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A Comparison of the Corporate Structures and Delivery of City Services in Omaha and Manila

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A COMPARISON OF THE CORPORATE STRUCTURES
AND DELIVERY OF CITY SERVICES
IN OMAHA AND MANILA

By

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CENTER FOR APPLIED URBAN RESEARCH

University of Nebraska at Omaha
University of the City of Manila

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December, 1984

Roberto B. Lazaro
Floyd T. Waterman
In March, 1983, the University of Nebraska at Omaha and Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila (the University of the City of Manila) signed a statement of affiliation and friendship, thereby initiating a formal linkage between the two institutions. A joint proposal to conduct teaching and research exchanges was then submitted to the United States Information Agency. One of the specific subprograms of the funded USIA proposal was the Omaha/Manila Applied Projects Program under which researchers of both universities would participate in a joint effort to examine pragmatic community outreach activities and the problems of growth-oriented urban areas typified by both Omaha and Manila.

Efforts toward this direction were focused on what the two cities could learn from each other or how one could be of assistance to the other in terms of (1) building up a mass of data on which to base immediate and future courses of action and (2) program structures that could be immediately implemented under desired conditions.

To this end, the total research effort will result in several mutually agreed upon studies related to common areas of interest and/or needs of the two cities. As the project progresses, other research areas may come to light and be considered for future activities by either or both universities. The current study on delivery of services seemed to be an appropriate starting point.
PART I

MANILA:

PERSPECTIVES OF A PHILIPPINE PREMIERE CITY
I. Introduction

Manila has its share of developmental problems in various areas of urban growth: political, social, economic, and technological. The dynamism of the environment in which the growth takes place defies any attempt to consider the city as a phenomenon that can be captured in time and analyzed in a static form. Manila is alive with the life of its human components, moving and growing with the changes in its environment, and any analysis of the city must be made within the context of that dynamism. Generalities, therefore, are expressions of observable phenomena within a given time frame, whether in past or present, whether in part or in totality.

Many aspects of the city's governance are easily identifiable within this context. They are categorized into areas that have a common nomenclature with those of other settings.

The political and administrative structures of the city, as well as its external linkages, can provide insights into the types of essential services the city delivers to its constituents and into the ways they are delivered. Problems of the city likewise flow from the nature of that structure circumscribed by factors in its milieu.

Considering the role that the City of Manila plays, not only in the life and development of the Philippines but also in the relations of the Philippines with the international community, an in-depth look into the city's governance is required to grasp the rationale for policy decisions and development. A government linkage with business and university communities might also contribute to alleviating problems.
II. Historical Background and Geographic Setting

In the early history of the Philippines, Manila was a nameless swamp at the mouth of the Pasig River which empties into what is now Manila Bay. This swamp offered no attractive purpose except as an occasional source of shells and edible plants for the paleolithic men who probably roamed the area. Later, as this deltaic area compacted and became habitable, some of these nomads settled there. The original inhabitants of the surrounding higher ground (who knew little about wet agriculture) moved from place to place as a result of their practice of slash-and-burn agriculture. Another group of migrants from the south came to the archipelago in boats called balang-hai. The boat community was also called by this name.

As the deltaic community developed, it was characterized by the original closely-knit concept of a social and political unit called the balanghai—a term that later evolved into balangay and finally into barangay. The barangay was headed by a datu, maginoo, or apo (depending on the place). A confederation of barangays constituted a higher social and political unit headed by a sultan, rajah (ladja, laya), or hari.

As early as the first or second century A.D., Chinese and Arabs were engaging in trade in the Philippines. By the tenth century, these foreigners had found their way to the Pasig River delta. Native traders brought goods inland by means of the Pasig River. Manila thus became a corridor of trade, and the Manilans became expert seafarers, building and manning boats of various kinds as well as canoes and larger vessels that carried merchandise. They became known as the Tagailog (rivermen or river dwellers), later becoming Tagalog.

How Manila got its name is conjecture. Its marshy beginnings could have given it the name mainila (marsh or mire), later evolving to Manila. Some
observers, alluding to a tongue-shaped island at the mouth of the Pasig River, claim the name came from *may dila* (a place that has a tongue), the *d* later evolving into *n* and, hence, *Maynila*.

The marshy delta at the mouth of the Pasig had an abundance of mangroves, including a variety known as *nilad*, and was also overgrown with an indigo plant called *nila*. Conflicting assumptions were made that the city's name came from of these terms—hence *Maynilad* (where nilad is found), and *Manilad* (where nilad abounds), or *Maynila* (where nila exists) and Manila (where nila is plentiful).

Neither the marsh nor the tongue-shaped island is discernible today. Nilad groves have been cleared, and the nila plants have disappeared after losing the competition to chemical dyes. The name Maynila or Manila, however, remains.

Chinese influence on Filipino culture started in the eleventh century and found its way into the language, food, and habits as well as other aspects of social institutions. This influence was carried over to Manila when Chinese traders settled in the town and in many cases married natives. India's influence was also felt with the rise of the Shri-Vijaya empire. When the Spanish came in the sixteenth century, the Philippines was not only an entrepot of business but a melting pot of different cultures as well.

Spanish colonization of the Philippines started in Cebu where Ferdinand Magellan planted both the Spanish flag and the Christian cross. Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, who led an expedition in 1568 in the central Philippines, was faced with a food shortage. Learning about a certain prosperous city in the northern island of Luzon, he set out to conquer it.

Manila at the time was a Muslim settlement, defended by a fort on the headland between the Pasig River and the sea. The fort was constructed with coconut trunks and earthen walls and equipped with 12 medium and light pieces
of artillery and some small caliber cannon. The settlement was ruled by two chiefs, Rajah Matanda and his nephew Rajah Sulayman.

In 1570 Legaspi sent the native defenders scampering to the other side of the river, and the Spanish soldiers burned Manila. The village chiefs entered into a formal pact of peace and friendship with Legaspi on May 18, 1571. The next day Legaspi took formal possession of Manila and the rest of the country in the name of the king of Spain, and on June 24, 1571, he formally founded Manila as a city and declared it the capital of the Philippine archipelago.

The Spanish quarter was constructed on the site of Sulayman's fortress. A wall was built around it so it was named Intramuros or Walled City. It formed a triangle with the Pasig on one side and Manila Bay on the other. The seat of government was located in Intramuros, and from here the whole Philippine colony was ruled.

Intramuros grew and developed. Within its walls were the governor's palace, monasteries, churches, schools, convents, three large hospitals, and about 600 homes. Development was also taking place outside the Walled City. While the native settlements in the lowlands immediately beyond the walls were cleared to ensure better defense of Intramuros, the other areas grew in size and affluence as Manila became a trade center. Trade with China brought in a great deal of rich merchandise and attracted merchants from Mexico who settled in the islands. South America, especially, demanded the luxuries that the Chinese proved capable of supplying, and the trading center was Manila. The city became known as the mart of the East, the center of a flourishing commerce and capital of the archipelago, the key to the ancient and ever rich commerce of the Orient and the best situated city in the world. These and other similar attributes contributed to Manila's potential as a world center of trade.
The Spanish-American War came at a time when the Filipinos were staging a revolution. The Americans brought the war to the Philippines, the Spanish domination of the Philippines crumbled, and American democracy supplanted Spanish tyranny. American culture flowed into the Filipino way of life together with American goods under a Philippine-American type of co-existence that made Manila a little America in the Orient.

The American political catchline was independence for the Filipinos when they were prepared for it. After American governors ruled the country for 40 years, they granted the Philippines a commonwealth government. Manuel L. Quezon was installed as president. Manila remained as the country's trade center and the arena for the nation's political contests.

Hardly had the commonwealth government started its role as a ten-year transition toward complete independence when World War II broke out. Japan invaded and occupied the Philippines, destroying Manila's port installations and public morale, and American forces were driven out of the country. Manilans groaned under the yoke of Japanese brutality, a complete contrast to the American policy of friendship and goodwill. The traditional forms of business stopped, together with many other aspects of the city's normal life. A new style of business evolved—the black market, the buying and selling of scraps and stolen goods. Urban furniture was bartered for provincial rice and other foodstuffs. A breed of nouveau riche dominated the elite while many Manilans evacuated to the provinces. The rest suffered hunger and deprivation.

The Japanese government installed the neighborhood association which provided peace and order, census taking, and the rationing of government supplied commodities such as rice, lard, and matches. Intramuros, the original City of Manila, which was formerly a Spanish garrison, was used by
the Japanese for the same purpose. Here political subversives and criminal suspects were incarcerated, tortured, or executed.

In the meantime, Manilans and the rest of the country were waiting for United States forces to reappear, hoping almost against hope that General Douglas MacArthur would make good his promise, "I shall return," a commitment he made when he escaped to Australia at the outbreak of the war. Manuel Quezon and other Filipino leaders fled with MacArthur to escape the Japanese. Manilans and the rest of the country felt alone and abandoned without their leaders.

After four years the Americans did return and liberate the country. Manila was a devastated city, charred almost beyond recognition.

The rehabilitation program of the U.S. government, the reparations aid from Japan, and the efforts of the Philippine government enabled Manila to recapture its position as the principal city. Construction boomed, business picked up, and Manila progressed beyond its pre-war level. The United States granted full independence in 1946, and since then the growth of Manila under Filipino leadership has been sustained. The spillover of development to adjoining cities and municipalities was inevitable, and the growth of a metropolitan city was a natural consequence.

Manila today is still a city in transition like all other cities that move ahead. As the capital of the Philippines, it takes the lead in the country's national life: political, economic, social, cultural, and technological. It is jolted every now and then by suprastructural upheavals, but it manages to regain equilibrium. Manila's people have a clear commitment to progress and are unwavering in their determination to take the lead.
In that role, Manila continues to search for new dimensions and new experiences. It meets with obstacles but persists. It changes in many ways and even decays in some, but it has a soul that cannot die, a soul that continues to live and face the inevitable and ever changing realities of its existence. Manila proves itself worthy of notice and of analysis, a city from whose experience the whole country or perhaps the whole world may learn.

The Republic of the Philippines is situated to the southeast of China, southwest of Japan, and north of Indonesia (see Map 1).

Luzon is the largest and most populous of the 7,100 island archipelago. Luzon Island (inset) and Metropolitan Manila are shown on Map 2. Metropolitan Manila is bordered by Navotas on the northwest, Caloocan City on the north, Quezon City on the northeast, San Juan, Mandaluyong, and Makati on the southeast, Pasay on the south, and Manila Bay on the west.

Map 3 shows the City of Manila.

III. Internal Organizational Structures

Manila may be studied through its political and administrative structures, an insight into which should lead to a better appreciation of the delivery of services.

Political. The government of Manila is the result of a metamorphic development into a city management concept from a mayor-council type under the city charter. More recently the city was placed under a metropolitan governance.

The city government was shaped by decrees and amendments for the purpose of achieving a standard among local governments. Manila, as well as the rest of the metropolitan area components, took a different turn because of the central control exercised by the Metropolitan Manila Commission (MMC), and because the local government code, when finally approved, exempted the
Metropolitan Manila region. Unlike other cities outside Metropolitan Manila, the city does not have its own city council.

The political system in Manila, as in the country as a whole, has always been highly partisan.

The things a politician generally does for his or her constituents are in preparation for getting votes in the next election so the delivery of services has, in many cases, been erratic. An artificially high level of services is created as election time approaches, dropping back to normal afterwards. Depressed areas are commonly the targets for promises of a better life.

Manila is divided into 14 geographical districts: Binondo, Ermita, Intramuros, Malate, Paco, Pandacan, Port Area, Quiapo, Sampaloc, San Miguel, San Nicolas, Santa Ana, Santa Cruz, and Tondo. Histories of these districts date back to the pre-Hispanic period or to the 400-year Spanish occupation. They were created either because of a need to secure Spanish military or political position (as in the case of Intramuros), or as a result of the natural growth of a church-centered community. The latter is probably the case for most of these districts.

The 14 geographical districts (see Map 3) have in turn been grouped into four political districts:

First District: Tondo
Second District: Santa Cruz, Quiapo, San Nicolas, Binondo
Third District: Sampaloc, San Miguel
Fourth District: Intramuros, Port Area, Ermita, Malate, Paco, Pandacan, Santa Ana

Prior to the declaration of martial law in 1972, these political divisions were represented in the Congress of the Philippines by four congressmen, one from each district. These four congressional districts are today the basis
for the distribution and delivery of many of the city's essential services. The Department of Social Welfare, the Manila Health Department, and the Department of Engineering and Public Works have field offices or operational centers in each of them.

In an effort to have local government as close to the people as possible, the Philippines has developed the barangay, comparable to the American political ward or subdivision. The barangay is a geographical/political subdivision with approximately 100 families who reside in a defined geographic area. A barangay chairman is selected by popular election. Many city services as well as civic and cultural affairs are administered through the barangay office.

Administrative. Internally, Manila follows the national civil service pattern in its administrative structure which is composed of elected officials, political technocrats, and career personnel.

The mayor and vice-mayor are elected at large for a term of six years. As chief executive of the city, the mayor exercises immediate control over the executive functions of the different city departments and offices. Some specific powers were granted by the City Charter (Republic Act 409) and others by Presidential Decree 824 (which created Metropolitan Manila).

The present mayor, Ramon D. Bagatsing, was elected in November, 1971 and assumed office in January, 1972. Later that same year on September 21 martial law was declared. No local election was held in 1975. The mayor's term was extended along with that of other local executives until 1980 when he and the vice-mayor were re-elected for six-year terms.

The vice-mayor assumes the chief executive's office in the official absence of the mayor. During the pre-martial law days, the vice-mayor served
as the presiding officer of the municipal board whose membership was then composed of council members elected by each of the four congressional districts.

Every mayor comes into office with a set of people who have specific expertise to assist him. They are political technocrats who advise the mayor on special areas such as protective services, legal matters, engineering and architecture, public hygiene and sanitation, public information, and public works. Confidential assistants include those who advise the mayor on trade, commerce and industry, public affairs, public administration, and barangay affairs.

In addition to these technocrats, there is a senior legal and technical assistant. The positions of city administrator and the secretary to the mayor may are intended to be techno-administrative in nature since they represent the highest levels both of political technocracy and of administrative responsibility.

Career personnel are those in the line and staff levels of government service who provide the direct services or the staff work in city governance. Career service in Manila is governed by civil service law and is therefore subject to the requirements of the civil service system in the country. It has three levels.

The first level includes clerical, trades, crafts, and custodial positions that involve non-professional or sub-professional work in a non-supervisory capacity requiring less than four years of college work.

The second includes professional, technical, and scientific positions of a non-supervisory nature. At least four years of college work are required for these positions up to the division chief level.
The third level includes positions in the career executive service. Heads of departments and offices in the city service of Manila are generally considered as belonging to the level of the career executive service.

Legislative. Until the early 1970's, the charter of Manila provided for a municipal board which exercised the city's legislative function, and the vice mayor was its presiding officer. Legislative functions are now vested in the MMC as the governing body of the national capital region. A new advisory council on the metropolitan level, called the Sangguniang Pangkalakhang Maynila (Metropolitan Manila Council) is appointed by the governor. Members are selected from among representatives of the four cities and 13 municipalities that are the components of Metropolitan Manila.

Judicial. The court system of the Philippines is a national service, and thus Manila's court system is a part of the national judicial structure. At the top, representing the highest court of appeal, is the Supreme Court of the Philippines, with a chief justice and 14 associate justices who sit either en banc or in two divisions. It has both original and appellate jurisdictions and exercises administrative authority over the whole court system in the country. At a lower level is the Intermediate Appellate Court, formerly the Court of Appeals, with a presiding appellate justice and 49 associate appellate justices. This court has 10 divisions (four civil case divisions, two criminal case divisions, and four special case divisions).

At the next level are the recently developed Regional Trial Courts*, which are established in every region and exercise appellate jurisdiction over all cases decided by the local trial courts. These local courts are the Municipal

*The Regional Trial Court, a relatively new name (1980), integrated the former Court of First Instance, the Circuit Criminal Courts, Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court, and the Court of Agrarian Relations.
Trial Courts in local governments outside of metropolitan regions, and the Metropolitan Trial Courts in metropolitan regions. The law provides for 82 branches of the Metropolitan Trial Court of Manila.

With the changes brought about by the Judiciary Reorganization Act (JRA) of 1980, some courts were integrated as shown in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old System</th>
<th>New System</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Court of Appeals</td>
<td>Intermediate Appellate Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court of First Instance</td>
<td>Intermediate Appellate Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circuit Criminal Courts</td>
<td>Regional Trial Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court</td>
<td>Regional Trial Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court of Agrarian Relations</td>
<td>Regional Trial Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Court</td>
<td>Metropolitan Trial Court</td>
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<tr>
<td>Municipal Court (in metro areas)</td>
<td>Metropolitan Trial Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Court</td>
<td>Municipal Trial Court and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal Court (outside of metro areas)</td>
<td>Municipal Circuit Trial Court</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1 is a diagram of the appeal process of the Philippine court system. This is an appeal, not a direct line supervisory process.
FIGURE 1

APPEAL PROCESS OF THE PHILIPPINE COURTS

Supreme Court
Chief Judge
14 Associate Judges

Intermediate Appellate Court
Presiding Appellate Judge
49 Associate Judges
10 Divisions

Regional Trial Courts
(in non-metro areas)

Municipal Trial Courts

Barangay Justice*

Regional Trial Courts
(in metro areas)

Metropolitan Trial Courts

Barangay Justice*

*Actually a council or an arbitration body.
All judges are appointed by the president of the Philippines and serve until they reach the age of 70 years unless removed earlier for cause. Other officers and employees of the judicial system are appointed by the Supreme Court.

In Manila, the Regional Trial Court, with 55 branches in the city, is headed by an executive judge. The Metropolitan Trial Court, likewise, is headed by an executive judge and has 30 Manila branches.

While not a court in the strict sense, the Barangay Justice is administratively linked to the judicial system. It is a process for settling disputes by arbitration at the neighborhood or community level. Disputes involving minor cases between neighborhood members or families are first resolved, if possible, through mediation by the barangay chairman. If he is not successful, the conflict is brought before a conciliation body, either for amicable settlement or arbitration. The dispute is appealed and delegated to the regular courts only when an aggrieved party repudiates the settlement or arbitration. Figure 1 shows the appeal process from the Barangay Justice into the more formal judicial structure. This neighborhood method of dispensing justice means speedy settlements and relieves the court dockets of congestion.

The sheriff of Manila and the fiscal's* office assist the city's judicial functions. The city's fiscal has a first assistant and assistants who conduct preliminary investigations of all crimes and offenses and prosecute in court whenever appropriate. The sheriff, as the legal custodian of the court, enforces proper decorum in the courtrooms and has power to arrest any person disturbing the court or violating the peace. The sheriff also serves all

---

*Filipinos use "fiscal" to refer to finances but also have an additional specialized meaning for the term. They define a fiscal in a manner similar to the way Americans would describe a prosecuting attorney.
writs and executes all processes and carries into effect all orders issuing from the court.

Another special body is known as the Sandigang Bayan, which exclusively tries offenses committed by government officials and employees. Its special arm, the Tanod Bayan, conducts preliminary investigations when it receives complaints against government officials and employees either from other government employees or from the public. If the complaints deserve prosecution, the Tanod Bayan prosecutes them before the Sandigang Bayan. This system has also helped relieve the clogging of the regular courts with docketed cases.

IV. External Linkages

Manila is one of the 62 cities that constitute the local government system in the Philippines together with 70 provinces, 1,500 municipalities, and about 48,000 barangays. Many of the cities are formal components of the provinces in which they are situated while a few highly urbanized cities enjoy a corporate existence independent of the province by constitutional mandate. Manila is one of the highly urbanized cities and is therefore independent of any province. Quezon City, Pasay City, and Caloocan City with which Manila forms a cluster known as Greater Manila are also independent entities by constitutional definition.

However, by the nature of the external linkages of these cities, Manila is politically subordinate to the national government and administratively subordinate to the MMC which governs the national capital region.

National. The control over local by the central or national government may be defined as political in nature. The linkage between the two levels of government is more tangibly seen in the form of control, services, and development.
Legislation and executive issuances can put pressure on local governments to make them "tow the line" in a pattern designed by the central government. Certain local and regional officers appointed by the president can do this also whether they are engaged directly in administration or indirectly through services. The Ministry of Local Government is one through which central administrative control is exercised and is very much involved in the affairs and welfare of local governments.

The delivery of essential services is a primary function of the national government and is carried out through the different ministries, many of which have their principal offices in Manila.

The Ministry of Health operates a number of hospitals and centers in Manila through which health services are delivered. Through coordination between the Ministry of Health and the Manila Health Department, the two agencies undertake programs beneficial both to their own interests and those of the public in general.

Social work is also a collaborative undertaking between the national Ministry of Social Services and Development and the city's Social Welfare Department.

Education is a national service that benefits the youth of Manila through free elementary schooling funded by the national government and high school education funded by the city but carried out by the ministry.

The Ministry of National Defense, through its Integrated National Police under the Philippine Constabulary, provides peace and order in Manila. The local police forces in the country have been integrated, and police functions in local governments have been taken over by the national government.

Justice is dispensed through the metropolitan and regional courts operating within the city for residents, but these are not city units
per se. They are complemented by the city's adjudication offices and the Barangay Justice program within the city. The city fiscal's office of Manila provides the investigation and fact finding services for the city courts.

The Ministry of Labor has various units serving the labor sector and stands between the business entities and their workers, providing the conciliation and arbitration functions that thresh out differences between management and labor.

Other ministries may not be dispensing services directly to the people of Manila, but their overall functions benefit the city residents one way or another.

Manila and the rest of the metropolitan areas may not benefit from many national programs of development as much as other regions do, especially the programs of the regional development councils. However, certain levels of development are achieved through collaborative work with the ministries or national offices. Public works and public highway programs, for example, as well as transportation and communications have made certain aspects of city life convenient for residents through the efforts of the national agencies involved. Others, like the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Agrarian Reform perform services on the national level, but the beneficial effects spill over into Manila.

Regional. In the Philippines, as in other developing nations, circumstances often play a major role in the matter of development. Much of the development of Manila, for example, was a result of its strategic position as a trade center, and the community grew up around the trading areas. Missions were also areas around which development occurred because converts congregated to build homes and business establishments. Other sections of the nation
remain underdeveloped because they may not have had such fortuitous events to motivate development. Increased population in an area demands the provision of city services, building of roads, streets, and other infrastructures.

Manila and its surrounding cities and municipalities continued growing while the municipalities farther out and in the provinces remained undeveloped. Such disparity in growth caused disparity of services and thus in the quality of life. The metropolitan concept was premised on this situation. Planners argued that if development were to be achieved throughout the country, resources should be shared and coordinated, thus resulting in a more stable society. Advanced communities and those less advanced should consolidate or coordinate their services and resources for purposes beneficial to all.

The whole country, therefore, was divided into 13 regions, and a Regional Development Council (RDC) was established in each. The RDC involves both the local and national governments. National government is represented by the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA), regional representatives of ministries, and whatever existing authorities are available in the region. Local governments are represented by all local government chief executive officers of the region. They all work toward the common objective of regional development.

Metropolitan Manila is composed of four cities and 13 municipalities governed by the MMC which has a governor and three commissioners: planning, finance, and operations. Metropolitan Manila has been designated as the national capital region because the city is the seat of the central government.

As a component of the Metropolitan Manila region, Manila City is subject to regional controls, although, theoretically, regionalization did not erase
the boundaries between components. They remain as independent and self-contained local government units grouped together only for coordination of operations without losing their individual status.

V. The Urban Environment

The urban environment is considered in terms of geographical setting, and the demographics of the area, physical features and economic conditions. The focus is upon the City of Manila but some consideration of Metropolitan Manila is also necessary because of the three-tiered government.

Geographical. Manila is situated along the Manila Bay which opens to the South China Sea. This very strategic position made an ideal port of entry for foreign trade and peoples. The growth of the other three cities and the urbanized municipalities around Manila was a spillover of Manila's development which eventually spread out to other parts of the country in varying degrees. Manila retains primacy as the nerve center of the country's political, commercial, educational, and cultural activities. It is the hub of the country's progress.

The city's total land area of 38.8 square kilometers or roughly 3,830 hectares is divided into 14 geographical districts which are grouped into four political districts, all sprawled on the flat terrain of the city.

The Pasig River divides Manila north and south as it cuts through from Laguna de Bay on the east and empties into Manila Bay on the west. South of the river are the geographical components of the Fourth District and north of it are those of the other three.

Demographic. The population of Manila cannot be determined with accuracy because of the great mobility of the people. Transients may just pass through or stay with relatives or friends for some time. Residents may move out to suburban areas into one of the fast expanding subdivisions while provincial
folks may move in to take permanent residence in the city. These moves are all happening with unpredictable pace and frequency.

City and metropolitan area censuses place the population at 1.6 million at night to about two million during the day. The 1982 Census placed the figure at 1,630,485, giving Manila a population density of some 42,023 persons per square kilometer. The daytime increment consists mainly of students and employees from outside the city, businessmen from suburban subdivisions, and others who commute to or through the city for various reasons.

The annual population growth, consisting of the internal increment and immigration, is placed at 2.7 percent. The population is 48 percent male and 52 percent female. The youth (below 21 years old) constitute 37 percent and the adults comprise 63 percent. The city has about 341,000 households with an average family size of 4.68, although families of six are commonplace. The ethnic composition is estimated to be 70.5 percent Tagalog, 5.5 percent Ilocano, 3.9 percent Waray, 3.7 percent Pampango, 3.6 percent Bicol, 3.4 percent Chinese (Mandarin), 2.5 percent Cebuano, 2.0 percent Pangasinan, and 4.9 percent of other ethnic origins.

The influx of rural residents has made Manila a melting pot of different ethnic groups. These people have been absorbed into the mainstream of city life through permanent residency and intermarriage. A new culture has in fact evolved, a culture that is typically Filipino but not exactly what it was for Manilans of old.

Physical. Manila's infrastructure is in many places a contrast of extremes. Commercial areas have tall, modern buildings while their back lots may be crowded with shanties that constitute eyesores. Not counting these shanties, there are 79,351 buildings in Manila, 65,953 of which are residential, 6,359 combined residential and commercial, and 7,039 commercial.
Streets of more recent vintage are wide enough to carry four- to six-lane traffic, but the inner sectors have mostly two-lane or narrower roads and alleys. Improvement of the infrastructure is a continuing process. The 240 national roads in the city are a total of 213,244 kilometers long, and the 1,400 city streets measure a total of 443,837 kilometers.

Manila's land use is predominantly residential. About 95 hectares (24 percent) are devoted to parks and playgrounds while five hectares (1 percent) are used for open spaces. Some 72 hectares (18 percent) are blighted and occupied by about 22,839 squatter families in 249 depressed areas in various parts of the city.

Historical shrines and public plazas attract both foreigners and local residents. Rizal Park at the west side of the city overlooking Manila Bay is said to be one of the biggest in Asia and is a favorite spot of promenaders, joggers, music enthusiasts, and the elderly who enjoy the sea breeze or like to limber up their aging muscles with calisthenics.

Perhaps the focal point of Rizal Park is the Rizal monument, a tribute to Dr. Jose Rizal, the national hero. Here wreaths are laid on ceremonial occasions either by national leaders or foreign dignitaries.

Fort Santiago, facing Manila Bay, was a Spanish fortress that guarded Intramuros against attacks from the sea and was also a garrison where political prisoners were detained. Dr. Rizal was imprisoned in this fort before his execution in 1898. His desk, writings, and other memorabilia are preserved there. The fort was used as a detention center and as a fortress to guard the bay during the Japanese occupation in the early 1940's. Today, hundreds of Japanese and other tourists visit the area.

The San Agustin Church was the only Intramuros structure that was spared by the American bombing and shelling during the battle of Manila in 1945. It
has one of the largest collections of Spanish documents and archival material in the Philippines.

The Cultural Center complex is a new addition to Manila. Built through the initiative of Mrs. Imelda Marcos, it stands on 2.1 hectares of land reclaimed from the deep curve of the Manila Bay. This complex consists of several buildings including the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP), the Philippine International Convention Center (PICC), the Philippine Center for International Trade and Exhibits (PHILCITE), the Philippine Plaza Hotel, and others. Manila compares favorably with many other international cities as a venue for international undertakings.

Other historical spots in Manila include Manila Cathedral, Manila Hotel, Manila City Hall, Ermita Church, Paco Cemetery, Malacanang Palace, and Chinatown.

Manila has 60 public and private colleges and universities. The university belt is a busy area, bustling with students who troop to or from classes and every now and then exercise their right of assembly and freedom of speech through student demonstrations, either to air their grievances against school conditions and policies or to express their side of current political or economic issues.

The United States Embassy, one of 74 in Manila, occupies a site along scenic Roxas Boulevard close to the Rizal Park.

Economic. Manila has legislated against heavy industries within its boundaries in order to optimize land use and as an anti-pollution measure. The MMC has issued regulations further prohibiting the establishment of heavy industries within 50 kilometers of the city.

Manila has 76,987 business firms, varying in nature and size, the largest single category being that of general merchandise retail which accounts for
13,360 establishments. Eateries—restaurants, coffee shops, refreshment parlors, and supper clubs—number 7,300 and are found all over the city especially in the downtown and commercial areas. Manufacturing, trading, and service establishments like hotels, shops, and boarding houses are other Manila businesses.

Twenty-nine commercial centers are found in different parts of the city and in the downtown areas of Santa Cruz, Quiapo, Paco, Sampaloc, Tondo, and others.

General purpose markets are also found in various districts, where both wet goods (meat, fish, poultry, etc.) and dry goods, together with grocery items and general kitchen needs, are sold. These generally have one floor. Larger structures are divided into sections according to merchandise with small stalls lined up row after row within the building. There are 14 of these big markets operated by the government, another 19 smaller ones called talipapa, and 20 that are privately owned and operated. These types of markets play a major role in shaping the people's purchasing and consumption patterns.

Small corner stores selling a variety of convenience goods are found in almost all residential areas, including many suburban subdivisions. They are convenient places that provide small quantities of goods to supplement the regular sources.

Sidewalk vendors and street hawkers abound in commercial sectors and market places as well as in the vicinities of churches, schools, bus and jeepney* terminals, and places where large numbers of people congregate. They not only compete with licensed stores but block the entrances and occupy the

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*A privately owned minibus, operating along prescribed routes.
sidewalks or take over the streets. Cigarette vendors (often school-age children) ply their trade on busy vehicular routes, selling to car owners, bus and jeepney drivers, and passengers. This compounds the problem of smoking in public vehicles, an act which is prohibited by law.

The licensed businesses are predominantly small undertakings, (retail for the most part) and are mostly run by Chinese. The larger corporations are likewise dominated by foreigners and naturalized Filipinos.

Due to many factors, government control or supervision of commerce in Manila is relatively weak. First, the government lacks personnel and resources to set up an effective control machinery and to sustain an effective program. Second, cultural and personal values influence its effectiveness, as well as the pressures of economic and human needs on the part of those who implement the control system.

VI. Delivery of City Services

As a consequence of the three-tiered governmental structure in the country, especially in Metropolitan Manila, the only locale where a regional government has been formally established, the City of Manila has three levels of services: national, regional, and city.

Local services by national government. Services are delivered by the national government to the residents of Manila through national offices situated in the city. No administrative intervention is made by the city.

Public elementary and high schools in Manila are operated by the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports (MECS) through its division of city schools in Manila. Elementary education (primary and intermediate) is, by constitutional mandate and by law, undertaken by the national government which also funds the teachers' salaries. However, high school or secondary education, while undertaken by the national government, is funded by the city
and is offered free to children of Manila residents. The city also contributes equalization pay to bring the elementary school teachers' salaries up to the level of those of the secondary school teachers.

There are 74 public elementary schools, 27 high schools, 16 evening vocational schools, and three combination elementary and secondary.

Prior to police integration, the Philippines had two levels of police organizations. The first was the Philippine Constabulary, a national police force under the armed forces of the Philippines. The second was composed of the local police forces organized and controlled by the local governments in which they operated. Manila, at that time, had its Manila Police Department whose members were appointed by the city mayor and whose salaries were provided by the city government.

In 1974, all local police forces in the Philippines were nationalized and became the Integrated National Police, Philippine Constabulary (INP/PC). Salaries and wages, however, continue to be provided by the local governments which contribute 18 percent of their annual budgets to the INP/PC.

The Manila Police Department became the Western Police District of Metropolitan Manila. It also absorbed the fire department into the police force. With its protective contingent of 4,000 men, the Western Police District serves about 1.7 million people. That is a police-citizen ratio of 1:425, a very conservative estimate considering that only 74 percent of the protective force are engaged in operations. Others are assigned to staff work or auxiliary services or may be on leave or suspension, awaiting trial or disciplinary action. The fire protection service has a complement of about 650 firemen with 30 fire trucks in 13 stations. These are supplemented by volunteer civilian brigades with about 500 men and 20 fire trucks.

Local services by the regional government. The MMC has integrated essential services and infrastructure requirements, including socio-economic
programs of its local components. These programs are planned, funded, and implemented under the integrated supervision of the commission and cut through the services of both the local and national governments. Among these services, only environmental sanitation is involved in actual public service operation in Manila. The other functions are of a monitoring or a coordinating nature.

The cleaning of all public toilets and collection and disposal of garbage, refuse, and contents of toilets and cesspools in Manila is the general function of the Environmental Sanitation Center of the west sector of Manila. Until 1976, this function was undertaken independently and separately by each of the local governments in the area. A Department of Public Services in Manila was charged with that function. As some observers put it, the garbage problem in Manila then was an urban blight that refused to be swept away. The waste output of Manila’s teeming population was just too much for the capabilities of the city government.

On July 1, 1976, the environmental sanitation services in Metropolitan Manila were integrated, and more resources in terms of equipment and manpower were plowed into Manila’s environmental services program. Street sweepers called metro aides and additional garbage collectors were supplemented by crews who collect fallen branches, grass cuttings, and debris. River aides, another group of sanitation workers, clean debris from the the Pasig River.

Recognizing the value of the barangay system in the total development of the region, the MMC created the Barangay Operations Center (BOC) to coordinate and supervise the various developmental programs of the region. Metropolitan Manila has 1,675 barangays, 912 in the City of Manila. While the BOC has no control over the internal administrative operations of the barangay in Manila, it has the authority to develop programs and policies that would increase barangay participation in the affairs of the respective local governments.
The principal thrust of the Engineering Operations Center (EOC) is the facelifting of the metropolis, including flood control, road improvement and construction, water distribution, and the modernization of power and utility facilities. Obviously, the operations of the EOC are directed toward the less developed metropolitan components, but the city continues to require flood control activities as well.

Complementing the functions of the Engineering Operations Center (EOC), the Action Center for Infrastructure Development (ACID) was created to meet the massive infrastructure needs of Metropolitan Manila. Horizontal infrastructure (roads, bridges, etc.) was left to the EOC while vertical infrastructure (buildings and other vertical structures) was assigned to ACID. The special thrust on vertical infrastructure is housing, more specifically the new concept of a total approach to housing and site development called the Urban BLISS project. BLISS stands for Bagong Lipunan Improvement of Sites and Services.

The Health Operations Center integrates, coordinates, and maximizes the efficient and effective utilization of existing public health, dental, sanitation, and hospital services within Metropolitan Manila. Metropolitan Manila was divided into six zones, each headed by an action team leader, the city health officer in the case of the City of Manila. The city and municipal hospitals in the metropolitan area were integrated to form the nucleus of the hospital districts. There are six of these hospitals: (1) Hospital ng Maynila, (2) Quezon City General Hospital, (3) Caloocan City General Hospital, (4) Paranaque Community Hospital, (5) Valenzuela Emergency Hospital, and (6) Pasay City General Hospital.

The MMC has taken an active role in the national government's traffic management program and for very good reasons. The most serious traffic
situations are found in Metropolitan Manila due to urban migration and the proliferation of motor vehicles. About 60 percent of the country's registered vehicles are plying the routes of Metropolitan Manila. Since metropolitan streets consist of only about 2.8 percent of the country's total road network, the disparity in vehicle distribution is not only obvious but alarming.

The traffic problems of Manila in particular are the most serious in the region since Manila is the heart of the four cities, the most urbanized, and the commercial center of the region. Most vehicles in the metro cluster commute within or through Manila City.

**Services by the local city government.** The city government of Manila delivers essential public services to its constituencies through 16 city agencies. Their programs of local services may be generally classified into general administration, fiscal and financial services, health and sanitation, social welfare, education and culture, and infrastructure.

The City Hall building is located south of the Pasig River. The mayor has a small staff in his immediate office here, but he also has a number of political technocrats who are given positions that are either confidential or highly technical in nature. They assist the mayor in various aspects of city governance, explained earlier.

The Personnel Bureau is responsible for the general human resource development program. To perform these functions effectively, the bureau has embarked on four major programs: (1) recruitment and selection, (2) appointment and placement, (3) training and development, and (4) personnel programs and research.

Training is a major function of the bureau which has been conducting a program called the City Hall Weekend University Program under the concept that the City Hall of Manila is a place of work during the week and a place of study on weekends. A general program has been designed with a modular
structure to train division chiefs, section chiefs, professionals in the rank and file, and clerks, according to their respective group levels. Classes vary from two to 26 weeks, depending on the nature of the module. This training program has been tied in with the city's personnel policies so employees are promoted only after completing the program.

The Bureau of Permits grants or denies municipal licenses or permits to businesses. It revokes where the business violates the conditions upon which the permit was granted. The bureau processes, evaluates, and adjudicates applications for business, service personnel, original storage, and special permits. As of 1983 year-end figures, Manila had 76,987 licensed firms or about 96 classes of business.

The Manila Barangay Bureau was created as the legal barangay secretariat for Manila to act as the liaison office between the city government and the barangays. It provides assistance to and coordinates the activities of the 912 barangays in Manila. Barangay chairmen are given training in leadership, finance, economic development projects, and the like, and are given funds for community development.

The barangay system is a part of the politico-administrative structure of the city government and is an extension of the national barangay structure. The objective of the barangay is to broaden citizen participation in the affairs of government.

The 912 barangays in Manila are grouped into 100 zones which in turn are organized into 20 higher zone groups for purposes of monitoring efficiency.

Since the effectiveness of the barangay system relies heavily on citizen participation, volunteer brigades are created in each barangay. In Manila, the most active are (1) the Ladies Auxiliary Brigades which are principally involved in community beautification, (2) the Tanod Brigades which provide
peace and order services to the community, (3) the Disaster Brigades which help in the distribution of relief goods during typhoons and other calamities, (4) the Volunteer Brigades which disseminate information and maintain liaison with various agencies on matters involving common pressing problems, and (5) the Traffic Brigades which assist the police in directing traffic flow and enforcing traffic rules within their barangays.

Headed by a city treasurer, the Department of Finance is the official custodian of all city funds. It is responsible for the collection of city revenues and their disbursements and for the acquisition and disposition of city government property, equipment, supplies, and materials. The city treasurer advises the city on its financial position and on the disposition of public funds. He also has immediate control over public markets. City revenues come from taxes on real, estate, permits, licenses, and registration fees.

A city assessor heads the Department of Assessment and is charged with the valuation of all real estate including machinery for taxation purposes. This department provides the city with about 40 percent of its total revenue.

By the end of 1983, the department reported 150,264 parcels of land assessed during the year with a total valuation of 10.7 billion pesos. This yielded some 204 million pesos in real estate taxes for the city.

Health services are delivered by the Manila Health Department and the Hospital ng Maynila (Hospital of Manila or City Hospital), the former generally providing the preventive aspect of health care and the latter the curative or remedial function.

The Manila Health Department is headed by a city health officer and has 16 offices and divisions in specialized fields of health and sanitation. Each of the four districts is responsible for the various field services. There are
45 health centers, 14 lying-in clinics, two day nurseries, one geriatric clinic, and 45 rehydration centers* in the department's field services. Premature infant care services are also delivered in the districts.

In 1983, Manila had a birth rate of 25.88 per 1,000 persons and an infant mortality rate of 41.53 per 1,000 persons. Leading causes of morbidity are pneumonia, bronchitis, tuberculosis, gastro-enteritis and colitis, influenza, measles, gonorrhea, cancer, infectious hepatitis, and typhoid fever, while the leading causes of mortality are diseases of the heart, pneumonia, tuberculosis, vascular lesions affecting the central nervous system, malignant neoplasms, certain diseases of early infancy, homicide, malnutrition, and accidents. While the rate of infectious diseases went down slightly during the year, sanitation continues to pose a problem due to pollution of air, water, and streets.

Urban primary health care was given special emphasis by the department with a pilot project set up in a depressed area (Barangay 865) in the district of Pandacan south of the Pasig. The experience of this pilot project is now being carried over to other depressed areas. Working against so many constraints, the implementers of the program have to content themselves with slow progress. The success of the effort is being achieved through a continuing relationship of the department with the community and the private sector.

Hospital ng Maynila is funded and operated by the city government. Conceived as a non-profit general hospital, its primary concern is to provide

*A child health program for the control and prevention of infant and childhood diarrheas. This involves the drinking of Oresol (Oral Rehydration Solution) which has proved to be effective in reducing mortality in children and has a beneficial effect on the nutritional status of the affected child.
free and high standard inpatient and outpatient medical care to all deserving Manila residents regardless of social status, race, or creed.

It is the affiliate medical training center for the students of the College of Medicine of the Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila. A general rotating internship is provided, together with undergraduate training for students from affiliated schools or colleges of nursing, medical technology, and X-ray.

The hospital has 200 beds and 50 bassinets. The average occupancy is 96 percent for the adult and pediatric sections and 74 percent for newborns. In 1983, the hospital served 16,013 inpatients, 68,634 outpatients, and 30,994 emergency patients.

The Veterinary Inspection Board, headed by a chairman and three board members, is a vital arm of the city government in protecting the city residents from unsafe meat, fish, poultry, and milk products. The board licenses, inspects, and supervises all public and private abattoirs, corrals, meat processing and butcher shops, and boiling down works in the city. Meat, fish, poultry, and milk products are also brought in from outside sources and are subject to veterinary inspection when they enter the city limits.

Added functions of the VIB are the anti-rabies campaign, licensing, and impounding of all stray animals in the city.

The Social Welfare Department reports that 30 percent of the population are economically and socially disadvantaged, earning 2,999 pesos per annum or less and thus unable to function properly as members of the family and the community. The department's objective is to transform them into productive and self-reliant individuals. The department's outreach programs, which are served through the four political districts of Manila, envision a close partnership with the department and other government agencies, the barangay,
and non-government entities. The strategy is to involve the people in the identification of their needs and resources and in determining the plans of action for solutions, thus placing the barangay as the leading participant in community programs and projects. Volunteers from among the barangay members are selected and trained in various fields of community life, both to lead the community and to serve the welfare of its members. The department also distributes relief goods to disaster areas and extends assistance in the relocation of squatters. It also maintains the Boys' Town and Girls' Home, the Foundling Home, the Home for the Aged, the Youth Reception Center, and the Center for Mendicants.

Two institutions of tertiary education in Manila are city funded: the Eulogio "Amang" Rodriguez Institute of Science and Technology (EARIST) and the Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila (University of the City of Manila or PLM).

The EARIST is the city's training institution in vocational and technical courses to develop skills in the students and to prepare vocational-technical teachers. It therefore offers programs for graduate studies to promote research, advance studies, and progressive leadership in education, trade, business, arts, science, and technology through its general programs of higher education, secondary education, and vocational education.

The Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila, the only university in the country, is funded and operated by the local government. The students in its principal program are chosen through a selective admissions process from the graduates of the city's 27 public high schools.

The PLM has five undergraduate colleges (Arts and Sciences, Business Administration, Education, Engineering and Technology, and Nursing) and a College of Medicine in its regular program. All are tuition free. In addition, the university has a City College for undergraduate courses and a
graduate school offering master's studies in arts, industrial management, government management, business administration, and education under non-scholarship programs. A doctoral program in education is also offered.

The teaching force is composed of more than 300 faculty members for whom the university has a sustained program of development through study, sabbatical leaves, and special assignments plus seminars, workshops, conferences, and consultation activities. Faculty research is integrated as part of the university functions.

A Board of Regents composed of members from the city government, the university, and the private sector governs PLM. Its administration is headed by a president and two vice-presidents.

The Manila Tourism and Cultural Affairs Bureau promotes tourism, Filipinism, and Filipino culture in line with the national government's cultural renaissance. The bureau is engaged in cultural, historical, and civic projects, including cultural groups, glee clubs, and string bands for schools, city employees, and barangay members. It also fosters tourist attractions in Manila and takes foreign visitors on historical and cultural tours. A Manila Sister City Program establishes exchange relations with other cities of the world.

The Bureau of Recreation's function is to administer and maintain zoological and botanical gardens which are favorite spots for residents and transients alike. The zoo has 734 animals which are both a source of entertainment and the subject of study by school pupils.

The bureau also organizes sports tournaments in various playgrounds in Manila and held 17 in 1983.

The Manila City Library operates a public library system and information and public assistance centers. In 1983, 102,599 volumes were in stock.
its library outlets, only 16 are operational, and the library management is seeking funds for their restoration or the construction of new ones. In 1983, 4,912 persons registered for cards and 651,215 used the reading rooms.

The Department of Engineering and Public Works is headed by the city engineer. Its principal objectives are (1) the maintenance of public buildings owned by the city; (2) the enforcement of laws and ordinances governing construction, inspection, safety, improvement and repair of private buildings, numbering of houses, installation and operation of machinery, and erection of signboards and posters; and (3) enforcement of the provisions of the zoning ordinance.

The Parks Development Office (PDO) was created in 1976 to intensify the city's development, cleanliness, and beautification of parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, and other recreational areas. Center islands and parking lots are also under the supervision of this office. There are 15 parks and 90 playgrounds, eight children's playgrounds called Paraiso ng Batang Maynila (Paradise for the Children of Manila), 50 plazas, and five swimming pools. Planting, trimming, and maintenance of trees and hedges in the city are also part of PDO's functions. PDO also sees to it that parks and recreational facilities are free of squatters. In addition, it sets up displays and exhibits on Filipino arts in cooperation with other city agencies.

VII. Impact on the Delivery of Services

In looking for the impact of the structure of the City of Manila on the delivery of its services, two dimensions should be observed. First are the direct and observable consequences of the structure that affect the actual or potential delivery of services. These are the subjects of improvements of existing programs. The second consists of potential consequences that can be
drawn from the situation after examining the realities and searching for what may be gained from them. These are the subjects of prospective research.

Consequences of the structure. The City of Manila is operating under a political environment characterized by a democratic free enterprise where the chief executives and, under normal conditions, the members of the city council are elected by the people. In such a society, there is always the danger that elective decision makers may tend to provide primarily what people want rather than what they objectively need. That is how votes for the next election are generated. The requirements of the immediate here and now, therefore, can at times take precedence over the larger concept of total planning.

City executives, however, still anchor their political stability on urban development with a mixed intention of outdoing the predecessor and creating a memorial for their own administration. Fortunately, the common good is achieved thereby.

As election time approaches, attention shifts to the welfare of the poor, both on the part of the administration and that of other political candidates who tend to give the poor sectors a temporary bonanza in terms of hand-outs and intensified welfare projects. While the phenomenon has lost much of its credibility through time, it is something that is not only widely accepted but always expected.

Some department heads and officials are appointed by the president of the Philippines or by the MMC. Divided loyalties, on one hand, obstruct the city executive's overall plan for development but, on the other hand, provide checks and balances in city operations and enable the metropolitan and central governments to fit city planning into the overall scheme of regional and national programs of development.
The city plantilla* provides executive offices with technical and confidential positions covering a wide range of specializations in city government technocracy. These positions can provide an opportunity for political proteges to be employed as a reward for political support, and they can provide the executive with a chance to bring in experts to help run city affairs. How these positions are filled and by what kind of appointees determines to a large extent how the city executive can later decide matters pertaining to the delivery of services.

The three tiered structure of the Philippine government, especially in the Metropolitan Manila region, gives rise to the need to understand the resulting linkages and interrelations among them. At the lowest level is an agitation toward more autonomy which local governments in the country so long enjoyed. Affluent local governments, of course, feel that development is more readily achieved under local autonomy, and different local governments may have varying needs and directions in their developmental efforts. The feeling is that standardization under central control may only confuse developmental efforts at the lower levels. On the other hand, while local governments may have good programs, these can be limited to what the local government can afford. Beyond its resources, a local government must, of necessity, turn to outside assistance, generally to the higher level of government.

This dependence on outside support may not be very pronounced in the case of Manila because of its potential resources. However, the need to rationalize its programs by way of relating them to contiguous areas and ultimately to the whole national structure calls for a coordinating force over and above all of them--hence, the concept of regionalization and central control.

*List of positions and their salaries.
Regionalization has integrated environmental sanitation in Metropolitan Manila and succeeded in reinforcing Manila's cleanliness effort. Whether this can be attributed to regional integration per se or to the personal leadership of the Metropolitan Manila governor is worth analyzing.

National control over local services has its merits in terms of coordinating the needs of the various local units, but the experience in this area is something that should be well evaluated, not merely on its coordinating effectiveness but on the effectiveness of delivering particular integrated services vis-a-vis the total community service efforts of the local governments.

Consequences of the environment. The individual environmental factors that affect the delivery of city services cannot be viewed in isolation. They contribute to or are reinforced by other factors in a mutuality of cause and effect cycles.

The interplay among three major factors in the environment gives rise to the city's urban problems. These factors are (1) population influx into the city, caused by countryside underdevelopment and urban attractions; (2) geographical limitations that do not allow further land expansion except through reclamation from the sea; and (3) the city's economy which does not offer enough employment opportunities for its teeming population. As a result of these combined environmental forces, a series of interrelated urban problems arise.

Housing facilities are not sufficient to provide decent shelter to all the people in Manila. Land and building ownership is limited to original residents who have been there for generations, affluent migrants who bought real property and now live in the city, and non-resident owners who lease out their property for residential and commercial purposes. The rest of the
citizenry either rents, lives with city residents, or simply squats on government or private property where they build their simple housing structures of all types.

The government's demolition and relocation efforts have again and again failed to achieve results in eliminating the squatters. More drastic action cannot be taken because of consideration of human rights within a democratic society. In fact, the humanistic approach to the squatter problem has strengthened squatterism, and their numbers continue to grow.

Health and sanitation problems caused by the dense population are aggravated by squatterism. The people are more prone to diseases, infections, infestations, and malnutrition.

Unemployment, a serious problem in the city, is understandably the result of population density and deteriorating economy. Not all the people in the working age group among Manila's 1.6 million regular residents can be absorbed into the relatively limited employment market. The influx of squatters has made the situation even worse.

Adequate education cannot be provided within the city's resources. Enough land is not available for new school buildings, and the number of qualified, available, and willing teachers for the lower levels is decreasing. The city budget can allocate only so much for new construction and the school system necessarily suffers. The poor residents and the squatters are the hardest hit.

As a consequence of ignorance, unemployment, and over-population, peace and order deteriorate. The police-to-population ratio is at its worst with the continuous population influx and the slow rate of expansion in the protective force. Depressed areas are known to harbor criminal elements who prey on citizens and fight gang wars among themselves. Criminality is on the rise, fires get out of control, and traffic is difficult to manage.
Businesses of all sorts are sprouting in the city to provide the needs of the people. To a certain extent, they provide employment opportunities, but in many instances the price for society can be high. Some forms of businesses detract from good morals, such as massage clinics and sauna baths that are fronts for prostitution, and motels thrive on questionable business. Alcoholism is on the increase as are liquor and beer houses.

Economic difficulties have pushed the less fortunate into all conceivable means of earning a living, sometimes to the point of criminality. Theft and robbery, hold-ups, purse snatching and pocket picking, and shoplifting are not uncommon. Others go into decent, though still illegal, activities as sidewalk vending and street hawking. Any activity that might yield a source of income is likely to be exploited, regardless of law, morals, and propriety.

In the meantime, unemployment is worsening, prices are rising, and the credit situation is tightening. The government, within its limited resources, is trying every possible means to ease the situation by going into simultaneous programs of development. The call for cooperation among the citizenry has been sounded time and again with appeals to work in concerted efforts beyond political and personal differences.

The ban on new heavy industries in the City of Manila has eased some land use and pollution problems. Hopefully, it will likewise induce rural migrants in Manila to move out where the new industries are.

Total programs and patchwork projects all are a part of efforts to keep the city going. In the face of the seeming impossibility of maintaining peace and order, providing employment, and quieting social unrest, the city government bears itself well with a sense of social responsibility in delivering services to the residents, realizing that much more remains to be accomplished.
Management of scarcity is an alternative strategy that a developing society like the Philippines may well consider in the face of all the problems of limited resources, which may be an artificial (or temporary) perception. The redirection and optimal use of these resources may be what is needed. The problem of lack of employees, for example, may actually mean that the existing employees are not properly utilized, and the of lack of funds may be due to poor expenditure, planning, or management.
MIDWESTERN CITY

PERSPECTIVES OF AN AMERICAN

OMAHA:

PART II
I. Introduction

This part is a study of the City of Omaha—its history, its organizational structure, and its services against the backdrop of its environment. Part of that environment is, of course, the State of Nebraska, so an overview of Nebraska would be an appropriate starting point.

II. Historical Sketch, Background, and Geographic Setting

Nebraska, the 37th state to join the United States of America, is in the midwestern part of the country, bounded by South Dakota on the north, Kansas on the south, Wyoming and Colorado on the west and the Missouri River which separates it from Iowa on the east. Map 4 is the United States showing Nebraska's location in the midwest. Map 5 is the State of Nebraska showing Omaha on the eastern edge.

Archaeological evidence shows that Nebraska was at the bottom of an inland sea in prehistoric periods and was later elevated above the water, that a tropical climate once prevailed, and that prehistoric men once inhabited the land.¹

Indians inhabited the area hundreds of years before the first white explorers came. Although the Pawnees were the first to be mentioned in Nebraska's written history, other tribes were living on the land at that time: the Oto, Ponca, Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapahoe, and the Omaha.²

The name Nebraska came from the Indian term for the Platte River. The Pawnees called it Kits Katus, the Omahas Ni-bthaska, and Otoes Ne-brath-ka all

²Ibid., p. 110.
meaning "flat water." The white men's use of the name soon changed it to Nebraska, or Nebraski as it first appeared in the writings of Etienne Viniard de Bourgmont who explored the Missouri in 1714. "Flat water" was later translated by two French explorers, the brothers Paul and Pierre Mallet, into "Platte," so the long, wide, shallow river that traversed the state was called either the Nebraska River or the Platte.

The Spanish explorers were probably the first white men to reach Nebraska, although French trappers and fur traders eventually did business with the Indians. At one time or another, Spain, France, and England all laid claims to Nebraska based on their discoveries and explorations.

Prior to 1763 Nebraska was a part of the French settlements west of the Mississippi. From 1763 to 1800 it became a part of the Spanish province of Louisiana when France ceded its territories west of the Mississippi to Spain after the Seven Years' War.

On October 1, 1800 Nebraska again became French territory when Napoleon bought it back from Spain under the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso in order to pursue his plan of building a French empire in America. Realizing later that such a plan was not practical, he sold all the French territories to the United States on April 30, 1803 in what was known as the Louisiana Purchase, and Nebraska became part of the United States territory.

4 Nebraska Legislative Council, op. cit., p. 109
5 Dustin, op. cit.
From October 1, 1804 to July 4, 1805 Nebraska was part of the Territory of Indiana. Then on July 4, 1805 it was made a part of the Territory of Louisiana until it was made a part of the Territory of Missouri in 1812. When Missouri became a state in 1821, Nebraska was left and made a part of the unorganized region that was known as Indian Country.

Through all these changes from one territory to another, trading between white men and the Indians continued to grow. In 1804 the first American expedition to explore the Louisiana Purchase was led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark on instructions from President Jefferson. Other expeditions followed, military posts were constructed, missions established, overland trails developed, and steamboats plied the Missouri River.

More settlers came in, towns were built, and a new territory was in the making. The first attempt to establish the Nebraska Territory was made in 1844 when Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois presented a bill in Congress. Although this and two subsequent bills failed, the move for territoriality was pushed, and in 1854 the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was finally approved, creating the Nebraska Territory. Francis Burt was the first territorial governor.

On April 19, 1864 an enabling act was passed by Congress permitting Nebraska to become a state. The issue, voted on in the election of June 2, 1854.

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7 Ibid., p. 34.
8 Ibid., pp. 36 and 37.
9 Nebraska Legislative Council, op. cit., p. 109.
10 Ibid., p. 109.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
1866 passed, and on March 1, 1867 Nebraska was admitted as the 37th state of the Union. The Nebraska Constitution was then formulated and adopted in 1875.

Today, Nebraska has a land area of 76,644 square miles and a population of over 1.5 million.\textsuperscript{13} It has an annual population growth of 5.7 percent and a population density of 20.5 persons per square mile.\textsuperscript{14}

Agriculture remains the backbone of Nebraska's economy.\textsuperscript{15} Its manufacturing industry is heavily dependent on agricultural products and activities—processing of farm products and the production of farm machinery as well as the transporting and trading of farm produce.\textsuperscript{16} However, Nebraska also engages in other manufacturing such as textiles, apparel, lumber, and furniture. Wholesale and retail trade and service are even more important than manufacturing. Omaha has a growing service industry including insurance, banking, and telephone ordering.

III. The Local Government Concept

The American concept of local self-government was established in the United States before even before the nation was formed. The first local government was probably instituted by the Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts. Before getting off their ship, they agreed among themselves to form a civil body politic by signing the Mayflower Compact:

\begin{verbatim}
Having undertaken for the glory of God...and the honor of our King and Country, a voyage...we do...solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and of one another...combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{13}Nebraska Statistical Handbook 1982-1983. Lincoln, NE: Department of Economic Development, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., p. 15.

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., p. 83.

\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., p. 119.
... to enact and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts ...
... and offices from time to time, as shall be thought most ...
convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have undersigned our names, Cape Cod, 11th of November, in the reign of our sovereign King James, the year of our Lord 1620.17

Thus on November 11, 1620 was born the first American local government in concept and in practice.

Settlements became colonies, and colonies grew into towns or cities depending on where they were situated. Inland farms grew into towns, and along the coastline cities grew. New York, Boston, Newport, Charleston, and Philadelphia, for instance, became principal colonial cities because of their natural harbors. Two growth patterns were involved: (1) outward expansion from one basic community, encompassing the surrounding areas, usually farmlands; or (2) growing together through the merging of surrounding settlements.18

Eventually, corporate existence of these entities took shape, based on a charter granted either by the royal governor or the proprietor of the colony. The executive, legislative, and judicial functions of government were concentrated in a council composed of an appointed mayor and aldermen, although councilmen were elected. The resulting government, however, was far from democratic or egalitarian.

The American Revolution introduced drastic changes. Councils chartered in the name of the Crown were replaced by state legislative bodies or revolutionary councils. Cities that were subject to the executive will in the central government became subject to the legislative will. Governance,

18Ibid., p.2.
however, still remained with a select circle of merchants and professional people. Only in the late 1820's, with the emergence of the Jacksonian democracy, were property restrictions for office holding and the exercise of franchise removed. Most mayors were elected by popular vote. Voting qualifications were no longer restricted to property ownership, race, and gender. Average citizens became eligible to vote and hold public office. The forms of local governance that evolved generally followed a common pattern throughout the country. Some variations were made, either as mandated by higher authorities or were voted upon by the citizenry.\(^{19}\)

The evolution and development of American local governments were shaped by the needs and demands of the citizenry, the resources available to society, and the complex body of state statutes or court decisions that circumscribed the decision makers' power to act.

In the process of spreading responsibility for governance, political subdivisions were made. This gave rise to the county and townships, cities, and municipalities. As communities grew in magnitude and sophistication, the mission of government was marked by the dual role of protecting the safety and integrity of the community as a whole and at the same time providing the services that citizens needed as individuals.

For purposes of local government, Nebraska is divided into political and service subdivisions. The county is the principal subdivision of the state, but within it are townships or precincts, cities, and villages.\(^{20}\)

A municipality in Nebraska has been defined as an incorporated entity with its own government, as opposed to the unincorporated community or settlement

\(^{19}\)Ibid., pp. 2-3.

\(^{20}\)Ibid., p. 8.
under the larger political jurisdiction of a county or state. A municipality is classified as a city, town, or village according to its population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Population</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td>100 to 800</td>
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<tr>
<td>Second class city</td>
<td>800 to 5,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>First class city</td>
<td>5,000 to 100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary class city</td>
<td>100,000 to 200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan class city</td>
<td>Over 200,000</td>
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Nebraska has 403 villages, 104 second class cities, and 28 first class cities. Lincoln is the only primary class city and Omaha the only metropolitan class city. These criteria for city size may differ in the various states as this is a matter for state legislation.

The Nebraska Constitution provides that cities with more than 5,000 population may frame their own home rule charters that authorize the city to make policies concerning the form of government that it shall have, the authority or powers that it may exercise, and the methods by which this authority may be enforced. Only Lincoln and Omaha have home rule charters.

Any city with over 2,000 population may establish a commission plan for city government, and a city with 1,000 or more may establish a city manager plan of government.

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21Ibid., p. 1.
23Ibid., p. 8.
24Ibid.
25Ibid., p. 38.
A township or town is a subdivision of the state territory for the purpose of carrying limited governmental powers into effect.\textsuperscript{26} Nebraska has 471 townships.\textsuperscript{27}

A village is the smallest unit of government and is established through the initiative of the residents of an unincorporated community. After compliance with incorporation requirements, the residents' petition for incorporation as a village is acted upon by the county board. A new village, however, may not be established within five miles of an existing one.\textsuperscript{28}

IV. The City of Omaha

Omaha got its name from the Omaha Indians who migrated from the Appalachian Mountains after a fifteenth century drought and reached the Missouri about the year 1500.\textsuperscript{29} They decided to continue their migration up rather than down the river, and that was how they probably got their name Omaha, "those who go against the current," or as others have translated it, "above all others upon a stream." After fighting their way against other migrating tribes, they reached the mouth of the Big Sioux River where two other semi-sedentary tribes, the Otoes and the Iowas, were also settled. These Indians spent part of the year hunting and part of it in semi-permanent villages.\textsuperscript{30}

Among other tribes in the area were the fierce and strong nomadic Dakotas who were deadly to the semi-sedentary tribes. In order to escape the threat

\textsuperscript{26}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{27}Nebraska Legislative Council, op. cit., p. 601.

\textsuperscript{28}Winter, op. cit., p. 18.

\textsuperscript{29}Dustin, op. cit., p. 4.

\textsuperscript{30}Ibid.
of the Dakotas, the Otoes and the Iowas crossed the Missouri. The Omahas followed in the late 1780's and established a large village just on the other side of the river.  

The founding of Omaha as a city was highly speculative as were all other towns in newly opened territories in the nineteenth century United States. Promoters who founded the towns designed them on paper to attract investors and settlers. It was an era of imaginary villages, popularly called paper towns. Some succeeded, but many were later abandoned and became ghost towns.

These were the odds against which the Omaha promoters were playing. They saw the potential of the place, especially in the characteristic great bend of the Missouri River as it curved in the central part of the country, a place that attracted numerous investors. The promoters must have seen that this was one long shot that could win. After all, the site was an ideal port for river ferries, and trading posts were doing business. A fur company had already been established by Manuel Lisa in 1808, followed by many others, but no permanent settlers had yet taken up residence.

In 1846, the Mormons, a religious group led by Brigham Young, were driven out of Nauvoo, Illinois, came to western Iowa, and negotiated with the Indians and federal authorities to use a site on the Nebraska side of the river above the Council Bluffs as a temporary residence and hunting ground until they could get started westward again. Finding the terms acceptable—protection from the Sioux, corn, school accommodations for their children—the Indians agreed. The Mormons built the settlement called Winter Quarters for several

31 Ibid.

thousand of their faith who expected to spend the winter in that newly
developed settlement. They were the first non-Indian settlers of Omaha.
Winter Quarters became the scene of a great tragedy because of the severe
winter and lack of supplies, including logs. Six hundred Mormons died that
winter, and nearby Fort Omaha, a U.S. army outpost, also suffered many
deaths. Winter Quarters, nevertheless, remained as a staging center for the
great Mormon migration to the Salt Lake basin. Since the Mormons had agreed
to stay only two years, those remaining in Winter Quarters voluntarily crossed
over the Missouri River to the Iowa side to Kanesville (later named Council
Bluffs) in 1848, thus abandoning the well-organized community they had laid
out. In 1853 a group of non-Mormon settlers staked claims to the Winter
Quarters, but these claims were not validated until 1854 when Nebraska became
a territory. In 1856 the settlement was renamed Florence, and it became a
flourishing community that was eventually absorbed into the City of Omaha.

In 1849, the California gold rush sent miners to the West, trekking the
Mormon Trail or negotiating the Missouri River. William Brown of Iowa was
among those who joined the rush. Upon reaching Kanesville and seeing
thousands of people waiting to leave for California, he changed his mind. He
saw that it was a good situation for making more money by staying rather than
by proceeding to the West. In the early 1850's he was operating a ferry
between Iowa and Nebraska, having received a permit from Iowa's Pottawattamie
County, and helped found the Nebraska Ferry Company. All along he had his
sights on founding a town across the river from Kanesville. He became known
as the first person to have claimed the townsite. In November of the same
year, Alfred D. Jones, also of Kanesville, staked a claim on the Nebraska side
just south of Brown's site (immediately south of Omaha's present downtown
business district). A surveyor by profession, Jones surveyed and platted the
city and produced the Jones map which already showed Omaha as a well-planned settlement. 33

The land was then still in the possession of the Indians who took steps to drive Jones out of the area. Jones, who lacked a clean legal title, applied for the establishment of a post office, with himself as the postmaster. This was eventually granted, and he thereby succeeded in staying in town. 34

The year 1854 saw more settlers coming into Council Bluffs. On June 24 President Pierce announced the ratification of a treaty with the Indians eliminating tribal claims on the area. 35 A sudden rush of settlers followed. Promoters hired surveyors to survey and plat the free zone.

In the meantime, the promoters were also moving to establish the town's position as the territorial capital of Nebraska. The first Omaha newspaper, called The Arrow and edited by J.W. Pattison, appeared on June 28, 1854. It promoted the town as a possible commercial metropolis. 36

Then on a hot Fourth of July, a group of men and women from Council Bluffs, caught up in the spirit of the movement and spurred by its promoters, crossed the river and gathered at the new town to dramatize their aspirations for its future. They raised a log cabin without a roof, joined together in a lunch, and listened to speeches and resolutions. They formally named the town Omaha. 37 This was Omaha founded on July 4, 1854.

\[\text{33 Dustin, op. cit., p. 16.}\]
\[\text{34 Ibid.}\]
\[\text{35 A.J. Hall, Early and Authentic History of Omaha 1857-1890, (published by the author), p. 21.}\]
\[\text{36 Fannie Reed Giffen, Oo-Mah-Ha Ta-Wa-Tha (Omaha City), Lincoln, NE: (published by the authors), 1898, p. 11ff.}\]
\[\text{37 Dustin, op. cit., p. 18.}\]
On February 22, 1855, through the efforts of Acting Governor Thomas B. Cuming, the capitol building was placed in Omaha. 38 In February, 1857 Omaha was granted its city charter and was thus incorporated as a city. 39

The same year Omaha was facing stiff competition from other river towns, especially Nebraska City, as a steamboat port and as a trading center. Omaha had to look to other strengths. Omaha could count on the Mormon Trail for its land connections, but this had many disadvantages. Omaha's freighting firms were incurring losses, real estate prices were dropping, and wildcat banks were failing. The Panic of 1857 was unavoidable. When it finally happened, Omaha was reduced to a ferry station opposite Council Bluffs. 40

The Pike's Peak gold rush to Colorado in 1859 came so suddenly that Omahans could hardly believe their good fortune. In a few months Omaha was alive once again. 41

Adding to this good fortune, President Abraham Lincoln approved the Pacific Railroad Act on July 1, 1862. 42 The Union Pacific Railroad was chartered to construct a single line with its eastern terminal in Council Bluffs which the railroad leaders interpreted as meaning Omaha. 43 So on December 2, 1863, a ground-breaking ceremony was held at 9th and Davenport Streets to mark the eventful occasion. 44 Omaha soon had its railroad, the

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40 Larson and Cottrell, op. cit., p. 54.
41 Ibid., p. 18.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid., p. 23.
44 Ibid., p. 25.
first transcontinental line uniting the eastern and western sections of the country. More than that, it opened the West to settlement, growth, and development. Thus, Omaha not only became one of the country's most important railroad centers but earned the distinction of being the "Gateway to the West."

When Nebraska became a state on March 1, 1867 and the state capital was removed from Omaha and given to Lincoln, Omahans were not particularly concerned. Omaha's new role as a gateway to national progress was more significant than having the capital, and the new challenge demanded their attention above any other consideration.45

After the railroad came, a series of significant internal developments occurred. The State of Nebraska attracted settlers by the thousands, lured by inexpensive and easily accessible land as well as lavish promotional claims. They were homesteaders who arrived by the Union Pacific and, almost overnight, Omaha had an agricultural hinterland. Cattle raising also developed, and the need for a stockyards followed. This gave rise to the organization of the Union Stock Yards Company and the Omaha Yards Company.

Significantly, these two companies led to the development of South Omaha. The success of the stockyards later invited other manufacturing ventures such as the Union Pacific machine and car shops, the Omaha and Grant smelting and refining works, Metz Brothers brewery, and the Woodman linseed oil works.46

The city's jobbing trade also grew. Department stores were constructed, among them one owned by Jonas L. Brandeis. The New York Life Insurance

45Ibid.
46Ibid., p. 31.
Company and other eastern businesses established branches in Omaha. Banks underwent healthy expansions. Omaha was growing.

Periods of depression occurred for Omaha during subsequent years. The bad crop of 1890, for example, sent the city reeling under economic pressures. The situation led to political issues involving railroad policies, and the farmers either turned to politics or joined protest movements. Factories and stores closed and many residents started moving out. The crisis, however, lasted only six years.

In 1896, Omaha started picking up again as business recovered, industries reopened, and the real estate market improved.

The year 1898 is said to mark Omaha's rebirth with the creation of two organizations. The first was the Trans-Mississippi, an umbrella group through which the Board of Trade, the Commercial Club, the Chamber of Commerce, and other assemblies engaged in joint action. The second was the International Exposition of 1898 which sought to unite business leaders into a fraternal order that would carry out various activities aimed at improving Omaha's image. The exposition raised money from public and private sectors, including the Nebraska legislature, other states and territories, and Congress. Omaha moved on to the twentieth century confident in a good future that lay ahead.

The twentieth century saw Omaha reap the benefits of the golden age of agriculture in Nebraska. By 1905, Omaha was the world's largest butter producing city. Brewers and distillers increased their production. Bags, boxes, and clothing were produced by several firms, while blacksmithing and

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47 Ibid., p. 72 and p. 79.
48 Ibid., p. 80.
49 Ibid., p. 84.
iron works evolved into steel companies. Contractors and architectural firms were established and prospered. The number of wholesale houses increased. The Omaha Grain Exchange was started and was ranked as the nation's fourth largest.

The livestock market continued to be one of Omaha's greatest strengths. In 1915, South Omaha became part of the City of Omaha and added not only population but the business gains from Armour, Cudahy, Swift, Morris, and a number of smaller packing plants.

Automobiles first appeared on the streets of Omaha in 1898 but were considered dangerous nuisances during the first decade of the new century and were banned in many places. After the Third Annual Automobile Show, however, which was held in Omaha in 1908, the number of motor vehicles in Nebraska jumped to 11,000. City taxes in Omaha increased in direct ratio to the number of motor vehicles, and in 1916 two major highways radiated west from Omaha. Parking meters came into being, and more bridges were constructed. The building boom in the western districts picked up in line with Omaha's master plan. The first zoning ordinance was passed, and the wealthy were lured to the suburbs where development was patterned after that of other big American cities.

The growing population was characterized by ethnic diversity as new immigrants kept coming in—Germans, Czechs, Slavs, Italians, Swedes, Danes, and others from European countries—making Omaha an "immigrant city." Ethnic differences brought about the social problems of segregation along racial and ethnic group lines. At one time, the situation resulted in what has been considered a shameful nightmare. During the Court House Riot of 1919 a black man, who allegedly raped a white girl after mugging her handicapped male companion, was indicted without trial and lynched while a crowd of thousands watched. Omaha also gained a rather violent and bawdy reputation, since
gambling and prostitution were part of the social ills accompanying a more cosmopolitan environment.

The depression of the 1930’s saw the collapse of Nebraska’s agricultural economy, and Omaha needed money and support from outside sources. The New Deal programs of President Roosevelt came just in time and prevented a total disaster. Federal money went into developmental projects that included business rehabilitation, urban services, construction, and jobs.

America’s entry into World War II shifted general assistance from local aid to the war effort. However, while developmental funds for Omaha were curtailed, contracts for the production of military equipment, arms, and munitions came to assist Omaha’s economy. New factories were constructed both in or near Omaha. The largest was the Glenn L. Martin bomber plant at Fort Crook which employed thousands of Omahans. Simultaneously, Omaha’s railroads prospered and its livestock business boomed as a result of the demand for supplies for the war fronts.

Omaha continued to enjoy this prosperity after the war. The economy improved and federal money continued to develop the hinterlands. The city remained an important wholesaling and warehousing center as population increased and grain receipts rose. About 35,000 retail firms were established in the city, and more than $500 million was deposited in the 10 major Omaha banks. The transportation business, which included five airlines, was brisk as never before.

The second half of the century saw Omaha’s population growing from 251,117 in 1950 to 301,598 in 1960 and 347,328 in 1970. The metropolitan area growth was equally dramatic.

Omaha of the present is a city on the move. The current emphasis is on urban renewal. Questions like how far should Omaha’s land area expand and how
many people should live within the city limits are now challenging planners. The directions taken will be a matter for the citizens to decide. Omaha has gone through periods of economic depression but time and again awakened to new growth and progress.

The history of Omaha has been well-knit into that of the state of Nebraska, but somehow the city enjoys its own prominence, not only as the first territorial capital but as a city that planned and carved its own history and its own destiny as America's gateway to the West.

One of Omaha's strengths is its cultural resiliency that enables its people to accept one another in that maze of ethnic diversity that characterizes its society.

V. Internal Organizational Structures

The Constitution of Nebraska provides that cities with more than 5,000 population may adopt a home rule charter that authorizes the city to decide, among other things, what form of government it will adopt. Omaha opted for this type of a charter.

The home rule charter of 1956 and the laws of the State of Nebraska define the authority of the City of Omaha. Under the charter, city governance is carried out through the three functions of a democratic society—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. 51

The executive function. The charter decrees that the executive and administrative power of the city shall be vested in and exercised by the mayor. The mayor is elected by the people on a non-partisan ballot for a term of four years. Since Omaha has also opted for a strong mayor form of

government, this official is responsible for coordinating the operating departments to ensure an efficient delivery of services. The mayor is also responsible for enforcing city ordinances, the submission of annual budgets, and appointments of members to various city boards. The appointment of employees may be delegated to heads of departments.

The mayor is assisted by an action line division, a management information system coordinator, and a labor relations director, while department heads constitute the mayor's cabinet.

The legislative function. The home rule charter established the city council as the legislative branch. The seven members of the council are elected by district, and they elect a president and vice-president from among themselves. The president presides over council meetings and serves as acting mayor when the mayor is absent or is disabled. The council may pass, amend, or repeal ordinances and resolutions necessary to execute the provisions of the charter. Meeting every Tuesday afternoon in the legislative chamber of the Civic Center, the council conducts public hearings on ordinances, resolutions, city budget, applications for business permits and building construction, zoning and rezoning, etc. It also conducts investigations on citizens' complaints and retains a lobbyist who represents the City of Omaha at state legislative sessions and committee meetings in Lincoln, the state capital.

The council employs a clerk who maintains all documents, provides information regarding city proceedings, prepares council meeting agendas, conducts city council and board of equalization meetings, and attests to the mayor's signature.

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52 Ibid., p. 6.
The judicial function. In accordance with state law, the Omaha Municipal Court was created and now is one of two municipal courts in Nebraska. The other municipal court is in the City of Lincoln. Structurally, the Omaha Municipal Court has nine judges in its three areas of proceedings: criminal, civil, and traffic. It handles civil and small claims filings and all of the minor moving violation citations issued by the Omaha Police Department. This court also handles cases of serious traffic offenses including driving while intoxicated or during suspension of license, parking violations, and ordinance violations, plus citations issued by the Humane Society. Preliminary hearings on all felonies in Douglas County are handled by Omaha Municipal Court.

VI. External Linkages

Nebraska has three levels of government—state, county, and municipal—each linked to the others.

The state government. Nebraska, as a state in the federal union, is represented in the national government through its elected senators and representatives to Congress. In its own internal structure, it likewise has the three branches of government—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial.

Nebraska is the only state in the country with a unicameral legislature. This body is assisted by a legislative council and a staff. The legislature's 49 members are elected from single member districts on a non-partisan basis. The lieutenant governor presides over the unicameral.

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53 Ibid.
54 Ibid., p. 342.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid., p. 346.
The legislative council was created by the legislature in 1934 and was composed of 16 members from the legislature itself. It provides support services by considering legislative policies between sessions, collecting information of statewide public importance, and presenting a legislative program with recommendations to the entire Legislature. Recently the council has expanded beyond 16 members as the need dictates.57

Judicial power is vested in a state Supreme Court, the district courts, and the county courts.58 The Supreme Court has seven judges while the 21 district courts have 47.59 A district system is also used for the selection of county judges—44 county judges within the 21 districts. There are also two conciliation courts (one in Douglas County and another in Lancaster County), one workmen's compensation court with five judges, and two municipal courts (one in Omaha, another in Lincoln). All these courts are an integral part of the state judicial system and therefore subject to general administrative control by the state Supreme Court. The courts are funded by the state government except the municipal courts which are funded by their respective cities.60

Judges are initially appointed by the governor for a term of three years from a selection made by a nominating commission. At the expiration of the three-year appointment, the voters decide whether a judge shall be retained in office for another six years. Judges run unopposed on the basis of their

57 Ibid., p. 348.
58 Ibid., p. 581.
58 Ibid.
60 Ibid.
records. A majority of affirmative votes retains the judge in office; a majority of negative votes removes him or her.61

A nominating commission is composed of four laymen appointed by the governor from the judicial district, four lawyers (also from the judicial district) selected by the Nebraska Bar Association, and a Supreme Court judge (appointed by the governor) who serves as a non-voting chairman. There are 55 judicial nominating commissions in Nebraska: 21 for the district court judges; 21 for the county court judges; six for the Supreme Court judges; one for the chief justice of the Supreme Court; one each for the municipal courts of Omaha and Lincoln; one each for the separate juvenile courts of Douglas, Sarpy, and Lancaster Counties; and one for the workmen's compensation court.62

The executive branch of the state government is composed of the following officials, departments and agencies:

Constitutional executive officials:
Governor
Lieutenant Governor
Secretary of State
Auditor of Accounts
State Treasurer
Attorney General (Department of Justice)

Administrative departments:
Department of Administrative Services
Department of Aeronautics
Department of Agriculture
Department of Banking
Department of Correctional Services
Department of Economic Development
Nebraska Energy Office
Department of Environmental Control
Department of Health
Department of Insurance
Department of Labor and Safety Standards
Department of Motor Vehicles

61Ibid.
62Ibid.
County governments. The county is the major political subdivision of the state. It is further subdivided into smaller political units that constitute the local government structure in Nebraska. It is governed by a county board which may be either a commissioner (precinct) type or a supervisor (township) type. In the former the county board is composed of three to five commissioners and the county is divided into precincts. In the latter the county board is composed of five to seven supervisors and the county is divided into townships.

Nebraska has 93 counties, and 65 of them have opted for the commissioner type while 28 have the supervisor form. No significant distinction exists between these two forms, since either has precisely the same powers and tenure.

Douglas County adopted the commissioner type with five commissioners in its county board. Its political units consist of 12 precincts, four cities, and three villages.

The county is an extension of the state government and therefore does not have legislative authority. It exercises executive functions through the county board whose members (whether commissioners or supervisors) are elected by the people within the county.
Most county administrative officials are also elected by the people and their offices are autonomous. Among the elected county officials in Douglas County are the county commissioners, county clerk, public defender, register of deeds, treasurer, assessor, auditor, superintendent of schools, and sheriff. The board of commissioners appoints the county, fiscal, and hospital administrators and directors of the following: corrections, health department, mosquito control, special services, data processing, general assistance, personnel, and public property.

Certain officers, however, are appointed by the county board. These include the weed superintendent, civil defense director, veterans service officer, health officer, planning and zoning director, and county tourism director.

A group of counties may band themselves together into a region for purposes of collaboration in the delivery of services and for other needs such as combined purchasing power. Six such regions exist in the State of Nebraska.

VII. Delivery of Services in the City

City services are delivered by the national, state, county, or the local city governments.

National. Most of the federal services delivered in Omaha are part of the effort for nationwide services and therefore necessarily affect Omaha as a city as they do other local governments. Some of the federal agencies have branch offices in Omaha. These include:

- Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation
- Livestock Division, Department of Agriculture
- Farmers' Home Administration
- Federal Grain Inspection
- Meat and Poultry Inspection Service
- Packers and Stockyards Administration
- Soil Conservation Service
- U.S. Air Force
- U.S. Army Recruitment
U.S. Marine Recruitment
U.S. Navy Recruitment
U.S. Coast Guard
International Trade Administration
National Weather Service
Federal Bureau of Investigation
General Services Administration
Food and Drug Administration
Housing and Urban Development
Fish and Wildlife Service
National Park Service
Internal Revenue Service
Interstate Commerce Commission
Bureau of Prisons
Immigration and Naturalization
Bureau of Apprenticeship
Employment Standards Administration
Medicare Division, Social Security Administration
National Labor Relations
Personnel Management Office
Postal Service
Labor Retirement Board
Probation and Parole Office
Secret Service
Small Business Administration
Social Security Administration
Federal Aviation Administration
Federal Highway Administration
Federal Railroad Administration
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms
U.S. Customs Service
Veterans Administration.

Independent agencies provide services such as environmental protection, equal employment opportunity, farm credit, federal communication, federal deposit insurance, federal home loan bank, mediation and conciliation, and general services.

Judicial services are dispensed through the Supreme Court of the United States, the 11 circuit courts, and certain district courts.

State. Like the federal government, Nebraska state government delivers services that apply to or affect the city governance. A list of the major services includes:

Department of Agriculture
Department of Banking and Finance
Department of Correctional Services
Department of Economic Development
Nebraska Energy Office
Department of Environmental Control
Department of Insurance
Department of Labor
Department of Motor Vehicles
Department of Public Institutions
Department of Social Services
Department of Roads
Department of Revenue
Department of Water Resources
Department of Education.

County. Certain services delivered to the City of Omaha and its residents are from Douglas County.

The City of Omaha, for instance, does not have its own treasurer to collect revenues and disburse city funds. This function is performed for the city by the county treasurer who is virtually a treasurer for the city, the school district, the technical or community colleges, the utility districts, the educational service units, and the airport authority.

The county assessor provides assessment services to the city as well as to the county. The office appraises the value of real estate properties on which the city bases its real property tax collection. The county assessor is, however, subject to review and correction by the state board of equalization which is responsible for the equalization of assessment among counties.

Correctional services are provided by the county department of corrections which administers the county jail and serves the City of Omaha and other county subdivisions. In smaller cities, this function is undertaken by the county sheriff.

The Douglas County sheriff provides general police work for the county but more often undertakes investigative work and maintains the county jail which also serves the city, since Omaha has no jail of its own.

City. City government services are delivered to residents through nine operating departments under the supervision of the mayor. Their budgets
become part of the city budget which must be approved by the Omaha City Council.

The law department is headed by the city attorney who advises the mayor about litigations. The department also provides municipal corporation service, legislative service, claims and investigation, and prosecution service.

The personnel department provides a full range of administrative support services including records management, benefits administration, human resources development, and affirmative action.

The human relations department oversees compliance with civil rights, contract compliance, community relations with respect to discrimination of any form, and develops objectives and priorities for the city.

The finance department assists the mayor in developing the budget, and provides audit, revenue, and expense service, public property control, and disbursements for all purchasing for the city. The budget must be approved by the city council.

The planning department oversees economic development, housing and community development, urban planning, building development, air quality, and mechanical code enforcement for the city.

The parks, recreation, and public property department oversees the parks and greenways, supervises weed and litter control, and directs recreation, forestry, the civic center, the city auditorium, performing arts centers, and the volunteer park patrol.

The public safety department includes civil defense, disaster warnings, fire and police divisions, criminal investigation bureau, emergency communications through the 911 telephone number, and weights and measures inspection.
The public works department is responsible for design, construction, engineering, and development of rights of way, street maintenance, cleaning, sweeping, and snow and ice removal. The department also is responsible for sewer maintenance, cleaning, repair, and replacement as well as traffic control, signals, parking meters, and all matters of street and highway construction and maintenance. In addition, the department handles waste and litter control, garbage and packing house waste treatment, and environmental control.

The public libraries are under a library director who is responsible for the main library (W. Dale Clark Library) and nine branches in various parts of the city. Distributed among these libraries are 560,931 books, 124,627 mounted pictures, 53,576 pamphlets, 8,362 phonograph records, 73, 660 microfiches, 199,273 government documents, 51,250 topographic maps, 768 films, 279 framed prints, 6,359 cassette tapes, 7,144 large print books, 53 filmed books, 889 stereographs, and 38 film strips. Public use of the library is indicated by a book circulation of 1.7 million in 1983. Cassette tapes were lent out 11,000 times, phonograph records 37,000 times, pamphlets 3,300, mounted pictures 10,200, art prints 2,100 times. Thus, the library and its branches are an important city service.

VIII. Intergovernmental Relations

The City of Omaha relates to the higher levels of government (county, state, and federal) both directly and indirectly.

Federal-city relations. While the federal government does not exercise any direct supervision over Omaha, the city is in many ways controlled by central government processes. Many federal services are delivered directly in Omaha, and a number of federal offices are situated in and serve the city.
The Department of Agriculture, for example, oversees the proper application of grain standards through the Federal Grain Inspection Service and serves the livestock industry by providing it with reports of the daily movement, trade activity, prices, and price trends in the livestock market. Similar controls and services in other areas also exist through different federal departments.

Several U.S. government programs have benefited the city.

The Department of Labor awarded to Omaha the Urban Parks and Recreation Recovery Planning Grant for the purpose of establishing an on-going comprehensive review process for community center programming.

In 1983 the Department of Agriculture provided meals for young, underprivileged children in Omaha, Douglas, and Sarpy Counties.

The Community Development Block Grant Program of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development provides funds to be used for a broad range of community development activities. Annual grants in various amounts are possible.

The Minority Business Development Agency provided $135,000 in federal funds with a $43,000 local match required. These funds were used to establish a minority business development program.

An Economic Development Planning Assistance grant was awarded by the Economic Development Administration and provided $41,965 for the purpose of strengthening the economic development planning capacity of the city in 1983.

Two grants were received from the Economic Development Technical Assistance Program, one for 1983 in the amount of $25,000 for a study of international markets in order to design a marketing program for the city. The other was for $22,500 for the period September 27, 1982 to September 26, 1983 to conduct a feasibility study of a proposed business incubator building.
The Office of Employment Resources awarded a grant to the City of Omaha through the State of Nebraska as part of the Job Partnership Training Act (formerly CETA or Comprehensive Employment Training Act). The funds allow the city to continue specific programs for people who have difficulties in obtaining employment in the Omaha-Douglas-Sarpy area. They include public assistance recipients, youth 18-21 years old, older workers (55 and over), ex-offenders and persons on work release, displaced homemakers, women and single parents, individuals who lack educational credentials, persons of limited English-speaking ability, individuals who are disabled, and Vietnam era veterans. The City of Omaha through the Office of Employment Resources attempts to match trainees and private industry for employment on a private-public sector partnership in paying salaries of the persons in the OER programs.

State-city relations. The U.S. Constitution divides responsibilities between the national government and the states. A unitary system prevails in every state, and the state's power to govern is supreme. Local subdivisions acquire only those powers given to them by the state. 63

The state monitors local government activities in the areas of legislative and executive governance.

One legislative control is exercised through enactment or repeal of statutes. The state may either authorize the city to exercise certain powers and determine how and to what extent the powers may be exercised or may remove certain powers from the city. Omaha became a metropolitan class city because the state legislature classified cities according to population.

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63 Winter, op. cit., p. 5.
Charters must spell out precisely what the city can do since it has no inherent power to do what it wants in all local matters. Powers are limited to: (1) those expressly granted in the charter, (2) those necessarily or fairly implied in or incident to the powers expressly granted, and (3) those essential to the accomplishment of the declared objects and purposes of the city. This concept at times severely limits the ability of a city to solve problems.

The city may levy only those taxes that the state permits and only within the limits set by the legislature and/or the state constitution. The state may abolish taxes that the city has already levied. A case in point was the sales tax on food abolished by the state legislature. As a result, Omaha was deprived of $6 million in estimated revenue and had to turn to other sources. However, Omaha gained because the home rule charter grants the city an exemption from the operations of the Nebraska budget which otherwise would have placed Omaha under the supervision of the state auditor for public accounts.

Financial aid may well be the strongest inducement for cities to conform to state regulations, as all financial aid carries with it certain conditions dictating the nature of the undertaking, period covered, recipients, obligations, and others.

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65 Murray Frost, Municipal Revenue Sources: Analysis of Omaha's Options, Omaha, NE: Center for Applied Urban Research, University of Nebraska at Omaha, 1983, p. 7.

The state legislature is empowered to conduct investigations of local corruption, city needs, and other urban problems. This places the state in an advantageous position for trade-offs and control over the city.

Executive controls over cities are exercised through techniques that "range from persuasion to coercion." The state may ask for a periodic report or send its own inspectors to gather information on certain aspects of city services, or the state may generate a wide array of regulations with which a city must comply. The state may take over administration as an extreme measure when the city is incapacitated, or martial law may be declared when the city is unable to cope with disasters and civil disorders. The degree of state involvement in local governance, however, depends upon the state and the needs of the local government.

The State of Nebraska is extending grants to the City of Omaha for the city's benefits in the following areas:

The governor's vocational education program is a grant of $65,829 for the purpose of providing vocational education training to OER participants.

An air quality control program is funded by the Environmental Protection Agency through the State of Nebraska in the amount of $402,229.

The traffic control device inventory is a grant to inventory existing traffic signing and to assess its adequacy and condition in compliance with the manual on uniform traffic control devices. The State of Nebraska provided $60,000 in grant money, and the city provided $30,000 in the form of in-kind services.

The Omaha Comprehensive Alcohol Program award of $190,000 is fully funded by the State of Nebraska for the purpose of providing additional enforcement.

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67Martin, op. cit., p. 15.
of and gaining public support for driving while intoxicated statutes, and reducing the number of alcohol-related accidents.

The Omaha 55 Enforcement Program is aimed at reducing the fatal and injurious accident rate on the interstate system in the Omaha area by providing additional hours to enforce the 55 mile per hour speed limit. The grant amount is $45,800 and is fully funded by the state.

The driving while intoxicated prosecution assistance award of $63,728 provides money to prosecute increased traffic violations.

The English as a second language grant in the amount of $20,424 is for the purpose of providing an Indochinese refugee employability program, designed to serve all Vietnamese refugees 16 years old and above who are unemployed and seeking employment and who reside in Douglas and Sarpy Counties.

The special services comprehensive assessment/career development system grant of $66,167 was awarded to determine those persons who can be effectively served by the Omaha OER program.

The Governor's Youth Program is a $36,000 award made in 1983 to pay for a sub-contract with the Omaha Public Schools to provide career employment experience and transitional services to the youth of Omaha.

County-city relations. Douglas County and the City of Omaha have very close working relationships and enjoy mutual dependency in many areas. The county provides certain services such as health, treasury, assessment, surveying, and corrections that are not provided by the city administration. In these services, the city collaborates with the county for a more effective delivery of services. Since the city is under a home rule charter, the county does not have any legislative power over Omaha.

IX. The External Environment

Omaha occupies a land area of 90.9 square miles, about one third of Douglas County's 333 square miles. The city was built on a rolling terrain
according to a plan started in the mid-nineteenth century and developed through the years into a network of infrastructures that characterize the present day city.

Omaha had a population of about 314,267, according to the 1980 Census, about 20 percent of the state's 1.5 million, and 79 percent of Douglas County's 397,038 people. The population density was 3,457 persons per square mile. Whites constituted 85.6 percent of its population, blacks 12.1 percent, and other minorities, 2.3 percent (American Indians, Eskimos, Aleutians, Asian and Pacific Islanders, and Hispanics). The median age in 1980 was 29.3. Children below 10 years old constituted 14 percent of the population while the elderly (65 years and over) comprised 12.2 percent. The birth rate was then 17.3, and the death rate 9.9. More than 90,000 Omahans were in school, 26,000 of whom were in high school and 22,000 in college. About 74 percent of Omahans 25 years and over had gone through high school and about 11 percent were college graduates.

Omaha had an unemployment rate of 4.4 percent as of November, 1984. Of its more than 118,000 households, about 30 percent have an annual income below $10,000, another 30 percent earn from $10,000 to $20,000, 21 percent from $20,000 to $30,000, 10 percent from $30,000 to $40,000, 4 percent from $40,000 to $50,000, and another 4 percent earn over $50,000. The median income of Omaha households is approximately $16,000, while some 8.2 percent of the households or about 35,000 individuals, earn below poverty level income.68 About 2,700 Omahans are employed by the city government and about 5,400 by the federal government.69

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68 Poverty level income has been defined as $10,094 for a family of four.
69 Census data, STF 38-Nebraska.
The numbers of people employed in the major industries are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of People Employed</th>
<th>Number of Firms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25 - 49</td>
<td>468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 99</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 - 199</td>
<td>188</td>
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<tr>
<td>200 - 299</td>
<td>60</td>
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<tr>
<td>300 - 399</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>400 - 499</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>500 - 599</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000 - 1,499</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,500 - 1,999</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000 - 2,499</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,500 - 3,499</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 3,500</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The business environment, in particular, is healthy. The mayor takes an active part in the government and business collaboration to further economic, social, and physical development of the city. This joint effort has, to a large extent, determined the decisions on the direction of city planning, rezoning, and other aspects of the urban development.

Most of the state, county, and city officials are elected by the people. These officials are chosen on both partisan and non-partisan ballots. Partisan election involves the preliminary selection of candidates by political parties through caucuses, conventions, and primary elections, and finally fielding selected candidates against those of the opposing parties in general elections. Election on a non-partisan or non-political ballot is the process of voting with no consideration for political party affiliation.

The following officials are selected on a partisan ballot:

**Federal Officials**
- U.S. President and Vice-President as a team
- U.S. Senators
- U.S. Congressmen

**State Officials**
- Governor
- Lieutenant Governor
- Public Service Commissioner
- Auditor
- Secretary of State
- Attorney General
County Officials
Commissioners
Clerk
Public Defender
Register of Deeds
Treasurer
Assessor
Auditor
Sheriff.

These officials are selected on a non-partisan ballot in the State of Nebraska:

State Legislators
Members of the State Board of Education
Judges
City Mayor
City Council Members
City Board of Education
County Superintendent of Schools
Educational Service Unit Boards
Utility Board Members.

Certain state and county officials, on the other hand, are appointed by the governor, as are the heads of administrative state departments and county officers who head special services. All city administrative officials are appointed by the mayor.

Citizen participation in the political process in Omaha, as it is in all other political units in the country, is exercised not only through the election of their legislators, administrators, and judges but also by participating in public hearings on economic and administrative policies.

Amendments to the Omaha home rule charter may be effected through citizens' votes in general elections where the amendment issue is placed on the ballot. Lotteries by a local government for purposes of raising local development funds are also voted on by the electorate.

The city council votes on zoning, rezoning, construction or demolition of houses, and setting up of commercial or industrial establishments. Other undertakings affecting community life and welfare are decided upon by the city
council after citizen reactions. Environmental nuisances are acted upon by city government upon complaint of the citizens. Public improvements are planned, expedited, or abandoned upon residents' input to the council.

Omaha is not free from either the blessings or the pressures of partisanship. Although the mayor is elected on a non-partisan ballot, the party affiliation still affects relations with the state's congressional representatives, the legislature, and the governor. The city still depends on many forms of assistance from the federal and state governments, and partisan politics is never completely removed from the daily operation of the city.
COMPARATIVE SUMMARY

PART III
I. Introduction

The object of this section is to compare similarities and differences and to search for potential in these areas. Hopefully, elements in the comparison may be found that will strengthen the bond of friendship and optimize the working relationships between the two cities, leading to new avenues for development in either or both. Some of the comparative findings may remain as facts in a situation analysis. They may have their own value in building a data bank for other studies. Others may have significant input to the decision making process of either city.

II. The Comparative Settings

Omaha is a midwestern city situated in Nebraska in the highly developed and prosperous United States, while Manila is a city in an economically disadvantaged but developing country of the Philippines. The State of Nebraska has principally an agricultural economy like the Philippines. Against its agricultural background, Omaha's economic development still moves along activities associated with agriculture and has not yet grown to the level of the most highly urbanized cities in the country. Manila, on the other hand, has always been the premiere city in the Philippines, the most highly urbanized and the leader in all aspects of the country's national life. This is not, however, saying that Manila is more highly developed than Omaha nor that Omaha is more urbanized than Manila.
III. Comparative History

Both cities developed along similar turns of events in their respective histories. The first known settlers of Omaha were the Indians of various tribes, the most significant being the Omahas from whom the city later got its name. The settlement became at one time a part of a larger territory owned by France, sold to Spain, bought back by France, and finally sold to the United States as part of the Louisiana Purchase.

The first settlers of Manila were Malay immigrants from the south. With the rest of the country, the Manila area was colonized by one foreign sovereignty after another. The Philippines was first occupied by Spain, ceded to the U.S. through the Treaty of Paris (1898), invaded and conquered by Japan, and regained by the Americans who granted the Philippines their independence in 1946.

Both Omaha and Manila have had the distinction of being capital cities. Omaha was the first capital of Nebraska when it became a territory and then lost the capital position when the seat of government was shifted to Lincoln when Nebraska became a state. The loss of its capital position was not due to any weakness on the part of Omaha but to political agitation at the time which had no bearing on the potential of Omaha as a prominent city.

Manila, on the other hand, was the first capital of the Philippines but lost it to another city, likewise not because of Manila's weakness, but for other reasons not related to its potential as a metropolis. Eventually, Manila regained the capital.

Both Omaha and Manila have always been major trading centers. Both began on the strength of their strategic locations, Omaha on the Missouri River and Manila on the bay area opening to the South China Sea. Omaha established itself as the gateway to the West during early settlement days in the United
States when frontier planners saw the possibilities of a growing metropolis. Manila became the gateway to the East during the early development of western trade with China and the Arabs, and Manila's potential as a world trade center was precisely the factor that attracted foreign traders and investors to settle there. A milestone in Omaha's history was its selection as a terminal of the Union Pacific Railroad that connected Omaha to the East and thus opened the West to settlement and progress. Manila became the eastern terminal of the Spanish maritime route and the galleon trade that connected Manila to the West and thus opened the East to western trade and civilization.

IV. Comparative Political Structures

Both cities share a democratic political tradition based upon executive (administrative), legislative, and judicial traditions.

Administrative structures. Manila and Omaha are cities organized under constitutional democracies operating under charters—the home rule charter for Omaha and the city charter (R.A. 409) for Manila. Many of the provisions of the city charter of Manila are temporarily frozen as a result of the present experiment in regional government. The Metropolitan Manila Commission (MMC) has assumed some of the city's local functions. Both cities have a mayor elected by popular vote, for six years in Manila and for four years in Omaha. The two mayors are of the strong type in the American city governance concept; that is, the mayor is responsible for the day-to-day operation of the city services and for the supervision of all department heads. Department heads are appointed by the mayor in Omaha and are coterminous with him in tenure. In Manila, certain department heads are presidential appointees while others are appointed by the mayor, a situation that contributes to a central government control over the city. Regional control by the metropolitan
government has likewise diminished the strength of the Manila mayor as a local chief executive.

Both the mayor and the vice-mayor in Manila are elected by the people. The vice-mayor assumes the executive function in the absence or disability of the mayor. Omaha does not have a vice-mayor. The executive function is assumed by the city council president in the absence or disability of the mayor. Administrative employees in Manila are appointed by the mayor in accordance with appointment policies laid down and monitored by the Civil Service Commission. In Omaha, city employees are appointed by department heads from qualified candidates screened and certified to by the personnel department.

The legislative function. Omaha has a city council that enacts ordinances and approves the budget. Manila has no legislative branch of its own, and it is governed by ordinances that were either passed earlier by the now suspended city council or are issued by the MMC. The MMC also passes on the city budget. Another aspect of legislative function is that Omaha is affected by the state legislature as well as its own city council ordinances. Manila is effectively removed from the provinces and thus has only MMC legislation or national legislation.

The judicial function. In both cities, the court system is a part of a larger system. In Manila, judges are appointed by the president of the Republic of the Philippines on a permanent basis while in Omaha judges are appointed by the governor for a term of three years after which they must be approved for continuation in office by a popular election.

V. Comparative Urban Environment

Some vast differences between the two cities are evident when the two environments are compared. The geographic, demographic, economic, and political environments are discussed in the sections that follow.
**Geographic.** Both Manila and Omaha are situated along navigable bodies of water, the Manila Bay and the Missouri River, respectively, giving both cities the benefits of trading with other areas through water transportation. Omaha's water transport and trade is on a greatly reduced and limited scale when compared to Manila's vast ocean trade and commerce. Indeed, Manila's ocean port is of prime importance as a geographical setting.

Omaha, however, is much larger than Manila in geographical area, with its 90.9 square miles against Manila's 14.8 square miles. Omaha's vast land area is a major resource when compared to the small land area and dense population of Manila.

Manila is one of four highly urbanized cities clustered together while Omaha relatively stands alone. Manila's expansion inland is blocked on all sides except toward the sea where it may expand through reclamation, which is very expensive and indeed limited. On the other hand, Omaha cannot expand through reclamation because of the Missouri River and Iowa state line, but it has expansion potential inland by annexing municipalities adjacent to it within Douglas County.

**Demographic.** Manila has a population of 1.6 million, six times that of Omaha, in an area of 14.8 square miles creating a population density of 121,621 persons per square mile. Omaha has a population of only 314,000 in an area of 90.9 square miles or a population density of about 3,454 per square mile.

Both cities have relatively young populations in which the females outnumber the males. Population influx is felt much more and is more critical in already overpopulated Manila than in Omaha which has the capacity for many more people.
Economic. More people are unemployed in Manila than in Omaha, a natural consequence of the comparative sizes of their respective populations. Employment opportunities in Manila are scarcer and more competitive than in Omaha. The inflation rate of about 60 percent in Manila is much higher than the 4 percent in Omaha. Food prices have gone up in Manila but are going down slightly in Omaha. The City of Manila is commercial and industrial in its economy while Omaha's is basically related to agricultural with industrial and commercial undertakings also a part.

Political. In both settings, government operates in a democratic system and both mayors are elected. Both are subject to public evaluation of their performances, not necessarily on the basis of what they know is good for the people but on what people believe is good for themselves. Campaign expenses are high in both cities. The Omaha mayor brings in his own department heads whose tenure is coterminous with his. In Manila, the mayor does not have a choice in the appointment of certain department heads. In both cities, people may register complaints about the kinds of services they get, although in Manila such complaints are often overlooked due to lack of resources. Partisan politics in Manila heightens during election campaign periods, and the delivery of services both by the administration and by other political candidates also increases. In fact, the recipients, especially the poor, look forward to such election windfalls. Omaha's city services generally remain unaffected by the election campaign itself, but differences may possibly occur after an election has taken place if the city council and the mayor are in general agreement.

VI. Comparative Delivery of Services

Almost all public services are offered by both the City of Manila and the City of Omaha. They differ, however, in that some services delivered locally
in Manila are delivered by the higher branches of government in Omaha or the other way around, or certain aspects or specific areas of a vital service may exist in one city but not in the other.

**Legal services.** Omaha has a legal department that handles legal matters for the city government. Manila provides this service though the city legal office and other legal units in the different city departments. Some of these, for example the office of the mayor and the social welfare department, give free legal assistance directly to the poor people of Manila.

**Personnel services.** Both Manila and Omaha have offices that handle personnel work for the city government, the personnel department in Omaha and the personnel bureau in the City of Manila.

**Budget.** Omaha's budget is the responsibility of the mayor assisted by the finance department. The city council must approve Omaha budgets. In Manila a separate budget office handles that function and the MMC approves.

**Business permits.** Applications for business are processed and approved by the bureau of permits in Manila whose head is the secretary to the mayor. In Omaha, certain business permit applications, e.g., for liquor stores, are passed upon and approved or denied by the city council which hears proponents and opponents in open session. Regular business operations are handled by the city without council involvement.

**City planning.** Manila's urban planning is undertaken by the department of engineering and public works. Omaha has a planning department that takes charge of this activity. Manila's urban planning activities are much more restricted than Omaha's since Manila's physical and infrastructural development has reached a point where further development would entail demolition or renovation of existing structures. Manila's present structure was planned in its basic concept in 1905 for a population of about half a
The task of updating the structure for the present 1.6 million and
the load of vehicular traffic is a gigantic one. Omaha, on the other hand,
has low population, structural, and vehicular densities, and its road networks
conveniently accommodate the numbers of vehicles.

Omaha has vast open spaces for urban development. Planning can be done on
long-term projections based on present and possible trends. Experiences of
the larger cities can provide the City of Omaha with data and models for long-
term growth.

Parks and recreation. In the parks, recreation, and public property
department Omaha consolidates the three functions in one. In Manila, the
maintenance of parks is the responsibility of the parks development office
while recreation belongs to the public recreation bureau which is responsible
for the maintenance of a zoo and a botanical garden. Omaha's zoo is operated
by the Omaha Zoological Association which charges membership fees and
admission and also receives some funds directly from the city on occasion, but
it is not a regular part of the city budget.

Public library system. Both Manila and Omaha have a public library system
that is a direct service of the city to the residents. Manila has 16 library
outlets with 102,599 volumes as of 1983, while Omaha has 10 outlets with
560,000 volumes. Manila lacks a number of facilities that the Omaha public
library provides: mounted pictures, phonograph records, microfiches, films,
and cassette tapes, to name a few, and certainly has many fewer books than
does Omaha.

Public works. The public works department in Omaha and the department of
engineering and public works in Manila deliver similar services. In both
settings, the higher governments also provide public works within the city.
Assessment. Manila has a department of assessment that determines real property values in the city for purposes of taxation. This function is performed for Omaha by the Douglas County assessor.

Revenue collection. The collection of taxes and other revenues in Manila is undertaken by the city's department of finance whose head is the city treasurer. This function is performed for Omaha by the Douglas County treasurer who collects all revenues for the entire county and delivers them to the different political subdivisions and school and other districts according to their budgetary requirements. Budgets are developed and approved by their governing bodies.

Health services. Until June, 1984 health services in Omaha were a joint venture of the city and the county. Since then, health is a county service. In Manila, this service is under the Manila Health Department. The Ministry of Health of the national government also provides services in Manila through its national health programs.

Douglas County funds and operates a hospital in Omaha with a 30-bed primary health care service, a 280-bed welfare care service, and an 18-bed psychiatric ward, serving the poor of Omaha and other county subdivisions. Manila on the other hand, has a 200-bed city hospital, also serving the poor of the city, supplemented by the national government hospitals under the Ministry of Health. Health clinics operate both in Omaha and Manila.

The health program is strong in both settings. However, Manila's health programs are suffering from lack of financial resources while Omaha is not handicapped to the same degree. Omaha's government provides employees of the city with 100 percent medical and dental assistance and 30 percent for their dependents. Manila's government employees are supported by its Medicare program to which the employees contribute through payroll deductions, but financial assistance is inadequate to cover actual medical costs.
Social services. The delivery of social services in Manila is undertaken by the city's department of social welfare which collaborates with the national government's Ministry of Social Services and Development. In Omaha, social services are provided by the state, complemented by the city's general assistance programs which cover those cases not provided for by the state. Omaha's poor can look to their government for welfare, a relative luxury that the Philippine government cannot afford to extend. Manila has no public general assistance.

Environmental sanitation. In Omaha, environmental sanitation is a function of the city government under its public works department while the same function is performed by the regional (metropolitan) government in Manila. National programs and agencies involved in environmental sanitation also operate in both settings by providing guidelines or controls. In Omaha operations are a local function while regional and national agencies are involved in operations in Manila.

For example, while sewer maintenance, solid waste disposal, and wastewater treatment are city functions in Omaha, the state and federal governments also act on environmental sanitation in terms of pollution control. Grain, dairy, and meat inspections are also undertaken by the federal government. In Manila, environmental sanitation is primarily the function of the metropolitan government. However, the Manila Health Department is also deeply involved in this function by looking at specific sanitation areas especially through education. Meat, dairy, and fish inspections are undertaken by the city. Beautification and tree planting form part of Manila's environmental sanitation program. Tree planting in Omaha is a function of the city forestry department.
Water and toilet facilities are not available to most of the depressed areas in Manila but are easily a convenience to the poor of Omaha. Consequently, sanitary conditions in Omaha are much better than those in the poor sectors of Manila. The poor of Omaha live in structures approved and protected by the government while the squatter shanties of the poor in Manila are illegally constructed on either government or private land and therefore have neither the sanction nor the protection of government.

Education. Public education in Manila is the responsibility of the national Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports in terms of the program, but funding is shared by national and city governments. The national government funds the primary and elementary levels while the city funds the secondary or high school level. In Omaha, primary and secondary education are a local responsibility through districts within the city, but financial aid is given by the state which also licenses teachers. Three school districts operate in the City of Omaha. Manila also provides public tertiary education through the University of the City of Manila (Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila) which offers it free to financially disadvantaged but talented graduates of Manila's 27 public high schools. Omaha once had the University of Omaha as a city university, but this institution has been incorporated into the state university system, and it is now the University of Nebraska at Omaha.

The out-of-school youth problem in Manila is brought about by a number of factors including poverty, lack of school buildings or schoolrooms, lack of teachers, and lack of materials. In Omaha, out-of-school youth are drop-outs from regular enrollments rather than shut-outs for lack of facilities. Moreover, the Omaha School District provides additional training for out-of-school youth and for delinquents.
All three school districts in Omaha have extensive adult education programs. A variety of evening courses is available to Omaha citizens for a very low tuition fee.

**Police services.** Omaha's police services are provided by its public safety department. In Manila, police services, together with fire prevention and protection services, are now integrated into the national police (Philippine Constabulary). However, the Manila police contingent serves only the city residents unless emergency situations arise when it may be called upon to service other local governments. Omaha has about 600 members in its protective force taking care of the city's 314,000 people, a police-citizen ratio of about 1:523. Manila's police force has about 4,000 for the city's 1.6 million, a police-citizen ratio of 1:450. Omaha has a recorded crime volume of 24,826 cases for 1981. Manila recorded about 18,988 for the same period, and 14,291 for 1983. These are approximate figures, however, as they reflect only those crimes that were reported to or detected by the police. The demography of the two cities, their urban environments, and the effectiveness of the police organizations have much to do with the effectiveness of their respective police efforts, both in terms of crime prevention and control, as well as the detection, recording, and reporting of the incidence of crime. Differences in reporting procedures in the two cities might also influence crime rate statistics.

**Collaborative efforts in service delivery.** In neither Manila nor Omaha is the average citizen always clear about sources of funding for city services. Lines of authority and jurisdiction are often vague or completely unknown to citizens. Local services have their corresponding supports from higher governments—regional and national governments in the case of Manila, and county, state, and federal governments in the case of Omaha. Similarly,
higher government services are supported, implemented, and complemented by the local governments. While these intergovernmental relations may create certain administrative problems, they provide the benefits of collaborative efforts in terms of shared resources and technology. The mutuality of dependence and complementation should lend itself to better local progress and a more even growth of national development.

VII. Implications

While the City of Manila and the City of Omaha have much in common, and while these things are sufficient to lay down a groundwork on which to establish friendship and working relationships between the two cities, the points of differences are of such nature that the urban experiences of one do not necessarily serve as desired models for the development of the other.

For one thing, Omaha is operating within an economically healthy American society and has finances available both from its own internal sources and from higher governments. It can therefore support programs that Manila cannot afford due to scarcity of resources. Manila is densely populated and structurally congested, quite different from the thinly populated, structurally open spaces of Omaha. Omaha's experiences in these aspects, therefore, do not serve as workable models for Manila's desired demographic and geographic planning. Omaha's development is toward accretion: more people, more structures, more industries. Manila, on the other hand, aims for attrition: structural decongestion through demolition of illegal structures, depopulation through dispersal of industries and schools, countryside development, and similar measures.

Omaha's lifestyle is comparatively affluent, the consequence of an economically healthy society. The people enjoy the conveniences and comforts of an American home and social life. Manila's masses live on the survival
level, the more affluent ones having moved out to suburban developments. Manila's quality of life cannot be carved after the pattern of Omaha. In terms of transportation, private cars are a commonplace commodity in Omaha, available to a very large segment of the population. Consequently, the city's public transportation system is weak. Private cars are a luxury in Manila, available to a relatively small portion of the city's regular residents. The need to strengthen Manila's public transportation system is great, but Omaha does not serve as a model.

If the wide gap between the present experiences and urban environments of the two cities does not lend itself to the identification of the development of a model in one city from which the other may learn, then how can they benefit from each other?

Omaha may still learn from Manila, not by way of looking for a model but by avoiding rather than adapting its growth experiences. On its part, Manila cannot adapt Omaha's experiences either, but it certainly has much to benefit from Omaha's perceptions as an outside observer.

VIII. The Urban Development Research Process

In searching for a collaborative development effort between the two cities, specifically the development of Manila's service delivery system, the present research exchange program is examining how the two cities can work together by identifying certain problem areas and searching for innovative concepts that would work out under the given conditions in Manila's suprastructural and infrastructural environments.

More specifically, the areas identified are the following:

**Primary health care.** This program is presently being carried out by the Manila Health Department, supported by other agencies including the Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila, with encouraging results. The unique feature of this
program which deserves the focus of urban research is its deviation from many traditional practices of city service delivery. Reliance on government resources, for example, has been shifted to community self-reliance, especially in the utilization of manpower. The shift from general dependence on government physicians to utilization of community volunteers under the guidance of a public health nurse in many areas is a particularly interesting aspect. This is significant because of the lack of government physicians in the city's health centers.

Research in this area of primary health care will look into the following: (1) development of a barangay oriented university (PLM) curriculum in medicine, nursing, education, and social work; (2) identification of existing resourcefulness efforts among families in depressed areas, which can be developed and made to serve as a model in the city government's community self-reliance programs; and (3) development of a support system available to the Manila Health Department from the UNO-PLM research team.

Community education. The education system in Manila is governed by the national Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports and put into operation by the division of city schools in Manila. The limitations of the system, both as a system and in its resources, do not enable the division to accommodate all children of school age in city schools. Among these limitations are the lack of school buildings and classrooms, shortage of qualified teachers, and budget constraints. The present urban research effort is looking into a model which, in principle, will put the present out-of-school youth into the classroom by utilizing the barangay as a venue and utilizing student teachers and community volunteers under the supervision of the division of city schools through its regular school supervisors and principals.
Developing the barangay concept. Efforts toward development of the barangay concept as a primary factor in the delivery of various city services are being actively undertaken with encouraging results by the different city departments. Much more can be done if other potentials of the barangay concept can be discovered and explored along areas involving higher levels of services such as census and demography, social and sociological studies, real property assessment, community safety and security, health and education, economic development, building inspection and property improvement programs, and other political and socio-economic enhancement programs.

The City of Omaha in Nebraska, U.S.A. and the City of Manila in the Philippines have much in common, sufficient to establish a groundwork on which to base friendship and working relationships between the two cities. However, many differences set them apart, not only in terms of geography but also their cultural, economic, political, social, and technological suprastructural settings.