

Milestones on the Development of the Economic Landscape of Angeles City: Educational Values of the Post-Mt. Pinatubo Struggles

Redim D. Reyes

NSTP Facilitator, Community Extension Office, City College of Angeles, Angeles City, Philippines

Angeleños from whom the Kapampangan line “Agyu tamu” (We can) originated, are noted for their resiliency amidst catastrophes. The eruption of Mt. Pinatubo in 1991 opened opportunities for Angeles City to rise from the ashes of the natural tragedy, thereby prompting the researcher to investigate further the key milestones on the development of the City, particularly on its economy. With historical approach and Braudel’s economic structural theory (among others) to narrow gaps in local economic history, the study traced and linked pieces of information on the city’s current economic landscape and probed the post-eruption educational values for purposes such as curriculum development and civic policy-making. Faced with scarcity of materials discussing economies of local government units, this research may prove significant through its descriptive analysis of local economy, its early foundations, and its change and continuity. The researcher chiefly utilized primary sources from interviews, as well as oral depiction of historical accounts and narratives from various archives and libraries (e.g. City library of Angeles, Center for Kapampangan studies) were likewise exhausted. Findings significantly include the impact of Clark Special Economic Zone, national-local-private partnerships, and the cooperation of the people in revitalizing the city. In sum, Angeles City has become a booming center for commercial and economic activities in the north of Manila; thus, this study may be a good addition to existing local references.

Keywords: economic, milestone, economic landscape, economic development, resiliency, educational values

Introduction

On June 12, 1991, as the whole country celebrated its 93rd Independence Day, Mt. Pinatubo released its devastating eruption after being a dormant for about 500 years, changing the lives of many people who live near the volcano, particularly in the city of Angeles, Pampanga.

Angeles, formerly known as *Culiat*, was inaugurated as a chartered city on January 1, 1964 by Republic Act No. 3700. Its economy was highly dependent on the presence of the US military at Clark Air Force Base, which in 1975, served as receiving point for Vietnamese refugees fleeing the imminent North Vietnamese invasion. The first planeload of these refugees, which consisted of orphans, arrived on April 5, 1975. As many as 2,000 refugees at a time were housed in a tent city in the Bamboo Bowl during April and May. A total of 31,647 refugees and 1,565 orphans were received at the Clark Air Force Field.

As Angeles City played host to the US Air Force personnel, some 1,567 entertainment establishments were put up around the city. As early as 1913, bars had been opened catering to American soldiers. Residents of Angeles City felt offended when outsiders made fun of it as “City of Angeles,” which was an ironic euphemism for “place of ill repute”. Angeleños argue that the “sin city reputation” was an exaggeration because the so-called “center of the red light district”

called Fields Avenue was a small street near the gate of the former military base far from the city proper. In fact, neither costumers nor hostesses were from Angeles; the former were either transient servicemen or retired veterans, while the latter were immigrants from other provinces.

Apart from the prosperity generated by the American presence, the city enjoyed unprecedented business boom. In the year 1990, business establishments mushroomed with a total number of 13,352 entities recorded. Business activities hubbed a major part of the busy routine of the city as its economy is on its peak.

However, all these changed when Mt. Pinatubo erupted. Three days after the deadly eruption on June 15, 1991, great quantities of highly-charged magma turbulently moved up the volcano's surface, triggering a new cataclysmic eruption that ejected more than five cubic kilometers of volcanic materials, creating ash cloud which rose 35 kilometers. It was the second largest volcanic eruption of the 20th century, after Mt. Novarupta in Alaska. What made matter worse, Typhoon Diding (International name: Yunya) made its landfall in Central Luzon at the same time that Mt. Pinatubo erupted. Mud from the slopes of the volcano flowed in quantities more than Abacan River channel could take, destroying all bridges in its path, as well as Sapang Balen in downtown Angeles. The Mt. Pinatubo eruptions and their aftereffects, particularly lahar during rainy seasons, did not only take the lives of about 800 people, but also wrought havoc on the infrastructure and economic activities of Central Luzon. Damage to crops, infrastructure, and personal property totaled at least 10.1 billion pesos (\$US 374 million) in 1991, and in addition 1.9 billion pesos (\$US 69 million) in 1992. In addition, an estimated 454 million pesos (\$US 17 Million) of business was lost in 1991, and addition lost of 37 million pesos (\$US 1.4 million) of business was recorded in 1992. For years after the eruption, lahar continued to threaten lives and properties in many towns in the provinces of Tarlac and Pampanga. The loss of military presence in Clark Air Force Base caused American troops to pull out in 1992 completed the devastation.

After the eruption, life proved exceedingly difficult for those who were affected by Pinatubo. About 20,000 of the Aetas were completely displaced, and about 20,000 who evacuated from the lowlands returned home. Nonetheless, the constant threat from lahar flow coming down from the volcano buried numerous towns and villages during the rainy season. Some concluded that the situation was hopeless so much so that government officials thought of relocating the Kapampangans to faraway Mindoro, Visayas, or in Mindanao. But seeing the move as destruction of their province rather than salvation of the people, Kapampangans never gave up; instead, they struggled mightily to rise from the catastrophe. They thought something must be done in order to overcome the tragedy.

Agyu tamu! (We can!), which expresses challenge, inspiration and daring, was coined after the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo on June 12, 1991, which becomes the motto of Kapampangans residing in Angeles City. The motto spelled so much hope that they could face the various challenges, particularly the avalanche of lahar during the initial post-eruption years. Such impact could be attributed to the literal meaning of the motto, which also serves as call for collective efforts to rise above the trials and crises wrought by the volcanic eruption on both the residents' personal lives and community in general.

Similarly, the motto was used by the local government unit (LGU) of Angeles City in the pursuit of its development agenda aimed at restoring back the city's economic standing as one of the commercial centers in Pampanga. But considering the extent of the destruction, it would take some time before the goal was achieved. What a pity indeed that Angeles City had to go down that way.

Based on the description of Camiling (2013), at present, Angeles City is one of the developed, highly-urbanized and competitive cities in the country because of its livelihood opportunities, business establishments, resources and presence of several centers of excellence in education in the province of Pampanga. Thus, the researcher found Angeles City as an interesting topic unearthed to understand the key milestones on its economic landscape development.

The present study of the economic growth and development of a place recovering from a natural disaster is something new as it has been conducted by a teacher and not an economist. It involves analysis of events and structures that existed and their impact on people's way of life, struggles, and victory, all of which change the economic landscape of Angeles City. Such analysis was based on the experiences and observations of informants and concerned residents of Angeles City who were asked for their permission to include their names in the manuscript as part of the presentation of the result.

Foreshadowed Problems

To document and reinforce substantial accounts on the resiliency of Angeleños, the researcher determined the milestones on the development of Angeles City's economic landscape, and probed the educational values of struggles after Mt. Pinatubo eruption.

Specifically, the study aimed to answer the following questions:

1. How may the economic condition of Angeles City be described before and after Mt. Pinatubo eruption?
2. What social factors have enhanced the economic growth and development in Angeles City from 1991 onwards?
3. How do the witnesses of the Mt. Pinatubo eruption recall the economic changes that have shaped Angeles City into what it is today?
4. How does the economic growth contribute to the development of the people of Angeles City?
5. How may the School Board get funding from the Local Government Unit?

Significance of the Study

The study presents the significant milestones on the development of economic landscape of Angeles City by using Historical Approach. The study illustrates how technical terms in economics may be presented in a historical manner that is easier to comprehend. The findings may provide substantial information on the economic status of the city. Moreover, these results

may serve as basis and starting point for local government officials to propose certain regulations and laws to further promote the economic development of Angeles City and neighboring towns.

In the same manner, the study serves as handy resource materials that partially address the inadequacy of recorded local history. Its updated and comprehensive review of Angeles City's development in terms of its economic landscape will address the dearth in reliable information. Furthermore, this research intends to present the educational values of the post-Mt. Pinatubo eruption that Angeleños may consider in making curricular and instructional decisions in education and policy-making in governance.

Scope and Delimitations of the Study

This research determinesthe key milestone relative to the development of the economic landscape of Angeles City, focusing on the changes and educational values from the post-Mt. Pinatubo struggles from 1991 to 2015. The study puts together vital pieces of information about Angeles City's economic development before and after the eruption. The data were obtained from the local government resources; different agencies and sub-government agencies, namely the Department of Tourism(DOT), National Economic Development (NEDA), Metro Angeles Chamber of Commerce and Industry; other vital historicalsources and written records from center for Kapampangan Studies, Angeles City Library and Information Center, and selected educational institutions; and as well as testimonies from well-known businessmen, government officials and selected professors, school administrators, and religious leaders.

Perspectives in the study of Economic Development

Economic Structural Theory. To justify the study on the economic landscape of a particular subject (e.g. Angeles City), this study has been anchored on Braudel's (2009) Economic Structural Theory. This theory is focused on analyzing the kind of structure that existed and what was created out of the structure that determines people's way of life, struggles, and victory. By looking at the economic history of Angeles City, it would take a long and wide view of history, which focuses on long duration of events. History should not be studied only from a single viewpoint; one must look into all facets of human life and this would only be possible by analyzing structures, which include geographical, economic, political, and cultural milieus. Therefore, this paper expounds on the principle of Structural History, which is deeply concerned on the different types of time span and rhythm. It is believed that historians must not only consider the relations of coexisting elements, such as cultural, geographical, economic and political developments, but also those over different periods of time (long-term and short-term developments).

Structural Change Theory deals with policies focused on changing the economic structures of developing countries from being composed primarily of subsistence agricultural practices to being a more modern, more urbanized, and more industrially diverse manufacturing and service economy."

There are two major forms of Structural Change Theory: (1) W. Lewis' two-sector Surplus Model, which views agrarian societies as consisting of large amounts of surplus labor which can be utilized to spur the development of an urbanized industrial sector; and (2) Hollis Chenery's Patterns of Development Approach, which holds that different countries become wealthy via different trajectories. The pattern that a particular country will follow, in this framework, depends on its size and resources, and potentially other factors including its current income level and comparative advantages relative to other nations. Empirical analysis in this framework studies these sequential process through which the economic, industrial and institutional structure of an underdeveloped economy is transformed over time to permit new industries to replace traditional agriculture as the engine of economic growth.

Human-Capital Theory. This is a term popularized by Gary Becker, an economist from the University of Chicago, and Jacob Mincer, who refer this theory to the stock of knowledge, habits, social and personality attributes, including creativity, embodied in the ability to perform labor to produce economic value (Gordon, 2008). This principle is a modern extension of Adam Smith's explanation of wage differentials by the so-called net disadvantages between different employments. The costs of learning the job are very important components of net advantage, which have led economists such as Gary S. Becker and Jacob Mincer to claim that other things are being equal, and personal incomes vary according to the amount of investment in human capital; that is, the education and training undertaken by individuals or groups of workers. A further expectation is that widespread investment in human capital creates in the labor force is skill-based, which is indispensable for economic growth. The survival of the human-capital reservoir was said to explain the rapid reconstruction achieved by the defeated powers of the Second World War.

In connection with this theory, a site was referred to and explained as that of human capital corresponding to any stock of knowledge or characteristics the worker has (either innate or acquired) contributed to his or her productivity. This definition is broad, and this has both advantages and disadvantages. The advantages are clear, where it enables people to think of not only the years of schooling, but also of a variety of other characteristics as part of human capital investments. These include school quality, training, attitudes toward work, among others. Using this type of reasoning, some progress can be made toward understanding some of the differences in earnings across workers that are not accounted by schooling differences alone (Acemoglu, 2014).

Looking at the literature on the economic history of the Philippines, existing materials explain the course to which the economy of the country evolved. However, there is scarcity of materials that discuss local economies of the country, much more on how those local economies evolved and contributed to the economic history of the entire country. As above mentioned, this is a first-hand work on the local economic history. The materials are limited in as far as creating a clear picture of local economies is concerned. These materials may provide an overview of the past and current state of Philippine economy from the different periods of history. Nonetheless, as pointed out earlier, this work is likely to be the first that will attempt to look into the economic

history and economic development of the city of Angeles in Pampanga. The research looked into the different data from the oral history, or narratives and data from the provincial core and its municipality, from different business establishments and businessmen, schools or educational institutions, progress of structural changes through the different industries that contributed in the development of the city after the Mt. Pinatubo eruption.

Such process will also develop a reflection of the economic history of the town. The economic activities of people and the will power exerted by the local government officials have been part of the changes in the economic structure of the city. The result in the socio-cultural and economic development of the town has been the main focus of the study. Thus, examining existing materials may prove substantial in setting the background of the research, as well as in determining how extensive the available sources are in defining the economic history of Angeles City.

The Significant Recorded Calamities

Numerous natural calamities have left casualties and have destroyed locales in some parts of the world. Some of these phenomena have taught people to survive and develop activities and links that help them restore their living.

Significant disasters that happened in the 21st century included the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, 2010 Haiti earthquake, and 2011 Japan earthquake and tsunami.

Phuket, Thailand even experienced the most traumatic disaster during the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami. The event left people in social distress in which they needed long-term attention to survive. With the help of health professionals, local and international NGOs, UN agencies and other sponsors, people were able to cope with the challenges brought by the disaster. While millions of survivors have endured the said event, the affected communities suffered health threats and psychological traumas from the loss of their loved ones. The World Health Organization (WHO) trained and supported health workers to address public health issues after the calamity. To help the victims of the tsunami, the government encourage tourism to visit the place during the Post-Tsunami Era. The earnings of the place had directly helped the community rebuild their lives and businesses.

Another disastrous calamity that had gotten the attention of the whole world was the earthquake in Haiti in 2010. The devastating earthquake with a magnitude of 7.0 struck the country and resulted to the death of 160,000 individuals and had left 1.5 million people astray. Several countries and organizations raised funds to help Haiti stand again. Two years later, Haiti still continued to surpass the event and had to push government aids and organizations, such as USAID, to spend more money on women and make funds accessible to smaller entities that work with women. Haiti's government had opened its doors for investment opportunities under the presidency of Michel Martelly. The country had made itself to become available for manufacturing and agriculture. Likewise, it had focused its attention to small investments run by

women who needed access to loans with better conditions, vocational training, business education, and technology.

As a rich country, Japan was not also safe to natural calamities. In 2011, Tohoku, Japan experienced an earthquake with 9.0 magnitudes that triggered a tsunami. As reflected in the Japanese National Police Agency, the disaster confirmed death of almost 16,000 individuals, while more than 200,000 people lost their homes in 2015. The effects of the tsunami waves had been felt in Alaska, Hawaii, and Chile. Three years after the calamity, Direct Relief, through the help of its generous supporters, had given more than \$5.5 million to various Japanese aid groups. This had provided relief and recovery to those who were hit by the earthquake. The contributions for the Japan Earthquake Recovery Fund had been almost exhausted to help the most vulnerable people affected by the calamity.

In the Philippines, the latest and most disastrous natural calamity was recorded in 2013. A month of the same year 2013 after the Bohol earthquake, Typhoon Haiyan (locally named 'Yolanda'), which was considered the strongest typhoon on earth, hit the east central part of the country. The first number of deaths had reached 1,563 and had continuously increased. When the media had started to report the effects of the typhoon, various local and international organizations from different countries pledged to help the victims. Financial support, food and temporary shelter were given away for the first months after the typhoon. After some months, houses were built, and several jobs were created to support the living conditions of the victims. Although there had been an issue on the distribution of goods and slow response on the part of the national government, the Filipinos exemplified the essence of resiliency, considering that they are truly one of the bravest peoples in the world.

Education and Economic Development

In terms of the economic development and its contribution to education, the researcher presented the following literature. As explained by Robinson (2009), universities are of vital importance for social, cultural and economic development of every country, and freely speaking, the entire human society. The increase and popularization of higher education led to more funds from private sources, which automatically induced question of availability of tertiary education, and therefore integrity of academic work.

In relation with what Robinson has explained, Grdinić (2014) also discussed that education has an important impact on economic growth and development. Education can have a positive impact on the growth rate by means of a variety of mechanisms, including the increase in productivity, economic growth and development, which requires an increase in worker productivity over time. This is achieved through the innovation of the manufacturing techniques and products, increase in the capacities to apply the existing and new technology, and contribute to the increase in the total factor productivity. Grdinić also mentioned that higher education plays a key role in this process, especially in the creation and application of new knowledge and techniques resulting in the increase in productivity.

Zimpher (2013) asserts that higher education is now a major economic driver, and colleges and universities are critical components of national and regional work force development strategies and innovation systems.

Tertiary education contributes to social and economic development through four major missions: (1) the formation of human capital, (2) the building of knowledge bases (primarily through research and knowledge development), (3) the dissemination and use of knowledge (primarily through interactions with knowledge users), and (4) the maintenance of knowledge (inter-generational storage and transmission of knowledge) (Pouri & Inglesi-Lotz, 2014).

Furthermore, Kucheryavaya (2016) discusses that education is one of the most dynamic and attractive investment areas among the market economy. Some of the benefits of education in terms of economic aspect, which are as follows: higher wages, pension, better job opportunities, higher savings, personal and professional mobility, and career prospects, were enumerated; on the other hand, the benefits in the social aspect are the following: improving the quality of life and working conditions, satisfaction with work, a healthier lifestyle, implementation of creative abilities.

According to Asia News Monitor (2014), young and quality workforce is an asset for the country to attract foreign investments. The government will continue to spend in education and health sectors to sustain the Philippines' high economic growth. Hence, investing in this population group will assure the country of quality supply of workforce within the next decades. This will give Filipinos several decades of assured growth and basic necessity for sustained economic growth. Now, it is up for the Philippines to take advantage of the talents being produced to sustain economic growth. Gosiengfiao (2014) affirms that more investments in education would strengthen and support the country's economic growth as foreign countries consider venturing in the Philippines because of its competitive labor force. Furthermore, it has been noticed that the fastest growing cities in the country are those areas, which invested heavily in education.

Gropello (2011) states that the Philippines has achieved impressive gains in expanding access to higher education among Filipinos. Nevertheless, there remains a need for suitable skills that will enable the nation's workforce to become more competitive and help bolster economic growth, according to World Bank Lead Economist. In addition, Dr. Patricia B. Licuanan, CHED chairperson, asserts that the government is currently pursuing important reforms to make the country's higher education system more responsive to the country's development requirements.

According to Deuren (2013), higher education institutions (HEIs) particularly in developing countries face the requirement to increase performance and improve outcomes to broaden their contribution to socio-economic development and poverty reduction. In addition, Provenzo Jr. (2009), states that the history of higher education is one of the expanded choices and opportunities for students, as well as innovative delivery systems, such as the communication with the schools, distance learning and internet information retrieval. Diversity through the years has prolonged federal court decisions and it is found to be compelling with the state interest.

From higher education enrolment limited to the few egalitarian, higher education has become a major influence in society.

With this, the Philippine Accrediting Association of Schools, Colleges and Universities (PAASCU), which was established in 1957 by the eleven private Catholic educational institutions, aims for the development of accreditation instruments, training accreditors and performing public information campaigns to convince the academic community of the value of voluntary accreditation and the continuing process of self-improvement. This accreditation association measures the development in terms of academic aspects the whole institution of the different schools and colleges around the Philippines (Arcelo, 2003).

General view of Economics and Economic History

History of Economic Analysis, a book by Joseph A. Schumpeter reviewed by McCaffrey (2014), provides the general idea on how to deal with economic activities and the relation that exists between economy and history. This serves as an introduction in the study of economic history because Schumpeter was able to distinguish the field of economics and history, and how the disciplines relate and complement one another to understand and determine historical changes due to the economic practices of people. Schumpeter also examined and explained the science of economic history by analyzing the idea of economic history and how economics is best explained in the light of history. Economics is essentially a unique process in historic time. It provides an understanding of how history and historical actions change, and the course to which those changes took place because of economic factors.

Along the same line, Onofre D. Corpuz, in his book *An Economic History of the Philippines*, as reported by Salvador (2014), provides a springboard in dealing with economic history. The approach is macro rather than local history, but can still offer ways on how to attack and treat the problem of economic history. Economic activity in the Philippines is the result of analysis of economic data and institutions recorded in the documents and contemporary sources. It is used to aid in the understanding of Philippine economy through the description and analysis of early foundations and sectors and their basic features as they evolved overtime. Using the historical approach, it becomes and covers both change and continuity.

The idea of change and continuity reveals progress or development, which is what economic history is all about. Based on the book of Onofre D. Corpuz's *An Economic History of the Philippines*, as explained by Salvador (2014), it brings important dimension in the understanding of local history, on how he was able to explain change and continuity is equally important in explaining economic history.

The economic history of Angeles City also covers changes and continuity. Corpuz outlines in his work how the Philippine economy evolves, and how it undergoes certain changes and continuation. How those changes occurred and continued are the techniques of analyzing economic data and figures. The analysis in the book provides an idea on how to use history and

statistical data in creating the situation of a particular period. This methodology serves as a good springboard to the main problem of the study.

Raquiza (2010) in her research titled *State Structure and Economic Development: The Political Economy of Thailand and the Philippines* focused on the political economies of Thailand and the Philippines and showed that while pursuing similar industrial development programs, divergent political interests drove governing elites to adopt different policy designs. These differences reflected the extent to which state-building and political competition influenced economic policy-making, wherein political leaders worked to develop the economy, but also to recruit or create constituents for themselves and to outflank political opponents.

Concretely, the political interests that animated Thailand's bureaucratic polity and the Philippines's proprietary polity influenced how import-substitution and export-oriented industrialization were implemented. Based from the study, the Philippine economic development does not merely differ from that which happened in Thailand in terms of its outcomes. The processes by which officials made economic development policy and the political influences on those processes also differed sharply from what transpired in Thailand.

In the study conducted by Duran (2009) titled *The Financial Condition of Pampanga*, financial aspect is one of the main concerns of economic development. Based from the findings about the financial condition of Pampanga, it can potentially be strong, but is marked by some instability. This situation can be gleaned from Pampanga's operating ratio which increased mildly from 2003 to 2006, but took a steep ascent in 2007 and 2008. Indeed, the combination of low expenditures and moderate revenues for Pampanga does not necessarily sum up to a strong financial condition. However, the province's ability to: 1) finance a higher level of expenditures from existing revenues, and 2) draw upon its unused revenue capacity or reserves, if needed, are positive factors that bolster its financial condition.

A necessary first step to an improvement of Pampanga's financial health in the shortrun will be to raise existing expenditure levels. This will enable the provincial government to somehow offset the shortfall in the provision of basic services that may have occurred in recent years. This will also ensure that minimum quality standards are adhered to in the delivery of government services, and relieve pressures for a much higher level of government spending in the future.

The study conducted by Veselinovic (2015) titled *New Education Policy's Priorities as a Function of Economic Development of Serbia* presents the relationship between education and society generally, and more specifically with economy of the country was defined differently depending on wider social circumstances. As the result of process of globalization, changes in education are inevitable, because the long-term education is one of the factors of key importance for creation of recovery of transition economy in the country and its faster extraction from the crisis. Moreover, competitiveness of the economy primarily depends on outcomes of education, in the sense of shaping such innovative and creative capacities among individuals who are

profiled through education and are enabled for fast adjustment to global technology development trends.

The widely-adopted human capital view is that higher education increases skills and knowledge, which results to higher income. However, the researchers behind the new study state that several things are needed to be taken into consideration, such as geography, sectors, available skills, and education systems, and networks of companies are all important factors. Nevertheless, Dr. McGrath explained that higher education will continue to play a key role in economic development. As people start working toward the new sustainable development goals, professionals across all sectors, such as the doctors, teachers and engineers will be vital to the future success. Hence, education is central to producing those professionals.

In addition, in the study made by Morgan (2012), economic benefits of higher education outweigh cost to taxpayers even during times of financial crisis. In the study, it was exemplified that the United Kingdom graduates generate extra pounds £55,000 for society over their lifetimes by paying higher income tax and social contributions - far outweighing the public cost of their education. The UK is a good example of a country where basically higher educated people have made a very significant contribution to the growth which is observed over the last decade.

Methodology

The current study, using the form of historical qualitative research, sought to attain its objective of writing the economic history of Angeles City by employing various data gathering methods availing resources such as written descriptions, oral accounts of past events, and artifacts.

The research used a descriptive analysis and historical approach in presenting the milestones on the development of economic landscape of Angeles City. Through the interview technique and document analysis, the researcher was able to examine and describe the significant milestones on the development of economic landscape of Angeles City after the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo in 1991.

Selections of Informants and Data Gathering Procedures

The primary information and data were obtained from the pieces of interviews from civic-minded citizens, teenagers during the eruption, and experienced citizens.

The researcher particularly sought insights from government officials, including City Mayor Edgardo Pamintuan, the city officials since 1991 during the Mt. Pinatubo eruption, minimum of five (5) civic-minded citizens, teenagers during the eruption, and experienced citizens in the city. Those who had great contributions to the economic development of the City, and the different religious leaders in the City, who were witnesses to the event capable of giving their experiences and observation during eruption, were also interviewed.

Data were collected using unstructured interviews with specific questions that were answered by the respondents and informants. The researcher visited the Angeles City Hall to gather relevant information and statistical data in terms of economic status from 1991 to present. Data were also gathered from the different government agencies and sub-government agencies like DOT, NEDA, DTI, the well-known businessmen in Angeles City, and business severely affected by the eruption but are still continuously serving the Angeleños. Selected teachers, school administrators, and religious leaders contributed their recollections of the tragedy.

Summary of Findings and Implications (Highlights of the Findings)

1. How may the economic condition of Angeles City be described before and after Mt. Pinatubo eruption?

Before the eruption, Angeles City was known to be a booming city with the presence of the different economic activities and business centers, and whose economy was dependent in the presence of the Clark Air Force Base. Many people enjoyed the vast employment opportunities generated by the presence of the Americans. This prosperity was reflected through the affluent subdivisions and establishments that sprouted around the city.

But after the eruption, Angeles City was described in reports as a “ghost city” due to the impact of Mt. Pinatubo phenomena on the lives, properties, and livelihood of the residents. It caused massive displacements of families resulting to decreased population in the city. This is supported by narratives of key informants, specifically Mayor Edgardo Pamintuan as he emphasized, “As acting mayor, we have very little idea about lahar engulfing our city. I made a call for the people to fortify the river banks.” While the frightened Americans were leaving Clark Air Force Base along with some 20,000 Angeleños, those who stayed stood alert at both banks of Abacan River armed with picks and shovel, passing on sand bags, and piling them against the river wall to reinforce it from rampaging lahar. The eruption of Mt. Pinatubo made Angeles City a ghost city as thousands of residents and transients left for safer places.

Today, after about 25 years, Angeles City can rightfully boast a roster of accomplishments that signify its people’s perseverance and endurance through the years. Angeles City is now back as a booming city were Angeleños invest and focus on human capital as together, they harness their skills, talents, trainings, knowledge and their positive attitude toward work. These serve as their weapons in building on the hardships and challenges that they surmounted during and after the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo. The motto “*Agyu Tamu*” is evident in the cooperation of Angeleños to rise after the Mt. Pinatubo eruption. Angeles City has gradually improved, as commercial establishments, and private and public facilities have been built. The upgrading of Clark Air Force Base to Clark Special Economic Zone or Clark Development Corporation was also an achievement, for it provides jobs and income in the aftermath of the catastrophe. The tragedy of Mt. Pinatubo transforms into triumph.

2. What social factors have enhanced the economic growth and development in Angeles City from 1991 onwards?

Socio-political and economic factors are the most dominant catalysts in reviving the City after its tragic losses from the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo. Foremost is the partnership between and among the national and local government agencies and private individuals, as well as corporations. The task force known as Mt. Pinatubo Assistance, Resettlement and Development Commission (PARDC) assisted the city government in restoring the economic life of Angeles City. Different projects, programs and movements were also created to help the city recover. It was evident that Angeleños have the values of teamwork, cooperation and unity that made it possible to weld the broken pieces of Angeles to bring the broken pieces of Angeles City and make it whole again. On the economic side, the Metro Angeles Chamber of Commerce persuaded banks to extend low-interest loan to Angeles businessmen for them to start again. *Tigtigan Terakan King Dalan* serves to energize the people to exert concerted efforts to revive economic activities in the city. The executive order signed by former President Ramos created Clark Development Corporation (CDC) or Clark Special Economic Zone from the remnants of Clark Air Force Base. It opened wide and economic environment for locators, investors, employees which helped in boosting the economy of the local communities. The birth of Clark Economic Zone was a vital economic structure that helped the people recover and enhance economic growth and development of the city.

3. How do the witnesses to the Mt. Pinatubo eruption recall the economic changes that have shaped Angeles City into what it is today?

Key informants recalled the profound economic changes as milestones in the economic development of Angeles City, principally in the increase of annual revenue from the year after the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo up to present time. The employment rate skyrocketed due to the conversion of Clark Air Base to Clark Special Economic Zone, which attracted investors to set up businesses inside Clark, thus affording employment opportunities for the people.

4. How does the economic growth contribute to the development of the people of Angeles City?

The economic changes that were credited to have propelled economic development are as follows: Through the present status of the city, the local government continuously promotes the welfare of the people through infrastructure, facilities, social services, health services, livelihood and education. That is, first, increase in the average income leading to the improvement of health and nutrition; second, reduce poverty to improve social outcomes; lastly, improve social outcomes through essentials services such as education (establishment of the City College of Angeles), better public services, healthcare, and provision of potable water in the barangay.

5. How may the School Board get funding from the Local Government Unit

Angeles City, as a developed city, continues its role in meeting the needs of the public schools in the Division of Angeles City as mandated by the Local Government Code of 1991 or Republic Act 7061. As reported by the informants from the Division of City Schools, Angeles City, the Local School Board (LSB), used in the Special Education Fund (SEF) for operation and maintenance of public schools, construction and repair of school buildings, facilities and equipment, educational research, purchase of books and periodicals, and sports development as determined and approved by the Local School Board. Also cited were children's sports training activities and purchase of equipment of schools offering vocational courses.

The different values that could be inferred from the economic recovery were unity, perseverance, strong disposition and cooperation that were manifested in every step of the rehabilitation and recovery effort. These are evident in the optimism of the Angeleños who are equipped with good disposition to turn tragedy into opportunity. These findings are summarized in Figure 1.

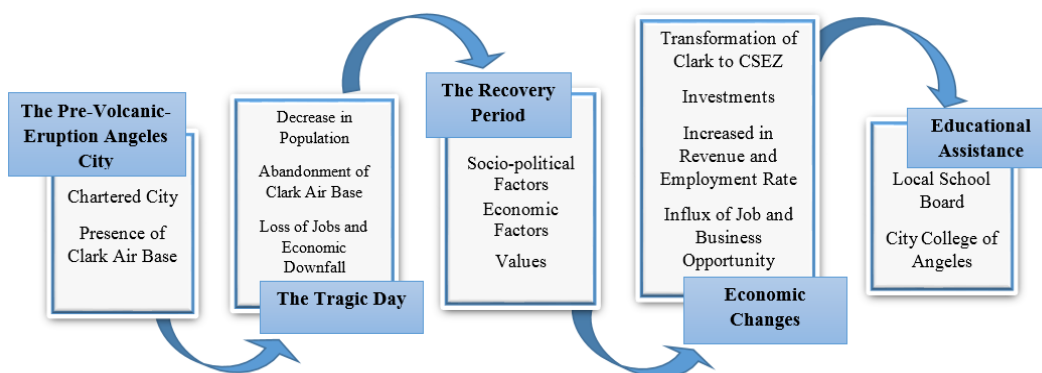


Figure 1: Summary of Thematic Analysis

Implications

This study shows that Angeles City, through its most unusual experience, underwent the common flow of events that comprise the life of institutions: rising and reaching the heights, experiencing downfall, and rising the top again. From the results of the study, positive and negative implications emerge.

Angeles City, one of the developed cities in the Philippines, is not exempted from natural disasters. The eruption of Mt. Pinatubo not only shattered the Angeleños lives, it changed for a moment the morals of the people. That was evident as looting became a prominent aftereffect of the eruption. But even in the darkest time of life, light will always be found. Angeleños

triumphantly turned tragedy into victory. Based on the collective data and information, every figure and economic measures recorded would show how destruction, Angeleños played their part to restore the glorious state of the city. As stated by informants, people from the different sectors, be it in government, private individuals, religious groups or laymen collectively shared their means to help in rebuilding Angeles City. The eruption made the values of Angeleños strong. With camaraderie, resiliency, faith and hope guiding its people, Angeles City has successfully recovered from its fall. Thus, this study is a record of historical and economic struggles that comprise the totality of its wonderful city which derived unusual strength from its downfall as it marched to its economic and social restructuring.

Conclusion

Angeles City has been a booming center for commercial and economic activities, north of Manila. It was largely known as the host of Clark Air Base, which was one of the largest American military bases outside United States of America. Angeleños were living a contented and prosperous life, but that was cruelly stopped by the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo in 1991. The catastrophe took lives, homes, properties and livelihood among Angeleños, leaving severe and massive damages in the City. Nevertheless, it did not take long before the City and its resilient residents gained strength to restore what had been taken away by the Mt. Pinatubo tragedy.

From the abovementioned findings, two central factors were identified as helping mechanism in reviving Angeles City's economic development: socio-political and economic factors. Under socio-political factors, with coordination between national and local government, unity of the government and the private sectors, and strong determination, Angeleños became the big weapon to access support and assistance in rebuilding the City of Angeles. On economic factors, one of the turning points is the creation of Clark Development Corporation (CDC) or Clark Special Economic Zone. Despite the continuing lahar flows, the annual revenue increased yearly, employment rate grew, many infrastructures were built, and investments and business ventures mushroomed particularly in Clark area. Government support was also felt as the local government unit (LGU) supported the public schools under the local government code of 1991 or RA 7061, or the Special Education Fund (SEF). It can be concluded that the economic growth and development of Angeles City after Mt. Pinatubo eruption has been unbelievably a joint effort of all the sectors of the city. But above all, it boils down to the spirited and optimistic Angeleños whose unity, strong will and determination amidst adversities gave them the strength to restore Angeles City as a booming commercial center like it was before.

Recommendations

It is important that the lessons learned from this study be transmitted and shared to others, especially to the students and youth of today. This study may also add to the collection of references about the local history and economic development of Angeles City. It may be a springboard in producing a book about the challenges and changes in the economic status of the

City. The local government can use this study in formulating effective plans and strategies on how to prepare the city and secure its economic development in case another disaster will happen. A similar study may also be conducted to further see the economic transition of Angeles City before, during, and after Mt. Pinatubo eruption using data and information not included in this study. This study may also be used in tracing economic trends in Angeles City, which can be a basis for future economic plans of the City. Moreover, this study is a big help for schools in Angeles City in disseminating factual data about the eruption and how the local government and spirited Angeleños unite to rise above the tragedy. Education is the key weapon to stand still amidst adversities. Furthermore, it is recommended that every school under the Division of Angeles City may design an instructional plan where they can integrate the lessons about the local history and in keeping the Kapampangan values alive especially in Social Studies and Values Education subjects. As citizens, they must remember that Angeleños need to hold on to their traditions, cherish the wisdom of the old, and remember the memories of the past that serve as foundation and inspiration in becoming better persons and productive citizens of the land.

References

Books

1. Berry, G. (2014). *Acceptance & abandonment: transforming daily life: Cion Nepomuceno: her legacy of faith, love and joy*. Holy Angel University: The Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies.
2. Cabusao, R. C. (1997). *Ing balen kung tibuan: Our heritage, our legacy*. Angeles City: PIMA Press.
3. Calaguas, M. P. (1999). *A leading business in Angeles City: a feasibility study*. Angeles City: Holy Angel University Press.
4. Dacanay, B. M. (1991). *Mt. Pinatubo: 500 years after*. Philippines: Mass Media Publishing Corporation by Capitol Publishing House.
5. Henson, M. A. (1964). *Pictorial and historical album of the city of Angeles, Pampanga*. Pampanga: Angeles City.
6. Hopkins, G. (2009). *The new economic history of Africa*. University of Texas: Cambridge University Press.
7. Lacson, B. (2011, June). *Agyu tamu: Turning tragedy into triumph*. Mexico, Pampanga: Mexico Printing Company Inc.
8. Meixsel, R. B. (2001). *Clark field and the US army air corps in the Philippines 1919-1942*. Quezon City: New Day.
9. Mendoza, E. P. (2004). *A Cofradia of two: Oral history on the family life and lay religiosity of Juan D. Nepomuceno and Teresa G. Nepomuceno of Angeles, Pampanga*. Holy Angel University: The Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies.
10. Ordonez, R. (2009). *The Kapampangan Mystique*. Manila: UST Publishing House.
11. Raquiza, A. R. (2010). *State structure and economic development: the political economy of Thailand and the Philippines*. The City University of New York. UMI Dissertation Publishing.

12. Rodolfo, K. S. (1995). *Pinatubo and the politics of lahar, eruption and aftermath, 1991*. Quezon City: UP Press.
13. Sangil, M. (1994). *Somewhere in Central Luzon*. Philippines: Salas Paper Press.
14. Sicat, R. M. (2003). *The Kapampangans: speakers, surnames and identity*. Tarlac City: Center for Tarlacqueno Studies.
15. Tangingco, R. (2011). *Pinatubo: The volcano in our background*. Holy Angel University, Angeles City: Center for Kapampangan Studies.
16. Tayag, R. D. (1956). *The Angeles story*. Regal Publishing.
17. Villanueva, F.L. (2014). *Metro Angeles Chamber of Commerce and Industry: Through 50 years*. Angeles City: MGD Printing Press.
18. Zaide, S. M. (2000). *Kasaysayang lokal: Angeles City*. Quezon City: All Nations Publishing House.

Research Journals, Thesis and Dissertations

1. Aguilar, J. (2006, July 26). Real-estate developers and investors eyeing the potentials of Pampanga. *The Manila Times*. Retrieved May 27, 2016 from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/380857735/C28BC4A7E7F64E46PQ/81?accountid=148769>
2. Aldaba, F. T. (2002). Philippine development: A research journey through the Philippine Journal of Development. *Philippine Journal of Development*, XXIX(2), 133-206.
3. Camiling, A. S. 2013. *The province of Pampanga and its people*. Retrieved January 21, 2016 from <http://www.andropampanga.com/Pampa.htm>
4. de Guzman, E.M. (2006). Eruption of Mount Pinatubo in the Philippines in June 1991. *Asian Disaster Reduction Center*. Retrieved June 1, 2016 from http://www.adrc.asia/publications/recovery_reports/pdf/Pinatubo.pdf.
5. Duran, M. G. G. (2009). The financial condition of Pampanga. *Philippine Management Review*, 16, 93-130.
6. Eichengreen, B. (2012). Economic history and economic policy. *The Journal of Economic History*, 72(2), 289-307.
7. Holy Angel University. (n.d.). *A tale of two cities*. Singsing, 4(1).
8. Holy Angel University. (n.d.). *Kapampangan Folk, the power and the glory*. Singsing, 4(1).
9. Knezevic, M. & Veselinovic, P. (2015). New education policy's priorities as a function of economic development of Serbia. *Ekonomika*, 61, 151-159.
10. Lacson, B. (2011). *The Pinatubo story of Angeles City*. Mabalacat: Agyu Tamu Movement.
11. McGrath, S. (2015). Geography, skills, local companies affect higher education impact on economic development. *Journal of Transportation*, 127.
12. Manabat, A. (2014, May 12). SM Clark fetes top artisans, craftsmen hailing from Pampanga. *Business Mirror*, Retrieved June 1, 2016 from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1548229370/C28BC4A7E7F64E46PQ/23?accountid=148769>
13. Mc Beth, J. & Tiglao, R. (1999, July 25). Philippines: picking up after Pinatubo; Sleeping killers; Test of resolve. *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 153(30), 24.
14. Marna Dagumboy-del Rosario. (2014, May 16). Clark Airport, HARP join hands to boost tourism industry in Pampanga. *The Philippine News Agency*. Retrieved June 1, 2016 from <http://balita.ph/2014/05/16/clark-airport-harp-join-hands-to-boost-tourism-industry-in-pampanga/>

15. Maerose T. Bayya. (2012, January 30). Valenzuela links sisterhood pact with Pampanga's Angeles City. *The Philippines News Agency*. Retrieved June 1, 2016 from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/918692318/C28BC4A7E7F64E46PQ/4?accountid=148769>
16. Morgan, J. (2012, September 13). Economic benefits of higher education out weigh cost to taxpayer 'even during times of financial crisis.' *The Times Higher Education Supplement*.
17. Napack, J. (2000, October 19). Stuck at base. *Far Eastern Economic Review*.
18. Roxas, M.L. P. (2007, October 10). Arroyo lauds top Pampanga entrepreneurs. *The Manila Times*. Retrieved June 2, 2016 from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/380911071/C28BC4A7E7F64E46PQ/71?accountid=148769>
19. Suarez, C. Q. (2007). *Angeles City the Barangay that became a City*.
20. (2011, June 13). Pampanga solon wants Mt. Pinatubo declared as tourist spot. *Philippines News Agency*. Retrieved June 1, 2016 from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/872839559/3627939A44E74777PQ/33?accountid=148769>
21. (2011, September 1). Korean investors to open P1.2-B hotel in Pampanga. *The Philippine News Agency*. Retrieved June 1, 2016 from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/887634816/C28BC4A7E7F64E46PQ/14?accountid=148769>
22. (2015, March 09). Pampanga hopes to emulate Davao City's best practices. *The Philippines News Agency (PNA)*. Retrieved June 1, 2016 from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1661494986/3627939A44E74777PQ/3?accountid=148769>

Government Documents

1. Angeles City Government. (1979). *Angeles City twin fiesta souvenir program 1979*. Angeles City: City Development Staff.
2. Angeles City Government. (2004). *Sisig Festival 2004*. Angeles City: City Information and Trade Investment Promotion Offices.
3. Angeles City Government. (2014). *Area ecological profile of Angeles City*. Angeles City: City Planning and Development Office.
4. Angeles City Government. (n.d.). *152nd Foundation Day of Angeles City*.
5. Angeles City Government. (n.d.). *Angeles City tourism guide*. Angeles City: City Information and Trade Investment Promotion Offices.
6. City Planning and Development Office. (1998). *Socio economic to physical profile of Angeles City*.
7. City Planning and Development Office. (2000). *Socio economic to physical profile of Angeles City*.
8. City Planning and Development Office. (2005). *Socio economic to physical profile of Angeles City*.
9. City Planning and Development Office. (2007). *Socio economic to physical profile of Angeles City*.
10. City Planning and Development Office. (2010). *Socio economic to physical profile of Angeles City*.
11. City Planning and Development Office. (2012). *Socio economic to physical profile of Angeles City*.

12. City Planning and Development Office. (2013). *Socio economic to physical profile of Angeles City*.
13. City Planning and Development Office. (2014). *Socio economic to physical profile of Angeles City*.