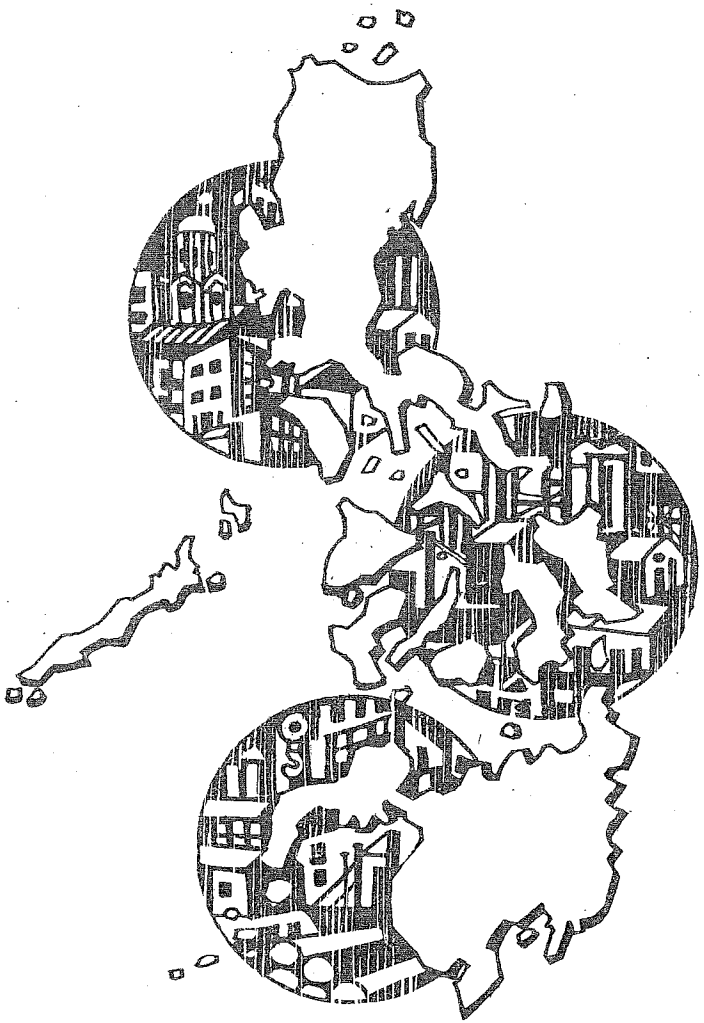

CITIES ARE FOR LIVING

RICHARD P. POETHIG

DOUBLE ISSUE: MAY-AUGUST, 1971

Church and Community

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By Richard P. Poethig and Ely Santiago, in recognition of the four hundredth anniversary of Manila, 1571-1971.

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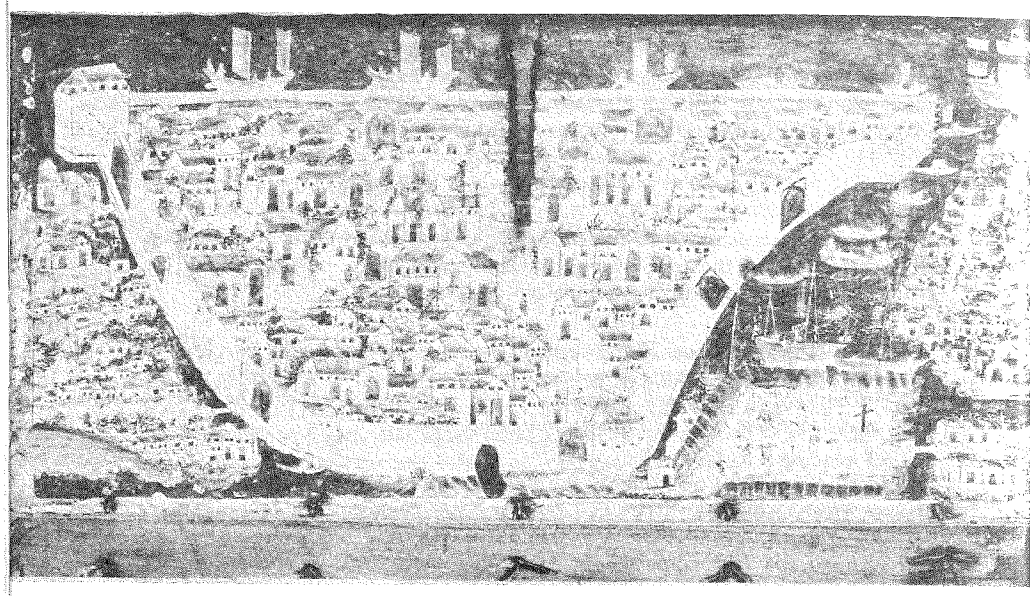


A picture of Manila's Old Walled City, as discovered in the lid of a chest in Puebla, Mexico. It depicts Manila in the 16th century. (Asia Magazine, *August 22, 1971.)*

1

THE MAKING OF MANILA

MANILA SHARES THE EXPERIENCE OF COLONIALISM with the other major capitals of Southeast Asia: Saigon, Singapore, Djakarta, Kuala Lumpur. Four hundred years ago, Spanish *conquistadores* captured a Malay community at the mouth of the Pasig River. Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, commander of the Spanish forces, had decided that he needed a more defensible position in order to maintain his hold on the archipelago. Luzon island could provide the food supplies needed for his soldiers; and the site on the Pasig could become a strong point, both militarily and economically.

By the Rev. Richard P. Poethig, Director of the Inter-Seminary Urban-Industrial Institute, P. O. Box 718, Manila. Mr. Poethig was the editor of *Philippine Social Issues from a Christian Perspective.*

The decision of Legaspi, in 1571, made the palisade settlement on the Pasig the seat of Spanish colonial government. During the ensuing years, Manila became the focal point for the rest of the archipelago. In this superior position, Manila came to symbolize the unity of the Philippine nation, which was wrought out of many peoples and tribes. Let us look briefly at the Spanish policy of urbanization, which elevated Manila to the position of chief city, and left an indelible mark on the development of the nation.

SPANISH COLONIZATION

LEGASPI, accustomed to the strong centralized government of Spain, was perturbed by the lack of political and social unity existing among the people. As first governor of the archipelago, he wrote in 1569:

> The inhabitants of these islands are not subjected to any law, king or lord. Although there are large towns in some regions, the people do not act in concert or obey any ruling body; but each man does what he pleases, and takes care only of himself and of his slaves. [1]

The distribution of the inhabitants throughout the islands frustrated the work of conversion, which the friars had set out to accomplish. The long distances between villages meant extensive travel for the few religionists who had accompanied the first colonists. In expediting their work of conversion, the Spaniards initiated a program of *reduccion*, through which they gathered the people together in a central area to live near a church. The reduccion program gave the Spaniards an opportunity to try their hand at town planning. Governor Santiago de Vera called for the cooperation of the religious, civil, and native groups in building the new towns. He wrote:

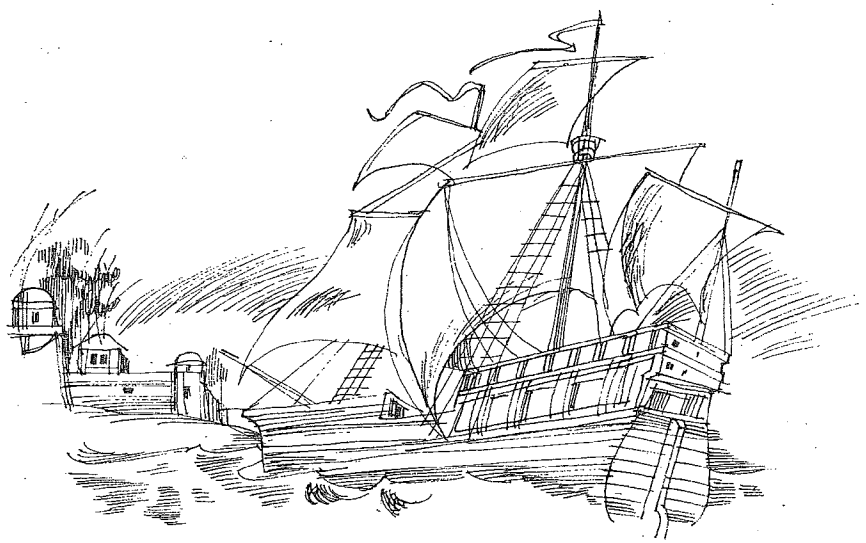
> Fray Juan de Plasencia, Father Custodian of Saint Francis, informs me that in the province many of the natives live in scattered settlements far from each other, and that the sacraments cannot be administered to them unless they come together in larger communities and build towns for themselves; also that none of the towns in the royal and private *encomiendas* of that territory have any churches or church furniture; and he petitions that suitable provision be made. This matter having been duly considered, you are hereby ordered. . . to call into consultation Fray Juan de Garrovillas, the Father Guardian of that city, and jointly with him decide what townships are to be formed and what shall be the size and plan of the churches to be built. Having examined and discussed the matter you shall put it into execution by gathering the natives together to build their respective towns and churches, and you shall not suffer them to be employed by anyone in anything else. . . . [2]

The Spanish missionaries sought first to convert the Filipino chieftain *(datu),* who then led his people to the *cabecera,* the central location around the church. Usually, the cabecera was located in the lowlands along the coast or near a river.

Once "under the bells" (living close enough to the church to hear its bells) the people were induced to remain there by the colorful pagentry and ritual of the Catholic religion. Those people who did not live in the towns built "Sunday houses," which they used on the important religious occasions of Holy Week, Corpus Christi, and the feast for the patron saint of the area. The Filipinos who chose to remain in the villages in the foothills and the valleys, were served by *visita* (chapels). Each cabecera had several chapels which were served irregularly by the friars. The cabecera-visita pattern did not take root until the seventeenth century; and then it was a compromise solution for the Spaniards. They preferred a more centralized form of settlement where their authority and traditions would have a better chance to take hold.

EARLY GROWTH OF MANILA

THE SPANIARDS fulfilled their urban ideal in the founding of Manila. It was there that they achieved the height of political, religious, and social centralization. The initial colonization of the Philippines had been undertaken in the Visayas, at Cebu, the island first visited by Magellan. When it became apparent that a constant and sufficient food supply would be a problem for the Cebu colony, Governor Legaspi decided, in 1571, to move his headquarters to Manila, the largest native settlement on Luzon. The fertile region surrounding Manila provided the Spaniards with a constant supply of food.



By 1572, the Spaniards had discovered an even better reason for establishing Manila as the capital. The harbor was visited regularly by Chinese traders. Recognizing the mutual benefits which would accrue to each party,

Sino-Spanish commerce soon flourished, with Manila as the trading point. During the 1572, three Chinese junks came to Manila. By 1580 the number of junks visiting the City had risen to between forty and fifty per year. By the turn of the century a permanent trade relationship had been established.

The early years of the seventeenth century saw Manila's rise as the colonial capital of Asia. Its position was enhanced by the galleon trade between the Philippines and Mexico. By linking up with Acapulco, Manila became the middle-man in thriving trade between China and Nueva España, which lasted for 250 years. Each year, between mid-June and mid-July the Manila Galleon, carrying the silks and spices of the Orient, plied its way across the north Pacific, at 40° latitude, to the port of Acapulco. On its return to Manila, the Galleon brought back the silver pesos of Mexico and Peru, which became the standard of exchange along the coasts of the Orient. Schurz emphasizes the importance of the galleons to the commercial destiny of Manila:

> The operation of the galleon trade was unique in the annals of commerce. This trading system was based on the principle that the entire Spanish community in the Philippines largely depended for its sustenance on the profits from the galleons. As the logical corollary to this rule, every member of that community had the privilege of participating in the freighting of the galleons. The *naos* themselves were the property of the crown. And it was the crown which so minutely regulated the conduct of the trade, with the object of assuring to every citizen of the colony a share in its rich proceeds. Thus, "City and Commerce," which often addressed the king as though they were one and the same person, were for a long time virtually synonymous. [3]

Trade became the life blood of Manila. The life of the city was to be shaped by the activity which went on in its harbor. The historic dependency of Manila upon trade and commerce is evidenced today in the fact that the service sector provides the largest share of employment. It must be pointed out, however, that the Spanish occupation of Manila was different from the purely commercial relationship which other European powers had with their colonial outposts in Asia. The Dutch set up their trade centers along the coasts of Southeast Asia, but did not disturb the political and social systems of the region. The Dutch merchants were concerned, first of all with the success of their commercial ventures. They sought to carry on their business with the cooperation of the local chieftains. Where resistance to their commercial policies occurred, the Dutch resorted to their naval superiority in bringing the local chieftains into line. While the Dutch forced a number of Javanese rulers to accept their superiority, they did not intervene in the affairs of the local government nor did they attempt to restructure the indigenous culture. The Spaniards, on the other hand, worked for the complete transformation of indigenous Filipino society. Their venture in the Philippines was a religious one; the Spanish friars sought the conversion of the natives. Civil rule in the islands sought to expedite this conversion by the program of reduccion and the development of urban centers. [4]

Spanish commercial interest was closely tied to the religious and political role which centered in Manila. Even when the commercial value of the

Philippines to the Spaniards waned, the religious led the way in turning back those who wanted to abandon the islands. The religious and civil leaders in the Philippines had to fight a continual battle against the Spanish textile interests, which sought to curtail the Manila Galleon trade in Chinese silk. The textile merchants of Spain pointed to the annual deficit incurred by the crown in administering the Philippines as a good reason for abandoning the Philippines. But as Phelan notes, the religious were steadfast:

> Withdrawal from the archipelago, the religious spokesmen argued, would result in either the return of the Filipinos to paganism or the conquest of the islands by the Protestant Dutch. Its fiscal deficit notwithstanding, the Philippines must be kept for their spiritual value, in the words of one chronicler, as an "arsenal and warehouse of the Faith" upon whose preservation rested the cause of Catholicism in the Orient. [5]

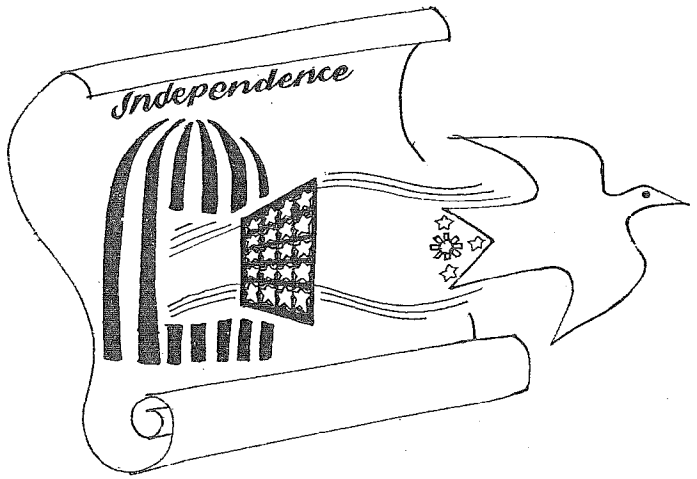
During their colonial administration of the Philippines, the Spaniards were able to bring a substantial number of the Filipino population into settlements. With the help of the clergy, the people in the hinterlands were brought under the Cross and the Spanish Crown. At the top of the urban hierarchy was Manila which, as the multi-functional center of the colony, was instrumental in the unification of the Philippines as a nation.

While the primacy of Manila in the archipelago was not threatened throughout the Spanish period, its prominence as a colonial capital waned with the deterioration of Spanish power. By the nineteenth century, the Spaniards were having serious trouble throughout their empire. From the golden age which

Manila had known during the early years of the galleon trade, the city descended into a period of economic and social stagnation. The economy was dominated and restrained by a group of government monopolies in tobacco, wine, betel nut, opium, and playing cards. While the galleon trade continued to bring goods from China, there were no goods to export from the Philippines. The colonial bureaucracy had failed the Filipino people by concerning itself with its own private affairs and neglecting the development of the nation.

THE AMERICAN PERIOD

NINETEENTH CENTURY MANILA was more noted for its slow pace of life than for any great commercial activity. The pace began to change with the American take-over of the Philippines at the beginning of the twentieth century. When the economy of the Philippines was geared into the needs of a growing American nation, Manila achieved a new commercial importance. In 1894, before the beginning of American administration, the U.S. received 22.4 per cent of the exports of the Philippines, while imports into the Philippines from U.S. comprised only 2.6 per cent of the total amount imported. By the 1937-1940 period, Philippine exports to the U.S. had reached 78.4 per cent of the total, while Philippine imports from the U.S. during the same period accounted for 68.8 per cent of the total.[6] The port of Manila was the chief benefactor of U.S.-Philippine trade.



During the American period, the population of Manila grew rapidly. At the time Manila became a municipal corporation in 1903, the city's population was 220,000.[7] By the 1939 census, the population had risen to 623,906.

THE INDEPENDENT Republic of the Philippines came into existence on July 4, 1946. Although badly destroyed during World War II, Manila quickly regained her dominant position and grew to primate size. This is evident in the growth of the metropolitan region of Greater Manila.

Population growth. Up to the close of World War II, Manila was a moderate sized city of fewer than three-quarters of a million people. The seven adjacent cities which now comprise Greater Manila – Caloocan City, Quezon City, San Juan, Mandaluyong, Makati, Parañaque, and Pasay City – were either small towns or rice fields. The population of Metropolitan Manila had grown from 848,211 in 1939 to over 3,181, 872 in 1970. During that period the city of Manila grew from 623,906 to 1,310,602. It is noteworthy that the population of the city of Manila more than doubled in the 31 years between 1939 and 1970; however, during the same years the population of her satellite cities multiplied more than seven times, growing from 224,304 to 1,689,398.

Cosmopolitanism. Manila's rise to prominence was enhanced by her natural port facilities. As we have seen, she early established herself as a center of commerce through the Galleon trade. When this waned, she regained her commercial importance by becoming a trading partner of the U.S.A. Her commercial relations with China, the United States, Spain and certain other European nations have made Manila a cosmopolitan city. She has been fed by many religious, political, and cultural traditions. This cosmopolitanism has had both advantages and disadvantages for the Philippines. On the one hand, it has made the Filipino world-conscious. His Roman Catholicism has related him to a world-wide religious faith which ties him to Rome and Spain. His English-speaking ability has provided him with easy mobility in world travel and in international organizations. His education has given him knowledge of the history and culture of Europe and America. On the other hand, his cosmopolitan view has often limited his concern for his own nation. To the degree that he has become world-related, he has neglected his own history and tradition; and he has not paid serious attention to the problems of his own country.

Separation between Manila and the provinces. This has been Manila's greatest shortcoming as a primate city. As a colonial city, she cast her lot with the metropolitan countries of the West. Her role as a middleman for the raw materials coming from the rest of the nation and for the manufactured goods arriving from overseas differentiated Manila from the rest of the country. From her middleman role Manila acquired a standard of living and a way of life substantially different from the provinces.

Leaders drawn from provinces to Manila. The higher standard of living of Manila attracts the more mobile members of the provincial population, further depleting the human resources which the hinterlands need for their own

development. A study of 92 Filipino businessmen shows the determinative influence which Manila has upon the development of entrepreneurship. [8] Two-thirds of the Filipino entrepreneurs studied were raised in Manila, in the towns immediately adjacent to it, or in towns within five kilometers of the Manila Railroad. Industrial plants as far away as Iligan and Davao in Mindanao have been established by entrepreneurs from Manila. This points to the other side of the development equation. The concentration of resources in Manila provides the kind of education and experience which equips men for their role in political and economic development. Manila has provided the environment which now needs to be developed in other regions of the nation, as well.

CHARACTERISTICS OF COLONIAL CITIES

MANILA and the other Great Colonial Cities of Southeast Asia – Singapore, Djakarta, Saigon, Bombay, Calcutta, Kuala Lumpur – have many common characteristics. Among these are that they are centers of trade; their economies are dominated by the service sector; and they must cope with the problem of new migrants, many of whom settle in squatter communities. Let us look briefly at each of these.

Centers of trade. The western powers, motivated as they were by opportunities for trade, chose those areas for settlement which were easily accessible by ship. All major Southeast Asian capitals, with the exception of Kuala Lumpur, are port cities. From their earliest establishment under colonial administrators, the cities became centers of trade. The emphasis on commerce not only shaped the economic life of the city but its physical environment as well. The cities grew from their port areas outward. All major activity took place in the port area. There were the wharves for receiving cargoes, the bodegas for storing goods, and the commercial houses and banks for transacting business. In the archipelago of the Philippines two port areas developed: one for international trade, and the other for inter-island shipping. The city of Manila was divided into separate residential areas: one for the Europeans engaged in colonial administration and commerce, and the other for the native population.

The colonial city developed a character different from the other areas of the country. Since it was the seat of the colonial government, the major activities that went on within it were more related to the capitals of Europe than to its own nation.

Predominance of the service sector. The impact of commerce upon the contemporary Southeast Asian city cannot be overestimated. From the earliest beginnings of these cities employment has been concentrated in the service sector of the economy.

Many western cities, particularly those in North America, developed out of industrial enterprises with the service sector proliferating after industrialization had advanced into higher technology. The Southeast Asian city developed in the opposite direction: manufacturing constitutes a small percentage of the city's employment structure. In all Southeast Asian cities, at least two-thirds of the labor force is employed in the service sector of the economy: commerce, finance, government, transportation, construction, and the many small personal services, which abound in this region. Among the cities of Southeast Asia, Metropolitan Manila has the highest proportion of the labor force engaged in jobs related to manufacturing – 21.3 per cent. [9] However, if the city of Manila alone is considered, the percentage of the labor force engaged in manufacturing is 19 per cent.

The problem of integrating migrants into the city's life. The service sector absorbs many of the newcomers to the Asian city. If we expand the definition of services to include the wide variety of vendors, newspaper boys, car-watch boys, and scavengers we realize how many people live by serving the urban economy. In Hong Kong, it is estimated that there are over 120,00 hawkers – a sizeable number of Hong Kong's workers.

In Indonesia, the bazaar, which is the traditional economic institution, provides many of the jobs available in the cities. Existing side-by-side with modern industrial establishments, the bazaar is a major means by which newcomers are fitted into the urban economy. Clifford Geertz, in his study of an Indonesian town, suggests that this is the economic safety valve of the community. Modern technology reduces the need for manpower; the bazaar on the other hand, can absorb an expanding number of workers.[10] A factory is limited in the number it can employ and use efficiently, but there is always room for another food vendor, or someone else in the "buy and sell" business.

The bazaar economy, however, yields very low returns for the labor expended. For a family to make ends meet, many incomes have to be put together. The result of the bazaar economy is, as Wertheim suggests, "shared poverty." The service sector, which provides many small ways of making money, is the basis for the squatter community. It is the major mechanism by which the low-skilled migrant is able to survive in the city.

The next section will consider the role of the rural migrant to the city, the difficulties he encounters, and the problems he poses for the city.

2

INTEGRATING RURAL MIGRANTS INTO CITY LIFE

EVERY DAY HUNDREDS OF RURAL MIGRANTS enter the city of Manila. Sons and daughters whose labor is not needed on the tiny family farm, villagers who can find no work, students seeking higher education, all flock to the city. Every ship, bus, banca brings its quota of men, women, and children who hope to find a better life in a new place. With little money and few skills most rural migrants have two desperate needs: employment and a place to live.

FINDING WORK

AS WAS SEEN in the preceding section, new migrants manage to earn enough money for existence in the service sector of the economy. Vendors, helpers in the market, scavengers, drivers, sari-sari store operators may not earn enough to live alone, but each contributes what he can to the family income and all manage to survive.

Many new migrants perform services necessary to the functioning of an urban society. In an urban society which cannot afford waste, scavengers are resourceful in making use of everything that comes their way. Instead of being regarded as pariahs, those engaged in scavenging should be given free medical services and assured a fair income from their work. Many others who work at marginal jobs need a guarantee of just wages from employers and protection from labor contractors who may use trade unions to exploit labor.

One particularly crucial function is to train those with some skills for jobs which exist. Complaints have been leveled at vocational training programs, saying that they are not adapted to the jobs which are available. Even after receiving instruction the trainees cannot meet the requirements of the particular trade or industry. Much more needs to be done through on-the-job training. In Asia, most of this type of learning has come out of small shops and industries. Much of the industrial employment in Asia, especially in Japan and Hongkong, is in small shops which sub-contract work from large industries. One of the more successful small scale industries in the Philippines is the shoe industry developed in Marikina. Manila Community Services, Inc., a non-profit agency engaged in job-skills training, is helping develop skills among new migrants to the city. It carries out its job-skills training within the context of the shoe industry. School drop-outs and new migrants are trained in special facilities provided by several shoe manufacturers in Marikina. The trainees receive their training under the eye of supervisors from the shoe industry. The more able trainees are immediately hired by the industry.

FINDING A PLACE TO LIVE

MANY MIGRANTS go directly from the pier or bus station to the home of a relative or barrio-mate. When the pressure of another family added to an

overcrowded house becomes too great, the migrant seeks a place of his own. Frequently he assembles what materials he can and builds another squatter house near his barrio-mates.

ATTITUDES TOWARD SQUATTERS

PUBLIC REACTION TO SQUATTERS is generally hostile. Most people regard them as violators of property rights, since they have taken possession of land that is not theirs. World-wide study of squatter communities shows, however that most squatting is done on government property or on contested land. The general attitude of squatters is that they have a right to use public land. They say, "We have a right to stay here until we are given land, or until we can make a better place for ourselves.

William Mangin, who has done extensive work among squatters in Latin America, characterizes two public attitudes toward their way of life. The one he terms the "hard-nosed" view: squatters have no right to be in the city in the first place. They should have never left home. The best policy is to send them back to the country. If they can't be sent back to their original homes, then the best policy is to resettle them in places where they can earn a livelihood from the soil.

The other attitude Mangin calls the "bleeding-heart" view. Many people are moved to pity by the depressed conditions under which squatters live. They see the ill effects which poor housing and poor sanitary conditions have upon squatter families. They are also worried about the effects of these conditions upon the community as a whole. They fear that disease and crime will breed in the squatter family and spread to the whole society.

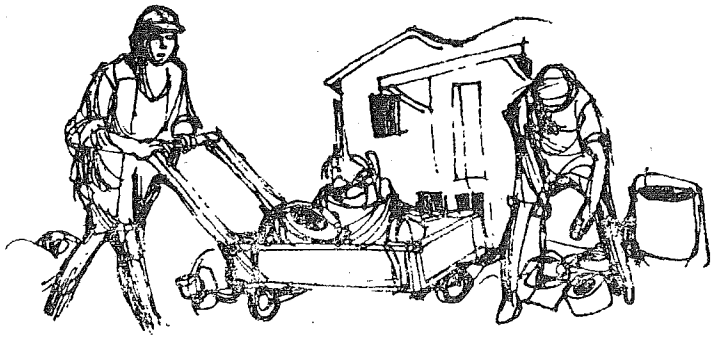
Both of these views toward the squatter community lead to a policy of relocation. Although a number of other approaches to the squatter problem has been made, none has been successful.

RELOCATION OF SQUATTERS

THE PRIMARY POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT toward urban squatters has been to resettle them on land outside the city. This policy began in 1950 when President Quirino created the Slum Clearance Committee; and it has been followed by each successive administration.

The reasons for the removal of urban squatters are varied, but the primary one is that squatting is illegal. Behind this is the fact that the government has other plans for the lands it is clearing. In the case of the Fort Bonifacio site, the government had set aside the area for the Greater Manila Terminal Food Market. Unfortunately, there have been times when the land from which squatters have been removed has fallen into the hands of powerful people or their proteges.

A second reason is that city governments consider squatter housing both an eyesore and a judgment upon their administrations. Intermingled with this argument for relocation is valid concern for the lives of those living along



railroad tracks and esteros. Many people lose their lives during floods and through accidents along the tracks.

A third reason given for the relocation of squatters is that they really desire to return to the rural way of life from which they have come. The fact is, however, that many squatters have jobs in the urban area and do not have a farming background.

During the two decades that the relocation policy has been followed in Greater Manila, over 20,000 families have been resettled. Over fifty per cent of these families have returned to the city.

The Sapang Palay resettlement is a case in point. In 1963-64, nearly 6,000 squatters were evicted from Intramuros and Tondo and relocated in Sapang Palay, Bulacan. By 1970, a survey by CITRUS (The Central Institute for the Training and Relocation of Urban Squatters) showed that an average of 550 families had returned from Sapang Palay each year during the six-year period. The total constituted over sixty per cent of those who had been relocated.

The government resettlement program in Carmona, Cavite, appears to be moving toward the same result. Early in 1969, the government began removing squatters from Makati and Quezon City to Carmona. At that time, the government had designated the following areas for squatter eviction:

Greater Manila Terminal Food Market	1,075 families
National Park Site, Q.C.	5,766 families
PNR railway tracks	3,065 families
Isla de Puting Bato	700 families
Other smaller groups	143 families
	10,749 families

By early 1971, approximately 5,000 families had been moved to the Carmona Resettlement area. With all these arguments in favor of relocation, why do so many resettled squatters return to the city in which they have lived so miserably?

EVALUATION OF THE CARMONA PROJECT

IN AN ATTEMPT to discover why resettled squatters return to Manila, a study was made of 218 families who had been resettled in San Gabriel, Carmona. Most of these families had been removed from squatter areas in Quezon City and Makati. The interviewers noted that there were numerous empty or unfinished houses and that other houses were occupied by older family members who were holding them for families that had returned to Manila. Families found it very difficult to live in Carmona for two basic reasons:

Lack of jobs in the area. Between half and two-thirds of the family heads have jobs in Manila. Twenty-one per cent were engaged in the building trades: eighteen per cent were drivers or delivery men; ten per cent held jobs as laborers or cargadors; six per cent worked in manufacturing; and fifteen per cent held a variety of service jobs from market vending to selling bottles. They would prefer living and working in Carmona if jobs were available in the area. Since there are no jobs, they continue to make the long, expensive trek back into the city. Many times husbands stay in Manila during the week and return to Carmona for the weekend. But families prefer not to live separate lives so they find another place to squat in Manila.

Inadequate facilities for living. While families had been assigned lots, the resettlement area lacked water and electricity and robberies were a common occurence. Water pumps had been installed in different sections of the settlement, but when these broke down they were not repaired. Electric light was considered essential because of banditry in the area.

For the family heads without work, who compose thirty per cent of the sample, Carmona offers little hope for a livelihood. While living in Manila most families were able to put together some income from a variety of jobs. Since most of the families are in the same conditions in Carmona, these possibilities are limited.

If offered the alternative of working in Carmona with the guarantee of a job paying a minimum wage or living in Manila with their present job, the great majority would prefer to remain in Carmona. The main reasons are that they have their own house and lot; the area itself is quiet and has a good climate. However these factors are not enough to keep the people there unless some assurance is given that employment can be provided in the area. The families suggest that the government should encourage industry in the area. When asked what kind of economic development should be encouraged, the great majority suggested that factories should be established in the area, preferably textile or some type of handicraft industry. Many of the women suggested dress-making as the type of employment which should be encouraged. Very few mentioned agricultural enterprise as a means of a regular consistent livelihood. They saw agricultural pursuits only as a means of supplementing income.

SQUATTING: A NATIONAL PROBLEM

WHEN WE LOOK AT URBAN SQUATTING from a national perspective, we can see that the problem exists in all major Philippine cities. It is obvious that urban squatting will not be solved in the near future unless drastic steps are taken. What is the basis for this assertion?

First, migration from the countryside will continue unabated as rural people seek the job opportunities and the education which the urban centers offer. For some time to come the cities can expect to grow by five to nine per cent annually.

Second, economic development has not taken place fast enough to provide the job opportunities and the housing necessary to meet the expanding urban population.

Third, the government does not have the financial resources to provide housing for the large number of low income people in the urban population. In the Philippines, a report of the Special Committee of the National Housing Council estimated, in 1968, that 25 per cent of squatter families in Metropolitan Manila had monthly incomes of less than P100.00. At this income, the government would have to provide free housing for this group of 45,939 families. But the government allots only one per cent of its annual national budget for housing; furthermore, the housing that has been provided has been largely for middle-class people. With no housing available to them, low income people take to squatting.

Fourth, even making the countryside more attractive will not cut down on rural-return migration. People desire and actively seek the life and conveniences of the cities.

Since freedom of movement is a basic right of the Filipino people, no end is in sight to the growth of the cities. We can also expect that squatting will continue to increase. Low income families cannot afford the rents charged for housing in the urban centers. They will continue to settle on vacant land to avoid paying the high rents charged for scarce housing.

OTHER GOVERNMENT HOUSING PROGRAMS

THE SQUATTER RELOCATION PROGRAM of the government of the Metropolitan Manila area has not succeeded; and the multi-storied tenements have fared no better as a solution to the squatter problem. Built in 1965, during the Macapagal administration, the three tenement buildings provided a total of 1,578 housing units. The tenements were an attempt to solve low-income housing needs within Manila. Unfortunately, many of those living in the tenements are not low-income people – many residents have purchased the rights to the flats from low-income persons who sold them in order to have

immediate cash. The physical facilities of the buildings themselves are not adapted to the social and cultural background of the people. The seven-story buildings have no elevators and the water service does not go beyond the third floor. Garbage collection is poor, and the grounds are poorly kept. In the case of the Punta Tenement, there has been continual warfare between those living in the tenement and those in the areas surrounding it. This has resulted in several deaths and woundings. The tenements were planned without consideration of their total environment.

RECOMMENDATIONS

RECOGNIZING that rural to urban migration will continue in the Philippines, a long-range program must be developed. Migration and the growth of squatter communities throughout the Philippines cannot be dealt with on a piece-meal basis. Among the steps that the government should take are these:

Build up other urban centers throughout the Philippines to encourage more even distribution of migration.

Provide the physical infrastructure programs in these urbán centers that would give employment to semi-skilled peoples and make the areas attractive for the investment of Philippine capital in local industries.

Develop manpower training programs in these urban centers related to actual job opportunities and to industries that would use the resources of the region.

Acquire areas close to the cities which can be used for employing and housing low-income people; provide these areas with the facilities necessary to attract industry (e.g, water, light, roads), and to make life liveable for the residents. The development of a program of "planned squatter areas" could channel new migrants and urban squatters to already available areas and take the pressure off areas planned for future development.

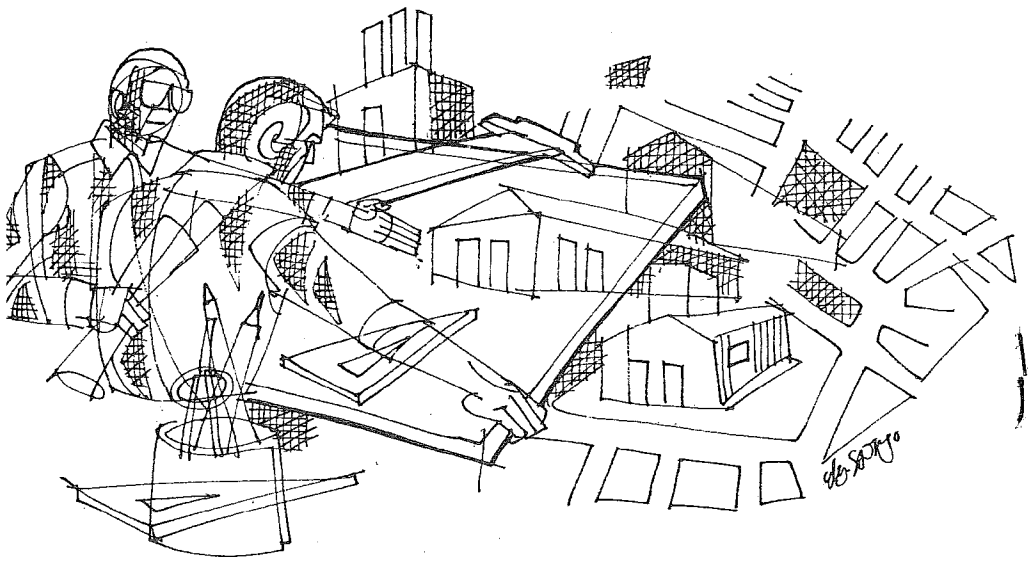
Initiate, in larger urban centers where land for an individual house and lot is not possible, a building program of three- to four-story apartments. It is suggested that these areas be carefully planned in the light of Phililippine social and cultural values and with the purpose of giving ownership of these apartments to the occupants. The present experiment in condominium housing should be evaluated as a possible approach to low-income housing. If it proves effective it should be encouraged on a wider scale.

Encourage the growth of community organizations among low income people as a means of developing local participation in the planning process. Cooperative housing associations should be encouraged to provide a channel for the planning and the administering of community housing programs.

Discontinue any further relocations of families to resettlement areas such as Carmona.

Squatters are not a threat to the government. Most squatter relocations have taken place without violence. The squatters are, in fact, an essentially conservative people. They want to become a part of urban society. Their goal is to move into the ranks of the urban middle-class. This desire should be encouraged by the government. If the government thwarts their way into urban society, the squatter poor may listen to those who accuse the establishment of keeping power and wealth to themselves; ultimately, squatters may join those whose efforts are aimed at under-mining the structure of government.

The next section will consider possible national planning strrategies to attract and integrate migrants into other urban centers and regions.



3

DEVELOPING URBAN GROWTH CENTERS

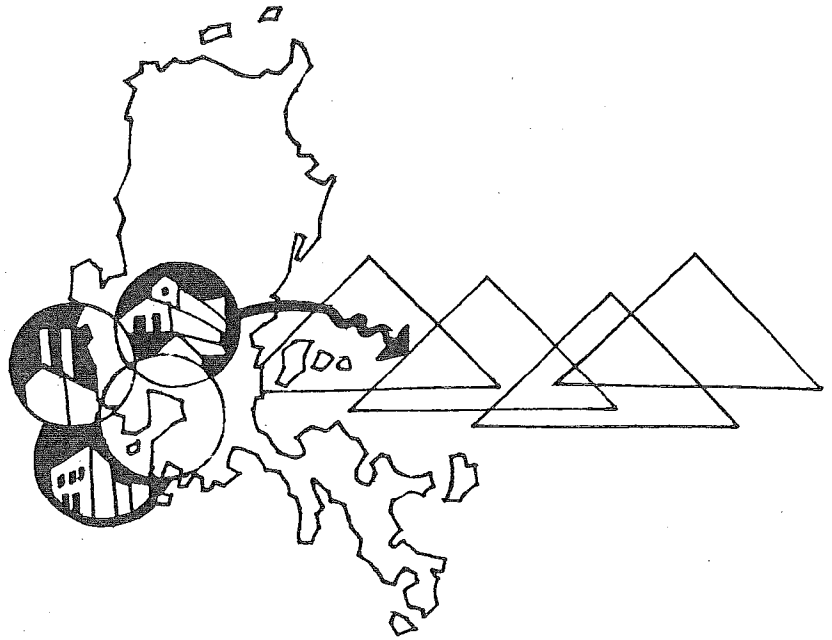
THE PHILIPPINES has machinery for urban and regional development. In 1950, the government created a National Planning Commission by uniting the National Urban Planning Commission (1946) and the Capital City Planning Commission (1948). Under the local Autonomy Act of 1959, local governments were given the authority to prepare plans, in consultation with the National Planning Commission, if they so desired. In 1962, an Administrative Order called upon local governments to create planning boards and to draw up plans. By May 1965, 100 towns, 17 cities, and eight provinces had created planning boards. The National Planning Commission had received requests from 49 local governments for assistance. While machinery exists for local governments to plan for their future, what is lacking is a comprehensive national plan for metropolitan and regional development which will create a workable framework for coordinating the planning activities on regional, provincial, and municipal levels.

PLANNING BY REGIONS

PLANNING AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL should consider the development of those urban areas which have natural growth potential within the major regions of the Philippines. The choice of urban growth centers will be determined in part by the goals set within the national development plan. One criterion in the choice of urban growth centers is the rural-urban migration patterns within the various regions: these should be developed in those regions

with the highest out-migration patterns. Since Manila receives the largest percentage of migration, the development of rural-urban growth centers will help to deflect some of the flow away from the Metropolitan Manila region.

The development of urban growth centers is not recommended solely as an attempt to diminish the growth potential of Manila. Instead, it is a plan to create alternative points of attraction for human and capital resources in the building of other regions. The issue is not the decentralization of Manila, but the concentration of resources and development strategy in potential urban growth centers which can provide balance within Philippine development. In assessing the regions to be considered in a plan of urban development, the three traditional geographic divisions come to mind: Luzon, the Visayan islands group, and Mindanao. Each of these three regions can be re-divided into sub-regions.

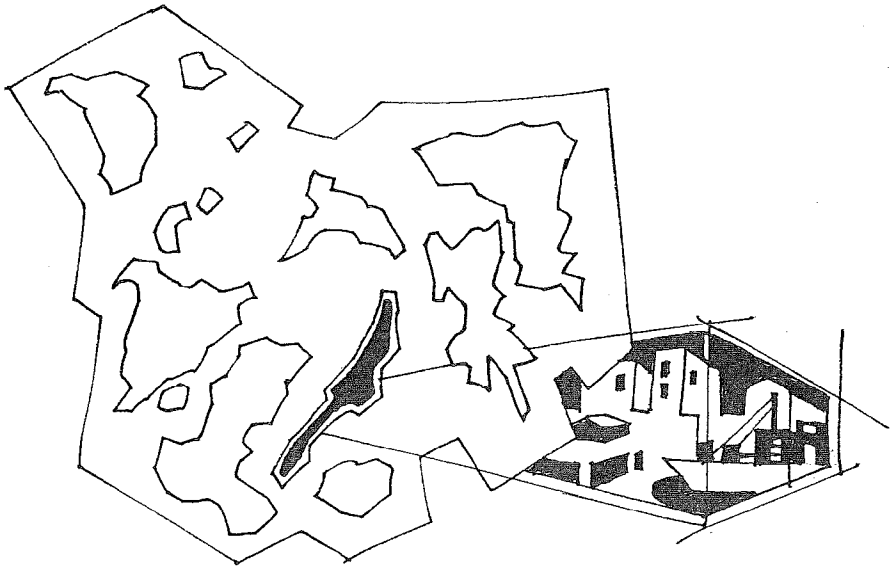


LUZON

WHILE THE CENTRAL PART OF LUZON ISLAND is dominated by the Metropolitan Manila region, it is possible to delineate a sub-region in northern Luzon, and another one in southern Luzon, generally called the Bicol region. Neither of these sub-regions have the growth potential to be considered in a national plan for the allocation of resources for development. Topography is the major factor in both sub-regions. Northern Luzon is dominated by mountains which reach 5,000 feet in some sections, and which fall off to the narrow western coastal plain of the Ilocos provinces. While the mining industry

predominates in the mountain regions and truck farming in the valley outside Baguio, there is no substantial manufacturing base in the north. Baguio City is the largest urban center in northern Luzon. With a population of 83,952 in 1970, the city of Baguio, created as the summer capital during the U.S. administration of the Philippines, still depends upon its cooler climate as its chief attraction. The mountainous terrain surrounding Baguio is not an attractive area for manufacturing. The narrow Iloco coast is a tobacco-growing region with no urban center of any size.

The Bicol region in southern Luzon is an elongated peninsula which traditionally has been an abaca-growing area. Its chief urban center, Legaspi, had a population of 84,700 in 1970. Cottage industry related to abaca products exists in the city, but there is little large scale manufacturing. The Philippine government has lately encouraged the work of the Bicol Development Board which was set up by one of the region's ambitious provincial governors. The emphasis of the board will be upon the development of the agricultural potential of the region.



THE VISAYAS

SIX MAJOR ISLANDS in the Central Philippines compose the Visayan region. The Visayas account for 12 per cent of those persons employed in manufacturing within the nation. The largest percentage of this group work in the sugar centrals of the region, particularly in Negros Occidental province. The

urban center for the region is Cebu City, which ranks third to Metropolitan Manila in population. Davao, which covers a wide geographical region, moved into second place in the 1970 census, with a population of 347,595. The Metropolitan Cebu region totalled 346,926 in 1970.

Cebu City is the natural choice for the development of an urban growth center for the Visayan region. It has many factors in its favor. Historically, Cebu was the first area in the archipelago touched by the explorer Magellan. Legaspi established the earliest permanent Spanish settlement in Cebu in 1565. Within the Filipino consciousness, Cebu is a place of considerable importance. Its religious significance was recognized a few years ago when the nation celebrated the 450th anniversary of the Christianization of the Philippines. Recently, Pope Paul IV elevated Archbishop Rosales of Cebu City to Cardinal. The first Filipino Cardinal was Rufino Santos of Manila.

Agriculturally, Cebu island is a corn-growing area. The island is faced with poor fertility and so is continually plagued by low productivity. Cebu fares better as an industrial center. The island has good potential for producing cement; and several plants are now in operation. It also has one of the largest copper mines in the Asian region. Cebu City has the second most varied manufacturing base in the nation, after Manila. While Cebu province ranks third in manufacturing employment (after Rizal province and Negros Occidental), she has good possibilities for industrial expansion. The city has a large group of entrepreneurs of Chinese background who have invested in manufacturing. Cebu has the third highest assessed value of real property amounting to P336,707,380. She is surpassed by the city of Manila with P2,460,700,203 and Quezon City with P1,147,057,090.

Recently, the Cebu Development Corporation, which was organized in 1963 under the aegis of the Mayor and a group of local businessmen, has carried out a plan for the reclamation of 161 hectares along the sea front. The development will provide wharves for 12 inter-island ships and eight ocean-going vessels. The remaining land will be sold to businesses looking for space for industry, offices, or show rooms. The Cebu Development Corporation will turn over 68 per cent of the reclaimed land to the city. This area will include 18 kilometers of roads, the wharves, and some park space. It will sell the remaining land for its own gain at an average of P100 per square meter.

Cebu City is also trying to become the country's second international airport. Presently it has the best landing facilities in the Philippines -- on Mactan Island, directly across from Cebu City. The airport facilities were built under an arrangement with the U.S. government, which had been using Mactan as a supply base for its personnel in Vietnam. A bridge (to be amortized by tolls) is being planned to join Mactan island with Cebu City.

Politically, Cebu City is the center of the opposition to the present Nacionalista administration. Sergio Osmeña, Jr., Liberal Party contender for the

Presidency in the 1969 election, comes from a well-known political family. His father succeeded Manuel Quezon as the second President of the Commonwealth, and ran for the Presidency in the first election of the Republic. Since voting in the Philippines is still influenced by ethnic and regional loyalties, the Visayas is an area to contend with politically.

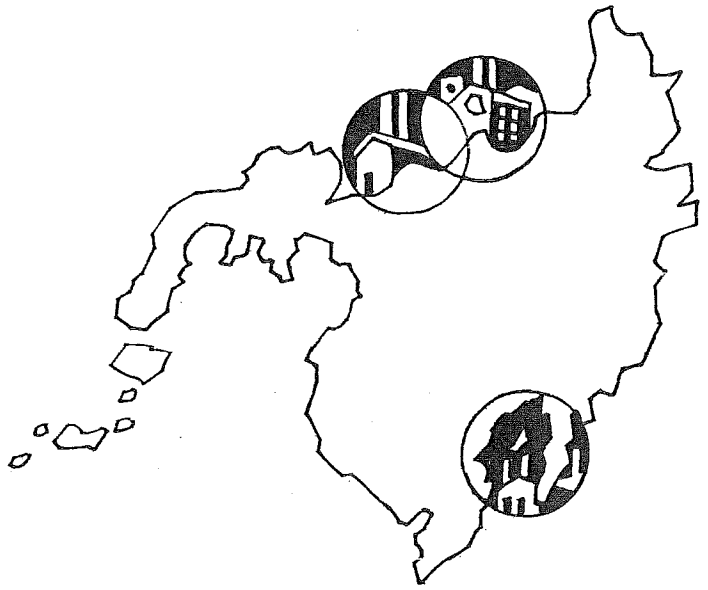
Although Tagalog, the language used in the Manila region, was chosen as the national language, those speaking Cebuano comprise the largest language group in the Philippines: 24.1 per cent of the population, while Tagalogs represent only 21.0 per cent. If those speaking other Visayan languages are added to the Cebuano-speaking group, the figure reaches 40.0 per cent. Thus the choice of Cebu City as a potential urban growth center within a national plan for metropolitan and regional development is based not only on its economic potential, but on the more overt factor of ethnic loyalty. Cebu City, an urban growth center for the Visayas, is needed to draw together the various peoples of the Central Philippines. While migration to Manila from the Visayas should not be discouraged, the gap between Visayans migrating to Manila and those moving to Cebu City needs to be narrowed. In 1960, migration figures indicated that Manila and the adjacent province of Rizal drew 261,036 people born in other Visayan provinces. The Visayan area also contributes heavily from its human resources to the growing frontier island of Mindanao in the extreme south. Davao province, within whose jurisdiction falls Davao City, the largest urban center in Mindanao, has drawn 298,901 people from the Visayan provinces — 37,865 more than the Metropolitan Manila region. While this migration is important for Davao's potential as an urban growth pole on Mindanao, nevertheless, it points to the need for an urban center of attraction in the Visayas.

As has been suggested, this center of attraction is Cebu City. The city administration has already embarked on a program to draw more human and capital resources into their city. The work of the Cebu Development Corporation in reclaiming land from the sea for commercial and industrial expansion should pay off in the next decade. But along with this local effort, the national government needs to undertake a fiscal policy and an infrastructure program which would hasten private investment in the region.

It can, in fact, be said that increasing employment opportunities in urban centers should be one of the primary goals of an urban planning strategy. Government investment in developing ports, transportation, communications, and marketing facilities in the urban centers are, in themselves, job-producing and will encourage a willingness on the part of private business to invest in the area. The expansion of urban facilities increases job opportunities in industry and in the supporting service sector where most low income people are employed.

Complementary to an employment strategy is the development of areas close to the city in which low-income people can acquire title to land and build their own homes. These areas will require basic services in order to make them viable communities. Streets will need to be laid out, water facilities provided,

and arrangements made for electric service. Housing becomes the responsibility of the resident. In fact, with the guarantee of land, the low-income person prefers putting up his own home at a speed which his income allows. This, in turn, saves the government the tremendous expense of a low-income housing program.



THE ISLAND OF MINDANAO is the frontier of the Republic. During the Spanish period the Moros, the indigenous Muslim minority, held the Spanish conquistadores at bay. With the arrival of the American forces after the Spanish-American War, the Moros, who were largely located in Lanao and Cotabato provinces in central Mindanao, were finally subdued under the U.S. administration. The reputation of the Moros among Christian Filipinos as lawless fanatics kept migration into Mindanao at a minimum until the post World War II period. After Independence the vast forest reserves and the potential farm lands began to attract entrepreneur and farmer alike. A large number of those who have migrated to Mindanao have come from the nearby Visayan island group. Among the languages spoken in Mindanao, Cebuano predominates.

Mindanao provides nine per cent of the national total of those working in the manufacturing sector. The 1960 figures show that the province of Misamis Oriental led Mindanao in those working in manufacturing with 5,187. Davao province ran second with 3,893, and Agusan province, with a large lumber industry, was a close third with 3,307. Lanao del Norte province, which is the site of the Maria Cristina hydroelectric plant, was fourth with 2,534. The attraction of industry to Iligan City to take advantage of the electric power from Maria Cristina Falls came into full operation in the 1960's. It is expected that Lanao del Norte province will soon surpass both Davao and Agusan in the numbers employed in the industrial work force.

In considering an urban growth center policy for Mindanao, there are two possible poles of regional growth. One is in the north in the Iligan Bay area: Iligan City in Lanao del Norte and Cagayan de Oro City in Misamis Oriental. The 1970 population of the two cities totalled 227,772, with Cagayan de Oro providing 132,858 and Iligan City 94,914. The second potential urban growth center is Davao City in southern Mindanao. Davao City leads other urban areas in Mindanao with a population of 347,595. The figure is deceptive, however, since the geographical boundaries of the city extend far into the countryside. The actual urban population is about half of that figure. Davao province is largely known for its abaca production, which was stimulated by Japanese immigrants in the pre-war period. When the abaca industry declined after the war, manufacturing employment moved into foodstuffs and lumber products.

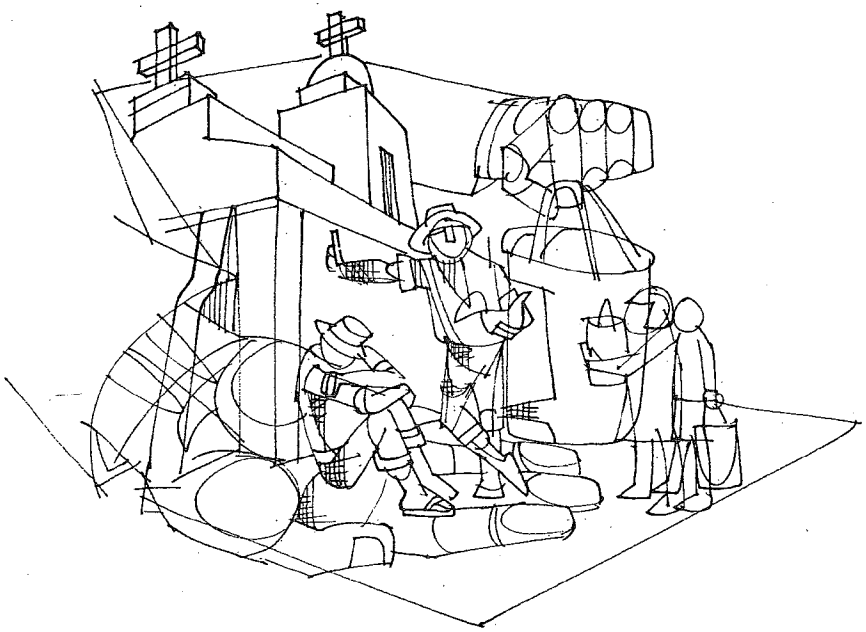
While Davao City is a likely area for urban growth, because of its flat and extensive land area and its large migrant population, it is basically oriented toward agricultural production. If limited resources indicate that only one urban growth center should be developed in Mindanao, the Iligan-Cagayan de Oro region has greater potential for industrial growth. A distance of 85 kilometers separates the two cities, but they will be tied together by the electricity which will come from the Maria Cristina hydroelectric power plant outside Iligan City. Two urban centers in close relation to one another within a region provide for more flexibility in planning the growth of the region. One of the advantages of a regional development plan with two urban growth centers is that it provides the opportunity for a choice of the location of a business or industry. The chief focal point for drawing industry into the Iligan Bay area is the presence of the Maria Cristina hydroelectric power plant. Since the power will cover the entire bay area, a businessman can make a choice of areas, and still be in touch with the alternative urban center. Another advantage of the dual urban growth center scheme is in the possibility it provides for developing specializations within the two areas. Cagayan de Oro presently has a Jesuit administered university and a Protestant high school. On the other hand, Iligan City lacks adequate facilities in higher education. The government has established Mindanao State University in Marawi City, the center of Moro population, thirty kilometers south of Iligan City. Since Muslim-Christian relations are often tense, it will take some time before both groups are fully integrated in the university. In view of Iligan City's growing industrial base, which now includes an integrated steel mill, a cement plant, a fertilizer plant, a flour mill and a small chemical plant, government

resources might better be allocated to the developing of training programs for technical and machine trade skills. Iligan City might, therefore, develop specialized facilities for technical training, while Cagayan de Oro concentrates its efforts on higher education, building on its present educational base.

One further advantage of developing an urban growth region in the Iligan Bay area is its proximity to the Visayan island group. Migration could be contained within the Visayan-Northern Mindanao region. An enlarged regional plan linking the development of Cebu City with the Iligan-Cagayan de Oro complex could provide a countergrowth pole to the Metropolitan Manila region, if the regions were not moving fast enough as separate units. This combination of Cebu City and the Iligan Bay area would have the added advantage of being basically an ethnically homogeneous grouping.

POTENTIAL GROWTH CENTERS EXIST

IT MUST BE REMEMBERED that development does not occur rationally in a developing economy – or in a technologically advanced country. Planning for national development must contend with political alliances, regional loyalties, and scarce resources. It is hoped, however, that faced by these road-blocks, the importance of developing urban growth centers will not be lost. Potential urban centers do exist and, with the willingness at the national level to allocate resources to them, they can be brought to the point where they will attract private investment and will provide growth to their regions, thus enhancing the overall development of the Philippines.



4

THE CHURCHES' TASK IN THE CITY

IN THE HISTORY OF SOUTHEAST ASIA, the urban center has been the focus of change. The cities of Southeast Asia, born out of colonial contact with the western nations, became the centers of commerce in the region. The Southeast Asian's experience of the modernization process came through his participation in the development of these cities. Trade with the West brought with it new ideas and new relationships with the external world. Once the process was begun, the cities provided the milieu through which the forces of modernization were set to work in bureaucratization, education, mass communication, transportation, industrialization, and secularization.

PROFILE OF ASIAN CITIES

ASIAN CHURCHES have to take a new look at their role in the life of the nation. The thrust of urbanization is changing the face of Asia and setting before the churches new alternatives for mission. The profile of Asia which confronts the church reveals the following characteristics:

An increasing proportion of the Asian population is moving into urban areas. Urban agglomeration in Asia will grow from 16 per cent of the population in 1960 to 29 per cent in 2000. Major cities such as Tokyo, Seoul, Taipei, Manila, and Bangkok, which are growing at a rate of 5 to 10 per cent annually, are already metropolitan regions and moving toward becoming megalopoli. [12]

Population will be disproportionately distributed within urban areas in relation to total land area. High density living will put pressure on public facilities and governmental functioning. High-rise housing patterns will change interactions between people.

A sizeable sector of the urban population will belong to the urban poor. Squatting will continue as a means of urban habitation, particularly in those cities in tropical regions. In 1970, squatters comprised 20 to 30 per cent of the urban population of Southeast Asia.

Employment in the Asian city will be widely diversified. The largest number of workers will belong to a broadly-defined service sector. A smaller percentage will earn their livelihood from the technically-oriented

industrial sector. As the city grows economically, the occupational structure will become highly specialized. Organizations related to expanding urban life will multiply. Social grouping will become more diverse and cosmopolitan.

Suburbanization will become a major factor as the rising middle class evacuates downtown areas and seeks housing on the growing fringes of the city. As the city grows outward, it will encompass smaller outlying towns and create a metropolitan region.

The sheer size of the task before the church raises the question of priorities. The Asian churches, representing a small percentage of the total population, have limited resources and personnel. Even the church in the Philippines, with its large Christian community, cannot perform all the tasks called for in witnessing to Christ's concern for the humanity of all men in a growing urban society. The churches will, therefore, have to choose carefully their areas of involvement.

BASIS OF THE CHURCHES' CONCERN

WHAT IS THE BASIS OF OUR CHRISTIAN INVOLVEMENT? The life and witness of the church derives from the participation of Jesus Christ in our human situation. Jesus Christ's involvement with men provides us with an understanding of our own humanity. Christ came so that we could find our purpose in God.

Jesus Christ, through his own life and death, appeals to us to be responsible for ourselves – to fulfill those things necessary to our own dignity. Those conditions which negate this dignity, whether by our own or by society's making, are those we are responsible for changing. We are to use our energies, abilities, and intelligence to enhance human life within the community. We are to stand against those injustices which subvert the dignity of other human beings and destroy that community.

As Christ participated in life to the fullest, so we are to be participants. Reflecting upon Christ's life of involvement, we recognize those factors in the urban situation which would deprive men from fully participating in this life. We see the poverty which cuts men off from using their abilities and fulfilling their ambitions. We see sickness inbred into poor living conditions which saps men's energies for life. We see the despair over one's inability to change one's lot in life. We also see those inequalities between rich and poor, educated and uneducated, powerful and powerless, which maintain the conditions of poverty, sickness, and despair. We know that it is these conditions which need to be changed to make for a more human urban society.

The task of the churches is to be sensitive to those groups of people in the city who are caught up in these conditions and who, because they are newcomers and are from the lower rungs of society, are caught in a web of poverty and powerlessness. The churches have a responsibility to enhance the

opportunity of these people to participate in the shaping of their environment. This means helping organize people to give them power over the conditions which threaten their lives.

LIMITED RESOURCES REQUIRE SELECTIVITY

THE CHURCH has limited resources for carrying out all the tasks necessary in the complex organization of the city. But it does have ministers, laymen, and agencies to stimulate the active participation of people in the affairs of the city. Let us use one example of how this has been done:

Over the last decade the church has shown concern for the problem of squatters in Manila. Much of the church's motivation came from disturbance with the conditions in which the squatters lived. Ellinwood-Malate Church was one of the first churches to respond to the situation. In 1959, the church helped a group of Evangelical Christians from the Bicol region build a chapel in North Harbor. It continued its ministry with a medical clinic, a kindergarten, and mothers' class programs designed to meet the immediate needs of the people.

The relocation of squatters from Intramuros and the pier area of North Harbor, in 1962, forced Ellinwood Church to take a closer look at the squatter problem. Recognizing its magnitude, Ellinwood called upon the national church to assume responsibility for the wider aspects of the issue. The national church set up an interchurch program to plan activities in the resettlement area of Sapang Palay. A community center was built which provided a pre-school program, a child-feeding program, a recreation program for youth and a community-development program centered upon gardening. Its facilities were used by the relocated people in Area B of Sapang Palay. The program faced a basic problem: the families with which the church worked slowly drifted back to Manila. It was obvious that the low-income people evicted from Manila could not survive in Sapang Palay. Since the people needed to be close to jobs in the city, they returned.

After the experience in Sapang Palay, the churches began to recognize that the issue had to be solved in the city. They also recognized that any work should be a joint effort – Roman Catholics and Protestants working together. One of the first joint efforts of these groups was a careful study by a group of pastors, priests, and sisters of the issue of squatting on the Tondo Foreshoreland. Members of the group gathered information on previous presidential actions; they studied maps of the foreshoreland; and they sought out persons who were knowledgeable about proposed plans for the area.

Although the national government had reclaimed the land for the benefit of the port, former presidents of the Philippines had promised certain areas to the squatters for their residences. Other areas were being leased to business concerns. In some areas, squatters were evicted and the land was being occupied by the political proteges of those in power.

FROM COMMUNITY WELFARE TO ORGANIZATION

COMPLEX ISSUES of the foreshoreland ruled out the church's traditional welfare approach to the problems of poor people. Relief and welfare programs did not get at the basic issues. Charity programs, in fact, often complicate the problem. While church efforts are well meant, they tend to increase the dependency of people upon outside agencies -- and fail to develop their ability to solve their own problems. The issue for the squatters was one of security and economic stability. This could not be resolved on an individual basis; organization of the people themselves was required.

Organizations exist in profusion among migrant people. The need for friends, social cohesiveness, community security, the celebration of religious events, provide the basis for many squatter organizations. These are often temporary in nature. They are competitive, and have strong personal leadership with limited participation from the membership. Since the leaders are often politically motivated, the organizations win few long-lasting concessions for the membership.

The inclination toward organization, however, provides the basis for real participation in community issues and for achieving leverage within the larger urban society. It was for this reason that the Philippine Ecumenical Council on Community Organization was organized. The PECCO, an ecumenical agency for training community organizers, grew out of mutual concern by Roman Catholics and Protestants for the people of the Tondo foreshoreland. It was appropriate that its first involvement was to help the more than sixty separate organizations in the area, known as Zone One Tondo, organize into one community organization.

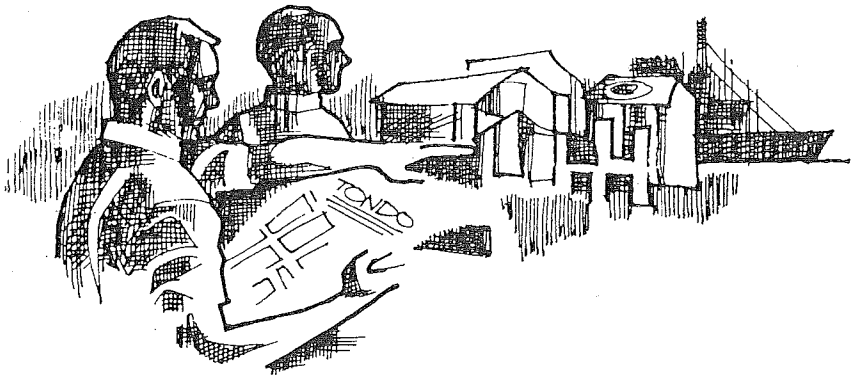
The visit of Pope Paul to the Philippines, in November, 1970, provided the context for drawing the people together. The Pope's itinerary included a visit to the Tondo foreshoreland as a symbol of his commitment to the poor. The people of Zone One drew up a short manifesto outlining the plight of the foreshoreland people and presented it to the Pope during his visit to Don Bosco School. Mrs. Trinidad Herrera, chairman of ZOTO, read these words:

> We, the representatives of the Zone One Tondo Temporary Organization representing forty thousand people from Dulo Puting Bato, Slip Zero, Fugoso, and North Harbor of Tondo, Manila, Philippines present this manifesto to his Holiness,Pope Paul VI. We hope he would use his heart to enlighten the government.
>
> We have been given empty promises from administration to administration regarding our struggle to own the land that we have been occupying. We have decided to continue our fight for the following reasons:
>
> First, the livelihood of the people is within the area;
>
> Second, the people have discovered, occupied, and made improvements in the area for more than twenty years; and
>
> Third, the people are already organized to beautify and modernize the area for tourist attraction and commercial purposes. Therefore, we fervently pray that His Holiness, Pope Paul VI will restore our faith which we have lost in our government. Hereby, we ask His Holiness his special blessing towards the realization of our twenty years of hard struggles in the acquisition of the land where our homes are established.

The Pope received their words graciously and promised the support of the Roman Catholic Church on their behalf. This encouragement solidified the organization.

Material evidence of the organization's effectiveness was immediate. Typhoon Yoling had preceded the Pope to the Philippines, wreaking havoc in the Manila area. Damage in the Tondo foreshoreland was extensive. ZOTO requested and received for distribution to its members a $10,000 grant from Misereor, the German Catholic Bishops' relief organization. The money went largely for 5,000 galvanized iron sheets to replace roofs which had been blown away. ZOTO, through its area leaders, provided the channel for assessing the damage and for distributing help to the people in their Zone One area.

From this initial experience, the people of ZOTO organized themselves around other issues vital to their existence. Elected representatives from the various groups of the Zone One Tondo Organization work through a number of committees. The Committee on Land is fighting for land rights. The Committee on Economic Advancement issues loans to small business enterprises. The Committee on Job Placement negotiates for employment opportunities. The Committee on Disaster Relief helps distribute relief aid in times of natural disaster.



The central issue to the people of Tondo foreshoreland is land. The people in Zone One Tondo have no guarantee that they will be given rights to lots or even allowed to stay in the area. The Committee on Land has thus had a major role to play in the work of the organization.

Land is a vital factor in the lives of the people. It represents security. Without some assurance that the people will be allowed to reside in the area near job opportunities, they fear that their fate will be eviction and relocation outside of Manila. Some of them know or have experienced the relocations to Sapang Palay or Carmona. The Committee on Land has drawn up its own resettlement plan which it would like to discuss with the government.

When the construction of a government warehouse was begun in the Farola Compound in the midst of the Zone One Tondo area, the people took immediate notice. The Committee on Land mapped out the vacant area, indicating lots and streets. Then in late February 1971, the people of ZOTO occupied the area, laying out their lots as previously planned. The action was taken to call the public's attention to the plight of the Tondo squatters. It was hoped that it would move the government to discuss the establishing of a viable resettlement scheme for the Zone One Tondo people.

The Land Committee continued to press for consideration of the ZOTO resettlement scheme by the occupation, in July, 1971, of the National Waterworks and Sewerage Administration lot adjacent to Slip Zero. The lot had been given by the national government to the People's Homesite and Housing Corporation for the construction of a condominium apartment building.

ZOTO people saw the new housing as a challenge to their rights to the Tondo land. The rent for an apartment in the housing program was beyond the means of the people of ZOTO. They occupied the compound on the evening before the July 4th holiday. The ZOTO executive committee sought negotiation with

General Manager Sebastian B. Santiago of the PHHC regarding their rights to housing in the area. The occupation of the NAWASA compound came to an end abruptly, in late July, when METROCOM troopers were brought in to tear down the makeshift houses of the people. Another attempt to stop construction of the condominium building was made by occupying the compound in early September. Again the METROCOM was called in to move the people from the compound. The people then resorted to a picket line to stop the work on the building.

Persistence finally resulted in success; communication was established between the ZOTO people and General Manager Santiago. In the negotiations with the ZOTO people, he agreed to the following:

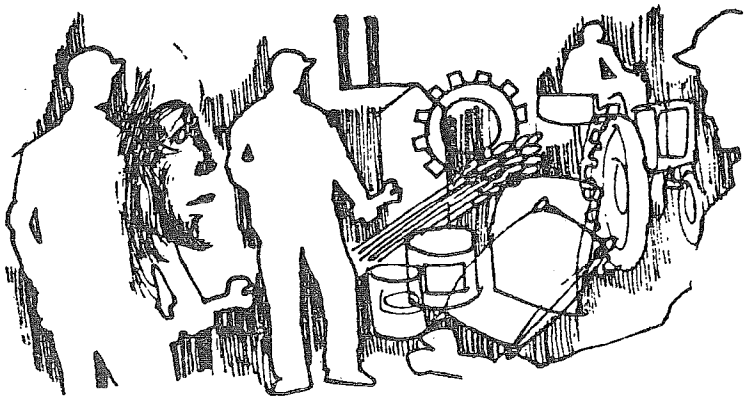
Consultation between Zone One residents, as represented by the chairman, and the PHHC General Manager regarding the mode of occupation of the on-going housing project at the NWSA Del Pan Compound.

Exploration and discussion of the feasibility of non-profit organizations undertaking jointly with the government non-profit projects, particularly in housing.

Recommendation to Director Delena of the Bureau of Public Works that residents of areas affected by the project at Tondo be represented in the planning group for the Tondo Foreshoreland.

The furnishing of a copy of the urban renewal projects plan at the NWSA to ZOTO by the PHHC.

Support to be given by the PHHC manager in facilitating and expediting land titling of the Tondo Foreshoreland, in accordance with law.



Improvement of the water and drainage systems by the NWSA before any housing unit is built on Zone One Tondo for Tondo residents.

First priority in occupancy of relocation sites should be given to those people affected by public works improvements in the area.

Agreement to the utilization of the NWSA Del Pan Compound as an urban renewal demonstration project, provided that it shall be to the benefit of the residents of the area.

A recent United Nations' report on the situation in eleven Asian cities bemoaned the ineffectivity of city administrations in making urban life more fulfilling of human needs. It pointed to the lack of well-formulated national policies and programs for the settlement of people in urban areas. It emphasized the lack of coordination between the various government agencies involved in urban development. It went on to suggest that one need of all governments is to assure the participation of their people in the decision-making processes. Popular participation and representation in the making of the city are necessary to assure a more realistic solution to urban problems.

The story of the ZOTO organization, provides one example of the dynamics necessary within urban society to assure the participation of the people in their society. It is a "down to earth" fulfillment of the Christian faith in which men assert their own dignity by helping make their society.

UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION OF CHURCHES

CHURCHES today are concerned with the development of people. Persons develop as they become participators in life. In our complex urban world such participation takes place through organizations of people. The task of the churches is to draw attention to those groups which are striving to become part of an urban society, but do not have the means or the power to be heard. The churches should be close at hand in order to facilitate the participation of these groups in decision-making for their communities. The churches need to strengthen the organizations which are working for changes in their living conditions that will enhance their self-respect, self-formation, and self-determination. The churches need to work for the assurance that the people affected by decisions of those in authority will have a voice in the formulation of policy. The churches need to keep those in authority mindful of the human issues involved in planning and building the city, so that expediency does not replace sensitivity to the human aspects of urban living.

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With this issue, *Church and Community* completes ten years of continuous publication — from September, 1961, through August, 1971. This is also the last issue in this format and under the present sponsorship.

Church and Community has been published by the United Church of Christ in the Philippines, under the leadership of its Division of Social Concerns. The United Church has subsidized the publication of the magazine throughout the decade (subscriptions paid only a fraction of the cost); however, it feels that it cannot continue to do so.

Before announcing the plans for the future, gratitude must be expressed to those groups and individuals who have contributed to the exchanges of ideas, insights, and convictions that have taken place through the publication of this magazine. Profound gratitude is due to:

THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST IN THE PHILIPPINES. for its sponsorship and continuous support of the magazine — both financially and psychologically.

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It has been a privilege to serve as Editor of *Church and Community* from Volume One, Number One through this last issue. I look forward to continuing an editorial relationship with you through NEW DAY BOOKLETS. Order blanks will be sent to you as booklets are published.

FERN BABCOCK GRANT
Editor