The Urbanization of Metropolitan Manila*

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The Development of Metropolitan Manila as Primate City

Miguel López de Legazpi had dreamt of a capital boasting abundant resources and a setting worthy of the King. Panay had been kind to him, but its resources were limited. Besides, there were persistent glowing reports of a well-situated seaport to the north, a place called Maynila. When his second-in-command, Martin de Goiti, confirmed those reports, he made up his mind; he transferred north and on June 24, 1571, the charter of the City of Manila was signed.

Cebu may enjoy the distinction of being the Philippines' first permanent Spanish settlement; but Manila was the first real Philippine city. And if Philippine urbanization began with Manila, even today its symbol remains this great metropolis. From a population of 2,000 in the indigenous *barangay* settlement at Spanish contact, Manila and its environs now harbor an estimated 3,600,000 people.

My intention here is to focus on this huge clustering of mankind: its history, its contemporary characteristics and trends, its significance to Philippine society as a whole and to the people who dwell within its boundaries, and finally its needs in the years to come. For though urbanization in the Philippines encompasses more cities than just Manila, the dominant position occupied by this great city merits a closer look. Its being the city of my birth may also have something to do with my partiality.

To paraphrase Kluckhohn and Murray (1957: 65), Metropolitan Manila is like all other cities, like some other cities, like no other city. It is like all other cities in harboring a large aggregation of people of diverse backgrounds, occupations, and interests. The very fact of their having to live together in such close proximity indicates a certain level of development in that society. It implies a highly complex organization of activities and systems to integrate the technological, political, economic, and social domains. This very complexity, however, often leads to breakdowns in the overall system

when parts fail to mesh properly with one another. The results in more concrete terms are such urban phenomena as flooded streets but no water in house faucets, a fantastic array of public transportation vehicles but crowds of unaccommodated commuters, and hectares of open land devoted to cemeteries while thousands of the living huddle together in squatter communities. Daily newspaper headlines dramatize street riots, strikes, crime, and air pollution. Yet for all this, streams of migrants to the city, as well as long-time Manileños, would not trade places with residents of the countryside.

For, as the Greek poet Alcaeus said in the seventh century, "Not houses finely roofed or the stones of walls well-builded, nay or canals and dockyards, make the city, but men able to use their opportunity." Manila, like all other cities, represents to the masses the center of progress and excitement, freedom from the dullness and confining pressures of village or small-town life, and advantages which through luck and effort will accrue to those in search of them.

Manila is also like some cities, but not others. Historical and geographical circumstances have made it resemble its Southeast Asian urban counterparts. Like Jakarta, Saigon, or Rangoon, Manila occupies a dominant position in its own society far above and beyond that of any other city in the nation. Its population is nine times that of Cebu, the second largest city, and unlike Western cities which *share* among them the major functions of large urban settlements, Manila *monopolizes* all these functions. It is the political, administrative, commercial, transportation, religious, educational, and recreational center of the nation all at the same time—a phenomenon known as the primate city. Furthermore, its more recent history has added a Latin American and Spanish cast so that the pattern of the plaza bordered by church, municipal building, marketplace, school, and the houses of the elite arranged in a gridiron pattern still characterize many parts of old Manila. The Americans in their turn infused into the Manila they inherited their concern for a healthier and more sanitary environment in the city proper, their passion for technology, and a preference for suburban living. In these features Manila may be said to resemble an American city.

But despite characteristics shared with cities in general, and specific cities in particular, Manila is ultimately like no other city. Filipinos have placed upon it their own cultural stamp, which, mixed in with historical events, economic circumstances, and a heterogeneous population, has resulted in the unique combination that is Metropolitan Manila.

Reorganization under the Spaniards

Let us look more closely at the process by which this metropolis became the city it is. When Martin de Goiti sailed into Manila Bay in 1570, his chronicler described the event in this manner:

PLATE 1. Binondo Church and traditional horse-drawn *calesa* hold out against modern commercial buildings and motorized transportation in Plaza de la Barca in the Chinese quarter of Manila.

PLATE 2. House blocks road construction off Quezon Boulevard Extension, Quezon City. Resident's tenacious claim to ownership dramatizes conflict between individual and community needs.

PLATE 3. River scene in Fisherman's Village, Tondo, shows the persistence of fishing even in an industrializing city. Note factory downstream.

PLATE 4. Typical intersection in Tondo, a lower-class residential district. Fiesta sign reads, "Welcome."

> The town was situated on the bank of the river, and seemed to be defended by a palisade all along its front. Within it were many warriors, and the shore outside was crowded with people. Pieces of artillery stood at the gates, guarded by bombardiers. . . . Immediately the Chinese came in their skiffs to visit [bringing] brandy, hens, winnowed rice, a few pieces of silk, and knicknacks of little value . . . (Blair and Robertson, quoted in De la Costa 1965: 19).

After describing the arrangements made for a meeting between the Spaniards and Manila's native chiefs, the eyewitness report continues with undoubtedly one of the earliest references to Tagalog feelings of superiority over Visayans:

> Soon after [Rajah Matanda] came the other ruler, his nephew Soliman, who was a younger man. . . . Soliman assumed an air of importance and haughtiness and said that he was pleased to be the friend of the Spaniards but the latter should understand that they were not painted Indians [referring to the tattooed Visayans who had accompanied Goiti]. He [Soliman] said that they would not tolerate any abuse as had the others; on the contrary they would repay with death the least things that touched their honor . . . (Blair and Robertson, quoted in De la Costa 1965: 19–20).

The account ends with a description of the need to allay Rajah Soliman's suspicion that a tribute would be demanded of him, and of the subsequent blood compact between Soliman and Goiti, whereby the barangay would support the Spanish settlement but without paying tribute. It is now a matter of history that mutual distrust led to the Spaniards' actually taking possession of the burning settlement a few days later.

Despite the reference above to Manila as a town, attributing an urban dimension to pre-Spanish Philippines, scholars agree that Manila in reality was no more than an oversized barangay (Reed 1967: 24–28). Its population size by no means qualified it as a city, although its division into nobles, commoners, and slaves indicated a certain level of cultural complexity. Moreover, its economy and politics were organized around a feudal kingship with strong tribal underpinnings (Loarca, quoted in De la Costa 1965: 14). Not only was it subsistence-oriented and producing little surplus; it was also largely unspecialized in terms of labor skills. Except for the chiefly families, the average barangay household was a self-sufficient economic unit. Politically, the group members owed their loyalty to their chief, who gave them protection in return. While barangay chiefs might form a confederation, these groupings of equals with a *primus inter pares* lasted only as long as the chiefs could get along, often deteriorating into feuding relationships once more.

Even the more sophisticated Magindanao and Sulu sultanates to the south had not succeeded in extending their sovereignty over a surrounding territory limited by definite boundaries. Hence, the concept of an overarching, continuous, and territorial state governed by constitutional, rather than customary, law, which is the hallmark of modern, civilized society, can be said to have emerged in the Philippines with the coming of Spain.

Her administrators, missionaries, and soldiers landed here imbued with a long urban tradition which they sought to transplant to their new colony.

They accomplished this in three principal ways: *reducción*, the plaza complex, and the designation of Manila as their principal city.

Reducción. This term refers to the policy of encouraging the native population through coaxing, rewards, or threats to forsake their dispersed small villages in favor of larger aggregates. Unlike the Dutch in the neighboring East Indies or the British in Malaya, whose consuming passion was trade, and who showed little interest in developing the natives by tampering with their indigenous settlement patterns, the Spanish zealously pursued the nucleation strategy. They reasoned that:

> The Indians in their heathen conditions live in farmsteads and tiny hamlets, where it is difficult to teach them; and it is impossible that teaching shall enlighten them, because of the inability of the religious to care for and attend to so many small villages. Hence, to make good Christians of them, it is necessary to gather them in larger villages (Aduarte, quoted in Reed 1967: 33).

This aim was only partially realized. Its success is measured in the 202 reducciones created by 1612, the forerunners of today's *poblaciones* (Reed 1967: 42). Its failure is represented by the continued existence of hundreds of barrios into which the friars, as a compromise, placed *visitas*, or chapels, and the persistence of the even more numerous *sitios*, or *rancherías*, as the Spaniards called the hamlets which abound to this day.

The plaza complex. The poblaciones into which Filipinos were herded with attitudes running the gamut of enthusiasm to resistance, were carefully planned to allow for anticipated expansion of population. In a directive signed July 3, 1573, King Philip II of Spain specified the characteristics of the población:

> . . . the plan of the place, with its squares, streets and building lots is to be outlined by measuring by cord and rule, beginning at the main square from which streets are to run to the gates and principal roads, leaving sufficient open space so that if the town grows it can spread in a symmetrical manner. . . .
> The plaza shall be in proportion to the number of residents. A well proportioned medium size plaza is six hundred feet long and four hundred feet wide. The other streets laid out around the plaza are to be so planned that if the town should increase considerably it would meet with no obstruction which might disfigure what had already been built or be a detriment to the defense or convenience of the town. The lots and sites for slaughter houses, fisheries, tanneries, and such like, productive of garbage shall be so situated that the latter can be easily disposed of (Reed 1967: iii).

A similar scheme applied to Manila, which at that time referred to Intramuros, the Walled City. In conformity with Spain's masterplan—applied throughout the towns and cities of her farflung overseas empire and derived from the views of Italian Renaissance urban planners—the ideal city:

> . . . should have open squares where the children might play, and where their nurses might set a competitive standard of cleanliness. Such squares were to be framed by loggias and colonnades in which the old people might supervise the young, sun themselves, and set an example of virtue. . . . At the center of the city, the municipal buildings were to overlook [the] plaza. Throughout all streets and squares, a uniform style was to govern all construction; streets were to be of one

width; cornices and moldings were to be continuous and uniform; and above all, the plaza was to be symmetrically and harmoniously adorned (Kubler, quoted in Reed 1967: 59).

Only 20 years after Goiti's historic meeting with Soliman, Manila's population had swollen to 34,000, some 17 times the 1571 figure. By now large numbers of residents were living in houses of stone with tile roofs rather than the overly fire-prone nipa-wood-bamboo structures of the earlier days. Nonetheless, the traditional architecture and building materials apparently persisted in the surrounding suburbs of Tondo, Paco, San Miguel, and Malate (Reed 1967: 117).

Manila as the principal city. But the massive splendor of Manila's increasing edifices signified more than efficient planning. The impressive array of buildings also represented the new functions that the city was called upon to perform. The lucrative galleon trade early established Manila as the sole port of the islands through which Chinese silks, porcelain, and other luxury items coveted in the West could be transshipped to Mexico and ultimately Spain, in exchange for quantities of Mexican silver. Investments in Philippine-based business, therefore, clustered in Manila and bolstered the city's position as the administrative and religious center of Spain's Asian empire. As early as 1620, Manila and its suburbs already boasted 30 churches, a religions concentration which prewar Manilans still associate with the Intramuros of their day (De la Costa 1961: 537).

The greatly proliferating demand for skilled and unskilled labor to build the city encouraged the surrounding native populace to forego rural activities for urban wage-earning. But the need for trained artisans and the reluctance of many of the 20,000 Filipinos in suburban communities to give up agriculture precipitated the amazing growth of the Chinese population from 40 during Soliman's rule to 15,000 some 80 years later (Reed 1967: 111). In 1648, they constituted 36 per cent of the Greater Manila population, while the Spaniards made up a smaller 16 per cent and the native Filipinos a slightly higher 48 per cent. Their segregation into an outside-the-wall enclave, the Parián, on the south bank of the Pasig, and later to Binondo, plus periodic massacres by the Spaniards did not deter the Chinese from establishing their sector as the commercial focal point of the colony.

Further intensifying the ethnic diversity of Manila and its suburbs were mounting numbers of Chinese and Spanish mestizos. By the 19th century, Americans, British, Armenians, and other nationalities, whose business domain centered about the Escolta, also added their stock to the ethnic heterogeneity. Occupational diversity was evident, too, in the new factory buildings for cigar making, which employed some 30,000 persons, mostly female. Rope manufacturing establishments, hemp presses, and the engine and boiler works needed

to service the steamships plying the Manila routes signalled an incipient industrialization (Reed 1967: 195).

The Walled City nevertheless remained the home base of the Spanish minority. Through its gates and over the moat in the late afternoon would emerge the residents for their daily promenade or drive along the Calzada fringing the walls or toward Malate on the scenic bay route. Yet, so highly urbanized had Intramuros become by the late 19th century that its well-heeled citizenry looked to the airy suburbs of San Miguel for summer relief from crowded city living. The governor-general's capitulation to this suburban trend, marked by the establishment there in 1863 of Malacañang Palace, introduced the fashionable suburb as a new element in Manila's ecology. The move set a pattern of urban residential contrasts that remains with us to this day.

The elite clustered more and more into exclusive neighborhoods, and the Chinese monopolized their Binondo section. The Filipino lower classes concentrated in the Tondo district, as indicated in an 1899 account which might well apply to portions of that area even today:

> The poorest working class of Manila—fishermen, canoemen, day labourers, etc. —live principally in the Ward of Tondo, where dwellings with thatched roofs were allowed to be constructed. In the wet season the part of this ward nearest to the city was simply a mass of pollution. The only drainage was a ditch cut around each square wherein the huts were erected. Many of these huts had pools of stagnant water under them for months, hence it was there that the mortality from fever was at its maximum ratio in the dry season, when evaporation commenced (Foreman 1899: 400).

The "*edificios suntuosos y de bella arquitectura*" reported for Tondo in mid-century were increasingly being engulfed by the more characteristic nipa-thatched houses. Disastrous fires, which could demolish 7,000 huts in two hours, had become part of the Tondo scene (Worcester 1899: 39).

Manila, then, on the eve of the Spanish departure, was the dominant seat of a new urban pattern. Its primate status had long been set in the days of the galleons, and its drawing power for fortune-hunters, traders, administrators, missionaries, and wage-seekers had fashioned it into a bustling and hetero-geneous city serving many purposes. Already the idea of Manila as virtually equivalent to the Philippines, with the rest of the country envisioned as Manila's hinterlands, was firmly fixed. The primate city prospered, nurtured by its monopoly of the entire colony's international trade. In contrast, provincial ports had to content themselves with the meager interisland commercial activities focused on Manila. Little wonder that the provinces became the languishing undeveloped suppliers of food and local trade goods to the capital city.

In sum, Spain in 1565 had found a tribal society on these shores. In a period of less than four centuries she had reworked it into an urban civilization encompassed by a territorial state and ruled through a system of cities, towns,

and barrios, all overshadowed by the giant entity called Manila. She left the country in 1898 a classic example of the peasant society—one made up of large masses of poor farmers and fishermen, on the one hand, and a small urban elite, on the other, widely separated from one another in life-styles and yet closely intertwined in a system of mutual reciprocity. It was a peasant society in which the city laid claim to the energy and loyalty of its far-flung subjects in the hinterlands, so dependent on city activities and decisions but so far removed in terms of space and power from influencing them significantly. And yet Spain also passed on as part of her heritage the basic organization of a modernizing society and the strong urban foundation necessary for transforming new ideas into the development of a nation.

American administration

This was the society the new conquerors, the Americans, found when they began their uneasy administration of the Philippines. To it they added their genius in technology and their strong desire for cleanliness. Into it they infused their predilection for separate suburban residential areas filled with single-family houses amid well-watered gardens. These were set well apart from the commercial and industrial sectors of the central city. The Burnham Plan for the City of Manila, proposed in the first decade of the American Occupation, demonstrated the penchant for order and spaciousness in the American outlook. Political wrangling and colonial-policy vacillation, however, hastened its demise, but not before it produced Dewey Boulevard, a symbol of the Manila that might have been. Intramuros, the once proud center of the colony, now ceded its dominant position to the Escolta, seat of American enterprise. Yankee sanitation engineers and public health administrators filled in the historic but disease-breeding moats, initiating the decline of the fortress city so thoroughly completed in the 1945 liberation of Manila.

The Americans personified the technical age of the 20th century and perhaps no single invention expressed this better than the automobile. With it the move to the suburbs began in earnest, fostered by the speed with which one could go back and forth between home and office. By 1930 Greater Manila alone consumed more than half the gasoline sold in the entire archipelago (Robb 1930c: 8). The developing suburbs served by the automobile reflected the new outlook of an industrial age:

> Calle Santa Masa takes one to Santa Mesa Heights, where, turning off upon any street, one enters a world transformed. Here is the one part of Manila not demeaned by the *Chino-tienda* at street corners, or even garages and filling stations. There is not a street car line in the place, and there is through traffic only on calle Santa Mesa and over San Juan bridge. All the houses stand in the midst of lawns; there are gardens of flowers and shrubbery, and the houses are embowered in foliage. The houses vary enough in size and design, even in materials, but they are built to plan and stand back from the streets, which are graveled ways between the green lawns.

Manila has no *solid Buick neighborhood* as yet, but Santa Mesa Heights is a solid
automobile neighborhood; there seems to be a car or two in the garage at every
house, buses ply main thoroughfares only. . . . [The hills] effect good drainage
and invite a breeze . . . (Robb 1930b: 5).

Until ten years ago, nearly all [of Manila's] inhabitants lived on the flats, as
indeed most of them still do. But new roads have made a few of the hills accessi-
ble; the automobile has come, to make the roads more practical, and the hills
are making homes for thousands of the wealthy and the middle classes (Robb
1930c: 8).

The accelerating residential movement to the hilly suburbs was matched
by the encroachment of central-city activities into the nearer suburbs of the
Spanish era. Ermita, for example, now included a number of shops, restaurants,
boarding houses, family hotels, a filling station and garage, all catering to the
transient American group and the increasing number of university students
at the University of the Philippines and other colleges in the vicinity. While
many fine residences remained, especially by Dewey, now Roxas, Boulevard,
times were changing:

Few people, of course, in Ermita, know their neighbors; people, including servants,
come and go within the passage of a few months. The oldtime parish life has
vanished, almost; residents have their interests elsewhere; the old parish-com-
munity interests, the annual village festival, these tend rapidly to disappear,
engaging the support of fewer and fewer communicants (Robb 1930a: 27).

The argument that Manila would have developed regardless of American
presence because it had become a part of an international network has merit
but is academic at this point. One can insist on the inevitability of the streetcar,
the telephone, and the airplane, no matter which world power held sway. But
the fact is that these technological breakthroughs emerged on the Philippine
scene simultaneously with the American Occupation, which conditioned the
timing of their entry and the degree to which they spread to the rest of the
archipelago. As guardian of the American "showcase of democracy" in the
Far East, the United States continued to foster primate city status for Manila.
All the functions that Spain had built into the city's development and that of
its hinterlands, the Americans retained and elaborated into the more complex
forms required by 20th-century technology and organization.

World War II and after

The Japanese Occupation left Manila the dubious distinction of being the
most devastated city in the world next to Warsaw. Given the destruction, one
regrets that postwar builders failed to salvage something of value by planning
a modern city in the ashes of the old. While the haste in 1945–1950 to throw
up needed structures is understandable, some kind of compromise or system
of priorities could have brought about a more modern Manila. By shirking
the challenge, we lost our brief moment for saving the central city, an oppor-
tunity which may not come again. The result is a metropolis with a 19th-

century core, one 20th-century suburb in Makati, and scores of other neigh-
borhoods forming a motley array somewhere in between. Yet all make up the
human adaptation called Metropolitan Manila, with which over three million
of us have to cope. This is our city, like it or not.

## Significant Trends in Metropolitan Manila

How well do we know our city? Who lives here, and in what numbers?
Are any patterns discernible in this huge urban complex?

Patterns, there are, but the data emerge slowly. For until recently, research
on Philippine cities was largely ignored. In the drive for greater agricultural
productivity, top priority in the social sciences went to rural studies. Nonethe-
less, mounting evidence points to certain significant trends in Greater Manila,
four of which we shall discuss here: (1) population growth and spatial rearrange-
ment; (2) the shift to an industrial metropolis; (3) characteristic uses of urban
space; and (4) the development of social-class enclaves.

Population growth and spatial rearrangement

From 220,000 in 1903, the population of Manila proper alone had soared
500 per cent to 1·1 million by 1960. Including the suburban Caloocan City,
Pasay City, Quezon City, Makati, Mandaluyong, Parañaque, and San Juan—
cities and towns which comprise Metropolitan Manila—the population reached
a much larger 2·1 million. As if this rapid rise were not staggering enough, the
Institute of Planning of the University of the Philippines (1968: 8) predicts
a metropolitan population of 5·9 million by 1980 and 11·7 million by the year
2000, only 30 years away. These people will be accommodated within a
perimeter stretching from Malolos north of Manila, inland through Bulacan,
Rizal, and Laguna, and southward and seaward to Rosario, Cavite.

Sheer natural increase. Manila and suburbs grow at a distressing yearly rate
of at least four per cent. While migration is made the obvious scapegoat in
explaining the swell of population, there are other, if more subtle, evidences
that charge Manilans with the burden of contributing new human beings to
the urban stream, a pattern characteristic of developing nations (Davis
1965: 50). For instance, the average six to seven children per family in 1966
is practically the same as that in 1956 (Pratt 1967: 156), showing that the
fertility decline popularly associated with urban residence in the West had not
yet asserted itself. Pratt (1967: 180) predicts, however, that the decline will
be evident beginning 1970 or so, and Concepcion and Flieger (1968) note new
spacing trends that may result in earlier completion of families. But to date,
these remain predictions and trends. It should also be noted that any conscious
attempt at limiting family size offers at best a long-range solution: Even if a
successful family-planning program were undertaken now, it would take another
generation for it to demonstrate any appreciable effect.
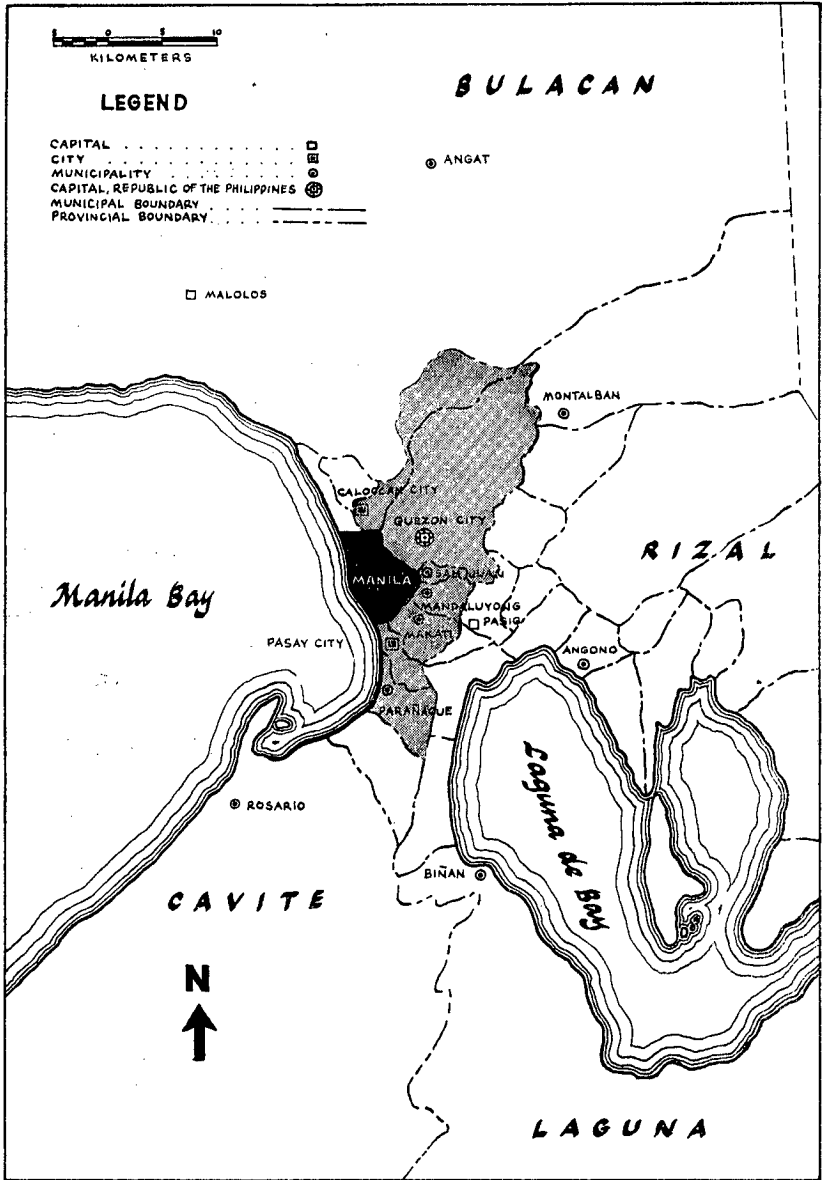
MAP. 1.   Location map showing relative position of the City of Manila (black), Greater Manila (shaded), and outlying provinces.

Source: Bureau of the Census and Statistics. Census of the Philippines, 1960: population and housing. Vol. I. Manila, Bureau of the Census and Statistics, 1963. P. 46–xiii.

Rural-urban migration. In 1960, almost half of the residents in Manila and Rizal had been born elsewhere (Murphy 1967: 9). Among this large number of migrants are the highly visible squatters and slum dwellers comprising one-fifth of the metropolitan population and growing at a yearly rate of 12 per cent (Institute of Planning 1968: 10).

While this large influx of people strains housing, transportation and welfare facilities, it also represents an available labor pool for commerce and industry. The unfortunate aspect, however, is that this labor force is largely poorly educated and unskilled. The result, beyond unemployment, is underemployment, where three, four, or five men divide up a task that could be done by one. The manufacturing sector becomes so glutted that men invariably turn to the service sector, a range of such shared-poverty occupations as cigarette vending, operating food and drink stands, tiny *sari sari* stores, beauty parlors, barber shops, watch-your-car claims, and buy-and-sell—a far cry from advertising, banking, and sales dominant in the tertiary sector of industrialized countries.

Yet, for all this poverty, urging a return to the province usually falls on deaf ears, for opportunity there is even more scarce. While administrators cannot forcibly prevent the adventuresome from flocking to Manila, they can at least encourage those *provincianos* now finding themselves unwillingly pushed out of their home communities to stay put. Modernized rural settlements which cut down on local overcrowding, dissidence, and economic stagnation will increase the holding power of the countryside for those not prone to the city. These settlements could spell the difference between a man's retaining a preferred farmer status or reluctantly joining the dislocated urban proletariat. Moreover, these settlements would be of special value to the Visayas or Mindanao migrant—whose long boat trip or expensive plane flight north could well dictate an irreversible course of action for life—if not to the Luzon migrant who can take the reasonably priced bus or train home should the city prove cruel to him.

There is no doubt that solutions to Manila's urbanization problems rest only partially in better city administration and planning. The fate of the hinterlands and the development of the whole economy as well will reshape significantly the environment of the primate city.

Urban-suburban migration. Another kind of population shift taking place in Metropolitan Manila involves the continuous movement of residents from one part of the city to another. As can be inferred from Table 1, population concentration within the 12-year period has moved outward from the old city. Intramuros—the old colonial city, devastated in 1945, desolate shortly after, and then haven for 12,000 or more dispossessed—is left once again to the ghosts of the past, its squatter-residents having been relocated elsewhere, its commercial and student populations deserting it after nine o'clock each night.

The Port Area, San Nicolas, Binondo, Santa Cruz, Quiapo, and San Miguel, once suburbs of the old Walled City, have since become residential communities, and then in turn, business communities. Residents have pushed farther away into Ermita, Malate, Paco, Santa Ana, Sampaloc, and Tondo, the suburbs of prewar Manila. At present, the suburban trend is going still farther out into Caloocan City, Quezon City, San Juan, Mandaluyong, Makati, Pasay City, Parañaque, and beyond to Bulacan, Rizal, and Cavite. Thus, the prewar suburbs have become the sites of lower- and lower-middle-class concentration in postwar days; the outskirts, a lower-middle-class area during Spanish times, now accommodate upper-class families looking for open spaces. The interstices have yielded to the new, low-income migrant seeking a home close to his workplace, and to the ubiquitous squatter in search of almost any convenient location that will tolerate his presence.

Table 1

Population of Metropolitan Manila by district, city, and town, 1948–1960.

| | *1948* | *1960* | *Increase(+)/Decrease(−)* | |
			Number	*Percentage*
City of Manila	983,906	1,138,611	+154,705	+ 15·7
Binondo	21,935	16,384	− 5,551	− 25·3
Ermita	14,922	18,092	+ 3,170	+ 21·2
Intramuros	967	13,243	+ 12,256	+1,241·7
Malate	66,540	69,720	+ 3,180	+ 4·8
Paco	44,224	49,779	+ 5,555	+ 12·6
Pandacan	23,250	45,800	+ 22,550	+ 97·0
Port Area	7,702	197	− 7,505	− 97·4
Quiapo	27,428	24,251	− 3,177	− 11·6
Sampaloc	233,779	287,686	+ 53,907	+ 23·1
San Miguel	19,301	16,450	− 2,851	− 14·8
San Nicolas	40,953	33,022	− 7,931	− 19·4
Sta. Ana	59,618	84,330	+ 24,712	+ 41·5
Sta. Cruz	139,883	127,708	− 12,175	− 8·7
Tondo	283,384	351,949	+ 68,565	+ 24·2
Caloocan City	58,208	145,523	+ 87,315	+ 150·0
Pasay City	88,728	132,673	+ 43,945	+ 49·5
Quezon City	107,977	397,990	+290,013	+ 268·6
Makati	41,335	114,540	+ 73,205	+ 177·1
Mandaluyong	26,309	71,619	+ 45,310	+ 172·2
Parañaque	28,884	61,898	+ 33,014	+ 114·3
San Juan	31,493	56,861	+ 25,368	+ 80·6

Source: Bureau of the Census and Statistics. Census of the Philippines, 1960: population and housing. Vol. I. Manila, Bureau of the Census and Statistics, 1963.

With the departure of the middle classes from the inner city, largely the poor remain behind. The few loyal, old-time elite who also choose to remain in the city find neighboring buildings converted to commercial uses and daily confront the new faces of the floating urban poor. Possessing only the bare necessities of life, these subsistence urbanites, as Breese (1966) calls them, take over the area, attracted by cheap housing within walking distance or a one-fare ride to their worksites. Gone are the days of neighborhood camaraderie and local improvement projects. Instead, trade becomes the dominant feature of inner city life: Homes are torn down altogether to make room for commercial buildings, or turned into shops and warehouses, or repartitioned to multiple housing units to be rented out to residents willing to accept a place with only half a window, no plumbing, or minimal privacy. Given a situation where a structure erected for one purpose is inappropriately redesigned to accommodate another function, rapid deterioration is inevitable. Urban blight, like a cancer, now spreads from block to block, and only massive urban renewal programs can halt it.

Who will underwrite Manila's renewal projects? Neither the residents, for lately being Manilan has come to mean being poor; nor the private builders, for they tend to avoid the inflated land values and sorry surroundings in favor of the cheaper, more spacious suburbs. Logically, it must be the government. But Maharnilad, or City Hall, has to support the welfare client and the tax-exempt Manilan (a fact quickly grasped by politicians with their free-water and free-schooling programs) out of a treasury steadily losing revenue because shopping centers and business establishments have begun to follow families to the suburbs. The national government, on the other hand, must balance urban-development demands with rural-improvement expenditures. Further-more, city residents, wary of Malacañang's meddling in Manila affairs, vote into office opposition administrations, thereby cutting off the needed cooperation for bailing their city out of its problems. The question of who will pay remains unanswered, but it must be answered immediately; for bold, systematic, and down-to-earth urban planning cannot be delayed any further.

The shift to an industrial metropolis

Urbanization and industrialization are processes often mentioned in one breath. Yet, history shows that the city as a form of human adaptation predated industry by some 5,400 years. Cities in Mesopotamia and Egypt emerged and flourished from 3500 B.C. on, while the Industrial Revolution gained impetus only in the 19th century (Sjoberg 1965b: 56).

Many of the characteristics of the preindustrial city described by Sjoberg have left their mark on old Manila and provincial cities and towns. The elite
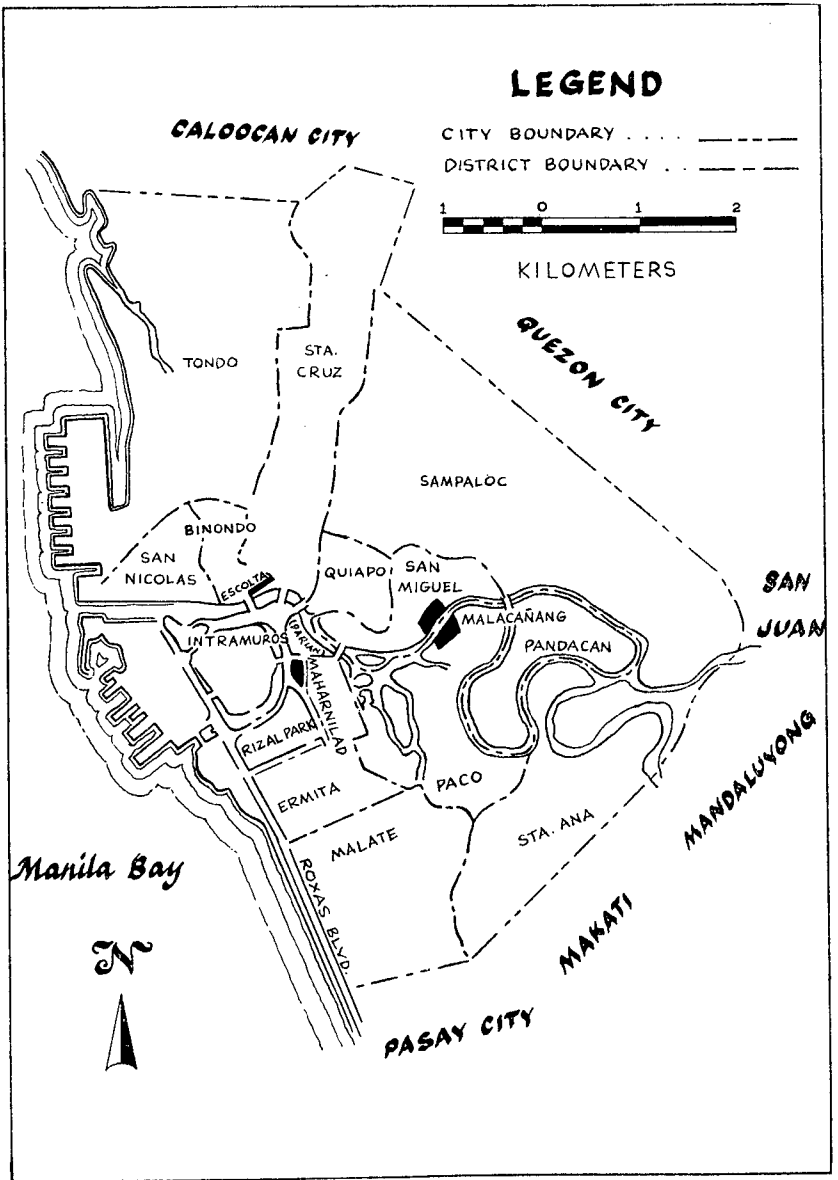
MAP 2.   Map of the City of Manila showing selected landmarks, all districts, and surrounding cities and towns.

Source: Philippine (Trade and Travel) Guide. Manila business map-directory.

live in or near the center close to the trading sites. (In 16th–19th-century Intramuros, this arrangement enhanced the physical security of the Spanish residents in the event of an outside attack; in provincial towns, it brought the native elite under the surveillance and care of the authorities.) The prevailing animal and human transport make the city square a high-prestige dwelling area, since it is near the focal point of community power. Here stand the churches and government buildings symbolizing the preindustrial city functions of organizing the political system and religious observances. The lower classes inhabit their combined workplace-residences in the outer circle, a good walk to the center. While class and occupational differentiation are highly developed, specialization both in land use and in the manufacturing process is minimal. Clustered together by occupational and ethnic groups in specific quarters of the city, craftsmen perform all the operations required to make raw materials into finished products. A haggling process determines the prices of their goods, and the weights and measures used are only partially standardized (Sjoberg 1965a: 216–220).

While the foregoing characterization does not really fit Manila as a whole, it does apply to sectors of it. A trip downtown dramatizes the mixed land uses. Families still live over or adjacent to stores and small factories. A variety of transportation systems forces the pedestrians to hop out of the way of trucks, buses, jeepneys, private cars, motorized tricycles, bicycles, calesas, pushcarts, and even an occasional bullock-drawn cart. Small wonder that traffic jams result, given the varying speeds of these carriers.

Many of those who can afford it flee the deteriorating buildings, the noise, dust, fumes, and the crush of people in the rutted, treeless streets of the city proper for more pleasant suburban surroundings. As power resources become available, factory owners, too, relocate to the fringes, stymied by the time and fuel their trucks waste in the crowded streets, by the inadequate loading space, and by the *tong*, or protection money, they have to hand over to gangs in control of local territory.

Clearly, the metropolis is changing within. Yet, it retains its primate status, as Table 2 indicates, with a population size nearly nine times larger than the second biggest city, Cebu, and approximately 13 times larger than the next three cities, namely, Davao, Basilan, and Iloilo. Manila and Quezon City alone comprise almost 40 per cent of the total city population of the country. Furthermore, Manila has a much greater number of men in manufacturing, commerce and government service than the next four largest cities, as Table 3 shows. Finally, the traveler passing through middle-sized Philippine cities will affirm that they certainly contain a much bigger number of farmers than Manila, evidence of the dual economy typical of Southeast Asian countries. All this explains why to Filipinos, "the city" means Metropolitan Manila.

Table 2

Cities classified by population total, rank, and employed persons 10 years old and over.

City	Population total[1]	Rank	Employed persons 10 years old and over
Metropolitan Manila[2]	2,119,715	1	679,820[3]
Cebu	251,146	3	448,640[4]
Davao	225,712	4	253,190
Basilan	155,712	5	215,660
Iloilo	151,266	6	293,090

[1] *Source:* Bureau of the Census and Statistics. Census of the Philippines, 1960: population and housing. Vol. II. Manila, Bureau of the Census and Statistics, 1963.

[2] Includes Manila, Quezon City (which ranks second), Pasay City, Caloocan City, Makati, Mandaluyong, Parañaque, and San Juan.

[3] Includes City of Manila (298,160) and all of Rizal Province (381,660) where the cities and towns comprising Metropolitan Manila are located. *Source:* Bureau of the Census and Statistics. Facts and figures about the Philippines, 1963. Manila, Bureau of the Census and Statistics, 1965.

[4] Figures for Cebu, Davao, Basilan, and Iloilo include the province surrounding each city, since data are available only for entire provinces. It is assumed, however, that employment is concentrated in the city.

Characteristic uses of urban space

Looking at the Filipino's adaptation to city living requires a scrutiny of the values, conscious or not, guiding his behavior in the uses of space. Defining public and private property seems easy enough; but explaining how people operate in relation to it is something else.

The claim game and the abhorrence of empty spaces. Filipinos apparently see unclaimed space as anyone's right, provided the claimant establishes a physical foothold there. Priority of claim for this "private, transitory ownership of public property" (Stone 1967) goes to those in greatest need of the space, demonstrated in their move to get there first. Thus, the taxicab or passenger car that pulls out of a stalled traffic line and moves back into it some 15 cars ahead may callously or otherwise combine need for haste with the game behavior of *lamangan.* The jeepney driver who publicly points to an open space in the next line indicates that he plans to take an option on it. Those accustomed to this gaming behavior, as the average Filipino would be, can predict action. Driving-manual rules give way to the local pattern of alertness in driving, of instant reflexes, and of skill at gauging just how far one can go in scaring off his competitor.

Stress in this culture goes to need and power rather than order (Sechrest 1969). The squatter, the sidewalk vendor, the bus cutting in and out of traffic

Table 3

Employed persons 10 years old and over classified by city, crossclassified by selected occupation.

City	Selected													Occupation			Total	
	Manufacturing		Construction		Commerce		Transportation		Government, other services		Agriculture, mining		Not described					
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%		
Metropolitan Manila[1]	121,850	17·9	35,050	5·2	105,240	15·5	56,060	8·2	278,000	40·9	45,460	6·7	38,160	5·6	679,820	100·0		
Cebu[2]	49,860	11·1	9,760	2·2	33,380	7·4	17,900	4·0	46,150	10·3	287,050	64·0	4,540	1·0	448,640	100·0		
Davao	8,870	3·5	2,010	0·8	12,400	4·8	4,840	2·0	23,780	9·4	198,770	78·5	2,520	1·0	253,190	100·0		
Basilan	10,230	4·7	2,780	1·3	8,950	4·2	2,740	1·3	14,100	6·5	175,260	81·3	1,600	0·7	215,660	100·0		
Iloilo	31,900	10·9	6,410	2·2	17,930	6·1	7,180	2·4	28,610	9·8	197,890	67·5	3,170	1·1	293,090	100·0		

[1] Includes City of Manila and all of Rizal Province where the cities and towns comprising Metropolitan Manila are located. It is assumed that employment is concentrated in Metropolitan Manila.

[2] Figures for Cebu, Davao, Basilan, and Iloilo include the province surrounding each city.

Source: Bureau of the Census and Statistics. Facts and figures about the Philippines, 1963. Manila, Bureau of the Census and Statistics, 1965.

—all bear out a tolerance for the right of use as long as the space is unclaimed by anyone else for the moment and need or power is shown or presumed. Conversely, claimed space, even legally public space, falls outside the purview of other potential users. Hence, provincial commuters scrambling into scarce buses through doors and windows will honor as not theirs to take, an empty seat with a handkerchief, newspaper, or someone's hand resting on it signaling a prior claim. The real estate owner knows he had better erect a wall around his property, even a gateless one, to stress his continued interest in it. Tondo shoreline dwellers plunge a stake into the mud still two feet below the water surface to notify all comers that the land which will eventually emerge is the claimants' to rent, sell, or live on, as they choose. Cars parked in the street and clothes bleaching on a grassy strip of sidewalk must be guarded to announce ownership.

Paradoxically, the temporarily unclaimed public space that belongs potentially to anyone is also no one's personal responsibility. Public streets or spaces outside house walls or boundaries, therefore, frequently take on the look of great garbage dumps, monuments to this concept of space and to the government's inability to cope with the vast public domain relegated to its care by the private citizen.

Another aspect of Filipino space use affects the appearance of Greater Manila, one local artists term *horror vacui*, or an abhorrence of leaving empty spaces empty once claimed. From traditional Philippine painting to jeepney modern-rococo decor, our artists, folk and sophisticated, fill their surfaces with bright swirls of design extending into every corner. Only in the last decade has a group begun to express the aesthetic potential of starkly simple models of understatement (Torres 1968). Local interior designers likewise comment on the penchant for too much furniture and overloaded what-not shelves. Builders point to the homeowner's preference for a house covering almost the entire lot on which it stands, leaving only enough grass strips to preserve some greenery and bleach clothes.

Manila's Rizal Park truly merits the title of a people's park in giving the Filipino public what it apparently wants, a variegated landscape filled with detail. What sophisticates see as garish lighting, disquieting color schemes and a carnivallike clutter of uncoordinated exhibits strikes the more proletarian user as a familiar urbanized version of his folk art tradition. Perhaps the ease with which the Filipino accepts crowding in housing and transportation stems from his having been reared in a culture uneasy about empty spaces. His crowding threshold, the point at which he can no longer tolerate the press of humanity, is reached long after his European or American counterpart has buckled under the strain.

The implications of Filipino space use should be obvious to planners with their double commitment to the orderly system imperative in an increasingly

PLATE 5. Snack counter on the street is a favorite gathering-place for Tondo children and older residents.

PLATE 6. Burning garbage dump in Isla de Balut, Tondo, pollutes air over dense residential area.

PLATE 7. Aerial pictures show marked contrast in spatial arrangement between lower-class Barrio Magsaysay, Tondo (left), and upper-middle-class San Lorenzo Village, Makati (right).

PLATE 8. New subdivision and nearby community near the boundary of Quezon City and Caloocan City indicate emphasis laid on planning in the suburban areas.
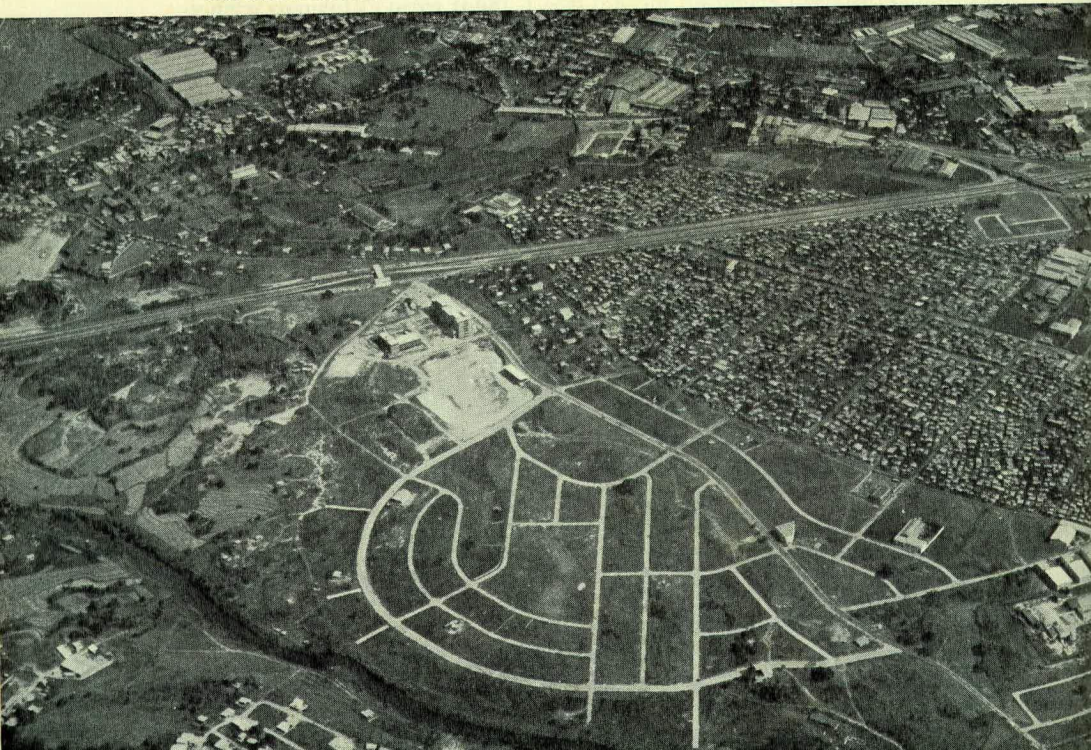
complex society, on the one hand, and the preservation of comfortable, cherish-
ed cultural traditions, on the other. They can, for example, design housing to
accommodate more persons than considered feasible in Western schools of
architecture. Since an individual attachment to order over need is not built
into the mass culture, railings can be installed wherever a mass of people col-
lects so as to force a disciplined queue through doorways or before office
clerks. City police forces will have to acknowledge the necessity of constant
surveillance to require the motorist to stay in line or to prevent the squatter
from entrenching himself on empty land. Without such visible checks, the
claimant's assumption of temporary ownership rights is culturally validated.

    The city government has also better resign itself to the notion that while
private entities recognize usufruct rights on public spaces, they do not accept
the responsibility for maintaining them when unclaimed. The sooner the city
government responds to the cultural conviction that hands over to it the
initiative for keeping streets clean and for attending to law and order, the
faster will the city become aesthetically and socially presentable. Designers
of multi-storey dwellings and housing communities can help diminish unsight-
ly public areas by minimizing their incidence. Or, they can at least delineate
through visible indicators potential responsibility for public space adjacent to
a residence or store. These in turn may encourage the resident or storekeeper
to exercise a proprietary type of concern over that fixed area.

    Avoiding American solutions to Filipino problems. Ironically, despite the
evidence pointing to basic differences in the Filipino and American de-
finitions of public and private space, and the ways in which they use it,
Filipino administrators continue to employ differently premised American
solutions to Filipino behavior. The distinctly American insistence on
single-family dwellings on privately owned land, for example, has taken
hold in the law and in the minds of the educated elite, even though the average
Filipino feels quite at ease locating his own home on someone else's property,
rented or otherwise. The same custom law which allows a *kaiñgero*, or slash-
and-burn farmer, to carve out a plot in what is to him a communally owned
forest likewise permits a city man in need to move onto government land by
the railroad tracks or any empty, unmarked lot. It enables him without any
feelings of guilt to weave in and out of traffic or leave a stalled car in the middle
of the road, despite a body of traffic ordinances to the contrary. The boundaries
of behavior embodied in ordinances based on the American model of order
fail to coincide with those of Filipino drivers who breezily ignore stop signs
or attempt to circumvent a long line of idling vehicles by dashing ahead on the
wrong side of the road.

    While the better schooled, more cosmopolitan Filipino has largely been
educated away from an attachment to this set of codes in favor of the American
one, his proletarian counterpart has not. Two sets of norms, therefore, guide

the spatial behavior of Manilans, the one part of a modernized world consensus on rationality and order, the other reflected in the personalistic need-power framework of the average Filipino. While the more sophisticated Manilan recognizes the difference, sheer survival demands he learn how to operate effectively in both systems.

Perhaps even more disquieting than the educated Filipino's unreflective adherence to foreign norms is his reluctance to realize, as many Americans themselves do, that the latter's concept of individual property ownership has not brought unmixed blessings to the United States; rather it has contributed significantly to that nation's urban blight. As inner city land values rise, only larger and larger buildings reaching to skyscraper heights can compensate for the trader's acquisition costs. Blocks a few hundred feet away deteriorate in the forced neglect spawned by overdeveloped concentrations. Slums rarely matched in industrialized European cities, historically less fearful of government- or communally-owned urban land, grow in the shadow of high-rise office and apartment buildings. As available lots in the inner city lose their appeal, the rush to the suburbs sees subdivision owners bulldozing once natural, green areas, and fosters the uneconomic use of public services. Contrast this with the more evenly developed, horizonally-oriented, park-laden European cities (Starr 1968: 24–29).

Selective adaptation. Adopting American legal structures on land economics in the Philippines may well result in the same kinds of problems urban Americans face today. Yet, we can learn from their experience and emulate the creativity, even if not the forms, evident in their planning schemes as well as those of other progressive countries. Examining critically the variables involved in their urban growth carries with it the advantage of hindsight. This in turn may allow us to skip some of the more undesirable stages and inappropriate responses other nations have tried as they confronted the new technological age. Coupling this positive and negative knowledge with an investigation of our own concepts of land and space in various class and occupational groups should result in better and more realistically planned Philippine cities.

An example of selective adaptation may be helpful at this point. The recent redevelopment of central city cores in Hartford, Connecticut and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania into living, vibrant parts of their urban environments suggests that only when adjacent lots fall under a single administrative entity can large-scale renewal occur. While the government sector has taken over this function in the United States, the Filipino might well question an identical approach in his own graft-ridden, financially-limited public bureaucracy. Roxas (1969) has ingeniously proposed combining concepts found in the two societies into the same basic strategy of single-unit management, this by having owners of adjacent urban lots form a private corporation to manage the

redevelopment of their total land area. The government, in his view, should confine itself to supportive legislation, such as providing needed credit facilities or minimizing speculation by higher tax rates on unused urban land.

Disclaimers. The more suggestions one makes to urban planners, the greater the need for prudence in the form of disclaimers. First, sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists hold no monopoly on knowledge regarding the human dimensions of urban planning, although they do attempt to systematize the data better than most. Generalizations like those just stated on the uses of space remain simply that—generalizations. Applying them to a specific client population without verifying their relevance in that instance would verge on the foolhardy. Class differences, ethnic distinctions, and variations in personal taste demand consideration and call for responses tailored to particular interests. Patterned deviations from the norm loom just as important as the norm itself. Meaningful sociological generalizations alert the practitioner to patterns possibly relevant to his clients; they add to, but do not substitute for, experience and common sense. Indeed, the practitioner may eventually discard them as immaterial to his problem once he has weighed them as potential inputs in his search for solutions.

A second disclaimer concerns the overly quick assumption that when one speaks of Filipino values or behavior patterns, he considers them applicable solely to Filipinos. The principle of limited possibilities makes rather poor the likelihood of a behavioral characteristic's belonging uniquely to one cultural group the world over. Furthermore, specific levels of development seem to elicit many similar patterns crossculturally, as suggested in the anthropological treatment of entire groups like hunters, peasants, and city dwellers. Hence, what we designate as Filipino behavior may actually be a function of the migrant pattern in a developing economy, or the peasant outlook in a society long operating at subsistence level. But whatever the source or reason, the empirical reality of these manifestations forces us to refer to them as Filipino because Filipinos espouse them in predictable fashion. Where the unique does emerge is in the way values and patterns combine, and in the ranking they occupy in the total cultural hierarchy.

A third disclaimer avoids the trap of accepting certain behaviors as characteristic of Filipinos and then freezing them with the term "traditional" into unjustified immobility. People do change in varying ways and at different rates. They respond to the educating barrage of mass media, formal schooling, social interaction, and personal experience that influences them to veer now in one direction, now in another. Observing that Filipino drivers cut in and out of traffic does not prevent one's recognizing their capability of accepting an alternative procedure if both carrot and stick prod them into doing so. Planners need not go to the extremes, on the one hand, of determining other people's preferences *a priori* and of forcing a radical change in the total populace

or, on the other hand, of catering completely to the current preferences of their mass clientele. They may achieve greater success in the long run by maintaining a delicately shifting, optimum balance between the dual demands of need-power versus order in Philippine urban society.

Development of social-class enclaves

Although ethnic enclaves in Manila date back many centuries, segregated social-class enclaves have developed largely in this century with the advent of suburbs. The Spanish ecological pattern relegated the masses to areas slightly more distant from the town plaza than were the *principalia*, or people of the upper class. Yet, despite this clustering, spatial separation did not characterize the classes of that era. Indeed, such a cleavage could not have been maintained, for each class relied heavily on the supportive activities of the other (Lynch 1962). Those who argue that Intramuros represented an upper-class enclave might concede that this was a feature more of ethnic exclusiveness than of class division.

The upper and lower classes. Metropolitan Manila's course today threatens to transform her into a city of enclaves, each focused on its own needs and oblivious to those of the others. Most evident, of course, are the upper- and upper–middle-class private subdivisions with barrier gates and armed security guards to see to it that undesirables stay out. Residents contribute to the maintenance of their fenced-in community and exhibit a concern that it become their ideal neigh-borhood. The same syndrome appears in lower-class neighborhoods, slums, and squatter areas. Here, too, people display a sense of community but on a narrower street-to-street basis. This solidarity emerges in patterns of neigh-borhood lending and borrowing, in contributions to the family of a deceased member, in mutual surveillance of one another's children, in the joint celebration of the fiesta, and in block rosaries, dances, and excursions. The young men of the community appoint themselves the local security guards. Jealously protecting their neighborhood from marauding outsiders, they challenge suspicious strangers who venture onto their turf, especially at night. While lower-class residents' financial resources and their perspectives as to what constitute satisfactory surroundings diverge significantly from those of their upper-class counterparts, a comparable display of collective possessiveness marks both their outlooks.

The middle class. Not so middle-class clusters, which exist in a kind of community vacuum. Since the upwardly mobile inclinations of this group and the kinds of dwelling they prefer frequently entail moving into detached strong-material houses in the cheaper metropolitan outskirts, the composition of middle-class neigh-borhoods involves self-contained, independent units.

One does not have to rely on his neighbors for mutual aid; hence, he does not need to know his neighbors, nor, probably, does he wish to know them.

He recognizes no single entity like the parish church as the symbol of community solidarity it used to be. For as 20th-century Manila expanded, the church followed rather than preceded mobile residents into new areas. The gradual disintegration of the parish as a meaningful social unit came in the wake of the new street layouts with no provision for the old plaza complex. The automobile and an emerging middle-class lifestyle further hastened the decline of the parish as a dominant social institution. Having a car and domestic servants permitted middle-class families to get up later and lounge about on Sundays, and then in the late morning or evening drive to distant, less crowded churches.

High walls with glass on top and an occasional ferocious watchdog below mark the middle-class block. They keep the resident in and his neighbors out, ensuring a spatial and social separation from the people next door. Ideally, local friendships evolve out of personal choice rather than through sheer proximity. The rare, rapport-seeking resident tries in desperation to arouse his neighbors' interest in the upkeep of the public space surrounding them. Attempts begin and end with one enthusiastic homeowner's calling a meeting, serving food, holding an election of officers, and an inaugural dance or acquaintance party. Then, despite his well-meaning efforts, apathy takes over until the next election meeting.

Toward a greater class mix. If Metropolitan Manila is to become the city that its residents want, then they must sooner or later take a long, hard look at the implications of social-class enclaves. Income-group segregation may well breed interclass fear and distrust. It prevents a sharing of talents, so that lower-class neighborhoods must somehow struggle along with a dearth of economic and political brain power. In a free society, however, only an unabashed romantic would seek to have the rich and the poor live side by side. Within limits one has to allow people to follow their preferences; and urban Filipinos of all economic levels seem to favor residence near those with incomes and life styles commensurate with theirs.

Nevertheless, subdivision owners and apartment builders can encourage a slightly greater class mix than is now evident in new developments. Planning differently priced living units and residential lots or apartments of varying sizes will result in a modified income group distribution which avoids the extremes of incongruous, possibly hostile, neighbors, on the one hand, and the monotonous, insulating patterns of class homogeneity, on the other. Yet, this alternative gives no guarantee that a true community will develop. Recent crosscultural research has shown that even when architects design structures so as to foster greater interaction among the occupants, the spark of group concern is not necessarily kindled. Physical design and layout in themselves

neither promote nor inhibit neighborhood loyalty and sociability. Builders can try fostering neighborly groupings by making houses face one another and by having their occupants use common facilities. They may thereby influence social behavior, but they cannot determine it. For a sense of community in a newly constructed area arises not out of sheer contact but out of the preconditions of shared basic attitudes and ambitions (Keller 1968: 145–46).

In the long run, of course, the problem of class segregation in Manila may begin to find its solution in the modernization of the economy. With greater and more evenly distributed prosperity, and with extremes of poverty and wealth largely eliminated, Filipinos may form residential areas based on common interests other than class. These hopefully more diversified interests will yield the greater heterogeneity that has through the ages made the city man's civilizing force.

Whether or not neighborhood enclaves of any kind will remain basic units of the city constitutes the subject of current worldwide debate. Its resolution will have to await the results of further research, and more specifically, a better understanding of the form and function of Philippine residential enclaves. In the meantime, one can hazard the guess that urban society will operate most effectively if divided into smaller, more personalized groupings. These groupings, moreover, must be so placed in a physical and social setting to attract the more desirable elements of the larger human aggregate. In this fashion both the locally prone resident and his city-oriented neighbor can find the differential satisfactions they seek, and yet share to a lesser degree in the attractions of the other's perspective.

The City: Its Meaning and Future

The city is the place of the future. It has been ever since man invented it as a new form of human adaptation when he learned to produce food surpluses. In 1800 an estimated 2·4 per cent of the 900 million people on earth lived in cities of over 20,000. In the next 50 years that population increased over 23 times. By 1950, 21 per cent of the world's people lived in cities of 20,000 or over (Hauser 1965: 7). In the ten years of the 1950s, world urban population doubled from 313 million to 655 million. Metropolitan Manila will reach the 11 million figure by the year 2000.

Where is the individual person in all these statistics? Is he the man who has to push his way into crowded buses, getting up earlier and earlier each year to ensure a bit of space for himself? Perhaps he is the pickpocket working at the only skill he has in a city which has failed to find an honest alternative for him. He may be the stone-throwing student disgruntled at the communication gap between his peers and school administrators or government leaders. The housewife may represent him as she pays no attention to violence outside her

doorstep because to ignore the mass of humanity has become her only means to privacy. The city is crowds who can be activated on short notice. But it is loneliness, too, for those who never come to share the love of another. Now bad, now good, it is heterogeneity, excitement, and opportunity put together. Its advantages outweigh its disadvantages in the average resident's view, and complain though he will long and loud about the city's shortcomings, here he will stay.

Ironically, to guarantee the individual the goals he seeks, the city must regulate in a sufficient and efficient manner the complex interrelations and needs emerging in its multi-functional context. Hence, in welcoming technology as a permanent symbol and shaping new ideologies on the destiny of man, the city must also cast about for new forms of social organization to integrate its numerous crosscurrents into a beneficial torrent.

Manila has come a long way from the simple barangay days of Rajah Soliman and Miguel López de Legazpi. From palisaded trading town and walled city harboring the seat of an empire, it has sprawled with gay abandon out into its once lush hinterlands to become the complex metropolis it is today. So secure has been its primate status in the nation's urban makeup that no Philippine megalopolis can form as a next stage; for no other comparable cities exist with which Metropolitan Manila can merge. Perhaps its next level will find it incorporated into ecumenopolis, the worldwide city which the noted Greek planner, Doxiades, foresees.

But in the meantime the everyday realities of Manila living weigh more and more heavily upon us as its inadequate machinery steadily gives way under a load far beyond its capacity. If we are to ensure a viable, integrated system for the present three and a half million Manilans, and those yet to come, we must begin not only planning in earnest but also executing these ideas. We need to incorporate new technology and social forms into our schemes, but temper change with the continuity of tradition. Let us have both the monorail and the walls of Intramuros as symbols of this two-fold commitment. Let us develop the entire nation, too, remembering that economically productive rural hinterlands make the city possible. Treating Metropolitan Manila as a single unit for regional development instead of as eight or more discrete political entities will broaden our perspective and engender more realistic management strategies. Our sense of community must operate both in the neighborhood and the metropolitan frameworks. We should aim for a city harboring many kinds of people with different, often conflicting interests. The ideal is to cater to as many of them as possible, giving priority to those most likely to foster a suitable climate for urban living. Who and what these are in our society and times can be learned only through solid research on urban life.

Yet for all this, the ideal city never did nor ever will exist; to admit the possibility would suggest a definite endpoint when presumably our labors can come happily to rest. How comforting, but how false an image! The essence of the city is change. As man finds ever new ways to put his genius to work, he will constantly refashion his settlements to reflect the achievements of the human mind and the society that brings it to fruition.

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