Sciences Po Urban School
Master Governing the Large Metropolis
Class of 2018

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Manila 2018 Study Trip Report

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Thank you to all.

Fragmented Metropolis: Who Governs Metro Manila?

Introduction by Abdullah Zed

In January 2018, after an insightful first semester in Paris, we had the opportunity to spend a week in Metro Manila. Back from a few weeks of rest and reunited, the whole class began this exciting journey. Through visits to Makati, Pasig City, and the historical city of Manila, as well as countless meetings with local professors, students, city officials, and company representatives, we strove to grasp the fascinating machinery of this complicated megalopolis. This study trip report is the culmination of an intense week where many of us saw things we had never before seen and had candid conversations with people we'd otherwise never meet. Our work is a humble attempt to synthesize all that we experienced, and to explain the nature of governance in Metro Manila.

Over the span of centuries, debates on ever-expanding large metropolises have depicted either the apocalyptic imagery of ungovernable chaos, extreme poverty, pervasive inequality, and ecological degradation, or optimistic narratives of growth, innovation, and prosperity. In the last few decades, this discussion has narrowed regarding cities of the Global South and their possible convergence with the Global North. In our study trip to the Philippines, we learned quickly that neither narrative can fully explain how a swelling megalopolis such as Metro Manila is governed and transformed across time.

Metro Manila, an informal conurbation of seventeen municipalities, was officially inhabited by 12.8 million people as of 2015; when considering the vast population of unrecorded squatters, the city is the second largest megalopolis in Southeast Asia—and the fourth largest in world (Estoque, 2017). At that time Metro Manila had 20,785 people per square kilometer, more than 60 times the Filipino national average of 337 persons per square kilometer (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2017). Its economy is 37% of the Philippines' GDP, approximately US$292 billion (World Bank, 2015). Each of the seventeen cities of Metro Manila have their own governmental authorities, since the establishment of the NCR (National Capital Region) and the start of a decentralization process in the 1990s which led to "shifting spaces of power" (E. Porio, 2009). Our visit to the

impressive Pasig City Hall was in insightful in this regard: there, we saw their own Pasig City museum, which conveyed how differentiation often overpowers convergence within Metro Manila cities. The result is a complex, fragmented governance with labyrinthine multi-scale government institutions — central, province, Metro, city, and municipal agencies — and percolating civil society movements.

Given this context, we find neither the apocalyptic-chaos nor the static-convergence narrative of urbanization sufficient to explain the complex reality of Metro Manila. The megacity features a newly decentralized and fragmented megalopolis, with a handful of extremely powerful private actors playing an outsized role in governance. But there is another perspective emerging on cities whose governments break down under pressure from powerful families and international firms seeking to privatize service production and delivery. Metro Manila's political economy may perhaps be best understood through the lens of "booty capitalism", or the capturing of a state by elites who use policy to impose and advance their own personal interests. Transferring the power to plan a metropolis's future and the role of taking social action from government to private actors may be the proper perspective through which to analyze the governance of Metro Manila (Hutchcroft, G. Shatkin, 2007, pp. 387-388). This impression stems particularly from our discovery of Ayala Land, Inc. and our visit to the Makati Central Business District, for example. However, while some of us were startled to see such significant influence of private firms in the urban fabric, we were also forced reflect on firms' heavy roles elsewhere in the region and in our respective home countries.

With this framing in mind, the aim of our study trip was to discern the dynamic interplay between policy and politics in Metro Manila and how it manifests in key policy sectors. By scrutinizing the fragmented networks of power comprised of various actors (public, private, and civil society) at various scales of governance (global, national, metropolitan, and municipal), we strive to assess the cooperation and developmental initiatives for Metro Manila aimed at creating resilient cities. In this context, we ask:
How do the public and private actors of Metro Manila attempt to govern through the production and provision of services in a highly fragmented environment?

By analyzing our study trip through the perspective of utility and service sectors (housing, energy, water, and transport), we believe we are able to better understand the nuances of governance, finance, risk and resiliency, and social exclusion in Metro Manila.
We start with governance. This first section reviews how the current fragmented and multi-level governance of Metro Manila took form, and how it works today. Inspired by the visit of Quezon City (QC) Hall and Ayala Land headquarters, we discuss the complex role and lack of coordination of Local Government Units (LGUs), and how several powerful families have exploited this entangled system to capture significant governance power.

But understanding the governance process as merely public-private interplay obfuscates another crucial element of how a city functions: finance. This second section closely examines the financing schemes at work in Metro Manila, how they are designed, who is involved, and how certain areas become priorities. Special Economic Zones and city branding are key focuses.

The third section explores one of the most crucial elements in the discussion of the right to the city: housing provision. We discuss the rise of gated communities and the increasing threat of eviction for informal settlers, plus

a mounting phenomenon across Southeast Asian metropolises over the past few decades: the rapid sprawling development of new towns. On this point, we had the chance to visit spectacular examples in both the Clark Green City Project and Nuvali.

Fourth, we tackle energy. Backed by insights gleaned from meetings with Meralco executives, we aim to articulate the chains of provision from production (which suggest over-dependency and sustainability issues), to distribution (a private oligopoly possibly at odds with the public interest), to consumption, which focuses on behavioral change.

The fifth section explores the water and sewage provision that has been privatized for about 20 years. Water management a key topic in our talks with both the QC Environment Protection and Waste Management Department and the Pasig City Environment and Natural Resources Office. Unlike energy, equitable access to water has been mostly resolved since this transition. However, over-dependency on a single source may threaten long-term water security, and the sewage system is perpetually polluted.

Sixth, we focus on the network of transportation governance. This section examines how attempts to govern mobility patterns face daunting challenges, including coordination across LGUs. We also look at traffic congestion: a longstanding headache in Metro Manila but tackled in creative ways, as we learned in Pasig City Hall when we met with expert officials in this field.

In our final sections, we present our critical perspective on how a large metropolis like Metro Manila is governed through utilities and public services provision by emphasizing the pattern of social exclusion in the governing process. In the seventh section, we consider that an exclusionary pattern is evident in attempts at risk management and resiliency, arguing that the discourse on vulnerability is disproportionately influenced by the interests of the wealthiest actors. In the eighth section, we examine social exclusion & inequality in Metro Manila. Even if most of our visits and meetings only indirectly related to these questions, it remains crucial to explore how displacement and resettlement of the poor has taken place through land dispossession and exclusion through the privatization of utilities and the incomplete provision of public services.

Our attempt to scrutinize how a large metropolis is governed by analyzing who produces utilities and public services, who benefits, what kinds of narratives are pushed by respective actors, and who is being excluded in the process, all enables us to examine how a complex interplay of forces in various spaces and sectors have resulted in sharply divergent outcomes. This trip, in its most important meaning, has shown us that there is no single explanation for how a large metropolis is shaped. Our report is a result of what we witnessed: principally, too little integration between the seventeen cities for Metro Manila to be truly considered as a whole. It reflects how authorities still manage to deliver (or delegate the delivery of) public services to constituents through partnerships with the private sector, despite gaps and conflicts of governance. But this report also emphasizes the limitations on such functions, which allow unaccountable private conglomerates to assume a disproportionate role in producing the urban fabric. Assessing the repercussions of this system and the inequality it creates redirects us to the responsibility of public authorities. Ultimately, making the city more resilient seems to be the perfect opportunity for public and private actors to redefine a relationship and to focus more on the most vulnerable citizens of Metro Manila. ■

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Introduction

Over our visits, encounters and readings, several images of the Philippines' capital were drawn. From the global consolidated megalopolis to the assemblage of seventeen cities with their own agenda, grasping Metro Manila is not an easy task. However, its fragmentation and the role of the private interest in its governance quickly became a redundant topic. If understanding those two elements cannot entirely capture who governs and what is governed in Metro Manila, they still played a significant part in our discussions. Thus, unpacking the city's history and structure of governance is foundational in order to understand Metro Manila. From the decentralization process and the relative autonomization of the capital, we come to question the role and capacity of the public authority. Between the weight of the private family conglomerates' impact on the urban fabric and the influence of international agencies, the splintered governance doesn't prevent the megalopolis from growing.

Risk Exposure and Vulnerability in Metro Manila

by Maëlle Fretigne

The 1987 Constitution, in particular the section 3 of article 10, ensures the autonomy of city and municipal governments by prescribing the enactment of a Local Government Code (LGC) providing "an accountable local government structure instituted through a system of decentralization with effective mechanisms of recall, initiative, and referendum". The adoption of the code in 1991 empowered the LGU (Local Government Units) to invest in public works, social welfare services, tourism, telecommunications, and housing; to enforce environmental laws and national building codes; and to enact tax measures in order to become "self-reliant communities and active partners in nation-building," (Dorotan) through the "systematic allocation of powers and responsibilities between the national and local governments" (Miller and Bunnel, 2013). Following the end of the Marcos dictatorship and in line with the People Power Revolution, the aim of this devolution was the diffusion of power among a multilayer governance to allow for democratization. LGUs were given more freedom in pursuing objectives and programs most suitable in their localities thanks to a "demand-driven process, where communities define what they feel they need in terms of development" (Miller and Bunnel, 2013).

The LGC also provides an avenue for civil society's participation in local governance through various Local Consultative Bodies (LCBs), such as development councils or school boards at various levels (barangay, municipal, provincial, regional), with 25% of membership coming from Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). However, it seems these bodies are neither always established nor always active. Manuel Q. Gotis, a member of the Bureau of Local Government Development, highlights an "inactive local development council," and "the lack or total absence of horizontal and vertical linkages between different government bodies responsible for implementation of local public services" (PhilDHRRA).

Finally, this devolution process — the transferal of power and authority from the national government to LGUs — was accompanied by a weakening of the metropolitan coercive power. Indeed, the powerful Metro Manila Commission established by Marcos, which acted as "a central government to establish and administer programs and provide services common to the area," (Presidential decree No.1605) was replaced by the Metro Manila Development Authority (MMDA) in 1995. As Section 3 of the MMDA's Declaration of Policy and Objectives shows, its mandate is ambiguous: the MMDA shall "plan, supervise, regulate, monitor, coordinate or implement... without prejudice to the autonomy of the local governments affected" (Republic of the Philippines National Government Portal). Major actions are submitted to the mayor's council for approval, thus diminishing the metropolitan-scaled governance. MMDA's scope of functions officially covers services that have "metro-wide impact and transcend local political boundaries or entail huge expenditures" (Republic of the Philippines National Government Portal). According to Yves Boquet, the MMDA in its current form focuses primarily on traffic and waste management, with some LGUs resisting its recommendations and encroachments on city-level decision-making (Bocquet, 2014). The MMDA has less governing legitimacy than the LGUs: its chairman is appointed by the President of the Philippines, whereas LGUs are headed by elected political clans and sometimes powerful families. These limitations on its governing power render the MMDA incapable of harboring harmonious growth in the vaster process of agglomeration. ■

The private sector in the balance of powers in Metro Manila

by Hafid Ait Sidi Hammou

Before examining the privatization processes of urban planning in Metro Manila, let's start with something that attracted our attention throughout each of our hours-long bus trips: the overwhelming omnipresence of billboards. In a 2013 article on the subject, José Edgardo Abaya Gomez, Jr. tackled the "billboardization" of the metropolis to discuss privatization and power relationships in the city. As with many other manifestations of privatization in Metro Manila, billboardization is common in all large Asian cities. The protectionist policies of the 1990s (Republic Acts 7042 of 1991 and 8179 of 1996 on Foreign Investment), which defended local brands and required 60% Filipino business ownership, contributed to the rise of a few family conglomerates who have since grown immensely powerful. The billboardization of Metro Manila reveals at least two issues worth considering: the spatial implications at stake in the power relations between private actors and local authorities; and the major weaknesses of local authorities in the preparation and enforcement of the Comprehensive Land Use Plans (CLUPs). The apparent lack of professionalism and coordination between the different agencies, as well as within the 17 LGUs, led to loosened land use restrictions and corruption. To this day, the issue is still salient (Sauler, 2017).

The focus of our report is on the main arteries of any urban fabric: utilities. But in order to analyze the megalopolis's utility systems, we must first understand how and why the private sector became so central to the development of Metro Manila. The 1990s represent a crucial period in the contemporary structure of the city's governance. The dual processes of privatization/liberalization and decentralization are crucial to understanding the role and capacity of Metro Manila's private sectors.

The decentralization and privatization processes of the 1990s made the private sector a privileged partner in the building of a more competitive metropolis. In order to develop more rapidly, local governments increasingly relied on "family and allied networks," particularly for the implementation of programs and service delivery (Porio, 2012). Indeed, as summarized by the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the different LGUs became unevenly able to cope with their newly-gained competencies. The different "allied networks" and private partners started filling the local institutional and governance gaps, evolving into what today is criticized as a "lack of coordination" or "inadequate accountability mechanisms" (ADB, 2014). Our meeting with a professional from Aboitz Equity Ventures suggested that these shortcomings of the local public authorities are still obstructing implementation and fostering dubiety in the capacity of the local governments. When questioned, private actors' significant roles in local government policy and service delivery is justified by insisting on their effectiveness and bounty of resources. The example of water privatization since 1997 has been particularly explored by different researchers. Studying the Ayala Corporation, Lorrain and Mouton (2017) see an improvement of service since Manila Water took charge. However, Manila Water's transfer of responsibility for water monitoring to individual households has put the most vulnerable at risk of losing access (Cheng, 2013).

Companies owned by a few powerful families like the Ayalas have gained major leverage and control over the shaping and functioning of Metro Manila. Ayala's quasi-autonomous development and management of the Makati Central Business District demonstrates how private actors have largely assumed the role of a public authority in some major arenas of Metro Manila. By venturing into real estate, finance, telecommunications, water, transportation, and electricity, the Ayala conglomerate diversified

its activities over decades by taking advantage of the infrastructure liberalization and privatization programs that emerged throughout the 1990s. Now in a position of power facilitated by personal relations with public authorities, companies like Ayala Land justify their role by claiming to develop sustainability and "enriching lives" (Ayala Land presentation, 18 Jan. 2018). Their "political acceptability" is indeed at stake as they increasingly dominate the relationship between public and private actors (Lorrain and Mouton, 2017).

Looking at Metro Manila's governance, as in many large metropolises in the region, we find an entanglement of different actors encouraged by the local government. At the core of these governing networks, certain families are hegemonic in both politics and business. The question of how to achieve a balance of power over the urban fabric remains unanswered as the brokering role of mayors is limited by a high dependence on private capital and planning capacity. How might this position of privilege held by private interests impact city development strategies and produce "detrimental effects on non-rich others" (Forrest et al., 2017)? Next chapters on utilities in the city provide some answers.

Multi-Level Governance, national power, and international agencies: Asian Development Bank and Privatization

by Hiromitsu Takata

The economy of the Philippines is among the fastest-growing in Southeast Asia. The government has defined its development objectives as driving rapid but inclusive economic growth, accelerating employment on a massive scale, and reducing poverty. Many developing countries have adopted policy reforms aimed at decentralization and increased citizen participation in urban development programs and policies (Shatkin, 2000), and the government of Philippines is no exception. As the shift to decentralization took place, private sector actors acquired more power, and planning has since become privatized to a particularly marked extent. Even if the private sector appears more capable of defining the public interest and structuring urban space on the public's behalf than the government itself, it raises a number of distinct issues of inequity and exclusion. These include the potential for conflict between citizens and private developers over the economic, environmental, cultural, and social implications of urban development; the emergence of equity issues related to the subsidization of transportation that benefits the wealthy at the expense of the transit modes of the poor; the dearth of meaningful popular participation in private sector projects; and the relegation of civil society to relatively meaningless public sector planning efforts (Shatkin, 2008).

As a consequence of privatization, the importance of international agencies like the Asian Development Bank (ADB) take on larger roles. In such a political climate, if it is assumed that the private sector does not have a strong vision or responsibility for reducing poverty, international agencies will then need to step up. Using ADB as an example, there are two main responsibilities: facilitate economic growth through collaboration with the private sector, and invest in the construction of essential facilities such as infrastructures that reduce poverty. Additionally, when ADB collaborates with a private sector actor, it assumes a role of regulator by ensuring the private entity is acting correctly.

Since 1966, the ADB has been a strong partner in the development of the Philippines to achieve more inclusive growth and address income inequalities and regional disparities. In order to bolster the partnership further, the government of the Philippines and some other Southeast Asian countries have launched a cooperative initiative in 1994, known as The Brunei Darussalam-Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines East ASEAN Growth Area (BIMP-EAGA). It was envisioned as a private sector initiative aimed at accelerating economic development in areas that are geographically distant from their national capitals. Such efforts produced by the partnership include the Country Operations Business Plan (2017–2019) which focuses on sustainable and climate-resilient infrastructure, good governance and finance, inclusive employment and education, and regional integration. The plan's content conveys a focus beyond pure economic growth that extends to governance, sustainability, and other fundamental areas.

Thus, the relationship between the government of the Philippines and international agencies like the ADB is based on and affected by the power of private sector actors. In this context, international agencies are envisioned to be market-driven and to spur economic growth while also attempting to make growth sustainable by containing government, promoting inclusive employment and education, and achieving regional integration. ■

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Finance

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Credits: Kwon I.

The diversity of actors financing the development of metro-Manila

by Khelil Mehenni

Public finance in Metro Manila predominantly consists of cash transfers from the national government to Local Government Units (LGUs). This is done through Internal Revenue Allotment (IRA), which allocates forty percent of almost every tax levied by the national government to LGUs. The share of this tax revenue received by each LGU depends on the population and area, resulting in a cycle wherein richer LGUs receive more tax revenues, exacerbating regional disparities. This money is expected to fund basic services and facilities as well as development projects (Lindfield, 2014). Meanwhile, since President Duterte assumed office, the national government has also been willing to invest huge sums of money in cities. The most prominent example of this is the Philippine Development Plan 2017-2022, which allocates $168 billion for urban transportation. This major public funding is intended to address the long history of public disinvestment from desperately needed infrastructure (Schuster, 2017).

Our experience meeting governance actors in Metro Manila indicated the powerful role played by private sector developers such as the Ayala Corporation in financing urban development. These developers own vast parcels of land, which they manage through land banking. When property demand is adequate, they transform undeveloped soil into new high-end mixed-use real estate projects. These companies invest heavily in building high rises, roads, and infrastructure networks. This is made possible thanks to financing from banks owned by the same conglomerate. In the case of Ayala, the Bank of the Philippine Islands has been crucial to ensuring its stability. Sometimes, these developers also sell land to finance new development. Once built, the developer profits by selling access to their new properties. There is currently no lack of demand for high-end housing.

New towns offer the wealthy a way to invest their wealth with high returns on speculation. While Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is also a source of finance in Metro Manila, it is limited by law. FDI can only account for a maximum of forty percent of developments, which maintains the economic viability of the domestic oligopoly. Public-private partnerships (PPPs) have also taken on an increasing role in financing Metro Manila. In recent years, the Philippines has transformed its regulatory framework in hopes of promoting PPPs, and eleven infrastructure projects have recently been awarded a value of $3.5 billion in financing under this format (Schuster, 2017). ■

City branding: strategies to attract investment

by Céline Guette & Luis José Guerra

According to the World Bank, the Philippines had the fastest growing economy in ASEAN last year, with a 6.6% annual GDP growth rate (World Bank, 2017). Metro Manila concentrates a third of the country's added value and is therefore a prime target for foreign investors. In this context of fast growth, both the private and the public sectors have developed strategies to attract investment.

The main strategy that struck us is branding development using the "green" label. This was particularly clear in New Clark City and Pasig City. These cities advertised themselves with promises of a better quality of life and sustainable development. This type of green city branding is being used in numerous Asian metropolises, principally to increase their competitive advantage in the intense competition between cities at the international level (Gulsrud, 2014). Local governments use this "greenness" adjective to boost their economies and make them more competitive in terms of innovation, talent, and creativity.

The use of this style of ecological branding in order to market the city as a peaceful and resourceful environment is promoted by many international consultants, but also international development organizations such as the ADB. Yet because of its ubiquity, the green label is often vaguely defined, and it's quite uncertain whether different actors share the same definition of what it really means to be green.
Cities in Metro Manila has also tried to attract investment by capitalizing on elements it considers to be comparative advantages (Errighi, Khatiwada et al, 2016). Language is a key aspect of this, since Filipinos have a high level of fluency in English. This is evident Metro Manila, where street signs and advertisements are almost always written in English. This is especially advantageous for foreign companies, especially American ones, who are able to hire cheap labor without any language barrier. Thus, Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) represents the second largest source of income of the Philippines. This industry consists of primarily American companies that outsource their call centers for telecommunication, social insurance, or other services to low-wage countries. In order to attract these foreign companies, both the public and private sectors develop master plans under special economic regimes due to the strong restrictions on foreign investments in the country. Given the divergent interests of the public and private sectors, we predicted their master plans would differ as well.

The New Clark City (NCC) project, led by the state-run agency BCDA (Bases Conversion and Development Authority), and the Nuvali project, managed by Ayala Land, offer an interesting comparison that illustrates the difference of influence between the private and the public sectors. Both projects hoped that creating a new city outside Metro Manila would be a good investment since congestion in the megalopolis is such a persistent issue. Both entities managing these projects did not need to take out loans to finance development. Ayala Land has its own banks, and typically finances their projects by selling or leasing land; the BCDA is financed by joint ventures with large private developers. Each project established certain standards of operation, including requirements that thirty percent of workers should be locals, that there be a required percentage of affordable housing, and that the projects be mixed-use in terms of space. Both new developments aimed to focus especially on environmental friendliness, just as we saw when visiting Pasig City. These many similarities were further confirmed when the BCDA told us during discussions that it endeavors to operate as a private entity, and seeks to generate profit through by ceding land to private developers on the former US military base land that it owns. Therefore, both Nuvali and

NCC function as Special Economic Zones with oversight from the private sector, operating for the benefit of the private sector. Projects similar to these are flourishing around the world, and greater attention should be paid to globalized strategies to attract investment.

Special Economic Zones: a comparative case overview

by Junnan Mu

The dynamics of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) offer a window into how power is exercised in contemporary metropolises and testifies to who actually governs the city (Mossberger & Stoker, 2001). Comparing the three SEZs we visited in Metro Manila with the renowned SEZ in Shenzhen, China, can therefore help us understand the nuances of metropolitan financial regulation in the former's particular context. Two of the SEZs we studied, Bonifacio Global City and Nuvali City, have been implemented privately by Ayala Land. The third SEZ, New Clark City, is developed by BCDA, which operates as a quasi-governmental entity. All three of these SEZs share common features with respect to their land ownership regimes. According to Filipino legislation concerning SEZs issued in 1995 (Philippines Economic Zone Authority, 2006), SEZs are defined as Eco-Zones. This consists of a selected area that may contain "any or all of Industrial Estates, Export Processing Zones (EPZs), Free Trade Zones, and Tourist/Recreational Centers". Businesses operating in SEZs simply pay a 5% tax on income, and are exempted from all other local and national taxes. Moreover, for the first four to six years a business operates in an SEZ, it is granted a tax holiday and pays no taxes. These policies thus transfer large profits to private developers conducting business or gaining land rents. These policies contrast sharply with those originally deployed in China. There, SEZs were conceptualized as a complex of related economic activities and services rather than mono-functional entities (Wong, 1987). Thus, in contrast with Shenzhen, the SEZs of Manila are less functionally diverse and cover much less land area.

The factors of production in Metro Manila's suburbs such as technology, labor, and markets are still rudimentary. Therefore, SEZs may struggle to become the economic engine of Metro Manila when contrasted with their strategy of decentralizing and suburbanizing growth. Unlike Shenzhen, Metro Manila does not have a comparative advantage in industrial manufacturing. The city's employment and economic growth are concentrated in the service sector, which has driven land prices upwards. This explains why local oligarchic families have invested in mixed-use land with offices, real estate, retail, and a very limited amount of industrial facilities, rather than in Shenzhen-style agglomeration economies with higher added value industries.

Metro Manila's SEZs also lack clear and substantive goals. Private developers, not the government, set the development goals of SEZs, but these are often vague branding slogans such as "smart cities" and "green cities" that lack substantive policy initiatives. The government's absence in overseeing Manila's SEZs has created a lack unclear metrics of what constitutes success or incentives that benefit public welfare. This departs significantly from the case of Shenzhen, where the government supports SEZs in designing clear benchmarks for GDP growth and strategies for attracting more FDI. It is therefore apparent that public sector involvement through institutional regulation of SEZs is needed for inclusive and sustainable development.

Each of the three SEZs around the Metro Manila region have prioritized suburban growth through mixed-use planning and limited state regulation. Political and private interests lie at the core of the SEZ urban regime. They have constructed a system where private capital flows into the deregulated market generated by SEZs, undermining the stability and primacy of public finance. Land owners may be able to brand this regime as a modern developmental tool, but we wonder to what extend this model genuinely contributes to local economies and the equitable development of the city. ■

The Social Cost of Financialized Urbanism

by Sam Whittlesey

Given the Philippine's high rate of demographic and GDP growth, there has been no shortage of investment in Metro Manila's urban development in recent years. Unfortunately, the flows of finance capital into the metropolis have been overwhelmingly concentrated within the elite enclaves of the metro region. The urban poor in Metro Manila remain beyond the profit motives of property developers, just as they do in neoliberalized global cities around the planet.

The financialization of land in Metro Manila has turned into an incredibly lucrative business for the major property developers in the region. Companies such as Ayala Land have been posting record profits in recent years through land speculation. Their business model involves strategically buying large tracts of land and waiting to develop until they feel sufficiently incentivized by the price of surrounding properties and land. Treating land as a financial asset in this way has resulted in skyrocketing housing costs in the various Central Business Districts (CBDs) of the metropolis. In Makati, for instance, housing costs have been rising at over 10% per year over the past few years, and apartments sell for comparable rates to Manhattan real estate (Garrido, 2013).

The resulting situation is one in which there is a tremendous disjuncture between the needs of the majority of Manileños and property developers. For instance, in the period between January and May of 2016, there were 37,631 licenses issued for mid- to high-end condominium construction in Metro Manila, compared to only 1,365 licenses for low income condominium development (Kleibert, 2017). This can primarily be explained by the fact that there is far less profit to be made in the low income housing market, given the tremendous wealth inequalities in Metro Manila. The scarcity of investment in low income developments is likely exacerbated by the fact that workers in the informal sector, which are estimated to comprise nearly 40% of all workers in the metropolis, lack the documented proof of stable income needed in order to receive loans for housing and entrepreneurial investments.

In order to incentivize private developers to invest in the urban poor, several cities in Metro Manila have opted for a "mandatory inclusionary housing" policy, which requires new developers to ensure that 20% of constructed units will be affordable for low income individuals in exchange for building permits on housing developments. Unfortunately, in practice developers have been able to pay for the relocation of informal residents to offsite units that are located hours away from their place of work. Such problems posed by the financialization of land in Metro Manila mirror in many respects the situation in New York City, where a similar 20% mandatory inclusionary housing policy has also failed to produce significant affordable housing stock. Decision-makers and voters may need to reconsider how the current political-economic system results in housing shortages and a surplus of speculative luxury properties in a way that transcends the global North-South divide. There is a pressing need for a new urban development paradigm that places people's livelihoods over corporate profit. ■

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Housing & Development

Credits: Kwon I.

Introduction to the Housing and Development Landscape in Manila

By Estelle Bertola, Gabrielle Fontaine & Clara Anguenot

As a fast-growing metropolis, Metro Manila is experiencing tremendous land development, but this urbanization process appears very unequal in the context of housing. Out of 12 million inhabitants, 4.8 people live in informal settlements without basic services, solid infrastructure or environmental security, while in other areas gated communities for the wealthiest are multiplying. These new developments not only benefit the upper and middle classes, but also contribute to the displacement of the poorest—often moving them far away from the city center, rarely with adequate compensation.

Our observations of Metro Manila revealed some affordable housing initiatives, both from the public (e.g. on-site relocation programs for slums dwellers) and private sectors (e.g. for-profit development); but the notion of truly affordable housing and the extent to which it reaches the poorest fringes of society remains much in doubt. We were told that in Nuvali, a new city South of Metro Manila, the most affordable home is around 2 million Filipino pesos, which is beyond the reach of many (the minimum wage is 481 pesos per day in the regulated formal sector). Another initiative is the providing of dorms for BPO workers: shared rooms located close by an employee's work site. But again, this program primarily targets members of the middle class. There is also the Urban and Development Housing Act, a legislation that requires housing developers to dedicate a proportion of their investments to funds for social housing—but is still lacking the accountability mechanisms necessary to guarantee its implementation.

In the Philippines, there is a housing backlog of 3.9 million households. In order to meet the increasing demand for social and low-cost housing, both public and private actors are getting involved. The government agency responsible for housing production in the country is the National Housing Authority (NHA), created in 1975. The NHA is under the supervision of the Housing and Urban Development Coordinating Council, which was established in 1986 by President Corazon Aquino. The latter is the umbrella agency charged with supervising the various public housing agencies. Regarding social housing in particular, the lead government agency which supervises and develops social housing programs is the Social Housing Finance Corporation (SHFC), created in 2004. One of the most successful programs of the SHFC is the Community Mortgage Program, which provides loans to informal settler associations to own the lands they occupy, following the concept of community ownership. Many private actors are also involved in housing production. In 2011 there were more than 3000 firms engaged in the housing industry, but only a few of them play a major role. The largest organization of housing developers is the Subdivision and Housing Developers' Association (SHDA), with more than 160 members, including the Ayala Land group. A multitude of other actors including NGOs, local governments, and community groups are also involved in addressing the "affordable housing" issue. Facing this entangled ecosystem of blurred governance, the Philippines Alliance emerges as a major stakeholder.

Through mobilization, community-led planning and design, and implementation, the Philippines Alliance is involved in the work of providing financially self-sustaining, affordable and resilient shelters across the country through a people-driven process. The alliance consists of five partner organizations (image below), who each play a role in acquiring land and generating housing solutions for informal settlers. The group helps guide the process from mobilization to implementation, helping participants to grasp the complexity of the housing process (layers of actors, conflicts of interest, strains on resources) and empowering the urban poor.

The Philippines Alliance's partner, LinkBuild, is a hopeful and inspiring model of inclusion. LinkBuild is a social enterprise, pro-urban poor, community-led developer. LinkBuild finances development and delivers innovative housing projects in collaboration with self-organizing communities, meeting real needs for and with the urban poor living in informal settlements. Their mission is to scale up their innovative, low-cost sustainable shelter solutions and programs for and with the poor through three types of programs: Core housing, integrated land and development, and incremental loans.

Diagrammatic representation of the partner organisations which make up the Alliance

Source: http://linkbuildph.org/about/

Deficient Housing Legislation

by Clara Schricke & Claire Veillard

Source: GLM Study Trip

The Urban Development and Housing Act of 1992 was the result of the organized urban poor lobbying to complete the 1986 Constitution, drawing paths for pro-poor urban development. There are two main principles guiding the Urban Development and Housing Act of 1992: the implementation of mechanisms of negotiation for eviction and the resettlement of informal settlers' families. The Act has resulted in some participatory collaboration between the private sector and urban poor communities to create low-cost, pro-poor housing; but the housing backlog and significant conflicts remain, as evidenced by the recent occupation of an abandoned relocation site by the Kadamay organization in Pandi, Bulacan north of Metro Manila.

Kadamay protestation in Pandi Bulacan relocation site (source: www.newshubph.com)

There should be therefore an acknowledgement of the roots of this law failure. Three main points flow out from our observations and research in Metro Manila.

— First, a lack of state embeddedness in the providing of social housing: the state's

involvement mostly consists of providing tax exemptions to private land developers in exchange for the construction of social housing. But, as addressed previously, social housing is often not affordable for city's poorest. Meanwhile, these tax exemptions leave the government severely under budget.

— As stressed by Gino Antonio P. Trinidad (2018) in a recent article, this lack of tax revenue leaves "the combined budgets of the primary national housing agencies (the National Housing Authority [NHA], and the Social Housing Finance Corporation [SHFC]) are a measly 0.39% of the P3.35- trillion budget."

— A lack of political will: city governments seem to systematically prioritize lucrative territorial investment, in favor of private landowners and land developers. Instead of being included in the city planning, urban poor are thought as hindrances for land and economic development, as testified by the Quezon City Government official website: "When the people are moved out of blighted areas, these properties can then be redeveloped into higher value uses."
The Act could be efficient if these three main points were addressed. In addition, the recently approved amendments (below) might help improve the 1992 Act.

The 1992 Act did produce the first inclusionary housing fund requirement: developers who do not include social housing in their projects must pay 20% of their project cost toward social housing development, which can serve as one funding source for affordable housing. This feature is supplemented by the option for cities to levy an additional tax on landowners in order to further finance the building of affordable housing—a system which has been put in place in Quezon City, with financial support from the Local Government Unit. According to Quezon City website, twenty-two such social housing projects are being developed at the moment.

In 2004 the Social Housing Finance Corporation (SHFC) was created. It is considered one of the

"Social" housing as observed during our visit of new town Nuvali, developed by Ayala Land

most efficient public services in the Philippines in terms of providing innovative and affordable shelter solutions though the CMP (Community Mortgage Program), mostly directed towards the urban poor and informal settlers. According to a report from UNHabitat released in 2009, the program had benefited 196,046 families in all of the Philippines (half of them in Metro Manila). A higher budget would expand its impact, since it is still very low and relies to a considerable extent on community effort In 2016 the On Site, In City or Near City Resettlement Act was approved by the Senate. This act has meant a big step forward in preserving the urban poor's rights and compensating for the failures of the Urban and Development Act of 1992, by ensuring that informal settlers will not be relocated outside the city.

These initiatives have shown that policies are leaning towards improving the Urban Development and Housing Act, but this movement must be coupled with strong political will on all sides and a higher budget in order to generate progressive outcomes.

Patrimonialism, Real Estate and the Urban fabric: The Ayala Corporation

by Clara Maximovitch-Rodaminoff

photo credit: Kwon I.

In the absence of a strong and unified public body to ensure its local government, Metro Manila has been intensively dependent on the intervention of private actors to build and sustain its development. Although the private management of urban facilities has become a recurrent feature in the Southeast Asian region and beyond, the particularity of Metro Manila lies in the power held by family conglomerates. From water to transportation, most of the primary urban services are provided by a few patrimonial empires that have made a major impact on the economic, social and environmental transformations of the city. In the land development market, the Ayala family conglomerate runs the show. Founded in 1834 by the Zobel de Ayala family, the group earns most of its income from the Ayala Land Company, which reached a net income of more than $470 million in 2017 (Wall Street Journal, 2018).

The first visible impact we witnessed by Ayala Land on Metro Manila's urban landscape was in Makati, currently the wealthiest city in the megalopolis. It was first developed by Alfonso Zobel de Ayala y Roxas and his brother in law as a residential district, and then evolved into a Central Business District which plays a focal role in the economic and financial life of the metropolis (Lorrain and Mouton, 2017).

Responding to the demands of the most affluent citizens, the first real estate developer in the country invested in constructing luxurious enclaves such as the Ortigas District and the Bonifacio Global City, and has since started to address the housing needs of the growing middle class. But in planning meticulously some distinct areas of the metropolis, the corporate group also contributed to the creation of gated communities and the visible deletion of the poorest neighborhoods in terms of infrastructures and services. Comprised of shopping malls, hotels, private residences and parks, the Metro Manila of today is studded with exclusive spaces especially designed for consumer populations.

In 2006, Ayala Land started the project of Nuvali, a residential city built from scratch in the southern part of Luzon. With eight subdivisions today, this "new city" is defined by the socio-spatial repartition of its housing units. Although these mostly target those who can afford luxury, a few subdivisions do feature lots for the middle class—but they are aesthetically and spatially distinct from the wealthiest neighborhoods (Kleibert, 2017). The city is equipped with malls, schools and green spaces, and reached a population of roughly 5,000 inhabitants in September 2017. Neither coordinated nor governed by any public authority, Nuvali is a purely privately-run entity where neither security, health, nor education are regulated by any mechanism of public accountability. The company's megaproject is presented as a response to and an outlet for Metro Manila's dramatic concentration, as well as a new pole of consumption and economic development for the region; but by doing relieving Metro Manila of its density, Nuvali could presumably expand past its projected boundaries and exacerbate the socio-spatial gaps already existing between the urban rich and urban poor (Shatkin, 2008).

Overall, the unchallenged land-development and housing powers of the Ayala family generate the same issues as any purely market-driven service: in the absence of an efficient and resourceful public housing department, a private real estate firm provides a valuable built asset to the city and answers the housing needs of some citizens—as long as it remains profitable. But the privatization of space by such a dominant actor reinforces the socio-economic disparities within the metropolitan area and beyond. With no approachable face of public accountability, and with no rival producers of valuable urban space in Metro Manila, the Ayala conglomerate faces very little resistance from citizens or public authorities. Thus, Ayala Land Company reigns as perhaps the most important actor of land governance in the metropolis—an unelected, politically unaccountable player whose interests and actions are by definition guided by the market rather than the public interest.

Clark City Case Study: A Symbol of The Modern Philippines?

by Ella Pinard-Bertelletto & Dmitry Bolshakov

Source: Eco-Business.com

Metro Manila has developed similar to many cities around the globe: development itself is led by private companies, while the public sector's role is limited to facilitation. One recent plan, initiated under the direction of President Duterte, has emerged just 100 kilometers away from the capital—the new Clark City. The new city is planned to be future-proof, aiming to decongest Metro Manila, which, according to Duterte's calculations, will become a "dead city" in the very near future (Bloomberg, 2018).

New Clark City is the biggest development project launched by the Bases Conversion and Development Authority (BCDA), a state-run corporation originally created to convert former military bases into "centers of economic growth," aiming to create "sustainable urban communities to uplift the lives of Filipinos" (BCDA official website). The BCDA proves to be a very unique city developer due to its special link to the Filipino government. Among its biggest projects is Bonifacio Global City, one of Metro Manila's premier business and upper class residential districts. As the government's land development arm, the BCDA secured a considerable amount of public and private money for investment in 9,450 hectares of land to establish a gleaming city designed to lure prospective inhabitants with promises of inclusivity, affordability, and sustainability.

Developed within the Clark Special Economic Zone, the master plan projects a population

of 1.2 million inhabitants by 2025 and a consistent job creation. But how many successful top-down planned cities does history know? Starting from the modernist Brasilia to King Abdullah Economic City in Saudi Arabia, most have failed. The latter, originally designed to host two million people, housed under 10,000 more than 10 years later (Kirk, 2017). But Clark City does have a case. Some of the more seductive arguments put forth include better living conditions and reduced congestion. Currently, a progressive settlement is underway, with the "pioneers" expected to come over the next 4 years.

As a reflection of the desire of the BCDA to provide "mixed-income and affordable housing units, particularly for the low- and middle-income individuals/families who wish to live and work in the area," a housing typology has been formulated (BCDA official website). In praxis, this typology translates into clearly separated "villages" according to housing category. Though the BCDA claims to be focused on not duplicating the segregation it acknowledges developed in Bonifacio Global City, the reality does not seem to meet that goal. The lowest category of housing proposed—labeled as "affordable"—is in reality designed for upper-middle class Filipinos. The only answer provided by the BCDA to the issue of segregation is the express railway financed by Japanese investment that will be link Metro Manila to Clark City, reducing the current two-hour commute by fifty percent.

The new Clark City seems to build very well on the legacy of the past, where top-down planned cities would rise in a matter of years (Brasilia and Chandigarh are two well-known precedents). But it also fits the trends of the present: boosting national economies by creating new districts and, indeed, whole new cities by establishing a tight growth coalition between the public authorities and private investment. The cases are numerous: Songdo in Seoul, Dubai of UAE, or the most recent Neom project of Saudi Arabia. The basic ingredients are very similar: "smart city" rhetoric, integrated green space, sustainable transport, and energy efficiency. Despite their ostensibly benevolent intentions, these targets are essentially a carbon copy of past developments. Innovation and economic growth are great aspirations, but they must be based on inclusive growth. Today's Dubai is a heaven for the upper-class, while Korea's Songdo was coined a "ghetto for the affluent" (Le Monde, 2017). Built on similar foundations, and similar to Nuvali, Clark City is very likely to become a future refuge for the upper and middle classes—while it seems destined to help decongest Metro Manila of these groups, it may also exacerbate social-spatial segregation. With new Clark City, we see the ingredients of a completely class-segregated future city, with no affordable options available for working class people and no obvious potential for any inclusive growth.

Addressing Informal Housing: Creative Solutions from Around the World

by Insung Kwon & Andrew Lombardi

While the government focuses on public-private partnerships (PPPs) like new Clark City and Nuvali, it neglects the 4.5 million informal settlers of Metro Manila. Whether it's eviction from hazardous zones or slum clearance for development projects, informal settlers' fates are decided by government initiatives and real estate market forces that relegate them to the city's periphery without their consent. But there are inclusive alternatives which could keep informal settlers in place.

Because Metro Manila's Local Government Units (LGUs) lack the resources of the private sector, the use of incentives by the former to leverage the strengths of the latter may be a natural approach (Urban Land Institute, 2013). There is precedent elsewhere for government incentivization of the private sector and coordination with local NGOs to inclusively address the dilemma of informal housing.

In the case of private sector, their contribution should not only be limited to superficial means. As demand for lower income housing goes largely unmet, businesses should be encouraged to take part in "creating shared value", in which companies are able to address social problems through economic gains (Porter & Kramer, 2011). In Mexico, a major cement manufacturer named Cemex helped a low-income population improve its housing conditions through a program titled Patrimonio Hoy. Through the program, recipients were provided micro-credit and resources necessary for do-it-yourself construction projects. As a result, beneficiaries were able to build or improve their houses with less cost and in shorter time, which also yielded a profit to the company, further expanding its business to the low income segment of the market (Business Call to Action, 2014).

In San Diego, California, a local NGO coordinated with city government to retroactively legitimize immigrants' informal settlements, rather than destroy them. Casa Familiar negotiated with the city to rezone areas for higher density and land uses germane to the local economy. It accepted tax subsidies, micro loans, and construction permits from the city and distributed them to residents willing to make their informal homes compliant, sharing homeownership when residents couldn't afford their properties outright (Cruz, 2015). The result: more stable homes for an immigrant community with a vital role in the local economy through a plan developed in consultation with the community itself. Our focus on inclusively improving the housing of informal settlers through the NGO and private sectors is a result of the apparent inability of Metro Manila's local authorities to do so on their own. A recent World Bank report attributed the chaotic urbanization of Filipino metropolises and the subsequent inequities faced by informal settlers to "a number of underlying institutional and governance issues at both the national and metropolitan levels," which "stand out as binding constraints" for sustainable urban development. It states that the nature of Manila's urbanization suffers from "institutional fragmentation," and adds:

> Due to the absence of a lead agency for urban development and housing, formal mechanisms for both horizontal coordination (across sectoral agencies) and vertical coordination (between national agencies and LGUs) within urban areas are very weak, which has contributed to poor urbanization outcomes as they relate to city competitiveness, poverty, inequality, and environmental quality...The growth of ISF [informal settlers] in Metro Manila and major urban centers has partly been the consequence

> of weak planning and ad hoc spatial development…Guidelines and standards for socialized housing are weakly enforced, and there have been systematic barriers in mobilizing government lands for ISF. Rapid property development has also increased land prices beyond affordability, and ISF struggle to find tenure options and have their housing rights respected. (World Bank Report, 2017)

The report recommends the state "strengthen institutions that underpin affordable housing and inclusive urbanization," strengthen its support of LGUs, and identify a sole entity that "oversees overall urban development."

The problem with these recommendations is that the state would need to take this initiative itself. But as we've seen in the Governance chapter, public authorities in the Philippines are widely beholden to a few powerful families at the expense of the most vulnerable. Until this dynamic changes, it is unlikely that such an overhaul of urban development planning by the state will take place. In a country like France, where political participation and democratic institutions are quite strong, the state leads the production and maintenance of social housing through an array of laws, policies, and budget initiatives. The central government sets quotas and provides funding for social housing development by local authorities, along with enforcement mechanisms if they do not comply. The state mandates that 20% of France's housing stock consists of social housing and that its poorest inhabitants are prioritized. Despite some spatial inequities and increasing demand, both efforts have been successful (Houard, 2012). These pursuits are not due to an altruistic state, but to France's institutions permitting advocacy groups to exert political pressure. One recent example is the Droit au Logement Opposable (enforceable right to housing) law. In 2007, "significant advocacy work" and "decisive action" taken by housing associations led to the adoption of the DALO law, which

> Enabled a citizen in inadequate housing or deprived of housing to 'enforce' their right to housing from the State. Administrative and legal forms of redress became available to establish both the violation of this right and the ensuing responsibility of the State to guarantee and implement the right to housing. A follow-up committee on application and implementation of the law was set up by the DALO law. [It] enables reiteration of a fundamental right; identification of the authorities responsible for complying with and implementing this right; and establishment of an appeals process so that citizens can invoke their right before a third party who can oblige the relevant authority to implement their rights. (Housing Rights Watch, July 2017)

Admittedly, France has a different context and set of resources than the Philippines. Paris is far less dense, far smaller in population, and has almost zero informal housing compared to Metro Manila. But it is worth examining one possible explanation for such different outcomes in housing the poor, considering the type of city Metro Manila wants to become. Some production of humane, inclusive housing for informal settlers may come from non-state sectors like NGOs or private enterprises, but a complete overhaul of the systemic problems facing Metro Manila's poor will require drastic restructuring by the national and local authorities. And this may not happen until Metro Manila's poorest gain enough political capital to force it. ■

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Energy

Energy in Metro Manila
by Pierre Wenzel

Metro Manila: Dependent yet Innovative
by Alice Legrand & Yannis Serre

Distribution for the Urban Poor: an Integration in Progress?
by Louis-Alexandre Antunes & Lucas Zhang

Consumption Patterns in Metro Manila
by Juliette Aumaître & Pierre Wenzel

Credits: Kwon I.

Energy in Metro Manila

by Pierre Wenzel

Credits: Kwon I.

At a national scale, the Philippines is well-advanced in the field of renewable energy. Of all energy production in the country, 32.48% is green and 8.94% is geothermal (M. Mouton, 2014). It is the second largest producer of the latter in the world. But the Philippines' primary source of energy remains fossil fuels, especially imported coal. The dependency on coal in Metro Manila, and the problem of productive sources generally, raises the issue of sustainability and viability of energy distribution and consumption within the megalopolis. Energy is a key determinant of development and even a life necessity.

Facing a boom in both its population and its economy, energy is at the core of Metro Manila's functionality—making sustainability crucial. This calls for responsible development and satisfying the city's immediate needs without compromising its future in the social, environmental, and economic spheres. Throughout our meetings with private firms, NGOs, and local government officials, each group focused on the efficiency, resilience, safety, and accessibility of energy sources in Metro Manila.

Sustainability, therefore, is fundamental to the governance of energy in Metro Manila, and was often presented as a key benefit of major projects. However, the goals of sustainability did not always meet the reality we witnessed. It seemed to us in our observations and discussions that there is still much progress to be made in bringing the aspiration of a sustainable Metro Manila to fruition, leading us to explore the effectiveness of programs and initiatives implemented so far. ■

Metro Manila: Dependent yet Innovative

by Alice Legrand & Yannis Serre

In 2016, more than fifty percent of the Philippines' energy-generating capacities came from oil and coal, while the rest came from natural gas and renewable energy. But compared to these national levels, Metro Manila relies even more on coal for the production of its electricity. The city's overdependence on oil and coal is especially problematic because the Philippines must import almost all of it (95% of its oil and 77% of its coal), making it the biggest energy importer in the Asian region (Sahakian, 2001). Because oil prices fluctuate each week, the Philippines' continued reliance on imported energy is a challenge the country wants to tackle. So far, local governments have been at the forefront of this battle.

In Metro Manila, some Local Government Units (LGUs) have been able to adopt small-scale energy production units instead of a traditional big power plant. However, because energy production is privatized here, LGUs have implemented zoning codes that permit such activity, facilitating the thriving of small-scale renewable energy systems. According to Rizalino Cruz, this successful land-use policy relies on five transaction resources accessible to city governments: a large number of green firms, membership in sustainability network organizations, a dedicated staff in the sustainability effort, a council-manager form of government and an educated population (Cruz, 2016). One example is Quezon City. As a member of the International Council for Local Environment Initiatives, a literacy rate over 98 percent, the home to the Philippines' leading universities, and Metro Manila's largest and wealthiest LGU, Quezon City has a residential zoning code that permitted the Pangea Green Energy company to install one such plant, which converts methane emissions from a waste landfill into electricity capable of powering ninety homes (Quezon City website, 2018). We had the opportunity to visit, and learned how the small-scale biogas production plant uses a controlled dumpsite to process landfill gas created by the decomposition of solid waste. This green energy is sold to Meralco, the main electricity operator of the city; but it is also used for nearby street lighting and the plant itself. Besides the grand-scale accomplishment of reducing gas emissions, ground and water pollution, the project also generates jobs and additional financial resources for Quezon City.

With a strong economic growth rate, a lot of things can be done to sustain an energy transition. Thanks to its location, the Philippines is the second producer of geothermal energy in the world. But some small-scale models emerging in this sector such as Pangea's could be improved and scaled up to produce even more renewable sources. Meanwhile, governments may want to explore incentivizing residents and firms to install solar panels. Though systems would likely have to be established to prevent illegal connections in lower income residential areas, tax breaks or subsidies could encourage a wider pivot toward alternative energy. And while addressing the environmental issue through policy is essential, raising awareness through public education campaigns may help build momentum as well. ■

Distribution for the Urban Poor: an Integration in Progress?

by Louis-Alexandre Antunes & Lucas Zhang

The distribution of energy to households and firms in Metro Manila has been administered by Meralco since the 1970s, when the Filipino company sold its power-generating operation to the government and energy distribution became its core industry. As the largest private company in its field nationally and the only one in Metro Manila, Meralco plays a central role in powering the megalopolis, exerting immense leverage over Local Government Units (LGUs) and the Filipino state. With most of the sustainable energy initiatives seeming to stem from the divided LGUs, it is intriguing to observe a monopoly controlling perhaps the most important aspect of urban energy: distribution. Therefore, the main question becomes whether, in such a divided metropolis, a monopoly can ensure the distribution and integration of the urban poor. During our study trip, a portion of our class met with three directors from Meralco. Below we analyze what we learned from that meeting, coupled with readings on energy distribution in Metro Manila.

The huge inequalities of energy distribution by a private monopoly can give a pessimistic impression of energy provision for the population of Metro Manila. In particular, due to the poor quality and planning of the energy grid, the urban poor might suffer from a private organization whose stated goal is to accrue a profit. In fact, most generation sites are located far from the load area (the city itself), requiring long transmissions lines—and even once energy has arrived in the city, the integrity of the grid must be ensured. This might suggest a developing process of gentrification in Metro Manila, and a source of tension and conflict between the elite and the lower social classes. This is evidenced by the persistence of blackouts and brownouts where the distributor actively decreases the flow of electricity in some places, suggesting Meralco's supply is not enough to meet the demand of the city and creating inconveniences for residents. The severity of this problem may only increase as the city continues its massive urban sprawl.

Infrastructures meant for distributing electricity also lack much needed security, as the electrical wires hang high and over the homes in many cities of Metro Manila. Faulty electrical wirings are a common cause of fires in informal settlements and can be extremely vulnerable in the event of typhoons. To counter the lack of provision and integration programs, the urban poor often steal electricity through illegal wiretapping. The delivery of electricity, whether legal or illegal, is still often dangerous for the most vulnerable people in Metro Manila. The ability to provide safe electricity to the homes of customers is therefore a huge challenge for Meralco. Consumers also lack sufficient information about the price of electricity consumption, which prevents them from effectively monitoring their energy input and may cost them more money. Examining the expenses of consumers reveals that fifty-five percent of payment goes to Meralco's generation charges, while eighteen percent is directed towards distribution and only six percent is directed towards system loss prevention. Even though much effort has been made to expand electricity access to a larger population, especially to consumers in more precarious conditions, there is still a severe need to reduce costly grid issues and malfunctioning caused by the poor trying to access the service informally. It's worth exploring whether it might be less expensive to expand service to these areas than to continuously face losses due to illegal activities. Whatever the solution, there is still a serious need to improve energy delivery to the urban poor in Metro Manila.

However, Meralco has recently undertaken some initiatives to improve its relationship with informal settlers, which provide an ideal

opportunity to upgrade the distribution system in Metro Manila. One such strategy currently underway is prepaid electricity. Contrary to postpaid electricity, as is the case in France, prepaid electricity allows consumers to know their consumption levels and thus allocate use more economically. This is mutually beneficial for Meralco, who would normally receive late payments by those with access or losses due to illegal tapping by those without. Meralco is also exploring a revision of the electrical grid as a smart grid, a digital tool that allows a more informed management of consumption by the customer for him/herself.

In the end, we found that while blackouts have become less frequent in Metro Manila and some initiatives are already underway to provide better energy coverage to the urban poor, a more complete restructuring of electricity distribution is still needed. Access to consistent, safe energy is essential for modern urban life, plus some combination of public intervention (either through mandates or incentives) and private competition may need to be leveraged in order to provide such a standard to all of Metro Manila. ■

Consumption patterns in Metro Manila

by Juliette Aumaître & Pierre Wenzel

Who would have thought that we would be cold in the Philippines?

Throughout our trip, we were struck by the drastic changes in temperature as we moved from the bus to the hotel to the different meeting rooms across Metro Manila. Despite the hot weather outside, we were shivering in the chilly conference rooms. After full days of cold meetings and cold bus rides, the heat returned at night when we wandered into a working-class district just two blocks (but a world away) from our hotel at the Araneta Center to have dinner and karaoke sessions with the locals. Here, the only cooling was thanks to some old fans recycling warm air, which contrasted strongly with the freezing rooms we met in each day in the more affluent barangays.

Intrigued by these observations, we therefore decided to analyze consumption patterns of air-conditioning in Metro Manila. Literature on the city seems to confirm that air conditioning can serve as an indicator of social status, with the richest using it to showcase financial status and a belonging to the upper class, enabling them to wear cold weather Western clothes (D. Sahakian, 2010). But flaunting one's wealth is not the only reason for this liberal use of air-conditioning; a desire to keep windows closed and sealed for the sake of security and avoiding pollution are also at play.

In the context of global warming in a vulnerable region, the question of sustainability is paramount. The energy issue, including use of air-conditioning, must be seriously tackled. What are the incentives to promote sustainable behaviors of firms and individuals? In other words, how to make sustainability meaningful? On paper, the national Filipino government favors environmental development that engages the private sector. To this end, the Philippine National Green Building Code was launched in 2015, but incentives and laws are still very limited in this field. At the clean energy forum 2017, A. P. Habitan implied that there were very few penalties for those not complying with the directives of the National Energy Efficiency & Conservation Program (NEECP) (A.P. HABITAN, 2017). Indeed, the Filipino state's power to impose environmental norms on the private sector is quite limited. It appears that private economic interests are prioritized over environmental considerations. Planning that incorporates environmental sustainability is also difficult because of unpredictable urban growth, especially because of urban informal settlements (A. Artigas, M. Mouton, 2017).

In the case of the Nuvali project, firms are encouraged to adopt sustainable behaviors, but they are not obliged to follow any strict norms. Nuvali may be considered a flagship project for Metro Manila and the Philippines—but if expectations for compliance are merely recommended and not compulsory, how can they be efficient? In our observation, it seemed that very few local sustainable-green projects were put forward in earnest. Instead, most projects appear to indulge "green-outing" or "green-washing," the practice of using ecologically friendly marketing rhetoric to justify a development project. Our tour of the SM Mall in Bonifacio was portrayed as one such example of green building certified Gold under Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED). While it did demonstrate that some eco-framework does exist, it seemed far from the norm, suggesting that perhaps sustainability remains predominantly a marketing and rhetorical device. But such initiatives may also be the first step to make sustainability meaningful and to slowly raise awareness, particularly among a population still unacquainted with this question. Denouncing a lack of coordination from the Department of Energy, some specialists advise local education campaigns in order to

adapt user consumption and find alternatives in each particular context.

Starting in 2015, the juridical framework of the Green Building Code established a new set of standards, especially regarding the improvement of energy efficiency. Such a standardization, though nascent and limited in impact so far, brings some hope for a more sustainable era in the future.

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Credits: Kwon I.

Water

Getting Water Into the City: Manila's Water Security Crisis

by Garance Beaumond & Gwenaëlle Brandelet

Letting Water Out: Pollution and Cleaning Solutions in Metro Manila

by Anastasia Abashina & Bálint Liberman

Credits: Kwon I.

Introduction

Human settlements have historically gathered around water sources, a vital resource necessary for life and activity. Over the past three decades, water governance has become central to academic and political discourses. There is a renewed global increase in the relationship between water provision and economic development, spirituality and culture. In 2010, amidst increased debate on water supply, a historic milestone was reached. The United Nations Human Rights Council declared water, and its access by citizens, a Human Right (resolution 64/292). States are now legally obliged to provide populations with “safe, sufficient, accessible and affordable drinking water and sanitation for all” (United Nations General Assembly, 2010). One of Metro Manila’s greatest challenges under its fragmented governance is to provide this human right.

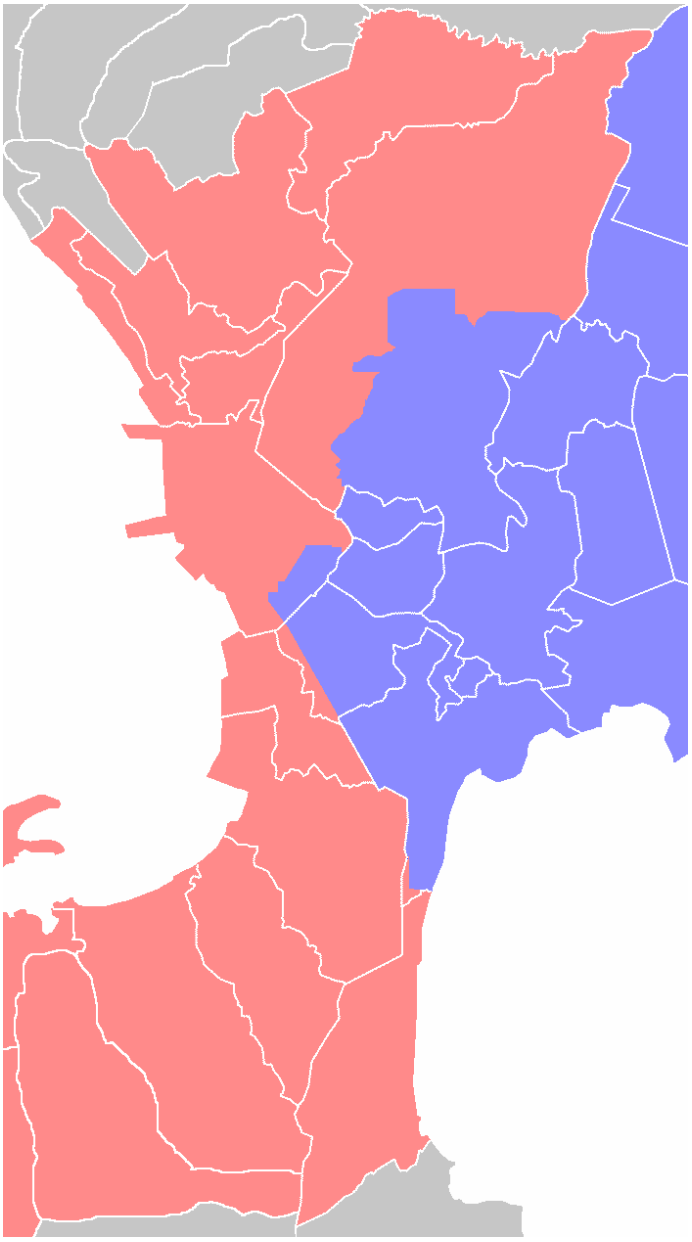
Getting water into the city: Manila's water security crisis

by Garance Beaumond & Gwenaëlle Brandelet

As the population increases in the megacity of Metro Manila, the questions of how to provide water to all 14 million inhabitants, and how to get water flowing within the urban area, remain crucial.

Given Metro Manila's highly fragmented metropolitan governance, the presence of only two entities in charge of water supply for the entire metropolitan area is notable. In 1997, during a global neoliberal wave, water supply in the metropolis was privatized. Two joint ventures were put in charge of supplying millions of inhabitants in Metro Manila with water. The west side of the city was supplied by Maynilad Water Services, formed by the French company Suez and the Filipino firm Benpres Holding. The east side of the city was supplied by the Manila Water Company, composed of Bechtel (a British-American company), the Filipino Ayala Corporation, and the Japanese firm Mitsubishi (Wu and Malalun, 2008).

The government agency that regulates these companies, the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System (MWSS) Regulatory Office, considered the privatization successful (Cheng, 2014). Water coverage expanded from 67%, with an average of 16 hours of water accessibility per day in 1996 (Rivera, 2014), to almost universal coverage (between 88% and 99%) with noticeably low levels of non-revenue water (NRW), less than 16% in 2013 (Cheng, 2013). Metro Manila has thus largely overcome issues of water provision for most of its population. The problem now is ensuring that water continues to flow through the pipes. Indeed, the city is perpetually at risk of a major water crisis. Projections by the MWSS expect the megacity to experience a water shortage by 2020 (MWSS, 2017), as the population increases and puts considerable pressure on the existing infrastructure.



Red territory: Maynilad Water Services. Blue territory: Manila Water Company.

Metro Manila's water supply relies on one major water source composed of three interconnected dams. The largest of these is the Angat dam, which then supplies the Ipo and La Mesa dams. These are connected to two water treatment plants, each managed by one concessionaire (MWSS, 2018).

Around 95% of the water within the metropolis comes from this single source. Despite Metro Manila's urban growth, the water source has remained unchanged since the 1980s. While water coverage by the concessionaires improved from an intermittent supply to 6.5 million inhabitants to a continuous supply to over 12 million, the water supply network has been unable to expand. Increased demand puts stress on the aging infrastructure, and the dams are made vulnerable by climate change. Reduced rainfalls and droughts have been frequent over the past decades in the Philippines, and are affecting the level of the Angat dam, thus threatening water supply in the metropolis. In 2015, the water level was 30 meters below the normal operating level of the Angat dam (Manila Water, 2015). Natural disasters such as earthquakes, typhoons, and volcanic eruptions also threaten Metro Manila's water security. Indeed, the Angat dam is constructed on one of Metro Manila's two fault lines, and is thus at risk of being at least partly destroyed in the event of a strong earthquake (The Manila Times, 2017). Such an event would have catastrophic consequences, flooding vast urban and rural areas as well as leaving the city without a water source.

Governance choices have led to over-reliance on the vulnerable Angat Dam, which puts Metro Manila in a situation of water insecurity and at risk of an imminent water crisis (UNTV, 2016). Authorities in charge have neglected to diversify water sources. They have chosen instead to focus on improving the distribution network's coverage and reduce NRW. Recently, however, the issue of water insecurity has ascended on the public agenda, bringing public and private authorities to start searching for alternative sources for Metro Manila. This has culminated in a number of different and overlapping projects, which are led by different uncoordinated actors. Some of these projects include the strengthening of the Angat dam and its dykes financed and implemented by the Angat Hydropower Corporation, which owns and operates the dam's power plant (MWSS, 2018b); the Sumag River Diversion project, aimed at increasing the Angat's raw water supply and funded by the two concessionaires through the Common Purpose Facility Office (MWSS, 2018c); the Angat Water Transmission Improvement project, funded by the ADB for the MWSS (MWSS, 2017a); and the MWSS's plan to construct two new dams, the Laiban and Kaliwa (MWSS, 2018).

The presence of multiple water projects in the city is just one symptom of the governance fragmentation in Metro Manila. The ultimate problem remains that there is no clear entity in charge of all water diversification projects and their financing. If this situation—governance fragmentation and over-reliance on a single water source—is not resolved urgently, Metro Manila may face a water crisis. Such governance gaps put the metropolis and its inhabitants at risk. ■

Letting water out: pollution and cleaning solutions in Metro Manila

by Anastasia Abashina & Bálint Liberman

Pasig River plays a vital role in Metro Manila, connecting the two Bays that surround the metropolis—Laguna Bay and Manila Bay. Historically, the river has primarily served as a means of transportation and a site for recreational activities (WHO, 1997:315); in the recent decades, however, the river has become heavily polluted due to human activity on its banks. This pollution poses significant risks for the health of the population residing nearby.

Pollution of the Pasig River is a visible phenomenon. On its surface, we noticed a water hyacinth—a weed that creates a number of problems for transit and use of water from the river (PRRC, 2017). The river serves as a natural barrier between zones governed by two distinct municipalities, and each takes different measures to prevent water pollution. On one side we saw that the river was blanketed by the water hyacinth, while on the other the river was significantly cleaner.

This dichotomy demonstrates the fragmented governance patterns of the Pasig River that are partially responsible for its pollution. Less than two decades ago, the river was pronounced ecologically dead (Gorme et al., 2010). The situation has been ameliorated more recently, with a number of international agencies such as the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank contributing to the financing of cleaning projects, supervised by local and national committees like the Pasig River Rehabilitation Commission (PRRC), created in 1999. The projects involve preventative measures, climate change mitigation and adaptation, waste management and rehabilitation of the river tributaries (WEPA, 2018).

One of the most fundamental sources of pollution in the Pasig River is the sewage coming from domestic use (WHO, 1997). The presence of parameters such as Biochemical Oxygen Demand (BOD) help estimate the presence of human waste in water. Statistics show that more than half of this substance found in Metro Manila was generated by domestic waste in 2003 (Gorme et al., 2010). A significant proportion of the waste comes from the informal settlements that occupy the banks of the Pasig River. According to some estimates, there are 10,000 families living on its banks (ADB in Argo and Laquian, 2004). Sewage systems are especially difficult to establish in these zones because of their inaccessibility. These areas are thus

Pasig River covered by water hyacinth on one side, and significantly less on the other

extremely vulnerable to the health risk posed by the presence of human waste, a risk that is exacerbated by the difficult and slow-moving extension of the sewage network.

In 1997, when the government-owned and operated Manila Waterworks and Sewerage Systems (MWSS) was privatized, it was insisted that by 2021 sewer connection coverage would reach 67% of the population. To this date, this goal remains far out of reach. The proportion of household wastewater currently undergoing complete treatment is only 12% (Palanca-Tan, 2017). Connectivity to sewage treatment for the remaining 88%, however, is still rather precarious.

Only 6% of the population is disconnected from any sewage system whatsoever, and the majority of Manileños resort to private septic tanks. While these tanks enable a basic level of sanitation, their structure as well as their maintenance is often substandard and thus constitutes a threat for public health and the urban environment. In some of the poorest communities, septic tanks are made of plastic rather than cement and many of them are not dislodged on a regular basis.

Constructing a complicated net of pipelines would be particularly difficult in a geographically dispersed and fragmented city that already suffers from congestion and traffic. Some economic and political factors, however, could also explain the private sector's failure to efficiently expand sewage connection. To make sense of the range in quality of sewage system access among different communities and neighborhoods, it is necessary to examine economic factors. In a city of 14 million inhabitants with almost 40% of informal settlers, there is no strong economic incentive for the two sanitation companies, Maynilad and Manila Water, to provide universal coverage—especially to the poorest communities. As the concessionaires naturally aim to limit their financial risk, they often provide services through the intermediary of community-based organizations, who become responsible for the day-to-day management of water and sanitation facilities. This system allows the concessionaires to provide services while limiting the risk of not getting paid for it.

Settlements on the bank of the Pasig River.

However, many Metro Manila communities still lack access to standard sanitation and must rely on their own resources to manage their waste. As access to "formal sanitation" remains out of reach for a large share of Manileños, they also resort to what Indian sociologist Ravi Sundaram calls "pirate networks"—illegal connections to the water and sanitation system (Sundaram, 2010). This increase of informal practices and/or autonomous coping methods can be linked to the state's neoliberal restructuring, and its logical consequence: the de facto abandonment of the universal sanitation coverage goal (Bayat, 2004). ■

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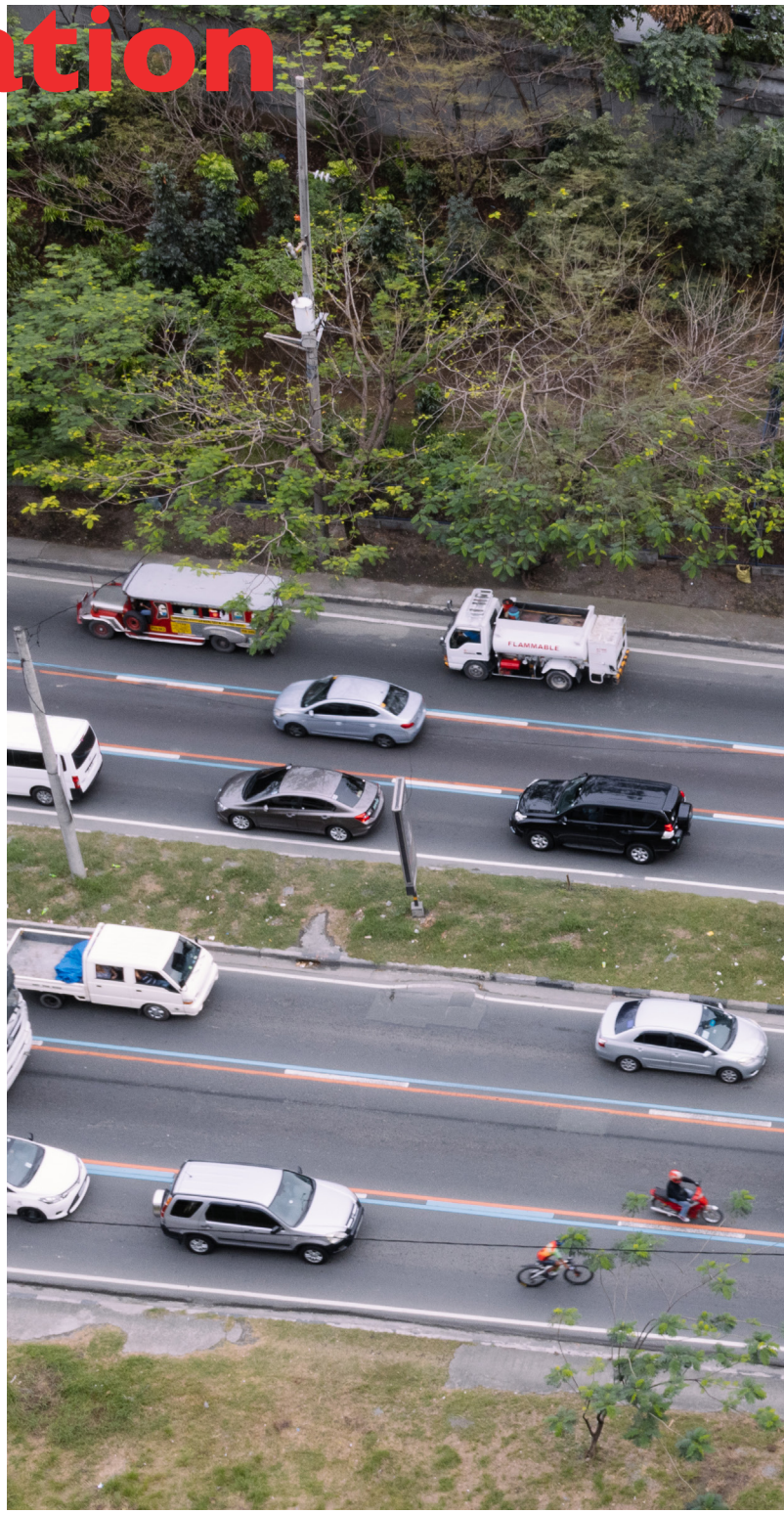
Transportation



Manila on the Move: Congestion, Fragmentation, and Overburdened Public Transit Networks
by Fatoumata Diallo, Carlo Epifanio & Elsa Rousset

Why is Metro Manila Congested?
by Laura Meynier & Imran Al Saadi

Decongesting Manila
by Peter CampoBasso & Frédérique Triballeau

Credits: Kwon I.

Manila on the Move: Congestion, Fragmentation, and Overburdened Public Transit Networks

by Fatoumata Diallo, Carlo Epifanio & Elsa Rousset

Metro Manila has a tense transportation situation. It is currently at the heart of the Build Build Build! Program of the Duterte government, which has led to a significant increase in funds allocated for transport, along with heightened expectations for improvement. However, changes seem to take time, and gruesome headlines about transit issues regularly make the front page.

The following chart summarizes the plethora of transportation means available in Metro Manila: some road-based means compete with each other, in the case of jeepneys, tricycle and bicycle as well as taxis and Uber, while the three unconnected lines of rail-based transportation illustrate a lack of coordination.

The lack of coordination between public transport and road infrastructure is partially responsible for the traffic problems in the Filipino capital. In Metro Manila, the development and presence of an unintegrated system results in a situation publicly recognized as critical.
Upon arrival in Metro Manila, it's easy to understand why transportation is such a big topic. A thick web of highways and causeways make up the infrastructure backbone of the transport system in Metro Manila. There are ten arterial highways that branch out radially from the city center, and five main circumferential roads that form a series of concentric circles. The circumferential road 4, known as Epifanio de Los Santos Avenue or simply EDSA, is the highest traffic area carrying 11.3 million people per day (ALMEC Corporation, 2014). This urban highway is generally mentioned whenever we speak of Metro Manila's traffic. It's composed of two highways on top of each other where a never-ending flow of vehicles in three, four of five lanes slowly move. A large number of buses from different companies and an incredible quantity of jeepneys share the road with cars. The numerous main bus stations along the road worsen the traffic situation. It's estimated that on the EDSA, between 75% and 92% of travel

Transportation type	**Cost estimates**
Jeepneys	Minimum rate: 8 pesos From Cubao to Makati: 24 pesos (Enamo 2018)
Tricycle	Prices range from 15 to 50 pesos depending on distance and number of passengers
Public light transit system: LRT 1 LRT 2 MRT 3	Ticket prices range from 11 to 30 pesos From Cubao to Makati: 24 pesos
Private cars	Petroleum retail prices per liter: 40 - 55 pesos
Taxi	210 pesos from Cubao to Makati (40 pesos flagdown rate + 2 pesos per minute assuming the trip takes an hour) (Land Transportation Franchising & Regulatory Board 2018)
SUV	From Cubao to Makati: under 70 pesos
Uber / Grab	From Cubao to Makati: 152-190 pesos
Skywalk	Free, it's a sidewalk
Private Buses	From Cubao to Makati: under 100 pesos
Public Buses (in Pasig)	Free

speed averages below 20 kph. According to the roadmap for transport infrastructure, the road congestion we experienced is getting worse, due "to higher car ownership as well as a decline in car occupancy from 2.5 to 1.7 persons per car" (ALMEC Corporation, 2014).

The MRT's 3 route, one of the main rail transit lines in Metro Manila, follows the EDSA. The urban railway system is composed of three Light Rail Transit lines crossing the city. The service barely meets demand, making use of the metro lines in the metropolis a real adventure. From our conversations with students from Ateneo who are daily riders, we learned that they consider their city's rail-based transportation to be unreliable. In spite of the traffic, the car remained their preferred option to reach their destination. Several new projects are developing to improve the system: the first subterranean metro line, the Metro Manila Subway, should open in 2025 and a future station connecting lines 1, 3, and the future line 7 is planned. The new line 7 is currently under construction and the extension of the existing lines is certain. In spite of these projects, question remain about the new infrastructure's ability to improve the service enough to fully address the increasing demand of mobility.

Given its island location, ports and airports are vital components of the infrastructure landscape in the metropolitan area. In line with its colonial past, Metro Manila is still a port town: the Port of Manila is the capital's main port, and has been the principal gateway of the country for more than 50 years. In 2012, it handled 84% of the 3.15 million TEUs of foreign cargo entering the country and 51% of the total domestic cargo. To meet an increasing demand, two new ports were built in 2006 and 2008: the port of Batangas (about 110km south of Metro Manila) and the port of Subic (about 110km north of Metro Manila). Air traffic is also fundamental to the metropolitan infrastructure. There are two gateway international airports in the Greater Capital Region (GCR): the Ninoy Aquino International Airport (NAIA) located within Metro Manila and the Clark International Airport (CIAC) located 80 kilometers north of the city, currently accounting for a minimal portion of air traffic. Metro Manila's skies are as busy as its roads. The NAIA is well known for being overcrowded and not meeting the city's needs, even after recent improvements. Air traffic congestion is not unusual: flights connecting Metro Manila and Cebu often can't land and must return to their departure point.

In the massive transformation the city is experiencing, transportation remains one of the key challenges to healthy growth. In one of the most densely populated city on Earth, moving around can be a real challenge. This difficulty constitutes a major part of the citizens' experience. As most of the inhabitants use road-based transportation, congestion is an inevitable aspect of the city's identity, and conflicts regularly arise between the numerous competing transport operators. Because rail infrastructure has become obsolete and unable to cater to the growing number of commuters, complaints are frequent against the three light rail lines. Transportation is therefore a governance challenge that calls for important investment and for new solutions to be invented and implemented. ■

Transport in Manila in Numbers

— The meters of exploited railway per inhabitant is **27 times** higher in Seoul than in Manila.

— We expect the transport cost to be **2.5 times** greater in **2030** than they currently are.

— By **2030**, road traffic demand should increase by **13%**.

— On average, **20%** of household income is spent in transport.

Source : Jica.go.jp. (2018). JICA transport study lists strategies for congestion-free MM by 2030. [online] Available at: https://www.jica.go.jp/philippine/english/office/topics/news/140902.html [Accessed 12 Jun. 2018].

Why is Metro Manila Congested?

by Laura Meynier & Imran Al Saadi

Metro Manila's population density is among the highest in the world. There are over 20,000 inhabitants per square kilometer in Metro Manila, and that figure reaches 70,000 in Intramuros—that is, over three times as many as in Mumbai (Boquet, 2013). The urban layout of Metro Manila, with several central business districts far away from and distinct from residential areas, also causes a significant number of dwellers to make long commutes to work. The layout of the main throughway (EDSA) can also create jams, as it concentrates numerous commercial venues and several regional bus terminals along its path (Boquet, 2013). Moreover, despite the high prices of gas, the Philippines remains a car-centric culture, a feature likely inherited from US influence. As our personal experience has shown, walking in Metro Manila is tough: pavements are usually rugged, narrow, and saturated with street vendors; streets crystallize high levels of pollution, wherever the metro lines act as a ceiling and confine the vehicles' fumes, preventing them from dissipating in the air.

Congestion finds straightforward explanations in the elements discussed above. However, the biggest issue in Metro Manila is without a doubt the absence of viable alternatives to the car in order to commute. The bus and rail mass-transit systems are failing to deliver a reliable service to the citizens.

The quality of the rail-based transit system suffers from the scarcity of old infrastructures not yet adapted to the increasing population. The 1.1 million people who commute every day on the only three existing lines do so in extremely crowded cars. This is due to a decaying technology: the cars of MRT3 and LRT1 are small and slow compared to other subways in Asia (Boquet, 2017). The number of trains running is constantly decreasing, because the production of spare parts for repairs was not anticipated at the time the network was created. In early February 2018, only 8 to 9 trains were running per day instead of the minimum set at 15 (notes from fieldwork, 2018). Security concerns also damage the system's reputation. In the first 40 days of 2018, 33 incidents were recorded on the MRT3 by the Department of Transportation and one of them led the passengers to get out of the cars by themselves and to walk on the tracks (Rey, 2018). But even when one makes his way onto a train and no incidents occur, the benefits of avoiding car traffic are limited. The poor connectivity of the different lines resulting from the fragmentation of operators forces commuters to leave the train and buy a second ticket when changing lines.

The road-based mass-transit system is also extremely fragmented. 165 private companies operate the 254 bus routes across the city and offer unreliable, irregular, and unpredictable service (Boquet, 2017). The boundary system is in large part responsible for this situation. In this system, drivers' salaries depend on the number of passengers they take. Buses then concentrate on the most crowded parts of the city (like the EDSA) even when their franchise does not allow them to do so. They are also incentivized to stay at some locations long enough to fill their buses and function at maximum capacity. Therefore, even though buses only constitute 2% of the total number of motor vehicles, they are often considered as a direct source of traffic. The fragmentation and the ensuing boundary system also result in poor coverage of the city, in reckless driving, and in poorly maintained equipment, which each make travelers' experiences a nightmare. As with the rail-based system, because of the low quality of the bus services, citizens who can afford it use cars instead. As for the waterways, the Pasig River is not a viable alternative because of its current level of pollution. However, consideration towards potential transportation across the Manila Bay could be developed in the perspective of further metropolitan expansion.

To conclude, the population density, the distribution of economic activities, the cultural leaning towards car use, and the lack of viable mass-transit alternatives, whether rail or road-based, together impede smooth traffic in Metro Manila. In this context, the absence of a holistic vision has led to the fragmentation of actors operating in the transportation field. The latter element could seriously hamper the current government-declared efforts to develop transportation-related infrastructures.

Decongesting Manila

by Peter CampoBasso & Frédérique Triballeau

Metro Manila's congestion comes from a wide range of structural factors. They ultimately impact residents' abilities to easily reach their destinations. The metropolitan area has a fragmented governance structure: cities work largely independently of each other, and the region is adapted for private vehicles. These structural forces combine to create extreme congestion. During our short trip to the city, our bus was caught in four hours of traffic to travel only fifteen kilometers!

Decongesting Metro Manila is not done collectively: individual efforts are led on an uncoordinated basis. One example is Pasig City, which has made its own strides separate from the rest of the region. In January 2010, it established the first department of transportation in the Philippines, opened the first public bus line in Metro Manila, and even began initiatives like bike sharing and projects to improve urban walkability (Pasig Green City, Accomplishment Report, 2016). It uses these urban mobility improvement projects to attract new residents and businesses. Ease of movement has become a central aspect of Pasig's territorial marketing campaign. Private sectors follow this example: Ayala Land in Makati City's Business District has labored to improve walkability with new infrastructures as well. BCDA's developments in Bonifacio Global City and Clark New City are some other attempts to make movement more fluid.

While mobility may thus improve in isolation within the different cities of Metro Manila, this fails to address the larger congestion issue. For example, while it may be easier to move around Pasig, how will the city be able to ensure that it is easy to reach Pasig for commuters living outside the city limits?
Paradoxically, decentralized competition between municipalities could be the solution to Metro Manila's immobility. In the competition between municipalities, perhaps as Pasig gains residents and businesses, Quezon City would notice and begin a comprehensive transportation program. This same phenomenon may happen across the other municipalities of Metro Manila, though at different moments and speeds. Eventually, as public transportation serves more residents, and services and infrastructures within each city expand, mobility as a whole within each municipality itself would improve. Several of the transportation actors with whom we spoke expressed their desire to see a Bus Rapid Transit system (BRT) implemented throughout the metropolitan area. If cities started such projects at local levels, how would the gaps be filled between different cities? Decentralization may ideally produce comprehensive coverage.

In almost every sector in Filipino life, the private sector seems to fill in public service gaps. We can thus assume that when it is convenient for firms to create buses from one city to their offices in Pasig or Makati from Quezon City, they will do so. This is already the case with the various point-to-point premium bus services connecting different developments and the airport (Commute Conveniently, 2017). As businesses and developments spring up across other communities, the private sector would fill in the gaps to get people to them: it is already doing this between Makati and Bonifacio Global City. If municipalities take notice of such a trend, mayors may jump on board to attract businesses and the most productive populations. Mayors themselves would begin to fill public service gaps. Politics may in the end win out to connect the network together.

We can also compare Metro Manila with another Southeast Asian city: Hô Chi Minh, where the Vietnamese government wants to build a MRT (Mass Rapid Transit) and corridors for BRT (Bus Rapid Transit). The master plan of 2020 approved these plans. Accordingly, the share of trips made using public transport will represent 45% of all trips by 2030 (Musil & Simon, 2015) and maybe even more. As in Metro Manila, this

is a necessity for the city due to the significant level of congestion from motorbikes and the exploding use of individual cars: these are huge sources of air pollution and sanitation problems.

However, City Hall does have some challenges to overcome, including the fragmentation of funding, land acquisition, resettlement management, and especially the institutional steering of the system during the implementation and future operation. In fact, just as in Metro Manila, the institutional organization of Ho Chi Minh City's public transport is fragmented: the current system is managed by the Bus Management Center (Department of Transport), but there will be two different systems: The Management Authority for Urban Railways in charge of metro lines and Civil Constructions Investment Management Authority for BRT. The latter is also in charge of the urban roads project and the water sector. It seems this combination of important actors may complicate the implementation and the management of these future public transport projects (Musil & Simon, 2015).

Drawing this comparison shows us that Metro Manila may have larger challenges to overcome: it will need to coordinate across various municipal governments in order to implement a comprehensive system, instead of various departments like in Ho Chi Minh City. This point further demonstrates the need for an incremental approach in Metro Manila to develop a metro-wide bus system. A gradual strategy where mayors build off each other's successes towards regional implementation could be further accompanied by citizen consultations to ensure a successful realization of the project. In Bogota, where the city's BRT system is often hailed as a major success story, the project is currently plagued by problems, including overcrowding. Many observers cite how user feedback was not considered in the expert-technocratic governance of the system, contributing to a degradation of the service (Hunt & Stacey, 2016). Consulting local users could thus prove necessary to building and creating a legitimate, comprehensive service.
Citizens of Metro Manila distrust strong centralized authorities. Creating such a body with powers to negotiate for land, expropriate, and resettle citizens to build a metro-wide system might not be well received. A major hope may come from an incremental scheme starting at the local level. ■

Dr Emma Porio and Sciences Po students exploring an exhibit at Pasig City Hall on the city's bus service

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Credits: Kwon I.

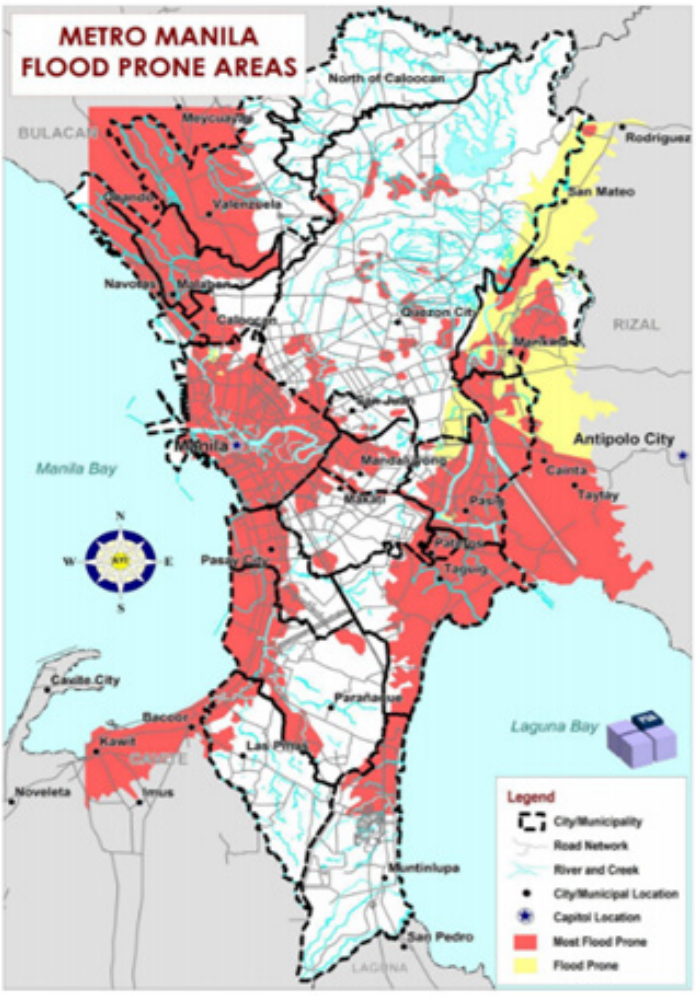
Risk & Resilience

Credits: Kwon I.

Risk Exposure and Vulnerability in Metro Manila

by Charlie Passavant

During the study trip, we regularly discussed urban resilience (the ability to resist various external shocks) in Metro Manila. The Philippines' archipelago is indeed particularly prone to various types of environmental disasters and catastrophes, including floods, typhoons, earthquakes, landslides and on more rare occasions, volcanic eruptions. The Mount Mayon volcano actually erupted after over a week of activity signs in January 2018. In the last three decades, natural disasters such as floods, earthquakes and storms have cost the lives of 33,000 habitants in the Philippines, among which a majority were Manileños (World Bank). The months which bring the most rain and flooding risks are between May and October, and peak in August.



Source : NEDA, JICA, 201

As shown on the map, the land occupied by Metro Manila is very vulnerable to various risks, and flooding is a huge concern. The city is struck by around 20 typhoons each year, which often result in massive floods. For instance, in case of short but heavy showers, the amalgam of Metro Manila loses around $45.4 million per day. There is also an issue regarding infrastructures, which end up making human-produced risks even more dangerous and deadly. For instance, only around 11% of Manileños are directly or indirectly linked to a sewage system, which accounts for an extremely small part of the total population. In case of heavy rains, especially during monsoon season, this means that everything is very easily submerged, and floods occur on a regular basis. It is also estimated that about 40 percent of Metro Manila's population lives in informal settlements built on precarious land, including flooding prone areas, such as river banks. In the case of flooding caused by typhoons or heavy rain, the most adversely affected areas are often informal settlements, containing the most vulnerable. Floods take a higher toll on less stably built buildings and neighborhoods. Waste management is sporadic and is not unified under a public service provider in Metro Manila. We could notice that we barely saw trash cans in the streets during our stay.

Although there are some innovative strategies to dispose of waste, a lot of it ends up in the rivers, creating pollution and health consequences. Once again, these consequences disproportionately affect poorer people since they live near polluted zones. As in many areas of the world, in Metro Manila there are socioeconomic inequalities, which end up influencing most aspects of people's' lives. People from the lowest socioeconomic strata live in areas where

no one wants to live, because they are more exposed to floods or landslides (depending on location). They also suffer more from pollution. This complex imbrication of factors regarding people's allocation of settlements, risk exposure, formal and informal real estate market should be scrutinized. Therefore, a question related to these issues emerged from our observations: for whom is urban resilience designed in Metro Manila? ■

Prevention and Risk Management for the Wealthiest

by Rémi Guillem & Félix Vidal

Metro Manila is situated in a region particularly exposed to environmental hazards. In the last few years, the agglomeration has experienced strong monsoons and floods that have led the public authorities and private sector to take actions to improve urban resilience. However, these policies are often thought up without taking into account the reality of the low income or informal settler segments of the population. Thus, most of the advances in urban resilience concern mainly formal middle class or upper class residential areas or formal businesses.

This is the case for the established norms of zoning and construction (Magno-Ballesteros; 2000) which act as a reference for formal developments, especially large ones (Porio, 2015). During our visit to the Ayala Group development of Nuvali, housing aimed at upper middle classes surpasses the public risk compliance standards. Their efforts are used as a commercial argument to promote their real estate.

Thus, public actors also play the role of encouraging the private and formal sectors to invest in making a more resilient city. For instance, after the 2009 tropical storm Ondoy which caused massive flooding, the local government of Marikina in Metro Manila strongly urged its inhabitants to leave the ground floor of their buildings open to reduce clogging in case similar events happened again. Even though this measure was encoded in the new city building code, only one third of reconstruction projects honored this requirement. The main source of resistance was the poorer sector of the population who couldn't afford such investments.

In some cases, the application of these rules by the formal sector may also increase the level of vulnerability of the adjacent local informal communities. SM Mall, one of Metro Manila's biggest, is constructed in a floodable area next

photo credit: Kwon I.

to a river. Floors used by consumers are elevated, whereas those for cars are underneath. As a result, the top floors could be used as a shelter in case of flooding. However, this type of construction along the river shore using non-absorbent materials increases the vulnerability of the informal communities nearby. This only exacerbates the risk for poor informal communities, considering they are already the most vulnerable to natural disasters. ■

Intertwined Vulnerabilities for the Poorest

by Rosa De Luis Matesanz & Neïla Baba-Aïssa

Metro Manila has a land area of 636 square kilometers located in a semi-alluvial plain formed by the sediment flows from the Meycauayan and Malabon-Tullahan river basins to the North, the Pasig and Marikina river basin to the East, and the West of the Mangahan river basin. Such a position renders the metropolitan area "a vast drainage basin that experiences frequent inundations from overflowing rivers and storm waters," (Porio, 2012). Climate hazards, however, are not experienced in a similar fashion by all 14-plus million inhabitants of the megacity.

The double exposure framework of analysis offers a new understanding of how globalization intertwines with climate risks to produce structures of inequality to both access of resources and vulnerability to hazards (Meerow, 2017). This interdependence will help us inform our experience when visiting the extension of informal housing within the margins of the Pasig River.

Metro Manila is the economic hub of the country, where its GDP accounts for more than 30% of national wealth (Meerow, 2017). It is therefore a catalyst for the growing migratory flows from rural and more deprived areas of the country into the central region. High birth rates across the region suggest that the population will only continue to increase. Thus, the outcome is a densely populated megacity with increasing quantities of informal housing, many of which are located in particularly vulnerable positions to climate risks: underneath bridges, and across river banks.

As we witnessed during our visit to the Pasig River, social housing is scarce, and there exists a lack of infrastructure. Urban planning does not cater to the exponential population growth. Not only are informal settlers at great risk during seasonal flooding, but they are also struggle to recover in the aftermath of natural hazards. From an economic standpoint, we can argue that privatization of infrastructure and poor land tenure is critical within the context of environmental hazards. The materials used for housing are poor quality, making circumstances even more dangerous when seasonal flooding is acute—easily destroyed housing renders the poor at risk of bankruptcy. Lack of measures to prevent this situation or adequate relief programs only leave the poor even more socially excluded. On the other hand, when looking into existing infrastructure, we noticed that a lack of adequate sewage collection and water supply manifests itself in the form of highly visible polluted river margins. In positions of environmental risk, pollution coupled with lack of adequate hygiene measures and medical prevention renders the poor vulnerable to diseases such as cholera or dengue. ■

credit: Fouilland C.

Towards Resilience in Co-production?

by Andy Bernard-Moulin & Clarice Horn

When it comes to sustainability, the only wait to get to a resilience co-production and for everyone in Metro Manila is not only about coordinating with different actors, but letting the legitimate officials to organize, institutionalize and create a coherent tool to follow and evaluate both outputs and outcomes. Such project cannot be possible without the coordination of the many actors and builders of the city and most especially the capital that is required. Such lack of information ends in confusion in policy formulation, to a lack of coordination then to a blurred policy implementation. Moreover, it is advised that the new common agenda turn around these three principles that today lead Pasig city green Agenda: The first principle is prevention and preparation are clues in order to avoid the death of many human beings. The second one is the adoption of the existing system and administrative division in order to improve it and facilitate the cooperation among cities and actors. The third and last is an adaptation of all actors in order to change the actual status quo. These three pillars have to end up in deliverables which involve different political, private and civic actors in order to achieve not only a co-working, but a co-management and a co-ownership. The national and local agenda of every city would have to deal with these problems and end in deliverables that respect principles such as:

1. A respect for the urban biodiversity which includes the protection of urban and natural parks in order to have more green areas to mitigate greenhouse gas emissions, landslides, erosion and to allow the natural flow of water, avoiding floods;

2. A real Pollution reduction policy: including industrial air and water pollution, carbon emissions due to the transportation and visual pollution.

3. An effective water and waste management: avoiding water, an essential and scarce resource to become a weapon of social segregation and reorganizing the waste management so the solid waste of the richest cities end up in the poorest cities, transferring all externalities.

4. A high building regulation: to think about high buildings differently; not only they as the best shelter in case of tsunamis and can survive earthquakes, but as the most consuming energy agents in the city, one of the principal greenhouse gas emissions responsible and the most waste producer during their operation and demolition. ■

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Social Exclusion

Displacements and resettlements of the urban poor: on the way towards inclusive housing solutions?
by Kenza Sahbaoui & Anouk Aflalo Doré

Privatization of services: a reconfiguration of accessibility
by Iris Heraclide & Ainara Fernandez Tortosa

The claim of the citizens: CBOs and CSOs in the Philippines
by Li Xia

From theory to the field: Gawad Kalinga
by Daniela Espinola & Macarena González

Credits: Kwon I.

Displacements and resettlements of the urban poor: on the way towards inclusive housing solutions?

by Kenza Sahbaoui & Anouk Aflalo Doré

Source: rappler.com/nation/42200-informal-settlers-relocation-manila-bay

Metro Manila is characterized by informality. It is a fast-growing global metropolis where the market and the government are often absent, overwhelmed, powerless or disengaged, leaving inhabitants to provide for themselves. Public authorities in Metro Manila must therefore confront informality: an estimated 40% of Metro Manila's population (around 5.6 million individuals) live in informal settlements. Alarmingly, 104,219 dwellings have been built in the city's "danger zones," (World Bank, 2011) which include nearby creeks, rivers, and estuaries prone to flooding. This leads to vulnerability and prevents the natural discharge of waterways during monsoons and typhoons, which is needed to mitigate the effects of flooding. After two disastrous tropical storms in 2009, various government agencies, including the National Housing Authority and the Housing and Urban Development Coordinating Council (HUDCC), decided to tackle this issue in a more proactive way by developing housing and facilities programs and new land use plans. These new land use plans sought to respond to pressure from real-estate developers seeking to build in flood-prone areas while addressing the needs of vulnerable populations. Therefore, informal settlers are to be identified and relocated with the help of private companies involved in new constructions. However, this policy, like

many of its kind in large metropolises facing this issue, has been harshly criticized by communities, media outlets, and NGOs. Recently, criticism emerged after a relocation plan was decided to displace 500,000 informal settlers from Manila and Quezon City to the rural surroundings of the city in Calauan, San Jose del Monte, and Rodriguez (Metro Manila Development Authority, 2017). Informal settlers are often moved outside of the city primarily because of land pressure. Although relocated individuals receive improved living facilities and concrete houses, these communities are often destabilized: its members lose their sources of income and support networks, and have a hard time finding new employment. This eventually drives many to move right back into Metro Manila.

We had the opportunity to hear alternative policies from creative voices in local government and civil society. They advocate for more inclusive urban governance practices in order to avoid reproducing the failures of the past massive displacements. From this perspective, community-based planning is an essential way to design policies in a more bottom-up approach that includes informal settlers themselves in all steps of the process. When we visited Pasig City, Raquel Austria Naciongayo from the City Environment and Natural Resources Office pointed out that community based planning was a new priority of the government, and that the public sector needed to include local actors and village leaders. According to Anna Marie Karaos from Ateneo de Manila, lessons can be learned from local communities. She is part of the Urban Poverty and Governance Program of the John J. Carrol Institute, which is developing projects to address the lack of decent and safe housing for the urban poor while empowering local actors. For her, communities living with inadequate services and high vulnerability are finding solutions in spite of governments and are organizing to avoid the dictates of the powerful formal actors evicting them. The network of community-based savings groups like the Homeless People's Federation of the Philippines is an example of a successful initiative to mobilize communities for their own development (Karaos, 2004).
These organizations are also working on alternatives to displacement. For instance, they are currently advocating for mixing formality and informality through in-situ resettlement sites. This seeks to improve the insufficient conditions of current resettlement sites, which often lack basic services and are always very far from the original location of the displaced community. The public sector is not always addressing these contradictions, but these organizations are proposing solutions like in-situ resettlements sites and slum-upgrading in order to guarantee informal residents the right to stay. Indeed, there is an important need to generate alternatives to the lack of land. For example, some NGOs are working on vertical housing systems to prevent floods in the vulnerable areas where informal settlements are located. Community-managed mortgage schemes or possible partnerships with private companies to fund relocations on entrepreneurial farms are also examples of possible innovative solutions to the issue of informal settlement relocation (Hodal, 2013). ■

Privatization of services: a reconfiguration of accessibility

by Iris Heraclide & Ainara Fernandez Tortosa

Credits: Kwon I.

Privatization in Metro Manila has overtaken the whole city in terms of urban development and management. Indeed, the impact of the private sector is tremendous when it comes to planning and managing the space of the metropolitan area, since it encompasses several crucial sectors such as service delivery, housing, and leisure activities. During this study trip, we were exposed to the discourse and initiatives of powerful private actors, as well as in-depth research papers about the privatization dynamics occurring in Metro Manila. From these, we were able to disentangle two main processes that are driving the increasing influence of private actors in the metropolis's development. Governance gaps in service delivery create voids for private actors to fill, rendering their services vital for the city in order to function; at the same time, family-owned conglomerates have ruled the Philippines' private sector for decades and are fully entrenched in the social, economic and political landscapes of the country. One example is the Ayala family corporation, which owns 49% of the oldest and most profitable bank of the country, the Bank of the Philippine Islands (Lorraine and Mouton, 2017). In order to emphasize the consequences of the dynamics this context creates, we analyze the case of water and how its privatization trajectory affects its accessibility by the urban poor.

Metro Manila's Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System (MWSS) is currently able to supply water to just two-thirds of its intended

recipients for an average of 16 hours a day, with a level Non-Revenue Water (NRW) of 56%. The firm was privatized in 1997 following the 1986 proclamation signed by President Corazon C. Aquino, launching the program of privatization of certain government corporations and assets, which led to the Committee of Privatization and the Asset Privatization Trust (Presidential Declaration no. 50, 1986). This proclamation was pursuant to Executive Order number 5, signed in the same year, which called for changes to the organizational structure of government in order to increase efficiency and effectiveness in the provision of public services. As a result of this regulatory framework, the MWSS was privatized and the delivery of water to the metro area was divided in half, with each area to be serviced by a different company: Mayniland was to provide water to the western zone, and Manila Water to the eastern one (Jun and Malaluan, 2008). But the concessions followed quite divergent paths: Mayniland went bankrupt and was turned over to MWSS, while Manila Water flourished and is now listed on the Philippine Stock Exchange.

Isolating the effect that privatization has had over water governance is not a simple task, given that it shall be contrasted against a scenario of public institutions that are effectively incapable of granting universal coverage, or of upgrading and maintaining infrastructure to control water loss. We can, however, examine the divergence in attempts by firms to recover payments between upper-class users and those living in deprived areas by contrasting technical improvements with increased policing of water usage and an increase in the costs of water for the urban poor (Cheng, 2013). This discrepancy has led to unequal efficiency in the operation of utilities, and the absence of improved water provision to the urban poor in particular is obscured by broader statistics of improved water delivery under privatization. Thus, while water governance has improved overall, a reconfiguration of delivery has increased access for a certain share of the population while becoming more expensive and policed for another.

With service delivery and urban development planning largely left to corporations, some crucial questions arise: who benefits from these ventures, and why? In the words of the brilliant Professor Mary Riggs, at the end of the day what matters for a company is profit-making. In the management of access to water in Metro Manila, this maxim has so far manifested in a reconfiguration of who can now better access water provision, and who is worse off from its privatization and the subsequent governance structure. In Metro Manila, these days, water is for those who can pay for it. ■

The claim of the citizens: CBOs and CSOs in the Philippines

by Li Xia

Various international organizations including the Asian Development Bank (ADB), United Nations, and World Bank have sought to promote good governance in the Philippines by supporting and empowering local communities. These initiatives have led to the formation of many new Community Based Organizations (CBOs) and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) across the country. Within the Filipino political context, these CBOs tend to interact with Barangays. An ADB report shows that the Philippines has the highest rate of NGOs per capita in Asia: between 249,000 and 497,000 CSOs engage in a broad range of activities across the country (ADB, 2013).

However, during our study trip, when we engaged with land developers from Ayala Land and the BCDA, or when visited Pasig city hall, hardly anyone mentioned civil society organizations. Many development projects directly result in social exclusion, and are therefore closely related to the work of CSOs. Yet it seems clear that the claims and voices of the impoverished communities being impacted by development are not being heard. Through conversations with Ayala Land, we learned that most development plans are made internally with limited government regulation. One example of this weak regulation can be seen in the fact that the government-mandated social housing is actually occupied by white collar workers, thereby excluding members of lower social classes who are not being considered. We did not have the chance to perform field work at the Barangay level and get in touch with lower-income communities and CBOs, but according to the accounts we heard from students and professors from Ateneo University, there is evidence that CSOs and CBOs do not function properly. This is a common phenomenon in developing countries such as the Philippines that are still dealing with the ramifications of feudal property relations in many rural situations of local governance.

Either socially marginalized people are not well-informed, or existing CSOs or CBOs aren't trusted. This dysfunction likely results from the fact that "some of these (CSOs & CBOs) were established by politicians, businesspersons, and bureaucrats to advance personal, rather than public, welfare" (ADB, 2013). As a result, in many cases, when socially excluded people have claims, they often surpass the CSO, CBO, or Barangay level, and directly seek contact with people from higher levels. If this claim places community-based "officials" at risk, these lower level officials sometimes might try to intercept it. Such cases have also been documented in China, which has a special petition system called "Shangfang" that shares similarities with the Philippines. On the other hand, poor and socially excluded communities are often poorly educated and therefore do not understand how to express their claims, or what kind of claims CBOs are able to help with. Some Filipinos we met with informed us that "people might come and complain about their husbands and other very personal affairs," and that CBOs are often not "prepared" to deal with these issues. As Maria Elena Chiong-Javier argued in her recent presentation at DLSU, studies on the role of "Second Level Organizations" and "empowerment of communities" suggest that gathering people from different level of organizations and forming both "Primary Organizations", "Tertiary Organizations" and "Mixed Organizations" might help to better empower CBOs.

It is apparent that planners and developers are not being strictly regulated to develop inclusive urban design. Moreover, CBOs and CSOs do not perfectly represent the lower classes and have limited bargaining power. It can be expected that in the long run, economic and educational improvements among low income communities will lead to more effective CBOs. In the mean-

time, existing organizations need to strengthen and increase their organizational skills and influence within the political sphere. For only with a strong civil society can the condition of the urban poor improve.

From theory to the field: Gawad Kalinga

by Daniela Espinola & Macarena González

In the struggle to improve the living conditions of the poor, several attempts at social inclusion have been made by civil society in the Philippines. This last article aims to illustrate one of the most important civil society organizations in the country, and the dynamics under which it operates. Gawad Kalinga (GK) is a Filipino NGO, founded by Tony Meloto. Working since 1994, it formally established itself in Bagong Silang in 2003, Caloocan City (Gawad, 2014), in Metro Manila. GK emerged from a Catholic youth camp, and worked with the Catholic missionary organisation Couples for Christ until 2009 before becoming an independent NGO (The Guardian, 2016).

Jano Boscher Photography

GK's mission is to end poverty for 5 million families by 2024, guided by a Development Roadmap composed of three stages (Gawad, 2014):

— Social Justice: through donations of land and resources to build homes for the homeless
— Social Artistry: growing a holistic model for development through collaboration with institutions and individuals
— Social Progress: envisioning a new standard of living and working toward sustainability, the eradication of poverty, and the restoration of human dignity.

GK has received numerous recognitions and awards from different entities such as Skoll, The World Economic Forum, and many others; they also developed important international partnerships with firms like Shell Petroleum Corporation, Ford, Air France, and others.

GK's core activities focus on a long-term improvement to housing and community building, addressing the issue of urban poverty by empowering the poor through Filipino values--namely partnership and solidarity. (Graham, 2014) GK strives to respond actively to emergency situations through established networks of volunteers and trustees.

For GK, poverty is a man-made behavioral problem with economic consequences that can be unmade through the collaboration of social actors (private-public partnerships) and by building social enterprises as viable mechanisms for poverty reduction: for example, by sourcing products directly from farming communities (i.e Rags to Riches (Graham, 2014)).

Since its inception, GK has expanded its work to over 2,000 organized communities, and 250,000 families have been housed (The Guardian, 2016). The organization has received funding from individual donors, grants and corporations, and has been adopted in other developing nations like Cambodia, Indonesia, and Papua New Guinea.

In the framework of sustainable tourism development, one of the most important projects promoted by Gawad Kalinga are the "Enchanted Farms". This kind of community-based tourism

aims to attract national and foreign tourists while cultivating local entrepreneurs, supporting local farmers and generating wealth in the countryside (Zandee, Roanne & Valdez, 2007). According to the literature, this initiative engages a bottom-up approach where residents' participation is combined with an inward-oriented development that strives for the local sharing of tourism-generated revenues (Zandee, Roanne & Valdez, 2007). One of the most relevant points stressed by the organization is the need for a "pro-poor tourism agenda" that aims to help perpetuate the growing Filipino tourism industry, while simultaneously leveraging tourism to increase employment and alleviate poverty (Zandee, Roanne, Valdez, 2007).

Although the efforts of Gawad Kalinga are largely recognized among civil society and academic circles, the organization has not been exempt of critics, mainly from a gender perspective. Because GK emerges from a religious community, issues such as the use of contraception for family planning have been banned from the villages built by the organization (Estrada, 2015). Critics often point to a patriarchal conception of the family that perpetuates women's vulnerability in a context of poverty, due to the fact that support provided by GK is predominantly delivered to the men of the family (Estrada, 2015).

But despite its critics, GK is recognized nationally and internationally as one of the most successful efforts in the fight against poverty in the Philippines and the Southeast Asian region. By promoting a vision that treats the people mired in urban poverty as active agents of their own future and illustrating how the participation of civil society in the improvement of living conditions, GK has demonstrated how NGOs can play a leading role in the delivery of quality social services in the absence of private or government actors. ■

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Credits: Kwon I.

Big changes will require all voices

Conclusion by Hafid Ait Sidi Hammou & Andrew Lombardi

Credits: Kwon I.

It is with profound appreciation for, and a tremendous debt of gratitude to, everyone we met in Metro Manila that we wrote this report. Our fascination with the megalopolis began during a debrief in a cold Paris classroom in December 2017, ran high during the exhilarating days and nights of our visit, and has persisted throughout our efforts to document it all here. We hope the final product reflects our effort to understand such a unique place, and that the synthesis of what we have seen, learned, read, and discussed throughout our insightful week is valuable to others.

Since our group presentation at Ateneo de Manila University on the last day of our visit, we have been warned not to focus merely

on the symptoms of the problems in Metro Manila, but to dig for their root causes. We've been warned also that despite our eye-opening visit, we have only scratched the surface of these systemic, stubborn problems—and in many ways, we can see that is true. While writing this report, we were well aware of the limits of what we can offer to those who have dedicated their lives to making lasting change in Metro Manila. However, after just one week, we developed a deep empathy for the people and the city. We left feeling compelled to understand it better in order to identify opportunities for change which may help in some small way to improve the functionality of Metro Manila and the lives of its inhabitants.

Metro Manila's current administrative system reflects the historical pivot toward decentralization that led to the current fragmented governance of the city, which has been highly criticized. Criticisms have also been levied against non-governmental international organizations involved in Metro Manila's governance, like the Asian Development Bank, Gawad Kalinga, and others. Alongside LGUs and NGOs, private firms often insert themselves into this governance coalition to fill gaps in service provision, driven by economic and business interests that ostensibly aim to make the city, and the country it leads, more efficient and competitive. This last goal of competitiveness, where the aspirations of economic and political elites intersect, seems to be the most powerful driver of decision-making in Metro Manila. It is based on this will to attract investment and reach "global city" standards that each of the seventeen cities strive, with varying degrees of success, to associate progress with competitiveness. By fostering competition among cities within the megalopolis, the fragmented environment itself becomes an instrument of governance. This approach may yield isolated results for a limited segment of the city's population, but we believe that building lasting, inclusive solutions that confront the shortcomings of such a governance pattern requires a shift in focus. De-prioritizing global competition in favor of inclusive resiliency planning that engages Metro Manila's community-based NGOs and builds bottom-up, egalitarian solutions may be the first step. Metro Manila lives under constant threat of all types of natural disasters, while also being one of the densest urban areas in the world. With these compound issues, a wholesale overhaul of risk resiliency in Metro Manila is vital to the city's very existence. When a storm, earthquake, or typhoon strikes Metro Manila, infrastructures from transit to electricity to housing are thrown into chaos, and its enormous informal settler population is scattered throughout the metropolis. Informal settlers often relocate to relegated areas of the city where access to basic services is weak and their arrival may further disrupt infrastructures. This cycle will continue until all residents of Metro Manila are considered in strategic planning, and adequate consideration of the poor requires direct engagement. While the cities' public and private actors have focused on resiliency in some isolated instances, the nature of the projects we saw suggested that the needs of the urban poor were not a serious factor. While the SM Mall boasts an innovative design can evade the typical damage suffered by a building constructed in a flood zone, its ultimate achievement is limiting the interruption of access to a shopping mall for middle class consumers. The slum clearance along the river of Pasig City to make room for a green-friendly bike path may reduce pollution and provide natural flood absorption, but it also meant the forced migration of thousands of settlers. Our trip showed us that life in Metro Manila is so largely linked to resilience, and that it is already ingrained in policy design and company plans. But these efforts manifest in ways that do not help enough of the city—and when a huge but vulnerable portion of the population is left in desperate

situations it affects everyone, impeding the function of the city overall. Incorporating the poor and working class into a coordinated, Metro Manila-wide resiliency strategy is not just about a moral imperative. A more complete plan that helps the city run more effectively for everyone is better for everyone. A 2017 report by 100 Resilient Cities insists that engaging "with diverse stakeholder communities in the planning process" and integrating projects into "a broader city vision that includes vulnerable populations" are mandatory pillars of genuine resilience efforts (100 Resilient Cities, 2017). Resilience for all means less pollution along rivers, cleaner water, less stolen electricity, less clogging of the roads and trains, less crime. And once these basic issues are ameliorated for all of Metro Manila, then it may be a truly premier competitor among global cities.

In our visit and our studies, we've seen how institutional fragmentation in Metro Manila directly impacts inhabitants' experiences by examining how equitable utility and service provision is crippled under the current structure of governance. In terms of access to water, affordable housing, and reliable transportation, Manileños not only live in different cities, but different worlds. Developing risk resiliency policies that are grounded in community-based experiences can be an opportunity to align the seventeen cities on one comprehensive plan, bolstered by the acknowledgment of their interdependence. Genuine resiliency can't be reached without long-term solutions for the most vulnerable parts of the city. This starts by looking at them as active agents of change and innovative partners.

Given Metro Manila's current composition, incremental change, step-by-step coordination, and co-production seem more realistic than any radical top-down implementation of a monolithic governmental body with total enforcement power. A massive amount of negotiations and consultations that honor the differences between Metro Manila's cities, coupled with strong channels of communication and powers of implementation that facilitate project execution across the cities, would be imperative for the undertaking of such a tremendous task—but it may be the comprehensive change in approach for lasting improvements that Metro Manila needs. portion of the population is left in desperate situations it affects everyone, impeding the function of the city overall. Incorporating the poor and working class into a coordinated, Metro Manila-wide resiliency strategy is not just about a moral imperative. A more complete plan that helps the city run more effectively for everyone is better for everyone. A 2017 report by 100 Resilient Cities insists that engaging "with diverse stakeholder communities in the planning process" and integrating projects into "a broader city vision that includes vulnerable populations" are mandatory pillars of genuine resilience efforts (100 Resilient Cities, 2017). Resilience for all means less pollution along rivers, cleaner water, less stolen electricity, less clogging of the roads and trains, less crime. And once these basic issues are ameliorated for all of Metro Manila, then it may be a truly premier competitor among global cities.

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