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Main Street Development in Dagupan

Norbert Dannhaeuser

Main Streets have been the subject of numerous studies that try to deepen our understanding of the development of urban forms (Holdsworth and Burton 1985; Kay 1990; Mosher, Keim and Fanques 1995; Schwartz 1984; Wyckoff 1992). One result of these studies has been the construction of a model of Main Street development. Most of the data on which this model is based is derived from the historical experience of northwestern Europe and especially of towns in North America. As the industrial base of these societies grew and economic wealth generation expanded faster than population, Main Streets changed in a similar fashion in many urban communities.

This article will examine Main Street development of a provincial town in the Philippines. The aim is to determine whether it conforms to the Western experience. This case will give us insights into the dynamics of urban change in mid-sized towns in the Third World, a topic largely neglected in favor of mega-cities (Davis 1994; Dukalis-Smith 1995; Holston 1989; Kolb 1978; Low 1996; McGee 1994; Quadeer 1983; Shatkin 1998; Smith 1996; Yeung and Savage 1996).¹ It will do so by addressing the question of whether urban developments of the West are not only repeated in large Third World cities (Dick and Rimmer 1998), but also in provincial town centers (Brown et al. 1994).

The Western Experience

Studies have shown that Main Street development in the West is marked by a standard sequence of phases (Bailey 1982; Ford 1994; Francaviglia 1996; Liebs 1985; Rifkind 1977). The *Pioneer Phase* is characterized by impermanent and widely spaced residential and/or com-

mercial buildings lined along Main Street. Manufacturing and warehousing facilities are present, and commercial specialization is limited. Families, often recent immigrants, operate the few street front stores. Infrastructure is poor and traffic density is low. This is followed by the *Mature Phase* which usually is accompanied by an *Infrastructural Subphase* during which electrification, drainage, paving, sidewalks and public transport are provided. In the *Mature Phase*, Main Street is lined at 100 percent density with multi-storied commercial buildings constructed of permanent material. Purely residential structures are rare. Specialty street stores operated by independent family firms dominate the ground floor with residences or offices in the upper ones. Responding to high land values, manufacturing and warehousing have moved to outlying areas. Pedestrian and vehicular traffic flow is heavy.

The *Mature Phase* is followed by that of *Hyperdevelopment*. An important feature of this phase is trade concentration. This involves the spread of large enterprises and the proliferation of vertically integrated channels in the form of branch and franchise outlets (Dawson 1982, 77-141; Graff and Ashton 1994; Greipl 1982; Kacker 1986; Kulke 1992; Shaw 1983; Wilkinson 1990). Trade concentration begins in the previous phase, but only during *Hyperdevelopment* does it make a deep impact on Main Street commerce. While the number of enterprises is now smaller compared to the previous phase, their average size is substantially larger. Moreover, many of them are tied exclusively to one large supply firm. In the *Hyperdevelopment Phase*, modern department stores, supermarkets and corporate branches/franchises controlled by outsiders are a frequent sight, putting competitive pressure on the remaining local family operated street stores. The latter also face high lease rates for the premises they occupy. Mass consumer products and specialty luxury goods characterize the retail environment, joined by banks, hotels and theatres. Space devoted to residential use is of minor importance. Three-to-five level buildings define the street scape, with high land values leading to vertical growth. Very heavy traffic flow now results in traffic jams during peak hours of the day.

Stagnation/Decline comes next, a phase many Main Streets in the West still experience (Clark 1989; Kalman 1985; Kunstler 1993; Law et al. 1988). Trade concentration continues, but not along Main Street. Instead, it takes place in the periphery of towns where shopping centers, malls and giant discounters are becoming common. Improvements in public transport and/or widespread use of the private car encourage this, as well as overpriced land values and the choking ef-

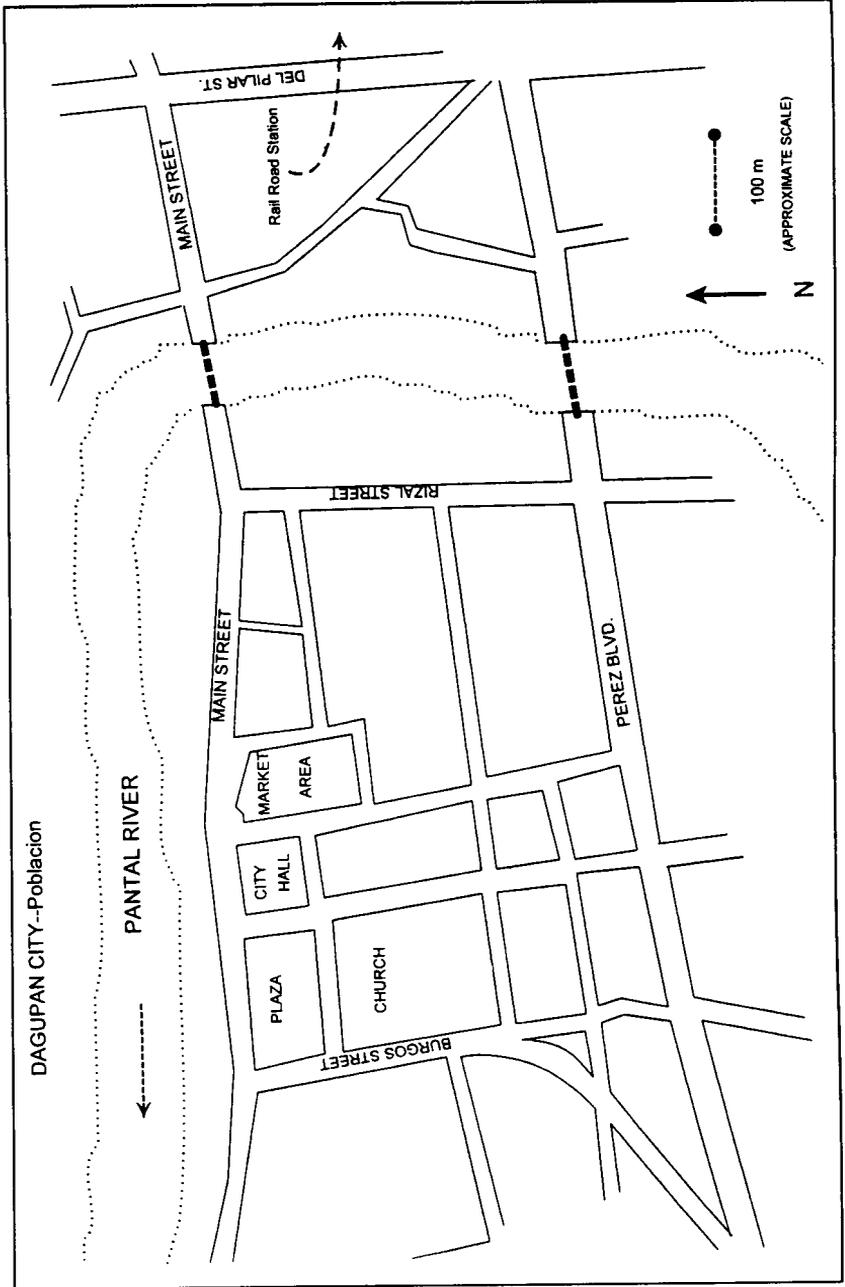
fect of heavy traffic at the end of the *Hyperdevelopment Phase*. The commercial and residential activities on Main Street decline due to closures and transfers to the suburbs. Left behind are low order retail stores, bars and cheap residential hotels on land deflated in value. In extreme cases, the once proud Main Street turns into a skid row.

Renewal/Preservation is (so far) the last phase (Frieden and Sagalyn 1989; Godfrey 1997; Gratz and Mintz 1998; Halbrecht 1996; Mitchell 1995; Palma and Hyett 1997; Robertson 1996). Once the importance of Main Street to the viability of towns is realized, public and private efforts are made to revive it and to preserve whatever assets have survived. Zoning (for instance, creation of pedestrian zones), infrastructural improvements and tax incentives are used to encourage investments in Main Street. Where successful, the end product is one in which tourist oriented antiques, fancy food outlets and specialty shops on the street and in enclosed shopping centers mingle with gentrification of residents and disneyfication of architecture (Disneyland's Victorian style Main Street in Los Angeles often serves as a model). The playful and post-modern reign supreme (Francaviglia 1996, 56; 164–85). Experience has shown that it is nearly impossible to revive conditions of the original *Mature* and *Hyperdevelopment Phases* once Main Street has passed into stagnation and decline.

Main Street Dagupan

This article will examine the case of Dagupan City, a community of about 130,000 inhabitants located 200 kilometers north of Manila at the Lingayen Gulf. It serves as the major distribution point of consumer goods to a hinterland of 2.5 million people in Pangasinan and La Union. Reflecting Spanish colonial town planning, Dagupan's *poblacion* is bisected by a Main Street with feeder roads arranged in a grid like fashion (see map).² The avenue is 1,000 meters long and is anchored on the western end by the town plaza, city hall, Catholic church and what used to be the public market. Toward the east and across the Pantal River, it ends at Del Pilar Street near the now defunct railroad station.

As is typical in most commercial centers of Southeast Asia, also in Dagupan a Chinese minority (about 2–3,000 individuals) is important in trade (Lim 1997; Omohundro 1981; See 1997). The role of this ethnic community needs to be kept in mind if Dagupan's Main Street



development is to be understood.³ I will divide this development into the following time periods: a) from the nineteenth century to World War II; b) from the late 1940s to the late 1960s; c) and from the 1970s to the late 1990s. Much of the information presented is qualitative in nature and will be given in a narrative form. For the crucial last three decades I will also cite quantitative data on trade concentration, a process that tends to be important in the late stages of Main Street development according to the Western experience.

After tracing Dagupan's Main Street history, I will turn to the question of the degree to which this example of Third World town development and the underlying cause replicates those in the industrially advanced world. I will end with some speculations about the likely future changes of Main Street in towns such as Dagupan.

Main Street History to 1940s

Dagupan was established as a *visita* by the Catholic Church in 1590, and in 1611 it was turned into a municipality by the Spanish civil authorities. It remained a relatively minor rice transshipment point into the 19th century. Only when Dagupan became the rail head of the Manila-Dagupan railroad in the early 1890s did the town gain preeminence as the commercial center of Pangasinan.

A travel account written at the turn of the twentieth century—shortly after the Philippines passed under U.S. colonial power—reported Dagupan as the only settlement in the province with a broad Main Street. Along it European, native and Chinese merchants/artisans plied their trade and it was busy with rice carts six months a year (Flormata 1901). But commercial developments were limited. Except for the short strip between Pantal River and Rizal Street, buildings were free standing. Some of them were large and Filipino-Spanish in style (*bahay na bato*) with a stone/brick enclosed lower floor and an overhanging wooden upper level surrounded by large *capiz* windows topped with a massive metal or tiled roof (Klassen 1986, 123–26; Zialcita and Tinio 1980, 11–29; 65–89). Most houses were small, native style *nipa* huts (*bahay kubo*) or simple clapboard structures. Extensive areas along the avenue were empty swamp land. At that time the population stood at 20,000 (including some 400 Chinese), up from 9,000 in 1841 and 17,000 in 1882.

In 1910/15 the main cluster of Chinese businesses was already located between the Pantal River and Rizal Street, a situation still found today. The Chinese tended to have their general merchandise stores on

the ground floors of Filipino-Spanish style buildings. Often wealthy Filipinos rented the lower floors to Chinese traders while living in the wooden frame above. At that time "Chinese formed the core, but not the entirety of the commercial core" (Doeppers 1972b, 135). Filipino businesses included a bank, a *farmacia*, a cigar factory and few stores to the west of Rizal Street. In fact, commerce started to shift to that end of Main Street when a new market building was constructed on the old site near the town hall with an abattoir across the avenue.

Encouraged by the American colonial presence, the period between 1910 and 1930 saw some infrastructural improvements. Aside from the construction of the new marketplace building, Dagupan's plaza was renovated and a new, wooden two level town hall was built. Additionally, Main Street was asphalted, drainage was improved, piped water was installed, electrification and street lighting was extended, and the wooden Pantal Bridge was rebuilt in concrete. An insurance map of 1929 shows about 100 buildings along Main Street, one quarter of which were substantial and made of fire resistant material. The densest concentration still existed between Rizal Street and Pantal Bridge, though commercial activities continued to spread toward the east across the Pantal River and westward toward the market. Most swamps were gone by the 1930s.

As rental rates increased, narrow and deep store spaces, often several to one building, became common. During this period a type of structure appeared that eventually was to dominate Dagupan's Main Street architecture. This was the two or four level, flat roofed concrete building housing store spaces on the ground floor and offices/residences in the upper ones. Until the 1960s they remained few in number, but some were substantial structures with more than ten store spaces and an arcaded front covering the sidewalks.⁴ A newspaper description of Dagupan's Main Street in the mid-1930s notes 110 street stores on the strip, at least twenty-five of them Chinese and three Japanese (Siliw 1935). Product differentiation had evolved sufficiently for individual stores to specialize in hardware, textiles, bazaar goods, groceries, shoes, jewelry/watch and similar lines. Also the occasional movie theatre, gasoline station and small car dealership (the first outlets on Main Street to be contractually tied to Manila-based companies) had made their appearance. A bank operated on Main Street and a number of small lumber yards existed near the river. For the first time comments appear in the press about traffic congestion especially in front of the public market.

At the end of the 1930s Dagupan's population had grown to 33,000 and its Main Street had acquired an urban air not seen twenty years before. Much of its length was filled with commercial and a few residential buildings, even if many were small and constructed out of impermanent material. Then disaster struck. Shortly before the coming of the Japanese in late December 1941 a major fire, started by the retreating American forces (Basa 1997), gutted the largely wooden structures on both sides of the avenue from the marketplace eastward across the river almost to the railroad station. Given the depressed economic conditions and restrictions imposed on Chinese traders (many of whom fled to western Pangasinan), Filipino dominated market vending was the main commercial activity on Dagupan's Main Street for the balance of the war.

Main Street Development to 1960s

Developments gained momentum again after the war. Already in 1947 most stretches along Main Street had been rebuilt with one to three storied clapboard/bamboo structures covered with *nipa* or corrugated iron roofs. Some of the prewar concrete buildings had survived, but Filipino-Spanish style ones had virtually disappeared, never to be reintroduced into the architectural landscape. Most of the structures housed small trading businesses. This was the period of "buy and sell" in which U.S. Army surplus made its way through the local market (Anderson 1969). Wealth generated during this period provided the foundation for later commercial ventures especially among the Chinese.

Shortly after Philippine independence, Dagupan was elevated from a municipal to a city status in 1948. As if to symbolize this transition—Dagupan's population now was 44,000—the new city government initiated plans to construct a bypass running east-west to the south of Main Street. This became Perez Boulevard. The government did this to alleviate the growing traffic problem on the main avenue and to do away with the mixture of homes, shops, factories and amusement places strung along it. The goal of planned modernization became explicitly incorporated into local government policy.

Some of the goals were realized during the boom years of the 1950s when the Philippine economic growth rate outstripped that of other Southeast Asian countries. In an effort to use land on Main Street more profitably and to reduce bad odors and noise, a number of large traditional facilities were moved. The abattoir and a new *bagoong* market

opposite the plaza were transferred to the new bypass once it was opened to traffic later in the decade. Lumber yards at the foot of the Pantal Bridge were required to move to the eastern extension of Main Street beyond the railroad station. Planning, however, failed in one respect. Although it repeatedly tried to do so, the city did not succeed in shifting market vending from the old place near the plaza to a new market site built for it at the bypass. Vendors refused to leave the lucrative location next to busy Main Street.

In the 1950s Dagupan's Main Street began to have a 100 percent building and store front density along its full length with no space between adjacent structures. This decade saw the beginning of a major architectural change. The catalyst for this was the fear of fire. With the growing density of wooden buildings lining Main Street, fires that before the 1930s were barely more than a nuisance increased in their destructive impact. Ten years after the 1941/42 fire, a major conflagration in 1952 gutted the market building and many nearby houses. Exemplifying how disasters can have innovative consequences (Cuny 1983; Oliver-Smith 1996, 312–14), this event prompted the city council to pass an ordinance requiring all future buildings near Main Street to be made of fire resistant material, which in most cases meant reinforced concrete. During the following decades this law spelled the end of the pervasive *nipa*/metal roofed clapboard structures. In 1954 an enlarged, concrete framed marketplace was opened that housed hundreds of permanent stalls. Fires still take place—the last major ones happened in 1968 and 1972, and a small one in 1998—but their frequency and destructive power have been reduced.

By the 1960s, with a population then of 63,000, today's familiar street scape began to typify Dagupan's Main Street. Then, as now, two to five-storey flat roofed concrete buildings formed a nearly continuous front. The long side of some buildings faced the street and contained several rectangular store spaces on the ground floor. Stores had their narrow end turned toward the street, and in most cases were not fronted by shop windows; instead, they were open to the outside during the day and shuttered at night. Buildings with only one store space on the ground floor tended to be long and narrow, in some cases reaching 40 meters back with only a four-meter front facing the avenue. Continuing the previous practice, the upper floors were used for offices or contained residences. By that time hardly any purely residential buildings remained on Main Street.

Aside from changing the built environment, fires also affected the commercial and ethnic composition of Main Street. After each conflagration, repair and rebuilding caused real estate values and lease rates to rise. As a result, operators, often Filipinos, of small and traditional enterprises unable to afford the new quarters tended to be replaced by more capital strong merchants, usually Chinese, that managed larger facilities.

Not all developments in the 1960s favored the Chinese. Soon after independence pressure grew in the Philippines, including Dagupan, to restrict commercial activities by alien Chinese. As an outgrowth of this, the Retail Trade Nationalization Law (RTNL) came into effect in the early 1960s which disallowed aliens—mainly Chinese—from entering into retailing (Golay 1961, 324–27; See 1997, 69–92). At the same time, the means by which aliens could obtain citizenship was kept difficult. Until the naturalization law was eased in the 1970s, a number of Main Street Chinese enterprises employed Filipino citizens as a front to carry out trade. Others shifted into wholesaling. While the RTNL did not lead to a dramatic reduction in Chinese commercial activities on Dagupan's Main Street it did, for a while, encourage that of Filipinos.

A geographic study of Dagupan's *poblacion* in 1969 noted that by then Main Street development had sufficiently matured for locational specialization according to ethnicity and products to have crystallized. Chinese run grocery stores were found opposite the public market. Moving eastward, Filipino shoe stores dominated a stretch, followed—still moving eastward—by a Chinese controlled dry goods zone. Between Rizal Street and the Pantal River a very stable zone of Chinese hardware stores existed. East of the Pantal Bridge, Filipinos once again dominated the scene with outlets mainly offering furniture and electrical appliances. Residential buildings, open spaces and low intensive land use, such as car dealers and gasoline stations, had disappeared, while banks, restaurants and movie theatres were now a prominent part of the street scene (Doeppers 1972b, 159–64).

With commercial density reaching its maximum on Main Street, smaller firms spilled over into side-streets. New commercial zones began to appear along roads leading out of the city and next to the bypass to the south, though none threatened the command of Main Street. Finally, there was the coming of the motorized tricycle. Until 1962 *calesas*, *jeepneys* and pedicabs (bicycles with sidecars) defined traffic on Main Street. In that year the first motorized tricycles were intro-

duced. Eight years later there were about 1,000 of them in Dagupan. Most of them worked their way through Main Street on their downtown run, while the *calesa* and pedicab had almost disappeared. Mud, dust and flying manure were replaced by noise and blue fumes of petrol exhaust. Heavy traffic passed down Main Street nearly every day and jams became a common nuisance.

Main Street Development to 1998

During the past three decades the commercial structure of Dagupan's Main Street changed dramatically. Modernization and trade concentration took off, and that in spite of a lackluster economy. On the national level the period began with the declaration of Martial Law in 1972 and an economic upswing lasting few years. This was followed by years of economic stagnation, a condition that continued after Martial Law into the early 1990s, and which returned in mid-1997.

Dagupan's population reached 84,000 in 1970. Damage from the fires in 1968 and 1972 was soon repaired so that by the second half of the 1970s almost the entire length of Main Street was lined with concrete, multistoried commercial buildings. Banks and large hotels multiplied and even an air-conditioned movie theater opened its doors. The next decade, the 1980s, witnessed more intense trade concentration than the previous period despite overall economic uncertainties at the close of the Martial Law period and during the following Aquino regime. With a population of nearly 100,000, the city had reached a market size that could support large retail enterprises. Furthermore, department stores, supermarkets, malls, fast food franchises and convenience store chains spread in Manila, a development that was watched with interest by upcountry entrepreneurs. Finally, in Dagupan a new Filipinized generation of Chinese was taking over their parents' firms. These individuals were more willing than the older generation to invest in novel ventures backed by the considerable capital their families had by then accumulated. In the process, some of these family firms became, by local standards, very large.

At the beginning of the 1980s Dagupan had no true supermarket, by the 1990s Main Street alone had three air-conditioned ones with an average sales area of 700 square meters. All were operated by local Chinese families. Two of the supermarkets were run by one family firm, CSI, that had dominated the town's grocery trade for a long time. When in the late 1970s the family head died, the offsprings decided to

move into supermarketing. During the following decade, once prominent Chinese grocery stores were dying out as supermarkets flourished at their expense.

Also, department stores were absent in Dagupan until the first multilevel outlet, Marimar Department Store, opened in the early 1980s. A young Chinese trader whose family had been in the local shoe trade was behind it. At the end of the decade three Chinese managed department stores did business on Main Street. It is not surprising that it was during this decade that for the first time operators of family run traditional street stores began to be concerned about the spread of substantial self-service establishments geared to mass-merchandising. The large-scale corporate sector, even if in local hands, seemed to be encroaching.

This concern was reinforced by the spread of vertical channel integration. A number of Manila-based shoe companies—mostly Chinese owned—opened their retail doors on Main Street after Mercury Drug had established a large branch in the 1970s. More dramatic was the coming of fast food and modern restaurant franchises and branches. It was in 1986 that Shakey's Pizza opened the first of such outlets on Main Street, to be followed by Cindy's, Chowking, Jollibee and others. The Manila central offices in virtually all cases were Chinese controlled, and so was the management of the franchises and branches in Dagupan. Operators of traditional eateries, *panciterias*, and Chinese restaurants lost ground, with only few of them upgrading their facilities to meet the challenge of the outsiders.

Filipino commercial interests took part in this transformation of Dagupan's Main Street, although on a more modest scale. Local office supply and pharmaceutical family firms expanded by branching along Main Street—one drug retailer has four branches covering the full length of the avenue. Pawn shops increased their presence with nearly all of them controlled by Filipinos. Banks are now a far more common sight on Main Street than in previous decades. Though a number of them are clearly Filipino owned, the true ethnic affiliation of many of them is not clear (cf. Juan 1995).

During the 1980s a strong trend toward trade concentration, therefore, took place on Dagupan's Main Street as commerce in the city center developed according to global institutional pressures and global cultural themes.⁵ This was reinforced by a major earthquake that struck Dagupan in the summer of 1990 which seriously disrupted trade in the city for along time (Dannhaeuser 1997). Aftershocks threat-

ened buildings and the population for nearly half a year after the main event. One casualty was the Old Market Building that had been constructed after the 1952 fire and had housed nearly 1,000 stalls. The building was sufficiently damaged that it had to be evacuated and the displaced vendors had to find a new place on the plaza in temporary stall shelters constructed by the city.

Instead of rebuilding the market structure, the city decided to have a modern mall constructed on the site through a Build, Operate and Transfer (BOT) arrangement. A private party would lease the land for 50 years, build the mall, operate it for the length of time of the lease and then transfer the facility back to the city. Over the ineffectual protests of the displaced vendors, bidding for the project took place in early 1992 and the Chinese family that has been in the forefront of supermarket development on Main Street won the contract.

In late 1993 a new mall (CSI Mall) next to Main Street was opened to the public. It boasts three levels of air-conditioned space interconnected by elevators and it contains a video arcade, two cinemas, a department store and a supermarket (both owned by the builder), three large restaurant franchises (one of them, a McDonald's) and numerous modern boutiques, shoe stores and similar outlets. Even if only counting the supermarket, department store and fast food outlets, 4,000 square meters of modern sales area was suddenly added to the downtown retail scene—a high point in trade concentration along Dagupan's Main Street. Also a six story, four star hotel was opened in 1996 at the foot of the Pantal Bridge which has changed Dagupan's skyline and added a decidedly cosmopolitan flair to the Main Street. It is operated by a consortium of Chinese.

What has the effect of the mall been to Main Street commerce? Vendors had to endure six years in the temporary facilities on the plaza. Their numbers have declined and now they are dispersed between two private and two small public markets near Main Street. Compared to conditions before the earthquake, their commercial role and political influence in the city have been marginalized.⁶ For many street stores sales declined when the mall first opened, but then it picked up again. Over the long run the new facility—for some time it was the largest of its kind north of Manila—attracted additional customers to Dagupan. This, if anything, has benefited most retailers on Main Street. Moreover, many Chinese store operators are heavily involved in wholesaling (merchants call it their "backdoor business"). This has not been affected by the retail mall. On a more negative side, ever since

the mall began its operation, traffic on Main Street has changed from being a daily problem to one of continuous crisis. Traffic jams are likely to take place any time of the day and it is normally faster to walk the kilometer from end to end than to take a vehicle.

The period since the 1970s witnessed a further expansion of outlying commercial and residential areas. Perez Boulevard is now Dagupan's second-order Main Street with a dense store front along much of it and with its own traffic jams. Ribbon developments on highways leading from the city have in some cases reached neighboring towns. A limited degree of suburbanization has also taken place with the construction of residential subdivisions outside of the *poblacion* for financially well-off residents. Finally, a new east-west bypass of the *poblacion* was opened in 1996 nearly two kilometers to the south of Perez Boulevard that eventually will attract commercial investments southward away from the town center. During these three decades the relative importance of Main Street to Dagupan began to see some decline, but in absolute terms, traffic and commerce along it continued to grow.

A Quantitative Review of the 1970s to 1998

How are the changes of Main Street between 1970 and 1998 described above reflected in available numbers? Without counting hotels, theatres and banks, the number of retail and eating establishments on Main Street declined from a total of 310 outlets to 191 during the period in question (table 1).⁷ Does this mean that commerce began to be hollowed out and that Main Street was moving into the *Stagnation/Decline Phase*? No. This decline, reflected instead a trend toward trade concentration.

Table 1. Dagupan Main Street Commercial Outlets (percentage change)

	1970	1998
Number of Outlets	310	191 (-38%)
Sales Area (square meters)	15,605	21,603 (38%)
Number of Employees	1,532	1,911 (25%)
Annual Sales (millions of Pesos)	P323.15	P4,471.05 (1,284%)—nominal
		P372.6 (15%)—real

While the number of enterprises shrank by 38 percent, the total sales area grew by the same percentage. The number of employed individuals also expanded, in this case by 25 percent. Turning to per outlet ratios, the average size of retail/eatery outlets increased during the three decades from fifty square meters and five employees to 113 square meters and ten employees per enterprise (or by 126 and 100 percent respectively)—hardly a case of commercial decline.

Main Street commerce also experienced a growth in annual turnover.⁸ The total annual sales realized by retail and eatery outlets stood at P323.15 million in 1970; in 1998 it amounted to P4,471.05 million—an impressive 1,284 percent jump. However, these numbers are nominal, not real; that is, they have not been adjusted for inflation. If inflation is taken into account—average consumer prices in Dagupan were higher by a factor of twelve in 1998 than in 1970—then the increase of the total annual turnover during the period was a more modest 15 percent (from P323.15 million to P372.6 million). Nominally the average peso turnover per outlet rose from P1.04 million to P23.4 million, a 2,150 percent expansion. In real terms the increase was from P1.04 million to P2 million per outlet, or by 92 percent. This growth rate is consistent with the increase in the employee and sales area size per outlet.

Aside from witnessing a doubling of the average size of commercial enterprises along Main Street during the past twenty-eight years, two structural changes also took place. New types of enterprises appeared and the ethnic composition of Main Street commerce changed.

Contemporary modern trade outlets already existed along Main Street in 1970. Such enterprises are defined here by a combination of the following physical and organizational characteristics: air-conditioning, glass enclosed store front and glass counters; cash register, fashion oriented display, lighting and advertising; fixed prices; uniformed personnel, self service, and/or a formal link to the corporate sector as a branch or franchise (Paddison, Findlay and Findlay 1984). In 1970 such outlets made up only six percent of the total; 10 percent of all employees worked in them, 11 percent of the Main Street sales area was occupied by them and seven percent of the total turnover passed through these new types of outlets. By 1998 this had changed. Nearly half (40 percent) of the commercial facilities on Main Street were then modern as defined above and about two-thirds of the total employees, sales area and annual turnover were associated with this sector (65

percent, 67 percent and 69 percent respectively). Barely thirty years before, the ratios were about ten percent.⁹

Change was even more dramatic than the above figures suggest. Three decades ago department stores, supermarkets and fast food branches/franchises—the epitome of contemporary up-market trade concentration—were absent in Dagupan. Today there are twelve such enterprises on Main Street (another ten exist in the rest of the town). It may seem hardly significant that six percent of Main Street outlets are of this type; however, their actual importance lies in their size. Today, 39 percent of all employees engaged in trade on Main Street work in them, 38 percent Main Street commercial space is occupied by them and 30 percent of all turnover is their responsibility. Roughly speaking, an enterprise type that makes up less than ten percent of commercial outlets on Dagupan's Main Street controls about one-third of commercial resources in the form of space, employees and sales. That is hardly insignificant.

Aside from new kinds of enterprises becoming important on Main Street in Dagupan, the other structural change since 1970 has been a shift in the ethnic composition of commercial control (table 2). At the beginning of the period, most enterprises (67 percent; without banks) were in Filipino hands. There existed then hardly any difference between the two ethnic groups with respect to the percentage of total sales area occupied and the percentage of individuals employed. In both cases it was approximately 50 percent of the total. However, this similarity did not extend to the annual peso turnover. Eighty-three

Table 2. Dagupan Main Street Commercial Outlets by Ethnicity (percentage of totals)

	Filipino (1970)	Chinese (1970)	Filipino (1998)	Chinese (1998)
No. of Outlets	209 (67%)	101 (33%)	84 (44%)	107 (56%)
Sales Area (sq.m.)	7,066 (45%)	8,539 (55%)	5,052 (23%)	16,551 (77%)
No. of Employees	796 (52%)	736 (48%)	460 (24%)	1,451 (76%)
Annual Sales (millions of Pesos)	P54.55 (17%)	P2,68.6 (83%)	P273.45 (6%)	P4,197.6 (94%)
			-nominal	-nominal
			P23-real	P349.6-real

percent of it passed through Chinese hands, while the rest, or 17 percent, was generated by Filipino merchants.

The available numbers show that control over the commercial front of Main Street Dagupan shifted further in favor of the Chinese during the following 28 years.¹⁰ In 1998 more than half (56 percent) of all outlets were Chinese owned or managed. These occupied 77 percent of the sales area existing along the avenue and engaged 76 percent of all employees. In terms of sales, only 6 percent was the result of Filipino activities. According to this measure, therefore, Filipino trade along Main Street has truly become marginal.¹¹

Both groups experienced trade concentration during the three decades, though the Chinese kept their edge over Filipino traders. In sales area and employee numbers per outlet, on average, Filipino enterprises grew respectively by 76 and 25 percent, compared to 82 and 100 percent in the case of Chinese enterprises. As a result, in 1998 Chinese Main Street outlets were nearly three times the size in employment and sales area of their Filipino counterparts. The real, or inflation controlled, growth rate of per outlet annual turnover was moderate for both groups, though somewhat higher in the case of Chinese. They experienced a 22 percent increase in this measure whereas Filipino operators improved their per unit sales by only 8 percent between 1970 and 1998. At the end of this period the average Chinese enterprise had twelve times the turnover of the average Filipino establishment.

Finally, what has been the degree to which Filipino and Chinese operators have been involved in modernizing commerce along Main Street? In 1970 a slight but consistently higher percentage of Filipino controlled commercial activities took place through modern outlets than in the case of Chinese. In 1998 there existed no pronounced difference between Chinese and Filipino Main Street traders with respect to this measure. This, however, does not mean that both groups participated equally in the transformation of Main Street. All the new and massive enterprises that did not exist in 1970 but which are at the cutting edge of trade concentration—fast food branches/franchises, supermarkets, department stores, the mall—were not only introduced by local or Manila Chinese, but continue to be managed or owned by them. Without the Chinese element, trade concentration and commercial modernization on Dagupan's Main Street would hardly have advanced as far as it has.

Discussion

To return to the question posed at the beginning of this article, has Dagupan's Main Street's development repeated patterns encountered in the West? Yes, there has been a notable overlap, suggesting that Third World provincial town centers are subject to parallel developments with Western ones. Main Street Dagupan has passed through a *Pioneer Phase*, followed by a phase of *Maturity* preceded by an *Infrastructural Subphase*. Most recently, it has entered into a distinctly *Hyperdevelopment Phase*. Not only is the sequence basically the same as in the West, but also the general characteristics of each phase overlap. However, differences also exist. These are found in the specific chronology of the phases, the cause of trade concentration that began during the *Mature Phase* and significantly affected commerce in the *Hyperdeveloped Phases*, and in the fact that Dagupan has not (yet?) passed through *Stagnation/Decline* and into the phase of *Renewal/Preservation*.

In North American town history, Main Street entered into the *Pioneer Phase* between 1700 and 1840s, and experienced *Maturity* from about 1850s to 1920 which included an *Infrastructural Subphase* beginning in 1875. Main Street North America reached *Hyperdevelopment* in the 1920s and 1930s. During the 1940s and 1950s—in many places into more recent times—*Stagnation/Decline* set in, with serious efforts at *Renewal/Preservation* beginning in the 1960s. This effort continues to be of central concern in many towns today. Dagupan's Main Street experienced a similar evolution, although chronologically at a later date.¹² The *Pioneer Phase* lasted into the early 1930s with an *Infrastructural Subphase* in the 1910s and 1920s. This phase came earlier in the development of Main Street Dagupan than was typical in the U.S. possibly because it was initiated by the new colonial regime in the Philippines. The *Mature Phase* began in the 1930s, and after the interruption of World War II it continued through the 1950s to the end of the 1960s. *Hyperdevelopment* commenced in the 1970s and has been characteristic of Dagupan's Main Street ever since. The avenue is at a stage American Main Streets passed through in the 1920s and 1930s.¹³ As in America, this period is marked by considerable trade concentration in the form of corporate chains, franchises and large commercial facilities. Only the manifestation this process takes differs: in America it was the coming of A&P and other supermarkets, Rexall and similar drug store

chains, and Sears and Montgomery Wards department stores; in Dagupan it is the appearance of the CSI Mall and supermarkets, Jollibee and other fast food outlets, and Marimar and similar department stores.

What about the underlying cause of Main Street evolution during the *Mature* and especially the *Hyperdevelopment Phases* when trade concentration reached its high point? In the West it was ultimately the result of industrially induced economic growth and a secular increase in personal income.¹⁴ This enabled entrepreneurs in retail and related lines to take advantage of economies of scale. Conditions in the Philippines have been different. During much of the period when trade concentration took place along Dagupan's Main Street the economy in the country in general and in Pangasinan specifically stagnated and at times declined. Moreover, the Philippines, and certainly north-central Luzon, continue to lack a genuine industrial base and an economy of high productivity (Yoshihara 1985 and 1988, 98–120).¹⁵ How then can Dagupan's Main Street development into the *Hyperdevelopment Phase* be explained?

Several factors were involved. First, rapid population growth of the city and its hinterland, including an expanded middle class, helped create a market size for local merchants to substantially increase the scale of their operations. Second, since the 1950s the main commercial agents in the town, principally Chinese trade families, were able to expand their capital base. Third, a new generation of Filipino and Chinese entrepreneurs came of age who were open to the risk of investing capital into novel and often large trade institutions. Fourth, new concepts of retailing were first introduced from overseas into Manila and then among Dagupan's entrepreneurs, architects and the population at large. Fifth, after saturating the Manila market, enterprises there turned their attention to provincial towns, including Dagupan, to introduce contemporary methods of customer services (Tiglao 1994). Finally, local merchants sought to join them (by buying their franchises or managing their branches) or tried to outmaneuver them by being the first to introduce novel retail facilities (for instance, the CSI Mall). These factors meant that when opportunities presented themselves, such as most dramatically after the 1990 earthquake, newly (re-) opened commercial outlets on Main Street reflected the trend toward contemporary retail forms and trade concentration. Moreover, this happened in spite of the fact that per capita real income

remained flat and per outlet sales increased only marginally during the past thirty years. Even the competition of pre-existing marketplace vendors and traditional family run street stores could not prevent this from taking place.¹⁶ In the West the *Hyperdevelopment Phase* of Main Street occurred because of fundamentally new economic conditions. In the Dagupan region this development happened because of cultural diffusion and interregional competitive pressures rather than because the local economy was transformed into one of high productivity.¹⁷

It seems, therefore, that Dagupan's Main Street commercial sector has evolved independently from the trajectory of the underlying economic productivity. Retail and similar service institutions can leapfrog economic fundamentals. To a degree this supports what Williams (1997) recently has suggested. His study of the consumer service sector in urban Britain leads him to conclude that it is a generator of economic development in its own right. The service sector is not merely dependent on seemingly more fundamental activities in the primary (agricultural) or secondary (industrial) economic sectors. It can be a creator of wealth on its own. To some degree that is also true in the Dagupan region. The mall and other retail innovations in Dagupan have increased the wealth generation capacity of the city by helping to attract an expanded customer pool from surrounding areas. The same can be said of new health and educational facilities that have been established in Dagupan over the years (cf. Dannhaeuser 1981). However, this does not negate the fact that compared to the West, the Philippines in general and the Dagupan region in particular are characterized by an economy of very low productivity. In this connection it is of interest to recall that in real peso terms, operations on Main Street have barely doubled their sales efficiency per enterprise during the past three decades.¹⁸

This leads me to the third area, after the chronology and underlying causes, in which Main Street development in Dagupan has differed with the Western experience. Although Main Street in Dagupan has experienced the *Pioneer*, *Mature (Infrastructural)* and *Hyperdevelopment Phases*, it has not entered into *Decline/Stagnation*. So far there is no evidence of hollowing out of commerce. In fact, *Hyperdevelopment* has already lasted longer there than it did historically in many Western towns. The reason for this is related to the underlying economy and shows that the service sector is not totally independent from it. History suggests that significant car induced suburbanization begins with an

average annual per-capita income of US\$6,000. In the Dagupan area it was just over \$500 before the current economic downturn (City of Dagupan 1996; Province of Pangasinan 1996, 29). The peso value in relation to the dollar declined by 38 percent since July 1997, so that currently per capita income in the region is closer to \$350 per year.¹⁹ Although this low income and lack of widespread use of private cars can be partially offset by a good public transport system (as it has in Europe), there is no question that such a depressed economic condition is an impediment to suburban growth that in the West has accompanied Main Street stagnation and decline (Heinritz and Lichtenberger 1986; Longstreth 1997; Stanback 1991). It may sound paradoxical, but at least until now Dagupan's economy and that of its hinterland has been far from providing the level of productivity needed for commercial decline along its Main Street to take place.

Yet, Dagupan's Main Street is under threat. This threat comes from internal and external sources; that is, from Dagupeño entrepreneurs and from Manila-based firms. To begin with the internal threat, in December 1997 a discount warehouse (CSI Warehouse Club) was opened in Dagupan by the same Chinese business family that had constructed Dagupan's mall. It is potentially more threatening to Main Street than any other development so far in Dagupan. The Warehouse Club covers some 8,000 square meters of sales area in a structure reminiscent of those used by WalMart in the U.S. In it a wide range of products are stacked high—from groceries (even fresh produce) to paper supplies, hardware, bathroom fixtures, clothes, and jewelry. The facility also houses an entertainment arcade and two fast food outlets. It is fully air-conditioned and the 24 checkouts have scanning capacity allowing computer controlled stock flow.

What is more important to the well being of Main Street is the fact that, although this facility is located within the city boundary, it is found three kilometers to the west of downtown along the major highway leading to western Pangasinan. There, on land the value of which is only a fraction of that existing along Main Street, ample space is available for parking and for extensive storage facilities. In contrast to Dagupan's mall, the location of this shopping center helps divert traffic and commerce away from downtown. Already in the spring of 1998 a new *jeepney* route had been established between Dagupan's Main Street and the Warehouse Club. Another challenge to Main Street dominance from this outlet is that it is not only retail oriented. As the name suggests, it serves not only consumers but also retailers (such as

sari-sari stores operators) in Dagupan and beyond. It does so by offering credit and free delivery. Moreover, it is convenient for retailers to visit the Warehouse Club without having to contend with the heavy traffic on Main Street and the crowded conditions in downtown stores. In the long run this may cut into the wholesale trade many of the Chinese operators on Main Street are engaged in.

By the summer of 1998 there was no obvious effect on trade along Main Street attributable to the Warehouse Club, and it may be that, like in the case of the new mall, Dagupan's reach in attracting customers from its surroundings has further increased.²⁰ However, there is little doubt that if similar facilities spread in Dagupan's periphery, they will have a negative impact on Main Street commerce. Cheap public transport is well developed in Dagupan, and once service is extended to such new shopping centers, even poor people will have little problems reaching them. In fact, in the spring of 1998 another warehouse, this one called Magic Club, opened. This one is owned by the nemesis of CSI, the Chinese family with the first department store, Marimar, on Main Street. It is 'only' 6,000 square meters large and not air-conditioned, but it is also located well away from Main Street, just to the south of Perez Boulevard. In a similar development, in October 1998 CSI opened a 4,000 square meters Warehouse Club in Urdaneta, 30 km to the southeast which will take some of that region's trade away from Dagupan.

This leads one to the second threat, the external one. The success of Dagupan's downtown mall has encouraged several corporate giants in Manila to look for locations in Dagupan's periphery for large-scale retail developments. Ever-Gotesco has acquired a 35-hectare lot on the eastern edge of town, and Shoe Mart and Robinson's are looking for appropriate sites (Moulic 1997). Two factors have so far kept them from moving into the region. First, local business families involved in the mall and supermarket trade have entered into Dagupan city council politics. Some of them are now arguing, somewhat disingenuously, that Dagupan's infrastructure is not sufficiently developed for these giant newcomers and that small local merchants need protection. So far their influence on the city council has been limited. In fact, the May 1998 election was fatal to the major proponent of this position. She lost her seat on the city council partly as a result of this "anti-consumer position," as it was called by her detractors. Second, and more important, there is the recent economic downturn. Ever-Gotesco is facing serious difficulties and its plan for a P1.2 billion mall has been put on

indefinite hold (Tiglaio 1998). The other companies wanting to enter the Dagupan trade area with large trade complexes are hedging their bets until the current financial crisis has passed.

Conclusion

What lessons can the development literature draw from this case? In spite of considerable historical and socio-cultural differences, Main Street development in Dagupan has been remarkably similar to that typical in the West.²¹ However, this parallel trajectory falls short from being identical. Aside from variations in the respective chronology, two differences stand out. First, the underlying economic factor associated with Main Street development during the *Mature* and especially *Hyperdevelopment Phases* differs—an economically stagnant environment in the Philippines versus industrially based expansion in the West. Globalization through cultural diffusion played a more important role in the recent phase of Dagupan's Main Street development than globalization of economic productivity (Brumann 1998, 498–500). Second, Dagupan has not experienced the phase of *Stagnation/Decline* and *Renewal/Preservation*. This situation is likely to continue in the short run. In the long run, a proliferation of large commercial facilities in Dagupan's periphery and/or car induced suburbanization due to economic growth may lead to *Stagnation/Decline*. To indulge in some speculation, if that happens, what is the likelihood that efforts at *Renewal/Preservation* will take place?

Despite some encouraging examples of renewal and preservation efforts of urban centers in Third World countries (Dix 1990; Ebrard and de Buen 1991; Goodfriend 1982; Wu and Yin 1987), concern in the Philippines toward maintaining the integrity of Main Street resembles more the American than European model. In Europe, especially Germany, efforts at protecting the commercial/residential viability of town centers and their Main Street (*Hauptstrasse*) predate the onset of serious decline (Bianchini and Parkinson 1993; Kulke 1989). In America—perhaps because it was the first to encounter the hollowing out process of town centers and because of its cultural tendency to let the market decide residential and commercial developments—*Renewal/Preservation* took place only well after the phase of *Stagnation/Decline* had set in. In the Philippines no evidence exists of widespread concern about the well-being of Main Streets in Manila or provincial towns. The decline

of Manila's old commercial strip of Escolta without a lament in favor of developments in the outskirts along E. de los Santos Avenue does not bode well for future efforts at preservation.²²

Interviews of local Filipino and Chinese merchants and government officials suggest that the cultural commitment in Dagupan to the town center as a commercial node concentrated along its Main Street is even less pronounced than is often encountered in the U.S. (cf., Rodman 1993).²³ In an economically poor society, priorities for most lie elsewhere. This is reflected in weak zoning laws in Dagupan and a ready acceptance of ribbon developments along feeder roads. Such lack of commitment to Main Street is reinforced by the fact that commerce along the avenue (but not yet real estate) is controlled by Chinese, while the city government is controlled by Filipinos who in most cases do not have a high stake in the well-being of Main Street. Even operators of family firms on Dagupan's Main Street in whose interest it would seem to be that the avenue remains the center of Dagupan, hedge their bets rather than resist. When in 1996 the new bypass was opened to the south of Perez Boulevard, the land along it was acquired mainly by Chinese owners of Main Street stores in case Dagupan's commercial center should shift southward. None protested when later the two warehouse outlets were being built

The urban hierarchy in the region is of increasing importance in this matter as well. The city government today is more interested in the overall urban centrality of Dagupan in Pangasinan and La Union than in the well-being of the town center, let alone Main Street. As new commercial and educational facilities are opened in neighboring towns, Dagupan's high position in the regional urban hierarchy is seen to be under threat. Consequently, Dagupan's government tends to back commercial projects even if they are likely to be damaging to Main Street.

Of course, should economic circumstances improve in the future and Main Street commerce decline, this tendency in Dagupan and similar towns to let commerce expand wherever it may, might also change. But by then it may be too late. Given the importance of Main Streets to the viability of towns that have grown up around them, it would be a tragedy if these avenues in towns like Dagupan become vestiges of their former selves. It would be by far cheaper and less disruptive if this were prevented from happening—for instance, through incorruptible enforcement of regional zoning—than efforts would be in the future to rejuvenate commerce along Main Street after it had declined.

Notes

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1. For some general studies that examine medium-sized Third World towns see Armstrong and McGee (1985), Hardoy and Satterthwait (1988), Howell (1988) and Rondinelli (1983).

2. See Gormson (1981), Low (1995) and Nelson (1963) about the nature of Spanish colonial town planning. For its implementation in the Philippines, see Doepfers (1972a, 775-79), Hart (1955) and Reed (1978). Until the early 20th century Dagupan's Main Street was simply referred to as Calle Municipal. In the 1920s it began to be known as A.T. Burgallon Ave. With the death Congressman Angel B. Fernandez in the 1970s the thoroughfare was renamed A.B. Fernandez Ave.

3. Similar to Palanca (1995, 50), I define individuals and enterprises as Chinese if the community at large does so, irrespective of their legal status and whether the individuals are mestizos or not.

4. Such structures continue to be common in downtown Iloilo (Wernstedt and Spencer 1967, plate 62). Reinforced concrete buildings began to appear around 1906 in Manila (Gleek 1977, plates, p. 11).

5. Studies tracing the globalization of retail forms include Costello (1980), Findlay, Paddision and Dawson (1990), Hollander (1970), Neda (1997), Potter and Dann (1990), Watson (1997) and Yeh and Wu (1995).

6. See Bromley (1998) and Post (1992) for additional cases in which small-scale commercial activities are displaced in Third World downtown areas.

7. This data is based on surveys of all ground floor enterprises on Main Street I conducted in 1970 and 1998. The 1970 figures include 91 market stall operations that were displaced in the 1990s by the supermarket and fast food outlets located in Dagupan's new mall.

8. The annual sales figures are derived from the City Treasury Office and the Department of Trade and Industry. I adjusted them according to findings of my own in-store surveys.

9. Physically and organizationally, banks in Dagupan are modern and an expression of trade concentration. During the period in question, their numbers and average size grew faster than the rest of commerce. If they are added to the modern enterprises, then nearly half (48 percent) of Main Street outlets are modern. They occupy 71 percent of the sales area, engage 74 percent of all employees and through them pass 82 percent of the sales; in 1970 the respective ratios were 9, 17, 24 and 23 percent.

10. During this period Chinese also made gains in real estate along Main Street, a trend found nationally as well (Palanca 1995, 77-78).

11. It needs to be kept in mind that in contrast to Filipino retailers, most Chinese operators of retail enterprises on Main Street also engage in wholesale trade. This is true today as it was in 1970. If the turnover figures were to include only retail sales, then the dominance of Main Street Chinese in sales would not be quite so overwhelming. Records I have access to do not distinguish between wholesale and retail sales. On the national level, 74 percent of sales among the top 1000 non-foreign wholesale/retail

corporations in the Philippines were realized in 1990 by Chinese firms (Palanca 1995, table 12).

12. Also northwestern Europe lagged behind the U.S. Strong evidence of stagnation and decline appeared only in the 1970s—earliest in Britain (Clark 1989) and later on the continent (Dannhaeuser 1996, 245-46; Heinritz and Lichtenberger 1986).

13. In a similar vein, Girourard notes that historically cities have passed through equivalent phases at different times. For instance, Tokyo in the 1970s/80s was similar to what Paris was in the 1880s (Girourard 1985, 377-79).

14. By the time the Depression set in, the *Hyper-Development Phase* was well established along Main Streets in American towns.

15. In contrast to Krugmann (1994) who sees no real productivity gains in developing Asian economies during the past several decades, Osaka notes some increase between 1960 and 1993 (1997). However, of the three countries surveyed by Osaka (South Korea, Thailand and the Philippines), the Philippines shows the least growth.

16. On the competition between small and traditional retail facilities and large modern ones in the urban Third World, see Al-Otaibi (1990), Dannhaeuser (1997), Goldman (1981), Miossec (1990), Newcombe (1977), Tokman (1978) and Troin (1990).

17. The convergence of large Third World cities and those in the West is currently a topic of considerable interest to scholars. Concerning the reason for this convergence, Clark (1998) notes that the degree of capital accumulation (productivity) is not so important, as the fact that in all of these areas the economies are linked to one another through global capitalistic principles allowing for externally derived investments in cities. This encourages the diffusion of Western urban cultural styles, a process which some would regard as Western cultural imperialism. This imperialistic imagery is rejected by Dick and Rimmer (1998). They note that the demand for comfort and convenience by the well off in Southeast Asian large cities has led to the proliferation of malls around these centers, and the demand for security has caused the development of self-contained suburban communities or townships of a type also found in the periphery of Western cities (1998, 2316).

18. As one might expect, small and traditional outlets on Main Street are least efficient in terms of peso turnover per square meter and per employee (P.13 million/square meter and P.63/employee respectively—not adjusted for inflation; this compares with P.21 million/square meter and P1.9 million/employee for all trade establishments on Main Street). Interestingly, there is no significant difference in these measures between medium and large enterprises. Modern food chains/franchises, department stores and supermarkets have efficiency rates that are similar to or lower than medium-sized hardware stores and similar traditional outlets. Of course, it may be that profit margins favor the modern, large firms because scale allows their operators to buy at more favorable discount and credit terms than smaller and more traditional enterprises. Unfortunately, I do not have the data to quantify this.

19. The yearly cost of living per individual in the Philippines outside of the Manila Metropolitan Area in late 1997 was \$450 (Yu 1997).

20. In 1998 I conducted a survey of rural *sari-sari* stores and urban medium-sized grocery stores in Pangasinan and La Union. Preliminary analysis indicates that the new Warehouse Club has attracted the business of additional retailers located in the western

and southern Pangasinan to the Dagupan area. In February 1999, the firm broke ground for the construction of an amusement park next to the Warehouse Club.

21. It is noteworthy that Dick and Rimmer recently came to the same conclusion with respect to the current parallel development of large cities in Southeast Asia and in metropolitan centers in the West (1998; cf. Yao and Liu 1995).

22. This does not mean that interest in this direction is absent in the Philippines. For instance, a broad approach to urban preservation and renewal was recently proposed by the Philippine Estate Authority. It presented an Old Manila and Bay Area Redevelopment Plan for a city in which older areas have experienced considerable commercial and residential diminution during the past several decades (Lozada 1998; see also Filio 1997, Hodder 1991 and Laquian 1972). However, concrete efforts at urban preservation and renewal in the Philippines have so far focused on historically important sites, such as the Spanish quarter in Vigan (Ilocos Sur) and Intramuros/Fort Santiago in Manila (Zaragosa 1990, 55–65).

23. Dagupenos do worry about their plaza. Recently a highly publicized controversy about a government-sponsored plan to privatize a section of it ended, after vigorous protests, with its integrity preserved and its facilities upgraded (Matejowsky n.d.).

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