

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE: THE ROLE OF THE PASTORAL MINISTRY

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A Situation And A Problem

On the evening of February 16, 1982, the representatives of some 4,000 families in an industrializing area of Davao City held a meeting to assess the events of the previous two weeks. The local political leader, the *barangay* captain, had started to spread the word that the Southern Philippines Development Administration (SPDA) was to begin implementing the plan for industrializing the government designated Bunawan District. This is an area of about 15 kilometers along the shoreline of Davao Gulf stretching from highway markers kilometer 10 to kilometer 25. This area is colour-coded orange on the city government's demographic maps: an area with a high-density population which is 52,318 as of 1982 census.¹

The group met again the next day to finalize two letters: one to the first Lady, Imelda Marcos, and the other to the *Mindanao Daily Mirror*, a local newspaper. The letter to the First Lady referred to a story published by a local newspaper in which their respective *barangay* captains reportedly agreed with the demolition plan and the relocation of their homes. While in no way questioning the authority of their respective *barangay* captains, the representatives made it clear that, in this instance, the statements made at the meeting did not represent their views. They rejected the *barangay* captains as their representatives in discussing the forthcoming demolition and relocation plans. Their letter, with some 1,585 signatures affixed to it, politely but forcefully reminded the First Lady of the statements she made at a cabinet meeting on April 21, 1980 where she had insisted on the humanistic approach to development and said: "Let's make it a policy: no more demolitions, no more destroying of homes. If you have to destroy one tree or one house in the name of development, it is not true development."²

In their letter to the *Mirror*, the residents pointed out that the *barangay* captain of their area had formed a paper organization, the *Barangay Sasa Residents Association*, hand-picked the officers, held a meeting and formulated a resolution -- all in the name of the residents but without them even knowing about it. What is presently happening in the Sasa-Panakan area of Davao City is representative of many previous situations where the implementation of highly-regarded government priorities seemingly overlook those most

¹*Statistical Variables*, Quarterly Publication of the National Census and Statistics Office, Region XI, Davao City, First Quarter 1982.

²*The Mindanao Mirror, Times Journal and Bulletin Today*, April 22, 1980.

affected by their plans: the poor, and all too often voiceless people in the grass roots communities.

An analysis of the events in the Sasa-Panakan area as a case in point will enable us to formulate some reflections on pastoral ministry to these communities caught up in the industrialization priorities formulated by government technocrats and transnational investors. This might be helpful to promote a permanent dialogue and to opt for the squatters, the industrial workers and the marginal communities which happen to be in the right place at the wrong moment. The experience of these grass roots' communities caught up in the industrializing process is another aspect of social change which is begging for our attention.

The first industrial estates established about 90 years ago in the United Kingdom were private, profit-motivated, and commercially operated real estate ventures. The spread to other countries took place in the 1950's. From the West, industrial estates were established in the West, Middle East, and Far East. It has only been in the past twenty years that most of the capitalist-oriented countries of East and Southeast Asia have chosen the option for economic development strategies based, to a large degree, on an export-oriented process of industrialization (EOI). This priority is usually a decision made by an elite group of investors and technocrats who set in motion process whereby their country's relationship to the world market is altered by producing different goods (labor intensive manufactured goods) with a new source of capital (transnational corporations) and a different system of labor control (a work force tightly controlled by law, strong company policies and weak or controlled, unions).

This model of development relies heavily on one of the most abundant resources which these countries can offer to the international investment market: cheap labor. The chosen strategy comprises the duty-free import of raw materials or components from outside the country; their assembly or processing by low-salaried, unskilled, but highly productive workers, and the duty-free export of the goods for sale in other countries.

An export-oriented industrialization model is favored in the hope that it will provide sure job opportunities, foreign exchange earnings, more foreign investments, and technology transfers. The strategy depends heavily on the participation of transnational corporations. In commenting on the book by Frederick C. Deyo,³ Robert R. Snow observed that the first and still dominant wave of writings on Asian export-oriented industries lauded the apparent "economic miracles" which were generated in Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, and South Korea. However, a second and more critical wave of writings has focused on the flaws in the miracle. While many of these critiques assert a connection between export-oriented industries and authoritarian regimes, Snow points out that Deyo's writings make the most rigorous attempt to date to analyze the corporate political and social consequences of a government's decision to base its economic hopes

³Frederick C. Deyo, *Dependent Development and Industrial Order: An Asian Case Study*, (New York: Praeger Publications, 1981).

on the export-oriented industries.

For him, the degree to which a nation bases its economic development on labor-intensive industrialization corresponds strongly with a tendency to enact authoritarian controls in order to keep labor cheap, productive, and disciplined. When effective, such controls produce an attractive climate for foreign capital. Once established, export-oriented industries tend to further entrench authoritarian corporate domination by weakening the local commercial investors and other social groupings which might challenge ruling elites; by providing the government with a foreign source of revenue controlled by local groups; by paving the way for a highly centralized union structure and finally by reducing solidarity among workers. The demand for an export-oriented industry tends to demoralize the workers and weaken their commitment to the goals of the company, union and government.

Another aspect of the export-oriented industrialization impact on individuals and communities is the preparation of the infrastructure for export-oriented industries that goes hand in hand with development priorities and leads to the growing phenomenon of various people being displaced from their lands and homes. Industrial enterprises need land, extensive tracts of it. They need energy, cheap and accessible, usually in the form of hydroelectrical and geothermal plants. To provide such needs and to accommodate plantations for agribusiness, export-processing zones, forest and logging concessions, industrial farms, dumping areas for the "obnoxious" or pollutive industries, people have to go. In being forced by their leaders to march the road of progress, according to the export-oriented industrialization model, more and more of the common people are losing their lands and homes.

In the Philippines, when Martial Law was declared on September 21, 1972, the government undertook an ambitious plan to harness the country's major rivers for hydroelectric generation purposes. The Middle East oil crisis as well as the demand for electricity for the growing number of transnationals that were operating or were about to operate were reasons for the immediate building of dams.

The T'boli people of Lake Sebu, South Cotabato first heard of the dams in July 1977 when survey teams of the Cotabato-Agusan River Basin Development Project arrived in the lake area. Lake Selotan was to have a 50-meter dam, which would flood 400 hectares of T'boli ricelands. The Lanon river was to have a 56-meter dam, flooding 1,000 hectares. In Agusan del Sur, about 100 hectares of land and 60 families would be directly affected by the construction of the dam in the Agdaon river, while 1,000 families living on 17,000 hectares would be affected by dam construction in the Agusan river. The plan was to be carried out in the next 25 years but the settlers in the area, not having received any promise of relocation, remained on the land.

The Tago river in Surigao del Sur is planned to be dammed for irrigation purposes. Around 3,000 families will be dislocated. The Manobos and other settlers do not want to leave because the government had not promised any resettlement plan. They see the dams as part of the plan to displace them so that corporate farms can be established in the area.

Six big dams are planned for the Pulangui river in the Bukidnon-Cotabato area. This project will be financed by the Asian Development Bank. Four of these dams will affect 17,000 Bukidnon and Manobos in the Bukidnon provinces, and two of the dams will be in Cotabato affecting Manobos and Maguindanaws. Roughly 500,000 hectares of land in Bukidnon alone will be flooded.

In the Corailleras in Northern Luzon, two dams have already been completed: The Ambuclao and Binga dams which displaced 3,000 Ibaloi families in the 50's and 60's. None of these families have been resettled as promised. To add insult to injury, the same people are once more threatened with eviction since a geothermal plant is to be built on their homeland in the next decade.

The Chico River Basin Development Project of the National Power Corporation has not made any headway, even if it is a priority project, because of the peoples' resistance. The aim is to construct four dams which will cover a total of 1,400 square kilometers of choiced agricultural lands. An estimated 100,000 population will be relocated or affected by waterhead regulations. In the province of Apayao, the Gened dam will inundate 9,400 hectares. Some 850 residences of Kabugao Poblacion will go under 100 meters of water as well. The native Apayaos, who have been officially informed about the project, are told to wait. Meanwhile, survey teams and drilling teams of the National Power Corporation continue to work, in secret or in various guises.

To this long list of hydroelectric projects could be added an even longer list of industrial estates and free trade zones, logging concessions, and agribusiness plantations. All these development projects were responsible for the displacement of thousands of people. The list is far from complete. Yet, it shows the gravity of the effect of government policies which invite foreign investors and investments with various incentives such as tax exemptions, cheap labor, and cheap energy, while the people are consigned to an unknown future with insufficient resources.

A Case Study: Sasa-Panacan, Davao City

As a case in point, we could consider the industrialization priority of the Philippine government as it is now being implemented in an area of Davao City, Mindanao, some 800 kilometers south of Manila. The government planners under the supervision of the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) have chosen a national economic priority favoring industrialization for export. This policy has been officially adapted and made part of the law of the land by virtue of Presidential Decree 1200, signed by President Marcos on September 21, 1977. For the first time in the history of the country, development planning is being done in the context of a Five-Year Plan laid out within a Ten-Year Development Plan. Both of these short and medium-term plans have been formulated within the broad framework and general objectives of a long-term development plan up to the year 2000. This constituted a significant breakthrough in national development planning and policy formulation.

In a speech delivered at the closing of the Fifth Philippine Business Conference at the Philippine International Convention Center on November 16, 1979, President Marcos stated that in view of the ongoing expansion program the industrialization for export was to be considered as the fundamental thrust of the national economy. He assured the business world that priority will be given to a program of industrialization and export-oriented growth. This policy statement and its implementation are very much in line with the regional development strategy for the 1980's, as formulated by the 36th session of the United National Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) in Bangkok. The strategy is ESCAP's contribution to the International Development Decade which was considered by the United Nations General Assembly at a special session in August 1980.

It is important to note that the ESCAP strategy emphasizes peoples' participation in the development process, collective self-reliance among developing countries, and international cooperation. "One of the most important principles it advances is that ... development should be in the hands of the people..."⁴ It is this particular question of peoples' participation, or the lack of it in the process of change, necessitated by the industrialization for export priority, that worries pastoral workers and other social change agents.

This statement of official policy is very much in the spirit of the consensus statement adapted by the 70 members of the organizing group of the Bishops-Businessmen's conference for Human Development (BBC) in 1971. That initial meeting explored the mutual concern and supplementary roles of the business and church sectors vis-a-vis some of the critical problems of social unrest then facing the country.

It was decided that by consolidating the efforts and resources of the two sectors and in collaboration with other sectors of society, the BBC could more effectively work towards the solution of such problems and promote the human development of the Philippines. A consensus statement which was adopted by the participants gave the rationale for the organization of the BBC. It stated that: "The Church has a task in this world ... a responsibility towards the temporal order ... she must necessarily concern herself with the development of people; economic, social, political, cultural, and spiritual... The modern Filipino manager must become a strategist for social development. The new mission is to maximize human resources. The new challenge is to make the common interest of the whole community his own-self interest. The new businessman is to build an enterprise on the total development of man."⁵

The Demolition Operations in Sasa-Panacan

The events of Holy Week in April 1980, in which some 3,500 families of three Davao

⁴Quoted in the *San Pedro Express*, Davao City, May 7-8, 1980.

⁵Conference for Human Development, Manila, 1971.

barrios received notice of demolition and relocation to a resettlement area some 28 kilometers away from their present location, strongly contradicts the above statements of principle and policy.

During the months that followed reception of the notices, an atmosphere of fear and insecurity hovered over the community, as mysterious letters and rumors spread the word: "Get ready, there's going to be a fire." "Co-incidental" fires have burned down whole areas where people refused to be relocated or opposed to demolition of their houses. The following personal account gives a good cross-section of an experience of those who were forced to move out to make way for the infrastructure of industrialization. A personal experience of what can be called a "demolition-relocation event" ("O-n-R") has led to an ongoing, mostly negative experience which can best be called "dislocation". A more positive experience would be called "resettlement". Let us learn from those who have gone through it.

A Personal Account

Pepe and Espi insist that, even or late as one week before the actual demolition of their house, there was no detailed information as to where they would be moved. There were promises that the new relocation area would be ready for them: complete with roads, electricity, water, and emergency supplies to assist them in the transition period while they were rebuilding. One morning, a work crew came and dismantled their home leaving it to Pepe and his young sons to stockpile the materials and salvage what could be used for rebuilding. Even at this point there was no news as to where they would be relocated, and so they spent the first few nights with neighbors whose turn has not yet come.

Espi recalls how disappointed she was to witness the breakdown of the spirit of unity in the community. They had tried to organize themselves, but the belief that preparations were still lacking lulled them into a false sense of security: "It is still a long way off" The city engineer announced that the area had been divided into blocks and that they would be moved as units. This tactic seemed to divide the group; all the more so when one block seemed to be favored more than the others.

The family lived for three months in a makeshift or temporary shelter. They realized that all the promises of the city engineer's work crew and the military officers on the scene were merely words; there were no relocation areas as yet and no preparations. Finally, word came that part of a plantation had been set aside for them and that a raffle would be held to assign the lots fairly to those whose homes were already dismantled.

The raffle was held amidst much confusion; some claimed that those who had moved away should not be included, and those who had stayed should get

first choice. Pepe and Espi were included and were awarded a lot in neighborhood but still there was no transportation. Eventually, the soldiers did provide transportation in trucks but the trucking seemed to be more available to those families who "... had pretty daughters willing to associate with the soldiers...", as Espi expressed it.

The people were promised lots measuring 10 meters by 13 meters or 150 square meters. The reality was that many received only approximately 100 square meters so that, as the city engineer's overseers expressed it, each hectare (10,000 square meters) would provide for 100 families. Later, other officials said that many family lots were reduced to allow for the land to be set aside for community services such as the school, chapel, health center, and *barangay* hall.

Their temporary shelter was their home for one year since they had no savings to buy what was needed to rebuild quickly. Besides Pepe could not take too much time off to build a permanent house since he had to provide the income for the family with five children. There was also the risk that he would lose his job if he absented himself too often. He was ultimately able to construct a more permanent home. His work at a plywood factory made it possible for him to secure much needed scraps of wood and to borrow tools for his home building.

The only access to the area was a muddy and rutfilled track passable by truck, close to the area, but only footpaths actually led into the area. This meant that the menfolk had to hike out to the national highway in order to get transportation to work, and the women had to go almost three kilometers to the marketplace. The distance and the hilly, swampy ground made it difficult for them to carry much when they did make the trip. Adequate water became a problem since most purchased water from neighbors who managed to purchase electric pumps and went into the business of supplying water at P3.50 per drum. The few government supplied pumps were usually out of order because of the wear and tear of drawing water by hand pump from a depth of about 140 feet.

Pepe and Espi considered their situation before better than now because they had less expenses in travel to work, to school, to market, and the water was free. Being near the sea, they could supplement their diet and budget by fishing as well as clam and mussel digging along the shore line. They considered their former residence by the sea healthier: they had access to the ocean for washing and bathing: the regular tide carried away much of the garbage and filth tossed into the waters because the channel was deep and the current swift. Nining, the youngest daughter only nine, is old enough to remember that "...before I used to wade in the water everyday but now no more because the ocean is far away and the carfare is too high." Both Pepe and Espi strongly advise those facing relocation to organize themselves well and to speak as a united voice before the demolition takes place. "... don't trust their promises ... check the relocation site

before-hand ... go and see for yourself if the place is ready."⁶

The story of Pepe and Espi is representative of thousands of grass roots people who were never consulted or involved in the decision-making process as a result of the export-oriented industrialization process which led to a drastic upheaval of their personal lives. They are part of the trade-off, the cost in terms of human suffering to implement the industrializing priority of the government in one area of Davao City.

There was no professional guidance given to them in facing up to, and dealing with the transition: the presence or proximity of higher authorities was more in the implementation of the demolition move and the enforcement of it by armed military personnel and agents of local government; there was little clarification of such concrete details as to when the demolition would take place or where they were to be relocated; the respect of dignity and human value was more in the breach than in the observance, as gathered from the survey regarding the harassment and abuses by the implementing group. In general, the demolitions and relocations have been poorly planned or, if planned at all, were either hastily or poorly implemented.

There is a strong basis for the judgement that the majority of the people who are relocated undergo a traumatic experience in the demolition-and-relocation process. The factors contributing to this trauma included the lack of an organized system of relocation, inferior conditions in the new area as compared to the residential site they formerly occupied, increased financial difficulties, inadequate community services and no meaningful consultation process between the government implementors and the people affected.

In the past four months, July 1 to October 31 period, two fires have taken place within the Sasa area; one involving 27 homes located over the water behind Planter's Products, Inc. just within the confines of Kilometer 11 Fatima Chapel; the other within Immaculada Concepcion — Kilometer 12. The Planter's fire is said to have started when there was an unexpected brownout on a Sunday evening. People began to light candles; a few forgot to check the valves on their bottled gas tanks. Two explosions took place in the house near the entrance to the community bordering the fence of Planter's. With the entrance blocked by flames, the people had no recourse but to jump into the water below their homes. The strong wire mesh fence of Planter's blocked any exit through the company property.

Fortunately, it was low tide and all escaped safely but 27 homes were destroyed. Even the posts supporting their houses burned badly due to the low level of the water. Various relief agencies came to their assistance with food, clothing, beddings, and medicines. Many used the nearby Police outpost building for temporary shelter; others used the stalls in the market place.

The Parish Priest, Fr. Donald Bouchard, PME, received some funding to aid the rebuilding process. He refused to release the money until he had definite word that the residents — all squatters — would be allowed to return to the area. When asked about this,

⁶Quoted from taped interviews in their home, Sasa-Panacan, Davao City, March 1981.

the *Barangay* Captain answered: "Frankly, there is no place else for them to go — yes, they may go back to the area..." With that, the funds were released by the priest and the rebuilding process began.

It has been a largely individual process — no community effort seems to be operative. There has been no community planning for the rebuilding. The people are thankful to be able to rebuild on the original site which is convenient to their sources of livelihood and many of the facilities that they value: market place and schools close by, access to public transportation, and resumption of a familiar pattern of life.

Quite different is the situation of the other community which has experienced the trauma of fire as last October 7th. On that date, a despondent resident of the community known locally as Immaculada Concepcion/Km. 12 committed suicide. It is generally believed that he was overwhelmed by the bills resulting from his recent stay in the hospital and the prospect of ongoing burden of medical expenses. After what most thought was a "welcome home" luncheon with his family he went to the family sleeping quarters while the others cleaned up after the meal. In the privacy of the room, he doused himself with gasoline and struck a match. The resulting fire killed him and destroyed the homes of 57 neighboring families. An infant was killed when a container of propane gas exploded. The metal ring on the top of the container flew through the air a distance of more than 30 meters and imbedded itself in the baby's skull. The mother holding the baby was unhurt.⁷

Almost immediately, the residents used the lessons learned during the past three years of community organizing efforts in their area. Their first priority was to re-occupy their land for fear the Government officials would cordon it off and forbid them entrance. This has happened in several other areas of the city after a fire. On the very morning after the fire, the community met and in a discussion that lasted several hours, the residents decided on the following:

1. Divide the area into 30 equal plots/lots each 23 feet by 25 feet;
2. Give one lot to each of the 24 house-owners who were burned out;
3. Give one lot to each of the six longest renters;
4. Disqualify two or three absentee house-owners who have "nice homes" in other parts of the city. They arranged for a small delegation to go to each of these absentee-owners to explain the community's decision. The absentees agreed to the plan once it was explained to them;
5. The other 27 families of renters who were burned out were assigned temporary quarters. When their former lodging places are rebuilt, they have the option of moving back in;
6. All sources of water (wells and pumps) became "community property" for common use;
7. One lane was set aside for a straight access from the national highway to the sea-

⁷*Mindanao Daily Mirror* — Main front page story, 8 October 1983.

shores for the benefit of the fishermen and the convenience of the jeeps/truck which come to pick up their daily catch;

8. Smaller walkways were designated between the houses; suggestions were made for proper drainage and sanitary considerations; and
9. Committee were set up for distribution of food, clothing and medicine. Other groups were assigned to the cleaning up/salvaging operation of burnt materials as well as for the soliciting of needed items.

One of the officers of the Resident's Alliance summed up what had taken place: "...in effect our community has planned a squatters subdivision in the burned area. We are aware that in recent times, several other squatter communities were the beneficiaries of emergency assistance in their hour of need. However, after the crisis passed and their lives returned more or less to normal, they have either been very slow, or we are sad to admit, have refused to repay the loans received..."⁸

The entire area between kilometer 11 by Sasa Market place to kilometer 13 near the wall of the Ministry of Public Highway Maintenance Depot has been organized into the Sasa-Panakan Residents' Alliance (SPRA). The Alliance is actually a grouping of many small ecclesial communities centered around their respective chapels which have been in the process of organizing themselves to face up to the reality of possible demolition and relocation.

In the aftermath of the fire in Immaculada Concepcion/Km. 12 the Alliance (SPRA) voted to support the fire victims in their plan to seek loans of P1,000.00 for each of the 30 residential lot-owner families. This money is to be used exclusively for the reconstruction of the houses as quickly as possible. The various GKK/BEC or small ecclesial communities will act as a "moral force" to ensure repayment of the loans within the agreed-on-period.

The Chairperson of the SPRA, Mrs. Rebecca Agdon, has said that "... We are aware of the fact that funding is harder to get for us now because of the actions of other communities which have not shown appreciation for the assistance received in their hour of need. We here in Immaculada Concepcion/Km. 12 want to be a type of 'model'. Modesty aside, we want to show that squatter communities, through their GKK/BEC, can be responsible. We also want to prove that grass roots communities can plan for themselves if given the opportunity — without the need of top-down-planning..."⁹

Happily, two social service agencies were able to obtain funding to assist the residents in the fire area of Km. 12. After looking into the proposals of both groups, the fire victim agreed to accept the loan from MISSSA-- Mindanao Sulu Secretariat of Social Action.

⁸Statement of Pedro Velasco/Vice-Chairperson, Sasa-Panakan Alyansa (SRA) During Meetings in San Isidro Chapel, 7 November 1983.

⁹Interviewed at her residence on October 19, 1983 by Bishop Ramon Villena, D.D. of MISSSA and Author.

"... This money come from the *Alay Kapwa* Relief and Rehabilitation Fund which have contributed through our Parish here in Sasa..." explained Mrs. Agdon. As the residents viewed it: "... this money comes from the poor; we poor here will use it to rebuild our community, and we will pay it back by July 1984 so that it is available for other poor people in crisis..."

On November 3rd, less than one month after the fire, the SPRA Chairperson and Treasurer, opened up two accounts with the Bank of the Philippine Islands: one a checking account for drawing on the P30,000.00 grant to pay the bills for building materials the other for depositing the repayments over the next eight months. The community sent out small delegations to canvass the various building materials' suppliers in the area to check on prices. A few of the beneficiaries have already started sidelines, income-generating projects, such as selling ice-cream to help repay their loans. The scale of repayment of the interest-free subsidy/loan is figured not only in monthly installments but also in 15-day intervals and even at a daily rate since so many of the people involved receive only a daily wage in their predominantly service-type work.

It is interesting to note that many of the men who were not fire victims have taken time off from their jobs to assist their neighbors in the rebuilding process. On Sundays, there is feverish activity in the area since that is the time when most men are available. One group has organized themselves into a "building team" — twelve of them can put up the shell-framing of a house in four hours even though only four of them are carpenters by trade — the other eight are "amateurs."

Government officials have visited the area and warned the people not to rebuild since the SPDA — Southern Philippines Development Authority — has "...plans for this area..." Nothing more concrete has been told to the people, but there is evidence of some harassment. Clerks in the Mayor's office have been asking if the people have building permits to reconstruct their homes; Davao Power and Light Company has still not restored electric service to the burned out area. In fear of the worst, the people have literally barricaded the area against a demolition team and are prepared to physically fight to preserved their community. One of the signs over a sandbagged reinforced gate says: "Get rid of the mini-industrial estate." On the gate is printed: "Igsama Village" and "Peoples' Property."

Such is the situation of the people as of November 9, 1983. The future remains to be seen. It is hoped that, like the officials of MISSSA, the local government officials will see the Community of Immaculada Concepcion/Km. 12 as an example of the wonderful possibilities and potential in people striving to take responsibility for their own lives and the future of their community.

The Price of Industrialization: Options for the Community

It seems that, when decisions are made to invest borrowed millions of pesos into an area, it must also be accepted that such enormous ventures would have socio-technical ramifications. As expressed by the participants in the August 1976 Bishops-Businessmen's Conference for Human Development (BBC) the penetrations of any enterprise into a community does frequently cause serious alterations in the social fabric of that community and can create conditions that make it difficult for the people of the host community, including the very employees of the enterprise, to cope with. At best, it can be said that these dislocations and difficulties result not so much from a deliberate desire to create these situations but more from a lack of awareness and perhaps a lack of sufficient foresight. There may be a general acceptance of a certain price to be paid for every gain in development; this is the concept of a trade-off or accepting the loss of one value in favor of something more highly valued. However, in view of the trauma of dislocation suffered by the people in the communities studied in this paper, it would seem that often the price of progress is being borne by those least favorably endowed to absorb it. Only a small minority of those who have been relocated find improvement in their socio-economic conditions as a result of a demolition-relocation event. The vast majority harbor resentments and deep negative feelings about the experience which they consider as having been forced on them without proper representation by their local *barangay* officials.

The question of *barangay* leadership versus peoples' participation has become a disturbing issue in the replies of those who have been relocated. The 1980 evaluation of World Bank-funded urban development projects, authored by Fr. Dietmar Oberdorfer, sharply criticizes the *barangay* leadership in the implementation of the Urban Development Program in the Metro Manila Tondo Foreshore area. Much of what is stated in said evaluation would apply to the *barangay* leadership in the areas being discussed here. Of special interest is the evaluation's finding that *barangay* officials, who are supposed to serve as liaison between development authorities and the residents, are faulted for a high degree of carelessness for the fate of the people affected by the programs. These officials consider themselves to be the implementing agents of the higher authorities first and foremost and, only to a relatively minor degree, to be the representatives of their community and their people...¹⁰

At the grass roots level, the *barangay* captain and his council are considered as persons with formal authority. Such ascribed status or authority is meaningless in terms of community improvement unless it is earned from the people of the community. Earned authority comprises the esteem, respect, trust, and loyalty that the *barangay* captain, for example, receives from his community. In the communities of Sasa and

¹⁰Solidaridad 11, Resource Center For Philippine Congress, Hongkong September 1980.

Panacan it has been observed that the two *barangay* captains exercise a formal authority, granted by law, local ordinances, and interpretations of presidential decrees. They also have a type of authority which comes from fear. This fear is fostered by frequent reference to the possibility of arrest and interrogation on suspicion of being dissident or rebel.

The demolition-relocation events were poorly prepared. This was indicated by the demolition of the residential areas without adequate preparation or warning to the communities affected; the hasty dismantling of homes, in some cases, by demolition teams backed by the presence of armed military personnel, the severe shortage of support facilities to make the transfer less burdensome; the little or nonexistent provisions for transportation of dismantled materials and personal belonging, and the inadequate preparations of the new relocation site in terms of access to roads, basic needs and social services such as water, light, and sanitation facilities.

With even the most rudimentary information lacking for those immediately affected by the demolition-relocation event, the haste of the implementation can be seriously questioned. The story of Pepe and Espi has shown that frantic efforts were made to begin demolition. In spite of existing local community organizations, the community was suddenly divided into blocks; houses were demolished by blocks, and the residents were left for days, sometimes weeks without transportation to the new residential area. Even when provided, the people experienced favoritism in the assignment of the transportation.

In the very act of obtaining the new residential site in the relocation area, there is evidence of unfairness with most families having to submit to a raffle or lottery to get their assigned home lot. Among these is placing the poor relocate into an environment in which it is difficult to get the help and support of relatives and friends. The lottery or raffle so often results in a type of amorphous housing area based on foreign individualistic values alien to many underdeveloped or developing countries. In this context, one can question the seriousness of the implementors in adhering to the policies of the Ministry of Human Settlements which are so emphatic as regards the "basic needs of people" as well as the "basic needs and essential services of a community."

The most urgently expressed suggestion of those who have experienced a demolition-relocation event is for those who still have to face it, to make sure that the relocation site is ready; not to trust the promises and assurances of the government implementors: "Go and see for yourselves before you agree to move." They also suggest community organization beforehand while there is still time so that they can speak with a unified voice in demanding adequate warning and proper facilities for their transfer and resettlement. Masterplans for demolition — relocation may be well-conceived and all-inclusive but so often the apparent confusion in the implementation process is caused by the variety of functions divided among several government implementing agencies.

From the study of demolition-relocation masterplans, it can be concluded that the needs of the relocatees are not primarily housing as seemingly assumed by the planners.

So much of the masterplans are taken up with references to the infrastructure and housing costs while the people show a willingness to live in makeshift structures for a time. Not housing, but the concept of distance is the most important to the relocatees. This is followed by closeness of job site, schools, market place, medical facilities, as well as basic services like electricity and water.

Holistic human development should be integrated in the formulation of objectives and strategies with regard to any demolition-relocation program. For this, there is the need of frequent and exhaustive consultation with representatives and responsible members of the communities to be affected by the program. As the participants in the Bishops-Businessmen's Conference for Human Development noted, an open mind is required on the part of the government planners and the executives of industry to make the good of the local communities part and parcel of their policies.

Reflections: Ministry to People in Dislocation— Relocation Situations

The people of the area under consideration are predominantly Catholic. The few Muslim communities in Sasa-Panacan have a generally good, if not excellent, relationship with their Christian neighbors. In a situation of crisis, it is natural for these people to look for assistance to the Catholic Church, their local parish, and the clergy.

The interviews on which this study is based indicate strong evidence of little or no activity on the part of local pastoral workers in any stage of the 1974-1979 Sasa Panacan demolition and relocation events. A number of public and private groups contributed charitable aid in the form of clothing, foodstuff and some medical supplies in the early stages of the relocation and rebuilding process. It seems that among these groups there were members of the local parish and representatives of the Archdiocesan Social Action or Catholic Charities groups. However, as part of a sustained program of assistance to the residents, in view of their particular situation, there were no pastoral workers on the scene either before the demolition went now during the process of relocation and rebuilding. The parishes in the area, with their present orientation and limited staff or pastoral workers, are not prepared to meet the special needs of the people and the communities undergoing the demolition and relocation process. The parish priests in the three parishes of the Bunawan district are candid in admitting this and have expressed openness to those now pioneering a special ministry to the industrializing communities within their parishes.

The most striking expectation that the people have from the pastoral workers is that of that of presence: "...Be with us in this very trying time." For those who have been through the experience, there is the added expectation that the pastoral workers would help in providing needed assistance in the initial stages of the move, specially with regard to food, medicines, and materials for even temporary shelters, if these are lacking. On a long range level, there is the expectation as well of facilitating the granting of housing, lot

and titles and protection of their rights.

For those who still face impending demolition-relocation there is the expectation that the pastoral workers will help in organizing the people for a more active participation in the planning and implementation of the program. In the local Davao situation, the value of presence is understood to be indicative of a sincere interest in what is happening to the people. It is a standard that is regularly applied to parish workers, clergy, as well as religious and lay people.

Parish programs are evaluated in terms of the provision made for the active participation of the pastoral ministers and parish workers. In this context, it is but natural that a high degree of trust is given to the pastoral workers to help also, in protecting their rights as citizens" ... even though we are poor and powerless." Presence is indicative of interest which inspires trust and a high level of expectation. This would be a norm that is operative in the area under study.

Living with the threat of demolition causes an atmosphere of fear and confusion among the people. There is concern for their future and for possible courses of action open to them. The first priority of the pastoral workers must be that of a calming and assuring presence among the people. The presence must bear witness to their own personal belief in the ability of the people to address their needs and search together for viable options of community action.

More specifically, the following are important goals for the pastoral workers among the people facing impending demolition and relocation. First of all, in addition to being calming and reassuring, the presence of the pastoral workers must also be an informing presence: facilitating the people's understanding of principles of action in the context of their own community's situation. The presence of the pastoral workers must be a *de facto* affirmation of the people's dignity both as children of God and citizens of the country.

Secondly, the pastoral workers must establish their credibility with the people as individuals who are motivated by a faith commitment to share their time, talent and energies to seek a peaceful and just solution to the problems facing the community. The approach is one of community organization through the existing network of small communities of Christians expressing allegiance in varying degrees to local organizations recognized by the parish authorities as being part and parcel of the parish.

In the Archdiocese of Davao, every parish has a very well developed program of services — especially sacramental and liturgical — to the many chapel-based communities within their respective boundaries. Under the guidance of an overall priority of evangelization, the January 1982 semi-annual conference of the Philippine hierarchy stressed a five-pronged programs highlighting social justice, family life mission, spiritually, and catechetics for all these chapel communities. These programs, faithfully implemented as instructed by the hierarchy, offer the possibility of positive, Gospel-based intervention strategies to assist the urban grass roots peoples in preparing for the potentially traumatic experience of dislocation.

In the development of the Basic Ecclesial Community (BEC) concept, there is the possibility of linking faith and justice; of relating religious commitment to the daily life reality of people who are threatened by an experience which could possibly disrupt every aspect of their lives. The coming together as a community of faith can facilitate the people's sharing of their experiences, personnel and communal, analysing them as to better understand the richness of their interrelatedness and then reflecting on all this in the light of their faith, the Gospel message, the Church's social doctrine and the guidelines of the local church. From this background, the community asks itself and its members: "What is the appropriate response we are called to make?" This is the truly participative pastoral action planning process which can make a positive contribution to integral human development and, hopefully, to the transformation of our society.

Thirdly, the pastoral workers must foster an ideal of people's power; not primarily for confrontation with authorities but rather for the purpose of developing an awareness of their situation, analyzing the underlying problems and then preparing viable and acceptable options for problem solving and action planning. The plan of action formulated by the community would then be presented by their truly representative leaders in meetings with the decision-makers and planners of government and industry.

Fourthly, while the pastoral worker may personally accept the reality that industrialization is here to stay and that the demolition and relocation programs are unavoidable, it can be stated that the ideal of people's power as mentioned previously is not only for the purpose of participation in the decision-making. The participation must mean taking part in the entire project or program. For some, this would be considered a radical concept: rather, it should be a challenge which respects the government's long-term objective of a "dignified and prosperous future for the Filipino," as stated by Minister Gerardo P. Sicat. It is a challenge which facilitates the integration of Christian social responsibility into the mainstream of industrial planning and management. It is a challenge which fosters people's right to participate in the entire process of planning, deciding and implementing the programs affecting their lives. It is also an attempt to implement the vision expressed by Bishop Carlos Van Den Ouwelant, MSC, of the Tibungco parish within the Bunawan District: "If demolitions and relocations have to be, we must see to it that they are, at least, more humane and thereby more Christian."

Fifthly, the pastoral workers in the industrializing areas must reach out to all sectors of the community: to the youth, both those in schools and those who have gone into the factories because of their economic need and the limited educational opportunities open to them at present; to the married couples in the context of family enrichment which is so often neglected or, at best, taken for granted in the daily struggle for survival; to the workers, in the context of their struggle to get acceptance and implementation of the benefits already legislated for them; and, to the elderly, because they have survived and because they have coped with the psychological burdens of many traumas and transitions in their lifetime.

Towards an Adequate Strategy

Study, questioning and living in close contact with the people in relocation areas becomes actually a period of feasibility testing: testing, in the sense of determining whether or not it is feasible to broaden the scope of pastoral ministry to include this particular transformative style. It is a style grounded in justice, linked with the grassroots people and facilitating the laity as initiators of the action planning and intervention strategies. The vehicle of strategy is the basic ecclesial communities. These are already known locally as Basic Christian Communities, centered around the existing small chapel communities.

In this strategy, the pastoral workers are initiating not simply a new response to the dislocation caused by implementing the industrialization priority but rather a new form of Church. It is a form of Church designed for the challenge of industrialization; it is influenced by the theme of justice and action on behalf of justice as the constitutive element of evangelization. This evangelization is mediated through the laity, the poor, the oppressed and marginalized sectors of our society.

The residents of relocation areas are a microcosm of these sectors. They have a rich store of experience and learning as a result of the trauma they suffer in the demolition and relocation events. If properly elicited and communicated their experience can make a positive contribution to government planners, pastoral workers and to other communities being threatened with demolition and relocation.

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