals and households to be in a state of poverty.

## Overall Poverty Trends

- Malaysia has been very successful in its poverty eradication efforts and this is evidenced by the dramatic decline in the incidence of poverty (IOP) over the period 1970-2004.
- The overall IOP declined from around 52.4 per cent of the population in 1970 to 5.7 percent in 2004 (Table 1) with the total number of poor households decreasing from 1000.0 million to 311.3 million.

Table 1: Malaysia: Incidence of Poverty and Number of Poor Households, 1970-2004

Year	Number of Poor Households ('000)	Incidence of Poverty (%)
1970	1000.0	52.4
1976	879.3	42.4
1984	649.4	20.7
1989	574.5	16.5
1993	517.2	13.5
1995	365.6	8.7
1997	294.4	6.1
1999	360.1	7.5
2000	276.0	5.5
2002	269.7	5.1
2004	311.3	5.7

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- Strategies, programmes and development expenditure allocation reflect strong policy commitment to eradicating rural poverty and the New Economic Policy had poverty eradication irrespective of race as one of its twin prongs.
- Deep rooted poverty arising from a host of factors
  - low educational and skill levels,
  - low status employment and low incomes
  - poor housing and limited access to basic amenities
  - high levels of stress and the daily struggle to eke out a living
- Policy efforts are therefore needed to address seriously and responsibly the underlying causes of poverty and neglect of marginalized communities so the development efforts do not continue to elude them.
- While in the past rural poverty especially amongst the Bumiputra had been the major focus of poverty eradication efforts ethnic conflict in the poverty stricken squatter areas fringing the capital city of Kuala Lumpur in 2001 brought relative and urban poverty to the forefront of policy attention.

- It was recognized that the issues pertaining to relative and urban poverty had to be addressed within the context of the delicate nature of ethnic relations in the country and different policy prescriptions and programmes were needed to resolve urban poverty problems.
- Poverty eradication efforts in the urban sector in Malaysia are hindered by the lack of information on urban poverty. There is a need for basic information on urban poverty, its characteristics and determinants. Unlike rural poverty, which is highly correlated with the ownership of land, urban poverty is more complex.
- Employment – critical determinant of urban poverty. Access to employment, type of employment and returns accruing as well as the number of jobs held to sustain livelihoods in the urban sector are critical determinants of urban poverty.
- Closely related to employment is the type of labour market the urban poor engage in. Studies have shown a strong correlation between labour market status and poverty.

- Urban residents with steady jobs are less likely to be in poverty compared to those with unstable casual jobs. There is also the need to obtain insights into the response of urban labour markets to structural adjustment and economic growth
- Decreasing employment opportunities in the urban formal sector due to the rapid increase in the size of the urban population sector results in increasing number of entrants into the informal sector. The ability of the informal sector to respond to these pressures is also crucial in determining urban poverty.
- Ease of entry
- Normally first port of call for new migrants
- Provides a stop gap measure while waiting for better employment opportunities
- Provides supplementary sources of income for the urban poor
- Requires little education or skills

- The critical role of the informal sector in employment generation for the urban poor - Why?
- Consequences for the poor-
- Unregulated labour laws do not apply-exploitation and abuse
- Poor working conditions
- Lack of protection and job security
- Poverty in Malaysia continues to be measured using the Poverty Line Income (PLI). The PLI has been revised under the Ninth Malaysia Plan, and currently there are separate PLIs for each state and for the urban and rural areas. The urban PLI under the Ninth Plan is set at RM 687 per household per month.
- In dealing with urban poverty it is therefore necessary to move beyond the PLI which is only a partial reflection of the poverty status of urban poor households and adopt more comprehensive measures and approaches to poverty.

- While rural poverty was largely Malay poverty urban poverty is multi ethnic with higher poverty incidences amongst Indians and Malays as compared to the Chinese
- In terms of overall poverty incidence urban poverty at 2.5% is lower compared to rural poverty at 11.9%(2004).
- PLI - useful but not adequate to reflect the multi-dimensional nature of urban poverty. The poor in the urban areas have to earn incomes higher than the PLI to be able to afford to live in the urban areas.
- Consequences – denied access to development inputs for the poor when the PLI alone is used as the qualifying criteria.
- PLI should be used as a starting point and a more comprehensive definition needs to be used to identify the Urban poor.
- The urban poor need to be identified in a more comprehensive manner so that it would be possible to formulate effective strategies for eradicating urban poverty.

- Poverty reduction would require taking into account the dynamics of the different communities that currently constitute the majority of the urban poor.
- It is necessary to understand the poverty experiences of the different ethnic groups and the various coping mechanisms that are employed by each of these groups which have roots in the socio economic, cultural, religious and political fabric of each group.
- Urban poverty problems are also exacerbated by the presence of foreigners who also constitute a sizeable proportion of the poor in the country. The increasing number of foreigners in poverty in the post crisis period have contributed to the increasing incidence of poverty
- Capacity building for the urban poor and low income families should focus on human resource development in the form of education, skills development, training and retraining. It is therefore critical that policy attention be given to developing human capital , empowering the poor, integrating the poor into the formal urban economy, holistic development and including all sectors in particular civil society in the development process.
- Poverty has to be seen as a process and in order to understand the process there is a need to employ non conventional approaches to the study of poverty.

- Policy efforts are therefore needed to address seriously and responsibly the underlying causes of poverty and neglect of marginalised communities so the development efforts do not continue to elude them.

# Causes of Urban Poverty

- Rapid rates of urbanisation
- Urban poverty more complex
- Labour market
- Urban poverty - Bumiputera
- Urban poverty - Indians - 80% - Urban
- Poverty as income poverty – Relevance for urban poverty?
- Other forms of deprivation not associated with lack of income
- Urban poverty due to multitude of causes

# Measuring Urban Poverty using PLI

- Urban poverty based on PLI income level – Underestimates scale / severity of poverty
- Does not capture the multidimensionality of urban poverty
- Social and Health / Psychological Dimension of Poverty
- Multiple employment for members of household
- Relative dimensions of Urban poverty
- Housing dimensions
  - Quality, -Availability
  - Affordability

# Housing Policies in Malaysia

- Since Independence in 1957, low cost housing provision rested in the hand of Government.
- Massive low-cost housing development in Malaysia is undertaken by both the public and private sectors since mid 1980s when the government imposed policy on housing developer to contribute low cost
- housing in township development. Low-cost housing is defined according to its selling price of RM25000 (about US\$ 8000) per unit or less and it is aimed at target group of households with monthly incomes not exceeding RM750 (RM1 is approximately equivalent to US\$0.30). However, these limits have been revised recently by the government.
- The government's commitment towards low-cost housing started during the First Malaysia Plan (1966–1970)

- while the private sector's involvement was in the Second Malaysia Plan (1971–1975) when the government realized the need and importance of the role of the private sector in ensuring an adequate supply of low cost housing for the country
- Under the Seventh Malaysia Plan (1996-2000) and Eighth Malaysia Plan (2001- 2005), Malaysian government are committed to provide adequate, affordable and quality housing for all Malaysian, particularly the low income group
- During the Ninth Malaysia Plan (2006-2010) period, continuous efforts will be undertaken to ensure that Malaysians of all income levels will have access to adequate, quality and affordable homes, particularly the low-income group.
- In this regard, the private sector will be encouraged to build more low- and low-medium-cost houses in their mixed-development projects while the public sector will concentrate on building low-cost houses as well as houses for public sector employees, the disadvantaged and the poor in urban and rural areas.

- To enhance the quality of life of the urban population, the provision of more systematic and well organized urban services programmes will emphasize on sustainable development, promoting greater community participation and social integration of the population.
- The First Malaysia Plan (1966-70) stressed the role of the government in providing: low-cost housing as 'one of the major efforts of the government to promote the welfare of the lower income groups
- the lower income groups were given special attention because 'the incomes of this economically weak section of the community are too low to encourage private developers to enter this field of housing development'.
- The lower income groups were given special attention because 'the incomes of this economically weak section of the community are too low to encourage private developers to enter this field of housing development'.
- The services of the Housing Trust were provided to state governments on generous terms for undertaking low-cost housing projects.

- the need to tackle the squatter problem in larger urban areas. New construction techniques intended to speed up construction and to lower costs compared with the conventional method

## **Housing Policy 1976-1990**

- Since in the early 1970s, Malaysia has undergone rapid urbanisation and industrialisation. Federal government paid more attention to the housing needs of the lower income groups.
- The New Economic Policy (NEP) was introduced in 1971, which is housing programmes undertaken by both public and private sectors. NEP initiated to foster nationality unity and union-building. The housing industry was envisaged to play a leading role in stimulating economic growth.
- The federal government had been encouraging Malays to migrate to urban centres as part of the NEP strategy to change the character of the Chinese<sup>7</sup> dominated urban population and also to create a new Malay commercial community in urban areas.

- In the 3rd Malaysia Plan, public housing programmes focused mainly on lowcost housing, the construction of houses in land settlement schemes, and the continuing provision of staff quarters.
- In the 4th Malaysia Plan, the federal government concentrated on low-cost housing and the provision of sites and services in rural areas. Private sector developers concentrated on medium- and high-cost housing
- Since 1981, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government has introduced and implemented a concept of low-cost housing incorporating the following characteristics: Selling price: not exceeding RM25,000 per unit;
- Target groups: households with a monthly income not exceeding RM750; House type: flats, single-storey terrace or detached houses; and minimum design: standard built-up area of 550-600 square feet, two bedrooms, a living room, a kitchen and a bathroom-cum-toilet
- Public low-cost housing programmes were accorded the highest priority in the Fourth Malaysia Plan and were built by both the Ministry of Housing and Local Government and SEDC.

- The criteria for application for low-cost housing included the applicants' monthly household income, age, marital status, citizenship, household size, hometown and political affiliations.
- In order to improve the quality of low-cost houses and simultaneously meet private developer's argument for a review of the selling prices of these units the government has introduced in 2002 the new pricing guideline for this type of houses. The new selling prices schedule, and interestingly this schedule is subject to the approval of the respective state authority where the development is located. With the new selling prices of low-cost houses, it is to be expected that the design specifications be revised too.

Housing Price	Target Income
42,000	RM 1,200 - RM1,500
35,000	RM 1,000 - RM1,350
30,000	RM 850 - RM 1,200
25,000	RM 750 – RM 1,000

# Concept Of Low Cost Housing

- Low cost housing is defined according to its selling price of RM25,000 per unit. Ministry of Housing and Local Government has further laid down the following guidelines for this category of housing.
- The target group consists of household with monthly incomes not exceeding RM750
  - ii) The type of houses may include flats, terrace or detached houses
  - ii) The minimum design standard specifies a built-up area of 550-600 square feet, 2 bedrooms, a living-room, a kitchen and a bathroom
- There is no national housing policy per se, but policies related to housing development are outlined in the various five-year Malaysia Plans and the Second Outline Perspective Plan
- These policy statements are aimed at the attainment of social and
- macroeconomic objectives. In particular, a stated objective of the housing policy is to ensure that Malaysian, particularly the low income group, have greater access to adequate and affordable shelter and related facilities.

- The federal government plays a prominent role in the low cost housing industry primarily through policy decreed which set out targets to be achieved by both the public and private sectors as well as incentives to facilitate the process.
- The federal government's policy with regard to low cost housing by the private sector can be summarized as follows
- **30% Low Cost Component**
- The policy requires all private housing developers of projects above a certain threshold to construct at least 30% low cost housing units.
- The threshold or minimum size of development which must provide the low cost component varies between states, each taking into account demand (or the lack of it) as well as lack of land in major urban areas **RM25 000 Selling Price Ceiling**
- Houses constructed under the low cost component can be sold only at a price not exceeding RM 25 000. This ceiling, set in 1982, has been a contentious issue for developers and consumers alike because the cost of construction of the low cost houses is typically higher than its selling price

- **RM750 Household Income**
- Buyers of the low cost units must have a combined household income not exceeding RM 750 per month. About 60% of urban households in Malaysia in 1980 fell within this income group (i.e. income less than or equal to RM750).
- The income level in Malaysia has however risen by about 3.1% per annum between 1970 and 1990 and the current labour shortage in all sectors of the economy has ensured that wages continue to enjoy an upward trend

### **Minimum Design Standards**

- The policy specifies that each low cost house must have a minimum built-up area of 550 to 600 sq ft comprising 2 bedrooms, a living room, a kitchen and a bathroom. The houses may be of any type including flats, terrace or even detached houses.

- Generally, developers have to opt for high density developments (such as flats or cluster houses) in order to achieve economies of scale or to reduce the amount of land used for the low cost component
- In an effort to improve the quality and range of housing and to accommodate social and cultural preferences, various states have initiated steps to include some 3 bedroom units in the low-cost schemes.
- At the state level the policies are embedded in the Structure Plans for each state. The plans are then translated into more detail in the Local Plans including specific requirements by the Local Authorities.
- Low cost housing development in Malaysia is undertaken by both the public and private sectors.
- The government's commitment towards low cost housing started during the First Malaysia Plan while the private sector's involvement was mooted in the Third Malaysia Plan when the government realized the need and importance of the role of the private sector in ensuring an adequate supply of low cost housing for the country

- The importance of the private sector's role and function has been increasing throughout the years, particularly with the privatisation programmes implemented by the government for the development of the country as a whole.

## People Housing Project (PPR)

- A special low-cost housing programme, namely, *Projek Perumahan Rakyat* (PPR) was launched by the Government in December 1998, with the objective of resettling squatters in urban areas, particularly in the Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur and other major towns.
- Of the 35,000 units which were planned to be built in the Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur, a total of 34,148 units were under various stages of implementation
- In addition, a total of 17,630 units were identified for implementation in other major towns where squatters were prevalent. Basic facilities such as electricity and water supply continued to be provided for existing squatter settlements pending their relocation to the new housing schemes.
- The main aim of this project is to resettle squatters and to achieve squatter free status by the year 2008.

# Squatters in Kuala Lumpur

- A squatter is defined as one who settles upon unoccupied land without legal claim or authority. Squatting is the act of occupying an abandoned or unoccupied space or building that the squatter does not own, rent, or otherwise have permission to use.
- Squatters often claim rights over the spaces they have squatted by virtue of occupation, rather than ownership; in this sense, squatting is similar to (and potentially a necessary condition of) adverse possession, by which a possessor of real property without title may eventually gain legal title to the real property.
- The survey on squatters carried out in 1998 indicated that there were 197 squatter settlements in Kuala Lumpur occupying about 645 hectares (Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan 2020, 2003). From 1992 to 1998 there was a reduction of about 32.4 percent in the squatter population.
- The reduction was largely due to intensive action taken by government agencies to build more low cost housing through privatization and redevelopment program.

- However, there are still some residual squatter settlements, which presence in the City is unacceptable for many reasons. These settlements pose fire hazards, have deplorable sanitation, poor infrastructure and are generally unhygienic. In addition, many are located close to or along strategic routes or just next to rivers thus marring the image of the City and causing river pollution.
- As at August 2007, there were still a total of 9, 572 families occupy the squatter areas in Kuala Lumpur. However, there was a plan to move more than 56% of the squatters during July and August of 2007.

- The low cost housing policy has had mixed outcomes
- In the State of Selangor, for instance this has been such a powerful and successful policy that there has been about 9,000 units of low cost housing which has not been taken up by low income earners. Not surprisingly, these unclaimed units are located in the outlying areas, away from major transportation routes or employment centres.
- This does not mean that there is an over supply in low cost housing; the issue is that locations of low cost housing projects do not match with the needs and location of low income families, who mainly reside close to employment centres, , namely the big city.
- In many of these mega projects, the siting of the low cost component is more often than not, in the periphery of the development.
- For the urban poor then, this factor of physically placing them at the periphery of the rest of the development will, undoubtedly have social and sociological effects. Some of the effects of marginalizing them physically can be itemized as follows

- A sense of being marginalized members of society;
- A sense of deprivation
- Leading to deterioration of the immediate environment;
- Being in the periphery, they are often overlooked in terms of maintenance of premises;
- Resulting in poor, unsafe and unhealthy living environment;
- Increase in pathological behaviours
- Improper Waste Management-Smell From Rubbish Dump – especially Block 4 despite paying maintenance fees monthly

# Low Cost Housing in Malaysia : Empirical Evidence

## Problems of Urban Low Cost Living

- Improper Waste Management-Smell From Rubbish Dump despite paying maintenance fees monthly.

- Poor Maintenance –residents pay RM45 per month for maintenance and they feel this is a waste as maintenance is poor and it takes along time for eg to get maintenance carried out said maintenance fee should be reduced .
- No Sports Facilities- the lack of sports facilities was cited as a major shortcoming in the area. They do not have a field for football or a badminton court and what was available was a children’s playground which naturally the children monopolised.
- Facilities For Religious Activities – both groups cited the lack of facilities for religious. The Muslims said that they only had a very small surau in Block 2 and the Hindus said that a temple was necessary.
- Alcohol-Disturbance There is a tendency for residents to be involved with alcohol and they either end up fighting or throwing bottles from their flats or broken bottles are a common sight in the area-distrubs the peace of the neighbourhood.

- Security - Thefts, Thefts of motorbikes are so common that residents resort to taking their motorbikes up to their homes and park it in their homes or along corridors in front of their homes
- Gang fights- These are a frequent occurrence and residents irrespective of ethnic groups are disturbed by it.
- There is a police beat base (pondok police) in the area but it has been non functional since its inception
- Poor Society Interaction-Intra ethnic And Inter ethnic
- Low Participation In Social Events Of That Area

### **Residential Characteristics of Respondents**

- Using the findings from another study the residential characteristics of respondents are discussed..
- The study was carried in the squatters areas and the PPR low cost flats in the Federal territory of Kuala Lumpur. At the onset it was planned that the sample will comprise 40% squatters. However given the City Hall's concerted efforts to clear the city of its squatter population it was not possible to find the desired number of squatters

- The study focused on the low cost flats in the federal territory of Kuala Lumpur. The study brought about several interesting albeit surprising findings.
- The study began with a pilot visit to Kampung Wira Jaya a squatter settlement in the parliamentary constituency of Setiawangsa
- This squatter colony made up of ex army personnel provided useful insights into how squatter settlements can be made into attractive dwellings. The colony was originally a dumpsite which was meticulously reconstructed by army personnel who managed to transform the area and build houses in organized manner.
- In addition the residents felt that they had some common points of reference of being from the army and highly disciplined. They wanted the research group to help them forward a memorandum to the Deputy Prime Minister . While this squatter area is not typical of most squatter settlements in the city it nevertheless provides some food for thought on future development of low cost dwellings.
- Currently relocation of squatters is to low cost apartments which are often not the most desirable form of accommodation and no other thought is given to other types of dwellings for the urban poor. Living in low cost apartments is often seen to be not the most ideal form of resettlement and this is clearly exemplified in this study

- There were three main reasons for staying in the current place given by the respondents. These were that they had no other choice, the price of the house was low and they were relocated from squatter areas ,more than 67% of the respondents said they lived in low cost apartments because they had no other choice.
- One of the major concerns arising from this study was related to the ownership of the low cost apartment. The low cost housing scheme under DBKL has no provisions to enable its occupants to eventually own the apartment. This was raised numerous times during the course of the survey.
- Security of tenure is one of the issues that have to be taken into consideration in providing housing for the urban poor. Perceptions of insecurity were found to accompany the experience of social exclusion and these in turn affected the ways in which poor urban dwellers engaged in social and public life.
- In both social and economic terms, security of tenure is perceived to be important for livelihood strategies in the present and for greater livelihood security in the longer run.

- As it stands now, the tenants in the PPR are renting their unit for RM124 per month. This means that they cannot regard their house as their asset. Housing is considered as an asset, which can act as a vehicle by which home-based work can be generated.
- It can be used as collateral for accessing credit, which may be important to generate supplementary income. Therefore, it is vital to consider the tenant to own the house in order for them to have an asset as well as for them to feel as part of the society.

- It is recommended that DBKL look seriously into this problem. Providing just the physical infrastructure in the form of a low cost apartment without the possibility of owning it some time in the future will not create a sense of pride and feeling of being a part of a community that may come with ownership.
- Everyone dreams of owning a piece of property that they can eventually leave for their children and there must be institutions like DBKL that help facilitate this. With ownership there would be a sense of responsibility to maintain the public space which will help DBKL reduce its maintenance costs.
- It would be possible to develop the soft infrastructure that is an integral part of developing a sense of community that is necessary for the future development of the country. Slogans like “masyarakat penyayang” or a caring community that contributes to nation building will only be meaningful when people have a sense of belonging to a community.

- Just the physical relocation from a squatter area to low cost apartments without any investment in social infrastructure will only result in the transfer of the social problems of the squatters to the low cost apartments. This can result in the creation of ghettos in the urban areas of the city .
- The concept about being part of the society is another vital element in providing safety in a community. Although in the survey, more than 99% of respondents state that their family members do not involved in crimes, more than half of them agreed that the condition of the current living environment contribute to crime.
- This shows the need of stable housing as a shelter as well as social asset, without which it is difficult to fully participate in society. The sense of belonging can make one feel secure and as a result they may feel responsible to contribute to society. Insecurity on the other hand tends to lead to self-confinement and disengagement with the urban environment and urban processes, which will result in negative consequences for state-society relations and urban governance. In the case of those living in the PPR, the sense of belonging can strengthen the community and may result in a more caring society.