SQUATTERS AND URBANIZATION: 
A CASE STUDY IN KUCHING CITY CENTRE

RASHIDAH BT JALALUDIN

MASTER OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
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SQUATTERS AND URBANISATION:  
A CASE STUDY IN KUCHING CITY CENTRE

RASHIDAH BT JALALUDIN

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
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Faulty of Social Science  
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ABSTRACT

The main objective of this study is to explore squatters and city authority issues in an urbanising environment. Three major squatters settlements were selected - Batu Lintang, Pertanak and Sg. Padungan. Stratified random sampling was adopted to select households in proportion to the population of each settlement. Information from major city agencies and several neighbouring communities were also included. The study finds that unlike the squatters issues found in some other major cities, for example Kuala Lumpur, the squatters in Kuching are ‘genuine’. Generally they are poor, landless, illiterate and living on low-income. The reason for squatting is to seek for better opportunities in the city. Solution to overcome the squatters’ problems has been vague. Nevertheless in comparison with other cities it is tolerable.

ABSTRAK

Tujuan utama kajian ini adalah untuk meninjau isu-isu berkaitan dengan setinggan dan pihak berkuasa dalam persekitaran yang sedang pesat membengun. Tiga kawasan setinggan utama yang terdapat di dalam Majlis Perbandaran Kuching telah dipilih - Batu Lintang, Pertanak dan Sg. Padungan. Persampelan rawak terpilih telah digunakan untuk memilih isirmah. Maklumat dari agensi-agensi kerajaan yang utama serta maklumat dari kawasan perumahan berhampiran (bukan setinggan) juga dikumpul.

Kajian mendapat isu-setinggan di Kuching adalah tulin (genuine), berbeza dengan isu-setinggan yang dialami oleh bandar besar lain, contohnya Kuala Lumpur. Secara umumnya, mereka adalah miskin, tidak ber tanah, buta huruf dan hidup dengan pendapa tan yang rendah. Faktor penyebab mereka menjadi penduduk setinggan adalah untuk mencari peluang yang lebih baik di bandar. Usaha untuk mengatasi masalah setinggan masih kabur, namun berbanding dengan bandar-bandar lain ianya masih boleh diatasi.

1.1 Introduction

The issues on squatters are now taking a different context in other cities. However, the squatters problem in Kuching is still the same as Kuala Lumpur. In Malaysia, the squatters are defined as people deprived by urbanisation. Because of this reason, government has to take core of squatters. The squatters problem arises due to the government's failure to adopt suitable policies to tackle the issue of urbanisation. In face of this problem, governments have fully implemented urbanisation policies with the main priority and the people are given a definite period of time to relocate. Somehow, not common people have full priority. Somehow, not common people are given a definite time period to relocate. The urbanisation is generally giving a definite time period to relocate. The urbanisation is generally giving a definite time period to relocate. The squatters in Kuching urbanisation are generally given a definite time period to relocate. 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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The issues on squatters have affected and are still affecting most countries in the world. However, the squatters that could in the past be understood in eminently economic terms are now taking a different dimension. The reasons for squatting are much more difficult to define. Because of this reason policy on squatters has been manipulated and undermined by policy-makers. Notwithstanding that fact, how can one define the different forms of squatters in the country. The squatters in Kuching, for example is it similar than that in Kuala Lumpur. Because to use a single definition for squatters will ignore the genuine squatters - a group of people deprived by urbanisation. However, Malaysia unlike many developing countries has specified in its development policy that all its citizen has the right to adequate shelter. For example, government has tried to improve city living by building low cost housing. In the case of Sarawak and Sabah in addition to low cost housing, the authority also offers various kinds of resettlement schemes. But this has rarely achieved much - even the resettlement schemes are beyond the reach of the poorest.

Moreover, not common only to Malaysia or Sarawak in particular, too few municipal governments have fully implemented an enabling strategy to bridge the gap between market priority and the people needs. Perhaps this is the irony of growth. The meaning of growth for many policy-makers and political leaders is deeply ingrained on the idea that delivering a larger and larger quantity of goods and service to those who could afford to pay. In a newly urbanised city like Kuching economic growth is an inevitable choice. It is imperative to grow the fastest possible. The critical questions, posed by the less capable for space and opportunity generally are given a deaf ear. This dissertation with the short time provided is able to address a particular concern in the aspect of economic growth, that is people and their habitat namely, squatters in Kuching urban centre.

1.2 The Study Area

Kuching is the centre for all activities in Sarawak, especially business and jobs. This made Kuching the target destination for jobs seekers and investors from around the state and region. Kuching which covers Dewan Bandaraya Kuching Utara (DBKU) and Majlis Bandaraya Kuching Selatan (MBKS) have an area of about 431.01 km² (Map 1.1). The population as of 2000 was 469,100 or about 250.56 persons per sq km. The population of Kuching has grown at a rate of 2.8% per year while within DBKU and MBKS municipalities the growth rate was 19.33% per year between 1980 to 2000 (Table 1.1).
The households' size increased by an average corresponding to the years period, Table 1.2. However, the figure only shows the housing needs. Generally, the population while housing needs are met by facts merely stating that the local authority has to make some sincere efforts to meet the needs of the population.

By way of exploring at Lintang, Pertanak and totalled to 969 people. Combinations of these (16.47%), Malay (18.2%) and others.

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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Person per sq. km</td>
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Source: DOS, 19
Table 1.1: Population Breakdown for Kuching 1980 to 2000

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Population Characteristics</th>
<th>Year ('000)</th>
<th>1980-2000 Annual Growth Rate</th>
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<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>299,330</td>
<td>369,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Population</td>
<td>72,555</td>
<td>277,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Population</td>
<td>226,775</td>
<td>91,295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio Between Rural and Urban Area</td>
<td>0.32:1/1&lt;1:1</td>
<td>3:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Density</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Distribution</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person per sq. km</td>
<td>141.3</td>
<td>197.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DOS, 1991 and 2000

The households' size in Kuching in year 2000 was about 6.3 persons per house. Households had been increasing incrementally between 1970 to 1980 and 1990 by about 2 persons on the average correspondingly the supply of houses has also grown quite steadily throughout the 20 years period, Table 1.2.

Table 1.2: Household Size for Kuching, 1980 to 1990

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Household Size and Per House</th>
<th>Year ('000 People)</th>
<th>% Increase 1980-2000</th>
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<tr>
<td>Living quarters</td>
<td>44,457</td>
<td>72,258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household</td>
<td>44,155</td>
<td>68,714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person per houses</td>
<td>6.78</td>
<td>5.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Estimated living quarters

Sources: DOS, 1991 and 2000

However, the figure on housing supply has minimal relationship to the issues of squatters housing needs. Generally the figures on housing are calculated for needs from the ‘known’ population while housing demand is calculated based on the vibrant growth in Kuching. The facts merely stating that the attraction to Kuching is on the increase. Besides the squatters, the local authority has to meet the various needs and demands of the legal population.

By way of exploring answers to these questions, three squatters’ settlements were selected Batu Lintang, Pertanak and Sg. Padungan. The estimated population of these three settlements totalled to 969 people with an average of 5.7 persons house or about 170 households. Combinations of these households depict a view of Kuching dominant population – Chinese (16.47%), Malay (18.24%) and Ibans/Bidayuh (59.41%).
1.3 Study Aim and Objective

This study seeks to explore the level of tolerance both from squatters having to live in an adequate environment. Specifically, this study aims to explore the provisions that are given to the squatters and the contributions that squatters have given to the city.

1.4 Dissertation Structure

The dissertation is divided into five chapters. The second chapter highlights problems and issues faced by major cities with squatters. Various concepts in relation to urbanisation and growth were also reviewed to guide field research and to support research findings. The third chapter explained the study approaches and methodology. Chapter four presents the fieldwork results. Chapter four is divided into two parts; the first part highlights the data collection approaches. The second part expanded part one by linking it to various interviews information from squatters and related authorities. Chapter five, the final chapter highlights the major issues and complement it with current policy, and researcher understanding of development and growth in accordance with the perspectives from previous literature and theories.

2.1 Urbanisation Process

According to Palen (1976), urban areas with areas continue to expand that the process of transformation. A theory accorded by He and Richardson (1976) provided point out that urbanisation process:

i. Includes The number
ii. The number
iii. The number

Richardson further added that with increasing demand major issues such as food quality.

2.2 City and Town

Urbanisation is a complex process that it arises when other unique characteristics that is life (Kleniewski: 1997). administrative in control of city, is more to spatial size but also economic and social.

Richardson (1976) added the threshold demand level population density. In a complex flow of network.
URBANISATION: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

2.1 Urbanisation Process

According to Palen (1992), urbanisation is a process where rural areas are transformed into urban areas with areas concentrated with people and economic activities. Further Palen added that the process of transformation entails the creation of wealth and the expansion of population. A theory accorded by Herrick and Kindleberger (1983) from the perspective of population while Richardson (1976) provides some creation and population expansion. Herrick and Kindleberger point out that urbanisation begin by decomposing urban growth into three separate categories:

i. The number which births exceed death in urban areas;

ii. The number of migrations to urban areas exceed people leaving them; and

iii. The number of persons newly included in cities when their political boundaries area extended to cover more of the surrounding areas.

Richardson further added that because of rapid population increase cities are unable to cope with increasing demand for services and related necessities. Thus urbanisation brings with its major issues such as fiscal viability, transportation, crime, urban slum and environmental quality.

2.2 City and Town - Definitions

Urbanisation is a complex process thus is difficult to provide a simple definition. Similar vagueness arise when one tries to define cities and towns. The cities however had several unique characteristics that historians have identified as key reasons in defining an urban way of life (Kleniewski: 1997). Historically the establishment of urban or city is more to security and administrative in controlling territory than economic reason. However now, the existent of the city, is more to spatial concentration of people and economic. Town or city differs not only in size but also economic activities, tone, texture and pace.

Richardson (1976) added a town may have operational meaning perhaps minimum size relate to the threshold demand levels needed to supply a range of urban service and a critical level of population density. In fact, Richardson expanded the definition by linking it together via complex flow of network that sometimes cross non-urban space.
2.3 Diseconomies of Urbanisation

In the twenty-first century, majority of the world’s population is headed for cities, many of which are already overpopulated and this is the major challenge in human settlements because the environmental future of the planet is closely linked to how we manage human settlements and their demand for resources (Chandrapanya & Rutsh: 2001). Urbanisation process will change the natural condition of the areas to meet the demand for development. It will become a dynamic and complex socio-economic and human ecosystem, a place of encounters, challenges, sociability, confrontation, dialectics and emotion (Mega: 1999). Agglomeration process thrives on its own momentum and induces further urban growth but at the same time, the costs of agglomeration will also increase (Johari & Mahmon: 1989). Urban problems are part of the process and they do not on themselves constitute a crisis but if the problems persist it is a sign that cities are not generating innovations and changes to improve the quality of life (OECD: 1994). Urbanisation in other words will bring growth of problem to cities. Problems develop due to lack of strategic planning for population growths through inter-and intra migration. The unexpected migrations increase demand for space facilities. Migration to cities will also contribute to increase of poverty, create difficulties in providing sufficient employment opportunity and housing (Schneuder & Volafer: 1997).

The scenarios highlighted above generally will cost authority and city population. The unplanned intrusion will destroy urban environment and areas neighbourhood (Inoguchi, Newman & Paoleto: 1999). The concentration and migration of people and activities in one small area will bring changes to the ecology of the areas and deteriorate living quality and condition. It will also perpetuate the growth of crime and violence (Palen: 1992). Urban despairs with overpopulation contributed significantly to social, economic and environmental troubles of cities, making them unsustainable (Chiras: 1998).

The Declaration of the United Nations Habitat Agenda stated:

The most serious problem confronting cities and towns and their inhabitants include inadequate financial resources, their lack of employment opportunity, spreading homelessness and expansion of squatters settlement increased poverty and a widening gap between rich and poor, growing insecurity and rising crime rates, inadequate and deteriorating stock, services and infrastructure, lack of heat and educational facilities, improper land use, insecure land tenure, rising traffic congestion, increasing pollution, lack of green spaces, inadequate water supply and sanitation, uncoordinated urban development and an increasing vulnerability to disaster.

(Newman, 1999: 71)

Sustainability concepts were established and given major concert to cope and solve problems occur with the development process. Some argue that crisis in the urban areas occur due to unsustainable approach planning and management of urban areas. Sustainability here refers, as an approach to meet the need of present generation without compromising ability of the future generations to meet their needs. They argue that approaches that ignore these considerations will damage growth in all terms (Callenbach: 1999). Callenbach also stated that in applying sustainability, there should be rules and reinvention of technology and rebuilding of substantial parts of city activity.

In city, carrying capacity needs to be defined, that is the maximum limit the urban ecology can support for an indefinite period or in the sustainable basis. The limit of carrying capacity can be higher but this means the centre to increase the capacity of the condition. Technology advantage can be advantage compare other component of sustainable development.

Urban environment is that. Resources mean human environment and socio-economic interaction, technology advantage and environmental and socio-economic interaction. Effect from the three environments will produce a crisis such as poverty, illiteracy, crime, environment process is ill.

About 30% to 60% of development is in most cities between 70% and 80% squatters settlements generally as (Kwele: 2000). The impact of Worlds is because it is a visible element of rapid growth in literature, government and population usually perceive in urban areas. Nevertheless, policies, and market for infrastructure services.

2.4 Squatters and Urban Desairs

According to Flanagan provide their own shelter, no legal housing supply, and otherwise, due to the failure of the Emergence of squatters is the increase of standard of living and other alternative but to squatters’ settlements as the best choice.

Squatters is group or group of people for the purpose of farming or living conditions in them from owning a piece of land. Squatters’ settlements and illegitimate initiations of squatters’ settlements and enforces property rights are
is headed for cities, many of them in human settlements because we manage human settlements (1). Urbanisation process will development. It will become a place of encounters, challenges, Agglomeration process thrives at the same time, the costs of Urban problems are part of the the problems persist it is a sign for the quality of live (OECD: em to cities. Problems develop in inter-and-intra migration. The Migration to cities will also providing sufficient employment opportunity and city population. The urban area neighbourhood (Inoguchi, of people and activities in one & deteriorate living quality and violence (Palen: 1992). Urban process, economic and environmental problems and their inhabitants include poverty opportunity, spreading increased poverty and a widening crime rates, inadequate and heath and educational facilities, congestion, increasing pollution, sanitation, uncoordinated urban

(Newman, 1999: 71)

Squatters is group or groups of people who occupy land that do not belong to them, for the purpose of farming or building shelter because their deplorable economy condition prevents them from owning a piece of land to farm or to build their dwelling (Peng: 1981). Generally squatters’ settlements appear at any point of an urban landscape that is vacant. And the initiations of squatters’ settlement generally happen when enforcement hold by government to enforce property rights are weak (Mills & Hamilton: 1989). While, squatters’ are usually found higher but this means that there should be changes done to the current condition of the urban centre to increase the capacity. One of the best alternatives is technology advantage to improve the condition. Technology advantage will decrease environment resistance and increase caring capacity (Chiras: 1998). These changes can be defined as increase in the facilities and services to fulfil the need of the population in the areas. Appropriate technology is one type of technology advantage and it is one of most preferred type of technology because of the advantage compare others. According to Chiras (1998), appropriate technology should be environmentally compatible, easily understood and repaired relies on local resources is essential component of sustainable development of developing countries.

Urban environment is the dynamics consist of resources, process and effects (Srinivas: 1999). Resources mean human and natural resources such as sunlight, land, water, mineral, air, electricity, energy and finance. Process includes the manufacturing, transportation, construction, migration and population growth. Interaction between natural environment, build environment and socio-economic environment will bring outcome of environmental problems to the areas. Effect from the interaction can either be positive or negative. The interaction of the three environments will produce direct and indirect effect on human socio-economic well being such as poverty, illiteracy and unemployment. One of the major diseconomies of urban environment process is illegal occupancy of urban space or squatters.

About 30% to 60% of developing country urban population are squatters (Srinivas: 1999) and in most cities between 70% to 95% of all new housing is built illegally (Satterthwaite: 1990). The settlements generally associated with health, socio-economic and political problems (Kerr & Kwele: 2000). The important and significant to analyse squatters issues especially in Third Worlds is because it is where the poor housing and widespread urban poverty are the most visible elements of rapid urban growth and have received most attention in Third World urban literature, government and non-government organisations. While (Srinivas: 1999), the squatter population usually perceive as urban diseases that limit the sustainable development of the urban areas. Nevertheless some believe that the situation resulted from lopsided and vested policies, and market forces, which prevent the equitable distribution of land and other infrastructure services.

2.4 Squatters and Urbanisation

According to Flanagan (1995), in the overurbanisation condition, urban population is left to provide their own shelter on wages too meagre and in numbers too great to be matched by the legal housing supply, and many are forced to employ themselves in street trades, legal and other wise, due to the failure of prevailing economic pattern of produce a sufficient labour demand. Emerging of squatters is the result of lower-income level community that could not cope with the increase of standard and cost of living in the core region. These groups of people have no other alternative but to shelter themselves in the cheapest areas. While generally, squatting is the best choice.

Squatters is group or groups of people who occupy land that do not belong to them, for the purpose of farming or building shelter because their deplorable economy condition prevents them from owning a piece of land to farm or to build their dwelling (Peng: 1981). Generally squatters’ settlements appear at any point of an urban landscape that is vacant. And the initiations of squatters’ settlement generally happen when enforcement hold by government to enforce property rights are weak (Mills & Hamilton: 1989). While, squatters’ are usually found
near jobs and facilities or services. There is seven different type of land, which commonly used by illegal settlements (Hardoy & Satterthwaite: 1990). Customary land, government reserves land, abandoned land (example land left after the foreign settlers emigrate), marginal land, mini-plots (sub-division of existing), land rental, and illegal sub-divisions.

Squatters’ usually squat in illegal land because they could not afford to settle in legal houses, which is expensive to their standard. However, a character of squatters’ population generally varies. Though generally squatters are from impoverished group yet there are some who squat merely to save on major urban bills (Flanagan: 1995), which also known as genuine squatters (Peng: 1981). Generally, squatters are those that belong to the lower income group, working either as daily waged labour or in various informal sector enterprises and they earned at or near the minimum wage level.

Normally, local authority will not provide any services to this area due to their illegal status (Houghton & Hunter: 1994). Physically squatters’ areas have services and infrastructure below the adequate or minimum level. Informal means in getting services therefore is generally practice. Illegal private sector often provide services like selling water, health services and garbage collection but the standard of the services are often poor and the unit cost is high (Satterthwaite: 1990).

Squatters’ settlement usually build in random fashion out of whatever refuses material the builder can savage (Palen: 1992). It can be old packing crates, cardboard, loose lumber, plastic and odd pieces of metal or any other available material are somehow patch to build the houses. Quality of houses generally is poor. But the quality will be improved with increment in financial capabilities. The plan, design, building material are often far better suited to local needs, incomes, climates and resources than the official, legal standard demanded by governments (Hardoy & Satterthwaite: 1990).

According to Abrams (1977), squatters could be divided to five types. Owner squatters, squatters tenants, speculative squatters, store or business squatters and semi squatter (Gottdiener & Hutchison: 2000). Owner squatters are individuals or households who owns the building. Squatter’s tenants are new in-migrants to urban centres and they do not live in their own building but rent this space from other squatters. Speculator squatters occupy land to make profit. Store/business squatters consist of individual who operate business and often live within the squatters’ settlement and often do not pay rent or taxes, in doing that they will be able to make substantial profits. Semi squatters construct a building on private land but later come to terms with the owner as to rental/purchase the space.

Squatters’ brought controversial issues due to their dangerous living condition, unemployment, politically troublesome and settlements of some harbour criminals (Mill & Hamilton: 1986). There are four ways how government responds to squatters’ issues (Mill & Hamilton: 1986). Ignore the squatters’ existent by not including them in any plan and census, and by not providing any type of services (education, health, water, sewage and transportation). Second, remove the squatters due to pressure of certain groups. Government will also be reluctant to bulldoze existing illegal settlements unless the land was needed for public projects (Hardoy & Satterthwaite: 1990). The third way is the friendly approach, relocated the squatters’ community by offering subsidy to own house in a their new area. The last way is by legalising squatters’ areas. These are done by giving or selling the place to squatters community and providing material and services in rebuilding the illegal areas to legal residential area.

2.5 Housing Market

According to Mills and H...
2.5 Housing Market

According to Mills and Hamilton (1989) perhaps the reason that makes it difficult for squatters to own a house is because demand and supply of houses are manipulated by the market. In the supply side, the land price will influence the house price. This explains why most of the housing construction takes place at neglected peripherally on the fringe of metropolitan or outside it.

Further Richardson (1976) added that capital in building houses generally depend on monetary and credit condition. At the demand side, the purchaser will need the outside capital due to the high price of houses compare to their income size. Thus, in the larger city, there is a high quality but very expensive rented stock catered (Richardson: 1976). For individual, that do not manage to own a house in private owner - occupied housing stock and publicly owned rented stock, will live in a small, often expensive relative to its generally poor quality, privately rented stock. But filtering which is the changes in the allocation of housing units among households of different types may open an opportunity to lower income group to own a house. The decline in the market price (sales price and rent value) will make the lower income group to own houses once owned by higher income group. However, filtering process will not take place if the growth of population expand rapidly than the housing stock build. The process will be possible if there is stable housing market with housing quality decline and housing income increase over time (Richardson: 1976).

Richardson’s argument was elaborated in stock adjustment model, it argue that the gap between desired (potential) with actual stock will determine the output of houses in market. Potential demand/housing need effected by the demographic factors such as age, sex, marital status and household size. The process to transfer potential demand to effective demand will depend to the growth of income, income distribution, availability of mortgage funds. Location characteristic will also influence the demand of houses beside the mobility costs. New house will be build, if there is obsolescence rate of existing stock and demolitions to way for roads and other structure. Government in the term of financial sector plays very important role in providing houses.

There are also other factors that will influence housing settlement. Besides the elements of supply and demand (especially the price). Environmental and neighbourhood quality characteristics play a role in influencing price by increasing residential land price (Richardson: 1976). For example, Hoang and Wakely (2000) argue that housing status measures the social desirability attaches to housing especially the locality. The characteristics of housing status are wealth, religion, political power, business, education, environmental quality, value system and historical condition. Dwelling quality is physical measurable element like floor area, number of bathrooms, number of stories. Dwelling quality and housing status can either be compatible or antagonistic to each other.
There are four main elements, first the residential areas in cities make up by largely overlapping rings around the status pole or poles. Second, housing value consists of dwelling quality and housing status. Third, there are two zones in any housing status and dwelling quality level, desirable and undesirable and each of the housing have uniquely characteristic quality threshold that can compare with others. Fourth, is the price. If the price is low, dwelling quality will predominate while when the price is high housing status will dominate. The lower price of houses are characterised by the utility as shelter and for high price it is more by the attributes that make them commodities and favourable investment.

According to Hoang and Wakely (2000) these criteria can be used to explain the situation when squatters share same plot or neighbourhood with non-squatters. The poor that live in the high status areas in slum dwelling (city centre) will gain benefit in two aspects. First, access to source of income from the provision of services, which are demanded in high status areas. Second, they have access to more public services, greater stimulus and more desirable lifestyle.

Beside the changes in the residential areas due to boundary changes, household can also change their residential areas from undesirable to desirable by moving out. Downs (1979) stated household will moves, in order to improve their housing units, neighbourhood environment, and the quality of life. Besides moving to other place, household can also upgrade their social/status by upgrade in place passively or actively. According to Downs (1979) passive means that the households do not try to improve the rest of areas around them and actively means that they attempt to aid the rest of the population around them by drawing more resources into the entire area. While, upgrading a place involve upgrading social and physical process with some changes in the income and status level.

When a households income improves so that its social status is superior to most surrounding households, they often move to another neighbourhood occupied primarily by households that have already attained its new status level. The new neighbourhood is usually more costly and it also has more superior environmental qualities. This situation is different with the lowest-status areas that dominated by non-upwardly mobile households with undesirable environmental condition (high rates of crimes, vandalism, drug addiction, family breakdown and ill health). However, Downs also stated that upgrading through movement is almost inescapable when there are large inflow of low-status newcomers to a metropolitan area, and they can only enter those neighbourhoods that are already the lowest in status. The over domination of non-upwardly will push upwardly household to move out and this will increase the concentration of non-upwardly households. Upgrading a community is the harder because of the great mobility of residents. This condition may contributed to the conclusion that they may be households that will always remain in the low status condition permanently maybe because they do not want to change or cannot do it by themselves.

2.6 The Complexity of Urban Development

Housing is merely a entity in an urban area. However, the problem it pose upon an urban area is very complex. This suggests the dimension of problems faced by a urban area. There are several models that help to explain the intention of the urban development problems. In the early stage of urban growth, there were three models that explained the situation. Ad Hod model, The Lampard Culture - Based Approach and Rostow model. The Ad hoc model focus on the establishment of cities. The model states that there are four levels involves in city establishment. First, the nearness to needed resources. Second, threshold effect will be reached when small villages grow large enough to gain advantage from agglomeration and consumer output. The hypothesis that is socio-economic proposition is that economic development proceeding expansion in the favourite areas that induce improvements in efficiency, productivity and over the lagging regions. The second model, the Rostow model, undergoes four stage of development of labour force, innovation. Third, the other comparative advantages.

Finally the Rostow model undergoes five stages of consumption. Traditional agriculture workforce, with decentralised political power, the productivity of non-infrastructure. However, all talent, energy and resources off stage is very short and the attractive and urban agglomeration be used effectively. The surrounding areas. The per capita and there will be society needs.

2.6.1 Agglomeration

Agglomeration is group operating the activities. Higher benefit. Agglomeration concentration of industry; effect to the urban areas. The implication of the big city size. But the real issue is the question of functional cities (Capello & Camagni: 2000). Economic and diseconomies of scale, benefit and network of urban system but also by other factors.
take up by largely overlapping sists of dwelling quality and dwelling quality level, characteristic quality threshold low, dwelling quality will it more by the attributes
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they may be households that because they do not want to
when small villages grew due to the demand for products from surrounding population. Third, effect from agglomeration economies, firms and business will be in cities for production input and consumer output. Fourth, is the Gunnar Myrdal’s circular and cumulative causation hypothesis that is social and economic as principle that supports urban changes. The proposition is that economics and social forces will tends to strengthen the disequilibrium situation (assume that an exogenous shock produces a disequilibrium situation with development proceeding more rapidly in one region than other) by leading to cumulative expansion in the favoured region at the expense of the other regions (Thirlwall: 1999). Capital, labour and enterprise will tend to migrate together into the expanding region and this will induce improvements in transport, communications, education, health facilities and also the efficiency, productivity and further widening the competitive advantage of the growing region over the lagging regions experiencing emigration of the factors of production.
The second model, the Lampard Culture - Based Approach argues that urbanisation process undergoes four stage of development. The first stage is the initiation of specialisation in the division of labour force. The second stage is the changes in the term of technical and innovation. Third, the concentration of population and economics process; fourth, there will be comparative advantages or the focus on activity of specialisation.

Finally the Rostow model focuses on city growth. Rostow suggests that city generally undergoes five stages of growth: traditional, transitional, take-off, maturity and high mass consumption. Traditional characterised as limited in technology and very high proposition agriculture workforce, very little mobility or social change, great divisions of wealth and decentralised political power (Thirlwall: 1999). In the transition stage, there will be increase in the productivity of non-agriculture sectors (Szirmai: 1997) and increase of investment in infrastructure. However, the length of the transition phase depends on the speed of the local talent, energy and resources are devoted to modernise and overthrow of the old order. The take off stage is very short stage, there will be leading growth sectors and the city will be more attractive and urban agglomeration will appear. At the maturity stage, modern technology will be used effectively. The city will be self-subsistence and will able to give services to surrounding areas. The last stage is mass consumption stage where there will be high income per capita and there will be sufficient money to purchase goods and services beyond their society needs.

2.6.1 Agglomeration Diseconomies and Optimal City Model

Agglomeration is grouping the economic activities in one area to share market and costs of operating the activities. The sharing will bring advantage and lower cost and directly will bring higher benefit. Agglomeration diseconomies are negative economic effects of urbanisation and concentration of industry. The cost can occur in the term of physical, social and economic effect to the urban areas.

The implication of the benefit and cost of the agglomeration always relate to the optimum city size. But the real issue is not the optimum city size but efficient size, which depend on the question of functional characteristics of the city and the spatial organisation within the city (Capello & Camagni: 2000). Capello and Camagni (2000) explain how the agglomeration economic and diseconomies occur in city by looking at the urban function and integration in the network of urban system which is not only determine by the economic environment of the area but also by other factors.
According to Capello & Camagni (2000), city effects and urban overload will be determined by interaction between existing physical (natural and build) environment, economic environment and social environment in the urban areas. The interaction between this environment will bring advantage/benefit and disadvantage/cost to urban areas. Interaction between economic and physical interaction usually will bring cost/disadvantage condition to the city. Excessive economic activities that occur will bring negative externalities to the depletion of natural resources, noise, water and air pollution loss of green areas traffic congestion and intensive energy use. If these activities are concentrated in the high-density areas, the effect will be more visible than areas with activities that carried out in diffused territorial pattern. The externality condition will cause the inhabitant in the areas to move to surrounding areas.

While, interaction between economic and social environment can either bring positive or negative external effect. Positive effect is the accessibility to the social services (education, health, and amenities like theatres and cinemas) and highly paid job. There can also be negative impact such as suburbanisation, urban rents, unemployment, class segregation, and new forms of poverty and inertia social class division. This condition can bring negative effect to economic sphere in the labour market, urban conflict, and repulsion of potential incoming firms.

The interaction between the physical environment and social environment will bring condition like green areas for social amenities and this is seen as positive effect to social welfare. For example, negative effect on the social environment can be inform decay of historical buildings, loss of cultural heritage, crimes and urban health problems.

2.7 Issues of Squatters in Developing Countries

Study in Turkey by Erman (2001) showed that the changes of squatters’ community role in the city has been used by politicians to win vote. The study showed that cause of squatter community were used to gain popularity. By way showing concern the government provides squatters with access to cheap jobs. The process of using squatters for vote went on until in 1980’s the squatters’ area become a menace to the city. The poverty and the image of squatter have changed to become place full of crime and other related elements.

Study by Misra (1990) of three squatters’ settlement in Allahabad, India found three reasons for the development of illegal housing. First, lack of better site, the city is hemmed in housing on three sides by river, and one fifth of the city land belongs to the army cantonments located around central area. Third factor are the failure of the city authority to intervene in the land market to guarantee lower-income group cheap, legal house plots despite the fact that most of the land in the city is under the public ownership. Process to obtain the approval for a building or for a sub-division is both difficult and time-consuming.

Auty (1995) study in Africa sees inferior quality of slum and inadequate provision of public housing, squatters become the solution for low-income urban housing. The same factors were found in Baguio City, in the Philippines. Housing market did not help to provide low-income groups with affordable houses. Cruz and Calugan (1997) found that loss of houses through depletion was not supported through new construction. They argue that the problems was directly related to control of land property by selected few groups explains the state of housing chaos and the expansion of squatters.

Another case by Porana not build for the needed bought as second house, City. This situation give with poor accessibility and collection and disposal areas.

Another study by Pon relationship between population growth market has avoid condition in Phuket. The success for people to buy houses.

In the case of Malaysia, McGee (1971), the growth power of Malays play in the Malays occupational market. McGee analysis shows the and change the distribution of power.

Another study done by another urban migration and the argues that squatters in KL, Kuala Lumpur citizen. The origin 1945). The national economy increase of urban squatter tenant, owner, holdover, do not construct or own their squatters build their own rent and the landlord can has confidence that the guest rooms and other dwelling.

Another study carried out another policy beside the industrial Malays that stay in squatter or unskilled workers from group usually gets basic stay in squatters through political agitation to other group and stays in squatters. Another group located.
Another case by Porananond in Cheng Mai (1997) found that generally low cost houses were not build for the needed rather are supplied to the non-problem groups. Low cost houses were bought as second house with price that could not be afforded by the poor resident in Cheng Mai City. This situation give no option to the low-income community but to rent in deprived areas with poor accessibility and lack of public utilities like water supply, drainage system, garbage collection and disposal and electricity.

Another study by Pongprayoon (1997) in Phuket, Thailand showed that there is close relationship between population and housing provision in the city. The sensitivity of housing market has avoid condition like population without houses or the development of illegal housing in Phuket. The success was largely contributed by government in providing incentive for the people to buy houses.

In the case of Malaysia, studies on squatters generally focus in Kuala Lumpur. According to McGee (1971), the growth of Kuala Lumpur as the national capital and the increasing political power of Malays play important role in changing the position of this community in the city. Malays occupational mobility in Kuala Lumpur relates directly to the urbanisation process. McGee analysis shows that the urbanisation process enhances the migration of Malay to the city and change the distribution of Malays in city, particularly in the squatters' areas.

Another study done by Ardershir and Ahmad (1992) focus on the relationship between rural - urban migration and the increase in squatters' settlements in Kuala Lumpur. The researcher argues that squatters in Kuala Lumpur are made up of migrants as well as the original Kuala Lumpur citizen. The original squatters emerged during the Japanese Occupation period (1942 - 1945). The national economic and urbanisation process after independent further contributed to increase of urban squatters. The researcher divides Kuala Lumpur squatter into five category: tenant, owner, holdover, speculator and landlords. Tenant squatters are the poorest and they do not construct or own their dwelling. They pay rent to the owner who is also a squatter. Owner squatters build their own shelter. Holdover squatter is former tenant that has ceased to pay any rent and the landlord cannot evict them. Speculator is individual that squat with the objective and confidence that the government will pay them some compensation. Squatters' landlord has rooms and other dwelling to rent with high rent.

Another study carried out by Chee (1995) argues that squatters exist as the result of government policy beside the industrialisation and urbanisation process itself. After independent, the Malays that stay in squatters’ areas have increased in urban areas. Majority of squatters is semi or unskilled workers from low - income group, which cannot afford to buy formal houses. This group usually gets basic facilities like water, electricity, sewage, drainage and garbage disposal through political agitation. The researcher found four main reasons which encourages people to stay in squatters’ area. The individual’ that own terrace house but the loan repayment is very high thus an alternative to keep up with the mortgage is rent out the house while he/she opted to stay in squatters. Another reason is squatting and squatters are cheap and generally are centrally located.
CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH FOCUS AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction and Research Focus

Kuching is the administrative, industrial and commercial centre for Sarawak. In addition, Kuching is also the gateway for Sarawak. The agglomeration of these activities have attracted many Sarawakian as well as others, to move in or near to Kuching in search for better opportunities. Nevertheless, for some especially the illiterate or those with minimal education, their expectation failed to become a reality because their earnings generally are too low for city living. The gap between affordability and cost of city living forced some to squat or seek temporary shelter on land they believed 'unused'. In Kuching, there are several areas that have attracted squatters. Nevertheless for the purpose of this study only three settlements were selected for exploration, there are Sg. Padungan, Pertanak and Batu Lintang.

The three settlements are located in the North East of Kuching city, and the settlements are about 2 kilometres apart from one another, Map 3.1. All three settlements are easily accessible by road; it took only 50 cents and a 5-minute bus ride from these settlements to the main bus station.

Topographically, Pertanak and Sg. Padungan areas are on flat land and Batu Lintang are on hilly land. The supply of amenities and facilities are generally sufficient for these settlements, for they are able to draw their needs from the surrounding public organisations and businesses. Batu Lintang settlement is in close proximity to both primary and secondary schools, major government departments; TELEKOM, Jabatan Kerja Raya (JKR), Jabatan Bekalan Air, Percetakan National Malaysia Berhad and Kuching General Hospital. In the case of the other two settlements, they draw amenities from businesses that surrounded them.

The population in these settlements are mix (Table 3.1). Bidayuh and Iban are dominant in all three settlements. The Malays are found mostly in the Sg. Padungan settlement while the Chinese in Pertanak and Sg. Padungan settlements.

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<th>Table 3.1: The Total Households in The Study Areas</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bidayuh/Iban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Land & Survey Department, Kuching
In addition, these activities have attracted residents of Kuching in search for better living conditions. Those with minimal education, general employment opportunities are generally too low for city dwellers, forcing some to squat or seek alternative settlements. There are several areas that have emerged, particularly only three settlements were identified at Batu Lintang. Similarly, and the settlements are about 3 km away from the city centre for Sarawak. In addition, these settlements are easily accessible by road from these settlements to the main bus stops at Kuching. Batu Lintang and Batu Lintang are on hilly terrain and are not suitable for these settlements, for example, to organisations and businesses. The rest of the other settlements, major and secondary schools, major organisations, and Jabatan Bekalan Air (JKB), Jabatan Bekalan Air, hospital. In the case of the other settlements, for example, many Ruh and Iban are dominant in all settlements while the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study Areas</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sg. Padungan</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>170</td>
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