

# **The Emergence of Hardiness: The Hoodlums and Gangs in Tondo, Manila from 1960 to 1980**

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## **Abstract**

The geographical conditions of Tondo and the social network coverage demonstrated by the gangs would understandably influence behavior. Much has been written about the emerging problems accompanying rapid economic growth and the spread of poverty, criminality, financial stability, and the worsening condition of society and humankind; however, there have been relatively few studies about the cause of deviance and the unsavory reputation attached to the Tondoeños.

This study examines the intricate interplay among migration patterns, gang proliferation, and the urban development of Tondo. To provide context, the discussion of sub-topics like geography is presented to elucidate the concentration of settlers in Tondo's streets and establish its connection to the emergence of concentrated groups of hoodlums and the formation of gang communities. Moreover, society is a type of association that enables individual members to cooperate to achieve objectives as a collective, which cannot be achieved by independent individual action. In the context of Manila's Tondo district, this theory helps us understand how societal conditions have shaped the development of events, situations, and phenomena, particularly about the survival strategies of its inhabitants vis-à-vis understanding the locale of Tondo as a slum and a marginalized area. This study argues that gangs are integrated into the social fabric of the community, a presence frequently characterized by fear (local term: nakakatakot) stemming from their activities in various parts of Tondo. This social behavior is typically connected to economic activity and the concentration of settlers in the community. The significance of the 1960s, the post-war market, is that social and human activity changed.

*Keywords:* Tondo, Manila, Gangs, Population, Crimes

## Introduction

The district of Tondo is an old and vital place in Manila. Long before the Hispanization in 1571, it was one of the earliest settlements clustered around Manila Bay and the Pasig River. Settlements initially began in marshes and later expanded into the dry land that arose from the banks of bodies of water; these migrants are from the Albay, Bicol, and La Union provinces. When railroads were constructed during the early 20th century, entry points to other parts of Luzon and Bicol made it possible for migrants from Albay, Bicol, and La Union to settle there. These migrants took advantage of the North Harbor piers adjacent to Tondo, which became a hub for the probinsiyano Visayas and Mindanao, facilitating trade and migration. The pivotal role of Tondo in the region's trade and migration history as a hub for the probinsiyano from Visayas and Mindanao is a testament to its importance and influence.

The urban landscape of Tondo is marked by several interconnected challenges, including emerging social problems accompanying rapid economic growth, the proliferation of gangs, financial stability, deteriorating social conditions, underlying causes of deviance, and the pervasive unsavory reputation attached to the people of Tondo. Labels such as *nakakatakot* have become a stigma among the *Tondoeños* and yet organizations. Contrary to the analysis and passive recipients of Tondo Manila, several investors, businesspeople, academicians, and supporting nongovernment organizations have actively engaged in improving the urban development and environment to provide intervention and improve the current situation.

This study is an interplay between migration patterns, gang proliferation, and the urban development of Tondo. The discussion of sub-topics, such as geography, is explored to understand the concentration of settlers on the streets in Tondo and relate this to the concentration of gang or gang communities. Another category aligned with geography is labor and employment, which can be considered as a factor for migration but also a distinction among the gang members with the usual mentality that these groups are unemployed *vis-à-vis* understanding the locale of Tondo as a slum and marginalized. This study aims to discuss how gangs are part of the social behavior of the community, which is usually marked as *nakakatakot* because of their existence in film and literature. This social behavior is typically connected to economic activity and the concentration of settlers in the community.

## Conceptual Framework

Herbert Spencer is known as a philosopher and social theorist in the nineteenth century; Spencer's critical contribution was developing the concept of social Darwinism and coined the term "survival of the fittest" from Charles Darwin. The societal change in the 19th century, including the Industrial Revolution, rapid industrialization, and the rapid expansion of colonial empires, led to increased urbanization and the spread of capitalism. These transformations significantly influenced Spencer's development of Social Darwinism, as they highlighted the competitive nature of society and the importance of adaptation for survival.

This study is concerned with the geographical influence on Tondo's social and political development during the post-war period, as well as the social factors that contributed to the social image of Tondo, Manila. Herbert Spencer contended that social organization, in its various forms, is fundamental to understanding human society and its dynamics. Given humanity's inherently social nature, he posited that significant social structures are essential for explaining both general social phenomena and specific conflicts among individuals and groups. Moreover, Spencer viewed society as a form of association that enables its members to cooperate in achieving collective objectives unattainable through independent individual action. This is evident in humanity's capacity for resource utilization to adapt to challenging environments, pursue shared goals, and collectively define individual roles and behaviors within the social order.

Drawing on Spencer's argument that society is an association enabling collective action to achieve goals beyond individual reach, this study highlights the intricate link between Tondo's distinctive geographical and social conditions and the proliferation of gangs. This analysis further connects gang emergence to prevailing patterns of crime and violence observed from the post-war period through to the contemporary era. Employing this method of Social Darwinism would lead to the understanding and interpretation of the development of events, situations, and a medium and short-term period. The phenomena of the historical time trace the geographical location of Manila and Tondo vis-à-vis the movement of man in the community for economic and personal purposes, which later created the policy that utilizes man concerning the use of allocated space in the community.

## **Methodology**

The choice of sources, data, and methodology is often used to understand and explain the perpetrators and perpetration of crimes. Qualitative research usually provides a rich, in-depth picture of the complexities that conform to reality and circumstances. On the other hand, a quantitative study designed, implemented, and interpreted relies on testable constructs, concepts, and hypotheses and provides generalization and reasonable results.

Data collection will be conducted in two phases: qualitative and quantitative. The qualitative phase: Interviews from the Tondoeños will not be undertaken because of data privacy concerns; however, descriptive and analytical methods will be employed to interpret the data. The quantitative phase: Data from the police station will be used to track the criminal and non-criminal records of gang members, as well as their livelihood, gang group, and gang proliferation in Tondo over the period. Data on Tondo residences from the National Census and Statistics Office and the Philippine Statistics Authority covers demographics, population density, and employment. Using maps of Manila from Manila City Hall to identify the districts in Tondo and to ensure the concentration of settlers and gang groups in Tondo will represent the different socio-economic strata in Tondo.

To enhance the validity of the findings, methodological triangulation will be employed, comparing qualitative and quantitative data to ensure a comprehensive understanding of the research phenomenon. Using a mixed-methods approach, this study aims to provide a robust analysis of the complex interplay between migration, gang proliferation, and urban development in Tondo, thereby contributing valuable insights into the resilience of its residents.

## **Results and Discussions**

### **The Geography: Manila and Tondo**

Several large rivers cover the island of Luzon and are navigable by ships of greater tonnage, such as the Pasig; it can carry even a hundred tons, impeded only by a bridge. The port is located there, near the towns; even the most significant ships are docked and repaired at minimal cost; the river is considered more profound compared to other bay water tributaries, and if it were not for the bridge of Manila, the ships could proceed even further. At the same time, the smallest can extend to Malacañang and even to Pateros of

Pasig Bay, making Tondo easily accessible and a hub of trade and commerce.

The presence of the river had profound social and political implications. It served as a vital transportation route, facilitating the arrival of goods and people in Manila from the neighboring parts of the island, such as Luzon province. Thousands of canoes, dinghies, and paraos would arrive and be leased from the lake to the city or the Bay of Manila, contributing to the city's economic and cultural diversity. This influx of goods and people from various parts of the island enriched the city's cultural fabric and stimulated its economic growth. Manila, the capital of the Philippines Islands, was not only a political center but also a hub of trade and commerce. The Philippines' most important cities and towns, such as Cavite and Zamboanga, were fortified, indicating their strategic importance in the region (Mallat, 2021, p.2).

Manila took a long time to make (Joaquin, 1990, p. 1). What is now its ground used to be the sea; through hundreds and hundreds of years, this foreshore began to fill up until a triangle of ground appeared. This started the site of the City of Manila; a triangle can be imagined as it handled the Pasig Town, the rim arc of Pasay, and North Harbor.

Manila, the capital of the Philippines, is on Manila Bay, on the banks of the Pasig River, a tidal estuary that connects Laguna de Bay to Manila Bay. The bay is 120 miles in circumference and accommodates navies around the world. Manila was the best commercial center on the globe as a significant part of Manila is located in what used to be swamps and marshes, as well as Manila Bay, which has a coastline of 190km and stretches from Cavite to Metro Manila, all the way to Bulacan, Pampanga, and Bataan. Seven cities bound the city: Navotas and Caloocan on the North, Quezon on the Northeast, San Juan and Mandaluyong on the East, Makati on the Southeast, and Pasay on the South.

The geography and location of Manila were the first elements that made Manila a significant trading port. A port had to be developed. In the age of the galleon trade, goods were either unloaded in Cavite or landed at the Contra Costa on the eastern side of Luzon to be brought overland to the Laguna Lake area and on to Manila via the Pasig River.

Goods for New Spain, especially Chinese goods, landed in Manila before being loaded on a ship bound for Acapulco. During the galleon trade, Manila replaced India as a trading city in Asia. In 1832, the town was officially opened to world trade, but even before that, foreign ships, though formally banned by the Spanish crown, traded with Manila. The city's opening to international trade recognized the potential of trade with the colony's most significant city.

The second element that made Manila a maritime trading city was the urge to trade and its potential profit. The ground was formed in the mouth of the river, called a delta, and occupied by the City of Manila. The site of Manila was reclaimed from the sea; perhaps the first to inhabit the delta isles were the barangay folk who began to arrive in the Philippines around the tenth century. The Philippines' geographical location is an outlier among some Southeast Asian islands, which have adapted major cultural influences in the entire region.

The lands in Manila are primarily filled with different urban areas. In the beginning, the slums were used for housing and informal commerce. These areas, classified as unfavorable to the available space needed for human settlement, later received support from specific political and economic forces using administrative gaps. Currently, Manila has a computed land area of 42.34km<sup>2</sup> consisting of six districts, 17 administrative districts, 100 zones, and 896 barangays (Philippine Statistics Office, 2024).

The City of Manila is the country's historical, cultural, political, economic, and educational center. History and culture can be observed in the city's physical character. The opening of the port, railroads, bus companies, and labor opportunities provided a privilege in Manila, especially in the provincial locations; the railway equipment was from Britain throughout Manila. The sailing vessels were often based on the regional ports, local crew, and captain, and railway operations were concentrated.

The geographical location made Tondo a distinguished venue from the pre-Hispanic era's local, national, and global perspectives. It started a rustic foreshore community in the Manila Bay Area and evolved into a trading post. Manila was confined within the walls of the city, known as Intramuros. Initially, the walled city of Manila was enclosed with walls known as the Intramuros. In the sixteenth century, the jurisdiction was under Manila, which later became the province of Tondo. It became an ideal entrepot where merchants delivered goods to China, Japan, Sima, and the Malay Peninsula. The port of Manila's geographical location provides excellent wealth to the Philippine economy. The pattern of development in the port of Manila was identified from the biographical location of the port that lies in the bodies of the Pasig River, which leads to local and international trade opportunities, highlighting the Philippine products from raw to processed.

The geographical location of Tondo, Manila, leads to various interpretations of the origin of Tondo as a place name. It was called Tundoc, a banana species with violet skin, though the fruit is yellow and sweet (Bonifacio, 1977, p. 52). Tondo, also once called *Tundo*, is a Tagalog word for baiting or catching fish; hence, *Tundaan* was a small boat often attached

to a much larger fishing boat. Tondo was borrowed from *Tandu*, a Malayan or Indonesian word commonly used in place names. Lastly, *Tundo* comes from the word *Tuldok* since it was founded on a rocky formation that appears like a small island (Camagay, 2010, p.4).

Some of the streets in Tondo have meaning and significance as old as the country; some also praise and honor the memories of Filipino and Spanish personalities. There are names based on individuals who lived in Tondo (History and Cultural Life of Manila, n.d.): (a) Baltazar, named after Francisco Baltazar, who became the first Juan de Sementara of Tondo; (b) Lakandula as an honor to the king of Tondo who welcomed Miguel Lopez de Legazpi in Manila; (c) Pilapil, Rev. Mariano, teacher of the great Francisco Baltazar, "Prince of Tagalog Poetry"; Father Pilapil was a notable educator among the Filipino Clergy; (d) Pacheco, Enrique is the secretary of Finance in the Supreme Council of Katipunan; (e) Yangco, Teodoro, Filipino philanthropist and former Philippine Resident Commissioner to the United States; (f) Magat Salamat, the son of Lakandula who conceived an emery plot to regain the "freedom" and lordship with their fore-fathers, (g) Soliman – the last king of Manila who offered resistance to Miguel Lopez de Legazpi and perished at the naval battle at Bangkusay channel on June 3, 1571; (h) Dandan- Father Pedro Danda, one of the fighting Filipino priests, a noted musician and preacher who joined the troops of Riego de Dios in 1896 (Garcia & Resurreccion, 1971, pp. 254-471).

The country's historical, cultural, political, economic, and educational center is in Manila. History and culture can be observed in the city's physical character among the districts. Tondo is considered the epicenter of migration from various parts of the Philippines for the following reasons:

Firstly, its proximity to the Port of Manila provided direct access to maritime trade. Moreover, it was a critical railway terminal throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Tondo functioned as the central nexus for Luzon's railway system, initiating lines northward to Dagupan (Pangasinan) and southward to the Bicol region, with Manila as the focal point (Ortega, 2016, pp. 35-50). This extensive network, coupled with the Manila North Harbor in the Tondo foreshore area, facilitated the migration of numerous individuals from the Central and Southern Philippines via inter-island ships.

Second, Manila was the home of two major ports – North Harbor was a domestic port where migrants would come in and out of Manila, and South Harbor was for foreign providers. The sheltered features of the bay open an opportunity to other islands of Luzon and are navigable by ships of greater tonnage, such as the Pasig, a broad and deep river that comes in seven branches from the lake of the bay. It can carry even a hundred tons,

which are impeded only by a bridge. The port is strategically located along docking and cost-effective repair of even large ships. This river is considered more profound than other bay water tributaries, and if it were not for the Manila bridge, the ships could proceed even further. At the same time, the smallest can extend to Malacañang and even to Pateros of Pasig Bay (Annual Report of the Manila Railroad Company, 1906).

Third, motorized vehicles were the most dominant species in the urban transport jungles of early-twentieth-century Manila and Singapore by the late 1920s and the 1930s. Their dominance over non-motorized modes was not surprising, given the technological sophistication of the former. Motorized vehicles were faster, more durable, and capable of carrying more passengers. Furthermore, these modes could compete in terms of passenger fares.

Establishing bus terminals in Manila indicated that Manila is continuously growing based on its status quo (Annual Report of the Manila Railroad Company, 1906). It is one of the essential general points of destination and an advantage in making a bus terminal. Furthermore, it is impractical for any bus operator to ascertain the ultimate destination of most passengers. No matter where a bus finally stops, most passengers will proceed beyond the terminal stop. Consequently, whether the terminal plan is implemented, secondary means of transportation, such as walking or other local vehicles, are indispensable.

Plans for establishing new bus terminals had been conceptualized to address traffic congestion in Manila. The Philippine Chamber of Commerce formally proposed this initiative. The city officials did not show enthusiasm until July 1949, when the city council finally passed an ordinance to establish, operate, and manage provincial buses (Tunay, 1951, p.6):

- (a) For buses coming from and going to the north:
  - (1) Azcarraga Street from Juan Luna Street to the extension of Dewey Boulevard in the north and its immediate vicinity.
  - (2) Aurora Boulevard from Andrada Street to M. Natividad Street and its immediate vicinity.
- (b) For buses coming from and going to the east and northeast: Sta. Mesa Boulevard Extension from Santol Street Eastward to the city limits (Lambingan Bridge) and its immediate vicinity.

A primary concern was that the proposed bus terminal would become the dumping ground for political opportunists, thereby jeopardizing the grandiose plan to remedy traffic congestion.



Lastly, the geographical contribution of Tondo opens livelihood opportunities. Fishing sectors along Manila Bay included fishing villages like Bangkusay, Navotas, and Baclaran. Towns like Malate, Tambobong (Malabon), Las Pinas, and Paranaque had extensive salt beds. Tondo was an entrepot where merchants delivered goods from China, Japan, Borneo, Siam, and the Malay Peninsula and distributed the products throughout the islands. Later, foreign traders settled in Tondo, Manila Bay, the leading trade route for the spice-producing peninsula, especially in the south (Mallat, 2021, pp. 120-121).

The public market is also one of Manila's most significant historical sights. The Divisoria Market near the Calle Azcarraga is the city's wholesale produce center. Together with the neighboring market of Yangco Market, there is a retail shopping center and a textile trade center located in Tondo, Manila. Tondo, Manila, has also become home to several significant industrial establishments. These include La Tondeña Distilleries (situated along Estero de Vitas), Alhambra Cigar and Cigarette Company (on Juan Luna Street), La Fortuna Distilleries (in Gagalangin), La Filipina Uy Gongco, and Philippine Foremost Milling Corporation.

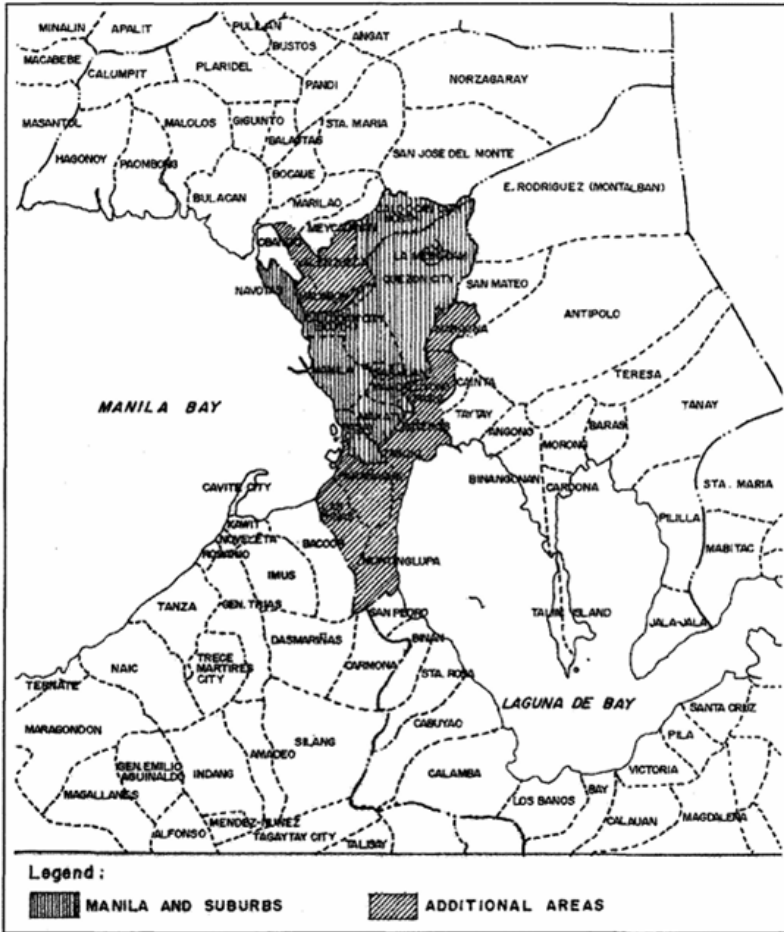
In the 1950s and 1960s, rapid and uncontrollable population growth, resulting from a high rate of natural increase and significant internal migration, contributed to the economic growth of Manila but brought problems in the process. Given the evolving infrastructural development, financial sectors, market division, and structural rigidities created in the 1970s, the economy did not adjust well based on market restrictions, trade restrictions, and price controls on the agricultural and capital industries (Solon & Floro, 1995, p.1) It includes poverty and housing shortage, which are exemplified by the problems in society. In the immediate post-war period, urban development radiated from Manila, the administrative, economic, educational, and social center since the colonial period, northwards to Caloocan City and southwards to Pasay City. Government housing projects in Quezon City and the private sector development of Makati as a financial, commercial, and residential center in the late 1950s and the 1960s completed the filling up the inner code between Manila Bay and EDSA (Manasan, 1999, p. 6). Industrial and residential development intensified in Navotas, Malabon, and Valenzuela in the late 1960s and Marikina, Pasig, Paranaque, Las Pinas, and Muntinlupa in the 1960s and the 1970s (Manasan, 1999, p. 10).

**Figure 1**

*Recommended Political Territory for Manila Metropolitan Area (Reyes, 1998, p.14)*

**Figure 6**

**RECOMMENDED POLITICAL TERRITORY FOR MANILA METROPOLITAN AREA**



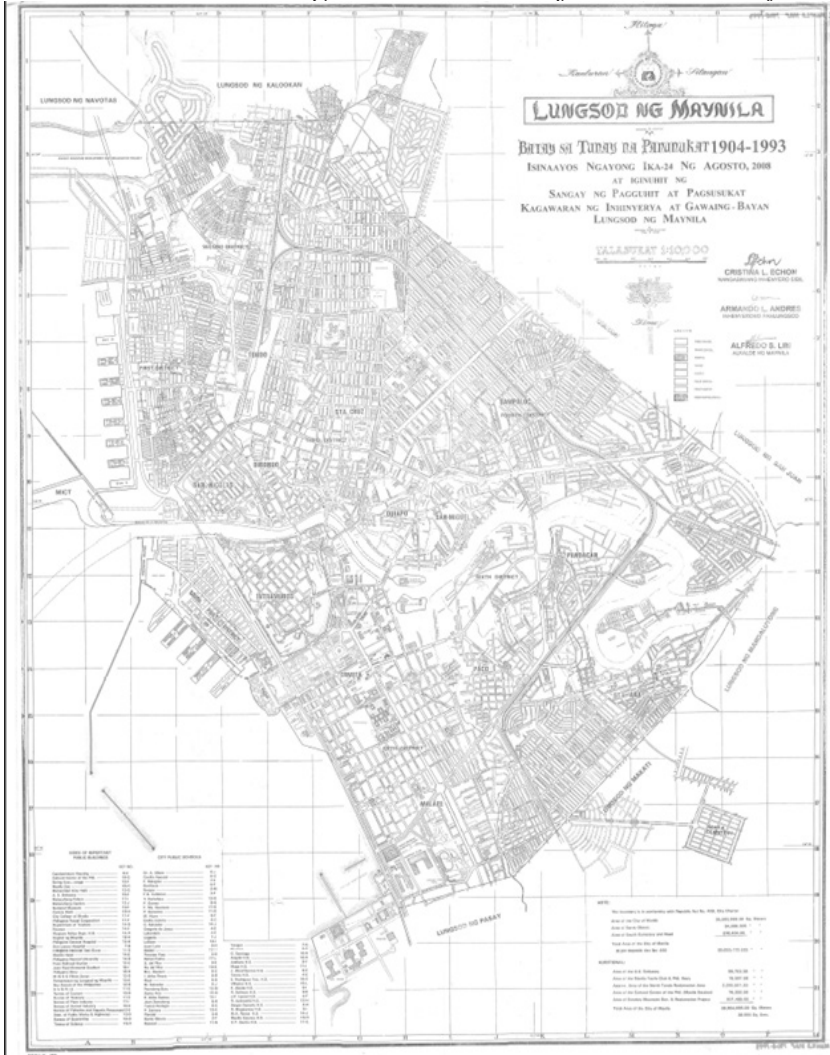
Source: Lifted from NCSO 1970.

The boundaries of Manila and its districts also changed over the period. Due to government policies, the districts in Manila also changed. Among the fourteen districts, Port Area and Sampaloc have a larger mass due to the concentration of settlers- the Tondo, as a hub of settlement from the city proper and provincial cities linking through the maritime network, provides a connection between provinces and Manila, which transports human and commodities that is showcased to Divisoria Market, Azcaraga Market up to extend of Agora Market in Navotas through jeepney and Sampaloc, wherein the bus terminal such as Florida Bus and Victory Liner that travels in Northern Part of Luzon apart from the numerous universities

such as the University of Santo Tomas, while in Morayta and Recto are the printing press, cinema houses, LRT station, and universities such as Far Eastern University and University of the East.

**Figure 2**

*Map of Manila with Its Districts and Land Areas (Prepared by Engr. Christina Echon and Engr. Armado Andres from Manila City Hall)*



These locations, including Divisoria, Intramuros, Santa Cruz, and Morayta, exhibit extensive accessibility to other key areas within Manila. They host a plethora of establishments encompassing diverse sectors such as

business, commercial, institutional, and residential. Furthermore, the remaining districts of Manila also maintain substantial access to various Metro Manila locations. Throughout this period, Manila's household population experienced drastic growth, driven by a significant influx of individuals seeking residential and employment opportunities. Consequently, certain districts, particularly within Tondo, were recognized as among the most popular urban centers.

## **Democratic Trends**

“Manila” is no longer just Manila. The original city of Manila has vastly outgrown its limits. Population data from various censuses show that the city of Manila has proliferated since the first part of the twentieth century, reaching very high levels of population density, and that its growth has essentially stopped since most of the demographic increase is now taking place in outlying cities.

Migration to the Tondo dates back to the immediate post-war times. Families rendered homeless by the war could settle in Tondo, Manila. Settlers from Visayas transferred to Manila after the Second War, finding refuge in Tondo and becoming true Tondoeños. As Tondo continues to expand its population, most of the settlers are from portions of Tagalogs, Ilocanos, Pampangos, Visayans, and Bicolanos. Other foreigners that settled were the most significant number of Americans and Chinese, who were active merchants and laborers. The remaining residents were Spaniards, Englishmen, Japanese, and citizens of various foreign countries (Census of the Philippine Islands, 1918, p.141).

After the Pacific War in 1945 and throughout 1950, the population grew, and the provincial folks moved to the Capital City hoping for greener pastures. Rural poverty in the provinces of Visayas and worsening peace and order in Central and Southern Luzon and Mindanao are reasons the capital city has increased its population. The advantage of harbors and railways is that they are the primary means of transportation in various provinces, so people can arrive and live in the city (Connoughton, 1996, p. 50).

Migrants from the Southern Philippines arrived via inter-island ships, disembarking at the North Harbor piers in Tondo's foreshore areas. Concurrently, those originating from Luzon traveled through the Philippine National Railway (PNR). Specifically, these PNR lines terminated at Tondo's Tutuban Station, serving routes from San Fernando and La Union, while the Paco-Plaza Dilao Station in Manila accommodated routes from Legazpi, Albay (Camagay, 1953, pp. 98-100).

As a result, the homeless provincials picked up jobs with low salaries in the pier area. They erected houses with light materials or barong-barong (a colloquial word used by people to discuss the housing material) in nearby vacant lots amid these difficulties experienced by the migrants and those who are natives of Tondo. These new settlers were challenged to survive and increase, and the promise of Manila's better life inspired people in the province (Ty, 1948, p.10). .

Substantial internal migration is most severely observed in the Metropolitan Manila area, where the population is more than compared to the effects before the war. In the succeeding years, the wave of migrants found its place in the metropolis, if not in Tondo, which is considered the largest number of settled communities in the fringes and outskirts of the district. By the early 1980s, Manila had experienced congestion because of the economic growth in the 1960s and 1970s, due to the growing sectors, services, and manufacturing concentrated in the central region. Rapid population increases strain the metropolitan area's infrastructure, and when the rapid population increases strain the metro area's infrastructure. An increase in water demand has resulted in the government investing a lot in water diversion projects. The adequate sewage often clogged up, resulting in flash flooding during heavy rains, which closed some waterways in the metropolitan areas. In addition to the urban residents, workers who used public transportation in Manila from the nearby provinces also led to heavy traffic on roads, especially on weekdays.

The tremendous growth of Metro Manila after 1960 is the most significant urban phenomenon in the country. The metropolitan region has become the center of the country's economic, social, political, cultural, and educational life. The growth of the Philippine metropolitan area results from rural to urban migration. Between 1960 and 1970, Metropolitan Manila had an annual growth rate of 4.79 percent, with some sections of the growth rate over 11 percent, which led to the perception of a drastic increase in population from 56.0 in 1948 to 1960 and 61.7 from 1960 to 1970 (Laquian, 1972). The concentration in the primate city continues as the trend towards suburbanization in Manila. Manila had a net migration loss of 932,940 between 1960 and 1970, while the metropolitan area grew.

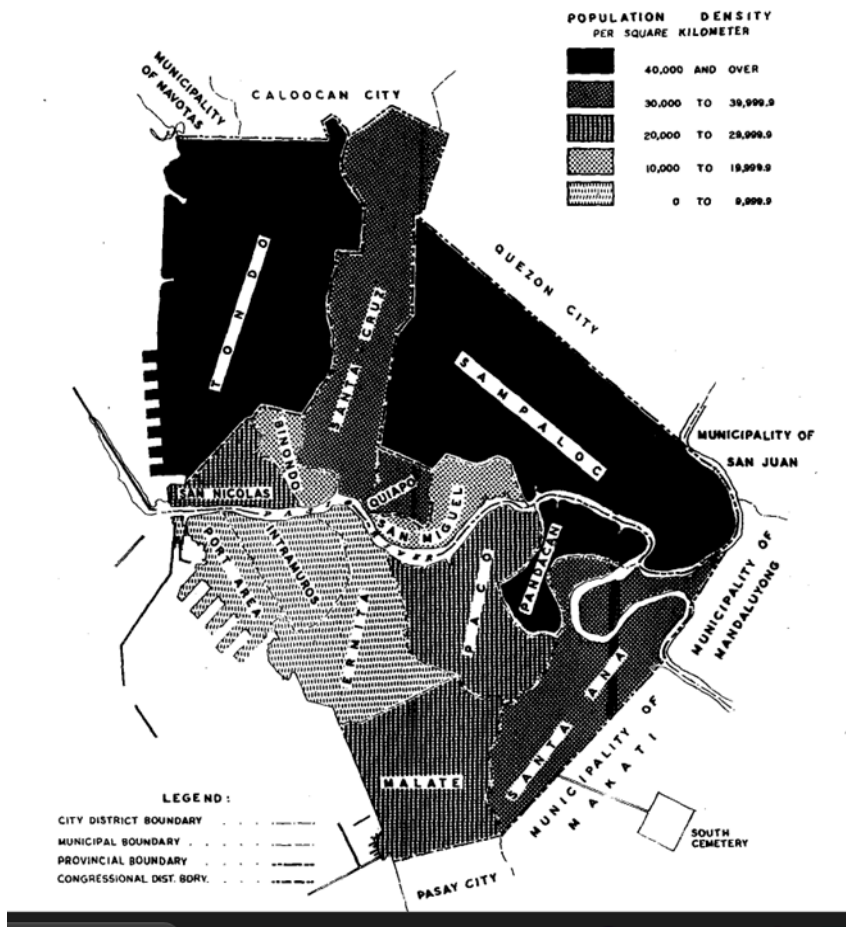
Meanwhile, Tondo owned the largest concentration of settlers and the most considerable sprawl of squatter colonies. The slum dwellers cover 40 percent of the population – 395,752 in number (Caoli, 1988, p. 5). Concentrations are not only in the 154 barangays, but also in Smokey Mountain and the Tondo Foreshore lands. The image of Tondo has become more opposing, especially in the presence of media and literature. In the 80s,

Tondo became the subject of *pook maralita*, a hub of squatters, problems in space, and sanitation: fearsome community, uneducated men, rude, criminalities, and gangsters (Jocano, 1975, p. 33). Specific locales become a hub of public violence and the existence of gangs such as Isla Puting Bato, Parola, Angustia, Velasquez, Bangkusay, and Baryo Magdaragat or Tambakan later known as Smokey Mountain. The concentration of slum communities is in Tondo Foreshoreland, Parola, Kagitingan, Luzviminda, Isla Puting Bato, Baryo Magsaysay, Bagkusay, and Port Area.

**Figure 3**

*Population Density by City District of Manila in 1970 (Census of Population and Housing, 1970)*

POPULATION DENSITY BY CITY DISTRICT, MANILA, 1970



The migration of more than a million people by 1960 was largely spontaneous and had little government support, but it was surprisingly well

organized. This particular migratory movement, however, did not generate the socio-economic dynamism often associated with mass migration. Instead, migrants broadly utilized established family and village networks. For instance, individuals from Cebu and Bohol provinces in Central Visayas and some Kapampangans from Central Luzon steadily relocated to Northern and Eastern Mindanao. Similarly, migrants from Northern Luzon settled in Western Mindanao, while those from Western Visayas established communities in the Southern province of Cotabato (Stinner & Montilla, 1981, p. 13). Migration resulted in more complex political networks reaching across geographical areas. The migration of communities of huk-influenced regions such as Pampanga and Bulacan indirectly aided political and economic development (Stinner & Montilla, 1981, p. 14).

Provincial folks are lured to Manila even though life is increasingly challenging. The unemployment situation in the city is becoming more accurate every day. There is a good demand for skilled workers, but the man who knows no particular job efficiently might as well stay home instead of wasting time attending to the office.

Coming to Manila just for a brief visit, it is all right. However, if your purpose is to find work to support a family or finish your studies, someone had a better look twice before leaping into the opportunity. Someone might be completely disillusioned as thousands of once dreamy-eyed provincials in Manila are painfully disillusioned (Ty, 1948, pp. 4-5).

Some women seen on board (to Manila) are maids and widows, but most are young girls aged sixteen to twenty-five. These women are recruited from Bacolod, Iloilo City, Igharas, Pavia, Calinog, Antique, and all parts of the Visayas, all lured from home by good, great jobs promising them happiness and confidence.

To young Visayan girls, I give you this sound advice: Never be fooled by the promises of any man or woman who guarantees you a good and easy job in Manila.

In Manila, those girls who are unattractive and old become cooks, Lavandera, and maids. They are sent to applicants through an agency in Manila legally and morally, as any can ask for, but not

the young and beautiful. They are usually sold to the highest bidder. Beauty, youth, and a shapely body make Manila more money (Inday do not go to Manila, 1947, p. 20).

The image of Tondo has become increasingly opposing, especially as shaped by media and literature. During the 1980s, Tondo was the subject of discourse concerning *pook maralita*, characterized by a concentration of informal settlers and extensive slum proliferation. This portrayal highlighted pervasive challenges, including spatial organization and sanitation issues, an inadequate public transport system, chronic traffic congestion, and deteriorating health and sanitation conditions due to insufficient potable water and unsanitary waste disposal. Furthermore, Tondo was depicted as a fearsome community, associated with uneducated, rude individuals, high rates of criminality, and the presence of organized gangs.

The increase in urbanization has resulted in a typical range of problems, and a strategy for urban development is also considered a problem. Throughout the period, problems in space and sanitation arose, leading middle-class residents to vacate the area. The situation made way for societal issues such as criminality, pollution, and population increase, leading to deviance in media, literature, and film.

## **The Hoodlums and Gangs**

The stringent government controls on trade give rise to smuggling syndicates, which insinuate themselves into the fabric of business and politics. Numerous gambling lords and operators of illicit gambling networks exploit the plight of the impoverished, becoming crucial in perpetuating the patronage systems that sustain local power. These hired gunmen, often fugitives from the justice system, seek protection from the very politicians who maintain their power and prestige.

In the late 1940s, Manila resembled a wild town; several businesspeople liberally brought guns as a form of protection and security from the fields, usually ruled by the local toughies, especially in the municipalities of Tondo and Sampaloc. These criminal gangs used to organize raids on warehouses, hijacked cargo trucks, and took control of a wide range of operations, from gambling to prostitution. The light settlers started moving out of Manila and rebuilding their homes in the suburbs of San Juan, Makati, and Mandaluyong. Through these changes in Manila, immigrants from the provinces flowed into Manila in search of opportunities.

Urban gangsterism once became a model in Manila, Nicasio Salonga,



known in famous scenes as Asyong Salonga, a Filipino gangster. His popularity became known during postwar Manila, in the chaos of the city's disastrous retaking by the Americans. Considering the harsh and wily, his specialties were robbery, extortion, and murder. The existence of the Angustia gang led by Salonga became the most potent underworld group in Manila after the rival gang pledged its allegiance to Salonga (The Local Scene, 1946, p.15; End of a Bloody Trail, 1946, p. 11, 17).

Aside from the stated gang, the number of gangs in Paco, Sta. Ana, Sampaloc (The Criminal's Friend, 1947, pp. 2-3), and Tondo (Manila Crime Chieftain Killed, 1951, p. 10), in these murderous clashes, gang members drew blended weapons, fired homemade darts and arrows, bombarded the enemy's territory with homemade "pillboxes," and used high-caliber firearms left during the war.

Though this, the district of Tondo in Manila is perhaps a location for criminality, the home ground of notorious gangs, a relentless ground for confrontations among the community members, and a scene of murderers, wicked and innocent. Through the given scenario, inhabitants, especially in the depressed areas, question the presence of the law. As unusual as it may seem, Tondoños, daily killings, stealing, and other disturbing events are part of the way of life.

The problems of Tondo from the entangled observation are more than just the perspective based on facets of media. The difficulty in identifying and eventually solving the Tondo problems leads to an uncontrolled settlement and stems from the frame-of-reference distortion. Moreover, the point of recognition of unidimensional approaches that address the inter-relation of merely convenient problems implies their separability in the realities of life.

This problem of increasing crime and conflict is symptomatic of more profound social ills. Conflict behavior is much more visible and often involves loss of life and considerable property damage. Compared to delinquency, conflict behaviors attract public attention, a general term that includes several forms of behavior that are not easily recognized as delinquent.

## **The Notorious Hoodlums**

In the post-war period, the growth rate dropped, and poor growth performance in Manila and the provinces led to struggles among the social classes in political and economic interests. This resulted in the creation of gambling lords and operations that capitalized on people experiencing poverty and were indispensable for fueling the patronage of local political

Manila became a widely known city in 1950; it was once a location searching for opportunity and a seat of Filipino culture. A famous individual who was considered a model of an urban gangster was Nicasio Salonga, known as Asiong Salonga, who was considered a notorious model in postwar Manila (Magno, 1998, p.61). His challenging behavior was known for robbery, extortion, and murder, which started when he was 15 years old. Aside from his activity, he is also popular in leading a gang named the Angustia gang, which was popular in Manila and pledged its loyalty to Asyong Salonga. Despite this behavior, the politicians and police have given him protection and leeway; in return, he serves these individuals. In October 1951, Salonga was killed by a bullet shot in his head while drinking with a fellow in a store in Tondo (Manila Crime Chieftain Killed, 1951, p. 10). The gunman was Ernesto Reyes, a member of a rival gang, Salonga, who immediately surrendered to the police. In this societal avenue, individuals became popularly known to the community, and a film was dedicated to him in 1961 that became widely known to society (Manila Crime Chieftain Killed, 1951, p. 10).

The suburb town of Malabon once became a for the prominent individual whose name shattered the authorities and settlers in 1981 - Benjamin Garcia alias Ben Tumbling was shot dead by Malabon authorities, and the people of Malabon wept openly for days during his wake; the mourner's sheer number of impassable streets around his coffin and it was available for public viewing (Cagahastan, 1985).

Hoodlums are situated not only in Manila but also in the suburban outskirts; in Leonardo Manecio's case, alias Nardong Putik, is a prominent, influential figure in Cavite; his active leadership and criminal activity in Cavite, especially in kidnapping, murder, robbery in the band, and illegal possession of firearms. His intimate connection with people of power would be well-loved by the people of several towns he considered territory compared to Nicasio Salonga, who is popularly known as Robin Hood because he supports the Tondo community; Manecio is a man who restored peace and order to the community which he controlled, which the local police units must take care of.

Note that from 1950 to 1960, Cavite experienced economic dependency due to a large extent of smuggling, carjacking, and marijuana growing. Compared to Manila, which played a crucial role in economic development, the mainstream of businesses and politicians, gambling lords, operators of illegal gambling, and prostitution were experienced.

Far from Manila and the media, Isabelo "Beloy" Montemayor often built local sensations into several icons, such as the Nardong Putik of Cavite

(Magno, 1998, p.61) A migrant from Bohol moved to Cebu City as a seller of fish and shells in the Carbon Market in the central retail district of Cebu. Years later, in 1950, Montemayor ran a small tailoring shop, earned the alias “Palong,” and used disguises for the rest of his life, including wigs and women’s clothes. Eventually, the creation of an extensive brotherhood of ex-convicts and gangsters who would eventually become involved in organized crime, from smuggling to illegal gambling operations, especially in Cebu City (Bloody end for ‘Putik’, 1971, p. 1, 28).

Far from Luzon and Visayas, migration to Mindanao was also widely popular in 1950 and was actively encountered. The migration dramatically altered the Huk rebellion in the early 1950s . Moreover, these Christian migrants were settled in central Mindanao, where most of the leaders were against the government; hence, the Armed Muslim and Lumad gangs or Barracudas (Magno, 1998, p.65)

In the 1960s, Manila’s newspapers were filled with accounts of atrocities committed by the warring communal gangs in Mindanao. The famous leader was Kumander Toothpick, who organized a gang named Ilaga, whose members were some Christian settler community threatened by Muslim and Lumad marauders. Aside from the religious and social differences, the group was once used during the martial law period; its members were recruited into the Civilian Home Defense Forces (CHDF) . The notorious Kumander Toothpick was overshadowed in 1985 by his son-in-law, Norberto Manero Jr., alias Kumander Bucay, and his brothers Edilberto, alias Kumander Baliling, and Elpidio. It has a known story of cannibalism about the Manero brothers, especially the belief in early customs of protection against danger and evil spirits.

In 1963, another individual who became popular among the local newspapers was Arturo Porcuna, famous for his pen name “Boy Golden (Porcuna, 2 Aides Shot Dead by Foes, 1963, p.1). The conflict happened when Porcuna was riding a jeepney along Dewey Boulevard when three men from Tundo shot him. Brigadier General Eduardo Quintos from the Manila Police District urgently assigned police members from the station to search for the gunmen to prevent further conflict and unrest activity in Manila.

According to the members of the Manila Police District, the conflict was rooted in the extortion of money for protection from Porcuna and the company. Another reason is the alleged halal or lewd to a 16-year-old cashier named Edith Bailey at Green Lantern Cocktail Lounge (Laban sa Kabig ni Boy Golden, 1963, p.1).

Another event followed the assassination of Porcuna in December

of 1963, where Porcuna was involved in the assassination of Antonio Razon at Nancy Luncheonette. Based on the statement of Razon that, aside from Porcuna, together with him are Guido Dimapilis and an alias 'Ando' who assassinated him at the said location ('Positibo,' si Porcuna sa pulbura, 1963, p.1).

However, the life of this notorious gangster of the early 60s in the streets of Manila ended on December 24, 1963, when he was shot to death by a member of his rival gang. Killed with Porcuna were two new members of his gang known as "Jojo" and "Bert." According to Jaime San Miguel, Porcuna's henchman, who rented the three-room apartment, told the police that the gun wielders were Eddie Luz, Baby Soriano, Antonio Razon, Rene Sebastian, and three others who were not able to be identified. Based on the police investigation, Porcuna and the Razon group's rivalry stemmed from a quarrel over a woman. Their racket was "protection" for hostesses in Manila and Pasay nightclubs.

Hoodlums in Manila present a complex interplay of advantages and disadvantages that impact the community. In this part of society, organization and involvement became a prominent feature of the community, especially in the slums of Tondo; in fact, it is the fulcrum of the entire society. Supporting exclusively the male members of the organizations that establish common grounds for functioning as distinct, and the purpose shall focus on the undesirable pursuits in life. On the other hand, some might argue that the presence of hoodlums can foster a sense of camaraderie as these individuals band together for protection and mutual support in the face of adversity. Moreover, the disadvantages are significantly more pronounced, as the hoodlums and their activities are often associated with crimes, violence, and a general sense of insecurity in the neighborhood. Furthermore, the involvement of hoodlums in illegal activity will result in the perpetuation of cycles of poverty and crime, making it difficult for the communities to break free from the detrimental patterns. Thus, while some may have perceived the benefits regarding social cohesion, the overarching consequences of the hoodlums in Manila and even in Tondo were negative.

## **The Emergence of Gangs in Tondo, Manila**

The gangs may be said to represent the inner dimension of slum experiences. These gangs are a prominent feature of slum life, and it is not only the males who are likely to be linked to gangs, but also females, who are often described as "deviants", if only for the fact that the residents have described the activities they pursue as undesirable and unconventional.

Before the advent of the Pacific War, Tondo was a hub for settlers from the nearby provinces. Because of Tondo Manila's geographical location close to the railway and post area, people will continue to migrate, and the primary needs like food and shelter are now limited in access and production. Some migrants from the Visayas and southern Philippines moved to Tondo, Manila, due to the worsening situation in Central and Southern Luzon. The legion of migrants from the Southern Philippines was disgorged by the inter-island ships at the piers of North Harbor, located in the foreshores of Tondo. As a result, the number of reported violent and non-violent crimes has increased due to survival.

After the Pacific War in 1945 and throughout the 1950s, the population grew, and those in the province started to migrate to Manila. Greener pastures are attractive, especially to those living in farming and agriculture, the jobless and inadequately employed, and the dreamers of Manila. This period also shifted to the problem of social security in Manila; several criminals were released from prison and the Manila City Jail and formed gangs, establishing territorial grounds and concentrating on criminal activities in Manila.

The gang is used restrictively to mean a group of young people who have banded together in some ways for several purposes. They may be considered as forming a peer group, although the age may vary from fifteen to thirty-five. Other than the physical attributes, it is likewise used loosely and refers to associations of people. Thus, the phrase "peer group" similarly refers to the associations of people of approximately the same age and within the same range (Jocano, 2002, p.11). Historically, gangs are composed of male participants; however, an emerging group of members in society can be different from their male counterparts in terms of engagement. The reason female gang members reported familial and peer influence as reasons for joining was that they needed protection.

Moreover, male gang members are more involved in criminal activity, and the types of offenses committed by males are classified under the judicial system. As such, it is difficult to determine the variations in joining gangs based on gender. However, females and males may share common risk factors and motivations for joining a gang.

Filipino gangs are not only concentrated in Manila but also in other countries, such as the USA. Filipino gangs were concentrated in California in the 1960s as they were identified by tattoos of gang names in graffiti style. Compared to the Philippines, the tattoos of gang members are placed on the body, specifically on the neck, arm, and legs, while a designed tattoo is known as talk on a specific part of the body. Examples are the Oxos, tattooed

on the right side of the body between the waist and the armpit. At the same time, tattoos are mostly found on the buttocks in the Sigue-Sigue Sputniks. Even women are marked. Accordingly, it was placed in the vagina, the pubic hair having been shaved off below the belly, where the words "no trespassing- private property (Jocano, 2002, p.121).

In Manila, the central street gangs are frequently reflected in the Manila Times' headlines because of their violent and socially destructive activities. These gangs are the Sigue-Sigue Commando, the OXO, and the Bahala Na. Initially, the two main gangs were the Sigue-Sigue and the Bahala Na. In 1964, some members of Sigue-Sigue joined forces with the Commando and became the Sigue-Sigue Commando. Others affiliated with the Sputniks and called themselves the Sigue-Sigue Sputniks.

Within the context of human activity, the ideological makeup of Tondo Manila is considered. In the 1950s, individuals, particularly those in Bagkusay and Velasquez streets, engaged in actions that destroyed the social milieu of security and livelihood. These deviant individuals were variously labeled within the society such as "tagapamayapa," "tagapamagitan", "protector mula sa mga krimianl at mapamagsalantala," and "namumuno" (Jocano, 2002, p.113).

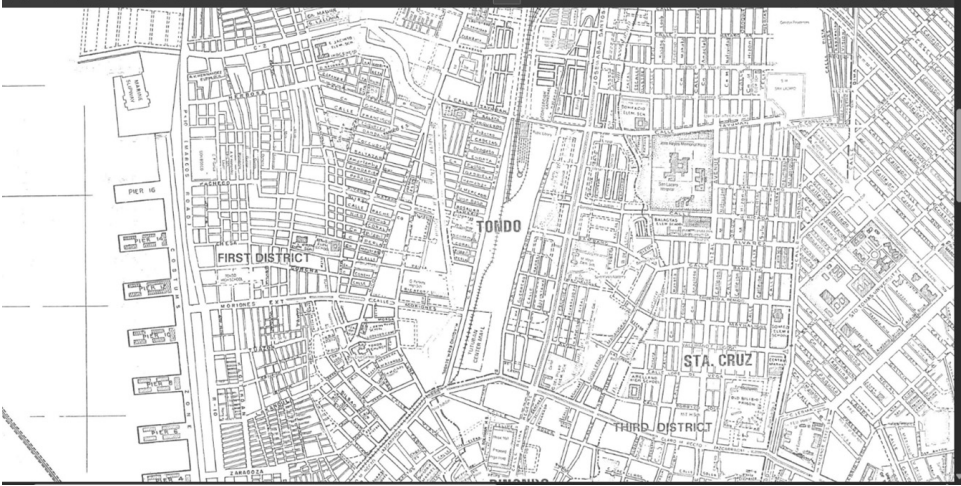
While gang members frequently assert themselves as community defenders and protectors of their "brothers" against external threats, this claim is contradicted by their widespread victimization of local citizens. Such victimization manifests through robbery, rape, burglary, and a general pattern of terrorizing the very communities they purport to defend. Streets, namely Bangkusay, Velasquez, "Pitong Gatang," Angustua, Herbosa, Zaragosa, Padre Rada, Moriones, Perla/Sande, and Antonio Rivera, are the center of violence from the 1950s to the 1980s. Labels such as "mamatay-tao," "halang ang kaluluwa," "mabalasik" at "magaspang ang pag-uugali" were known based on the narratives of settlers (Jocano, 2002, p.113).

In the 1960s, the Sigue Sigue Sputnik Gang emerged as a notable and highly organized conflict gang within the Manila City Jail. Its formidable reputation was encapsulated by its motto: "He who comes to destroy us will himself be destroyed." This is a direct reference to the "Province Mates," such as the Visayan OXO group, where the Sputniks observed an increasing number in Manila. There was a definite consensus among the Sputniks regarding the origin and meaning of the gang's name. The name comes from the Russian orbital satellite of the same name and is significant because of its "spying" or "all-knowing" capabilities. The Sputniks pride themselves on their knowledge of what is always going on both inside and outside of the jail - "among friends, enemies, and the police, in which the claim was

made that the Sputnik organization was not confined to the Manila area alone but was well-known throughout the Philippines.”

#### Figure 4

*Political Map of Tondo, Manila in 1994*



The other large conflict gang in confinement was the OXO gang, which was formed in the National Penitentiary at Muntinlupa in 1956 (Castillo, 2012) in response to "maltreatment by the Tagalogs." It was among the OXOs that a bitter rivalry along dialect and cultural lines emerged, which the Visayans had to organize to "protect themselves from maltreatment." No specific requirements for joining the gang were stipulated; instead, it was consistently emphasized that individuals joined voluntarily, free from coercion. The bond of loyalty is sealed when the new member takes the OXO TATAK in the form of a tattoo, usually placed on the right side of the torso, between the armpit and the waist. When asked about leadership in the gang, the OXO members replied that no single one of them was better than any other member, and each TATAK has the letter "L" as part of the design as a reminder of the "all are equal" principle. The "Visayan blood" seems to be an additional binding factor. Although others (including an occasional Tagalog) may join, the "outsider" is usually subjected to a particular test of loyalty designated by the leader (Ashburn, n.d., p.134).

The origin and meaning of the term "OXO" are questionable, for there seems to be little agreement or consensus among members. Some say it symbolizes the skull and crossbones, which means "death to the enemy." Another claim is that it came from the Tagalog term meaning "yes, yes" with an "X" in the center signifying that they, the Visayans, were opposed to anything to which

the Tagalogs said "yes." Still, other members seemed to have no idea about the origin and meaning of the term "OXO." All OXO members interviewed stressed that the members have "decent jobs" and are hard workers (Ashburn, n.d., p.136).

The literal translation of the Bahala na Gang ("Heorne what may") indicates its orientation. The Bahala Na seemed to have the smallest organization of the four gangs and was bound by the fewest rules other than loyalty. Almost "psychopathic" in orientation, these gang members constantly referred to "thrill killings" or raiding "rival gangs just for the hell of it." Gang-related conflict in this context extended beyond inter-gang rivalries, leading to violence that could be indiscriminately inflicted upon any bystander. This conduct was primarily explained by a pervasive sentiment that "life was hopeless," a fatalistic outlook suggesting that individual actions held no significance if one's "fate" was predetermined to be unfavorable (Ashburn, n.d., p. 137).

This investigation determined that most Sigue Sigue Commando members originate from Pampanga Province. This region has experienced significant Police Constabulary (P.C.) and Hukbalahap activity since the late 1940s and early 1950s, a context that likely acclimates the Commandos to a conflict-ridden environment. When they come to Manila, they meet head-on on the solid front known as the "Manila Boys" - the same situation presented to the Visayan OXOs - and again, the battle lines are drawn. Thus, the OXOs and the Commandos are often friends against the common urban enemy, the Sigue Sigue Sputniks, even though they speak different tongues. This was the situation in the Manila City Jail at the time of this study. Tagalog-speaking Commandos and Visayan OXOs had a "peace treaty" and joined forces against the "Sputniks" (Ashburn, n.d., p.138).

The Commando insignia of the "wildcat" was taken directly from the P.C. Ranger's official emblem. At the same time, the whole concept of the gang was derived from the motion picture entitled "The Commandos." The members interviewed virtually agreed on this point, representing a relatively clear-cut example of mass media's influence on a conflict gang's activities. The main regulation of the group, "One for one and one for all," emphasizes loyalty and implies hospitality in the face of insecurity. The other regulations were not in formal written form, and there were no special requirements for membership except loyalty.

Apart from the stated gang group, the concentration is in Tondo and several areas in Manila and provinces. The Tres Cantos Gang and Red Apache are prominent gang groups in Tondo, specifically in the streets of Herbosa-Bangkusay-Velasquez. The group and members are popular



with the Manila Police Department and Detective Bureau. According to Emmanuel A. Tejada's 1960 article published in *Taliba*, the challenges posed by Tondo's criminal elements were starkly evident. Tejada reported: "Hinamon ng mga maton ng Tundo na hindi pa nadarakip ang pulisya ng Maynila na dakpin sila sa kani-kanilang mga pinagtataguan" (The thugs of Tondo who had not yet been caught challenged the Manila police to arrest them in their respective hideouts). He further elaborated on the persistent conflict, stating: "habang nagsisikap ang pulisya sa Maynila sa pangangalaga sa katiwasayan ng mga naninirahan sa purok ng Tondo ay patuloy naman ang mga kapaslangan labanan ng mga maton" (while the Manila police strive to maintain the peace of the residents in the district of Tondo, the destructive fights of the thugs continue) (Tejada, 1960, as cited in Camagay, 1953, pp. 98-100).

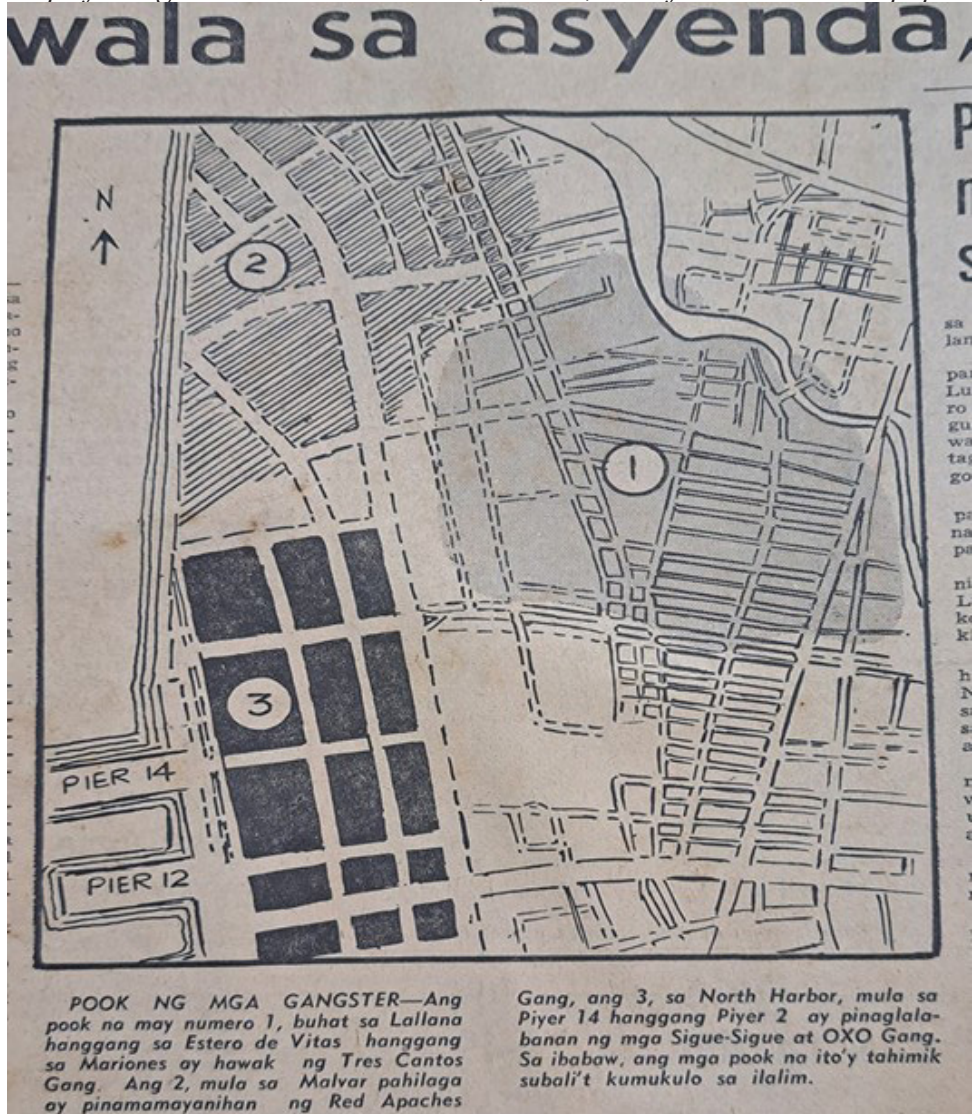
Isang aksidente ang naitala kung saan isang mamamayang naglalakad at estudyante na nangganga;ang Lucrecio Urdansa, 20, na nakatira sa 183 10th Avenue Grace Park, Kalookan, Rizal ang napagkamalan at pinatay. Magiika-7 na ng gabi ng maidala sa Mary Johnston Hospital sa Tundo. Ang naggaging hinala ng pulisya na ang labanan ng Sigue-Sigue at OXO, dalawang pangkat ng preso sa Muntinlupa na nagpatayan sa loob ng bilangguan, ay umabot hanggang sa kamag-anak sa Tundo (Patuloy ang Krimen sa Tundo, 1960, p.1).

The gangs discussed in this chapter persist and expand within Tondo's streets. Primary groups such as OXO, Sigue-Sigue Sputnik, Sigue-Sigue Commando, and Batang City Jail continue perpetrating criminal activities in specific Tondo streets. These activities encompass petty crimes, targeting trucks from the provinces, robbery, and armed holdups. Furthermore, these gangs are inherently territorial and serve to provide mutual protection to their members in times of adversity.

In a news article published on November 1, 1960 (Patuloy ang mga krimen sa Tondo, 1960, p.1 ), the selected areas in Tondo were identified as Pook ng mga Gangster in the areas adjacent to the port of Manila. These areas are also segmented under the jurisdiction of specific gang groups. For instance, the Tres Cantos gang controls the section of streets labeled "1," extending from Lallana to Estero de Vitas and further to Moriones. Conversely, the territory labeled "2," stretching from Malvar northward to Tondo's northern reaches, falls under the authority of the Red Apache Gang. Additionally, the area encompassing North Harbor up to Pier 15 of Manila North Harbor is contested by rival groups, namely the Sigue-Sigue and OXO gangs.

**Figure 5**

*Map of Gang Concentration in Tondo, Manila, 1960 from Taliba Newspaper*



As time changes, this criminality continues on different streets in Tondo. Compared to the 1970s and 80s, specific streets adjacent to the port of Manila were the recorded hub of criminality involving gang members, specifically the Tres Cantos Gang, Red Apaches Gang, Sigue-Sigue, and OXO Gang. For instance, one notable case involved an incident on August 6, 1979, at Batangas Street, which was addressed in *The People of the Philippines vs. Juanityo Bautista y Aquino, Leonardo Macapagal y Ruiz, and Rolando Rebutar y Gonzales* (1979). Another documented instance of conflict among these rival gangs resulted in fatalities stemming from severe injuries.

Another case from the members of OXO, Sigue-Sigue, and the Bahala Na Gang (The People of the Philippines vs. Ramon Narciso y Contreras and Rufino Pena y Guevarra, 1968), and conflict was rooted in Tondo Manila that even continued in the Bilibid Prison. The statement of Bernardo Villalon testified that the given organization has conflict within the prison cell and its quarters in Tondo, Manila. Some members also continued their membership even within the Bilibid Prison. According to the given case, the intention to kill the detained gang members resulted not only in a conflict in Bilibid Prison but also led to the death of some of its members. Hence, this crime of murder also resulted in the death penalty for the named suspects.

Likewise, other gang groups in Tondo are not predominantly centered on newspapers. In 1958, a murder incident happened on Bangkusay Street, involving the two-gang group- Canary Brothers and Tondo Grease Gang (The People of the Philippines vs. Soriano Alcaraz y Licuanan alias Ano, et al., 1958). The shooting incident was considered a planned killing because of the existing disagreement within the gang family. Another murder case in 1974 that involved a gang war between the members of Kalaspac group and the Dagupan Hunters group happened in G. Perfecto St., Tondo, Manila on September 28, 1963 (The People of the Philippines vs. Sominador Mejia a.k.a Domingo, 1974). Based on the narratives, two weeks before the death of Victoriano dela Cruz from Kalaspac Group, he had taken a potshot or a shot aimed unexpectedly from Ricardo Garcia, a member of the Dagupan Hunters' group that led a war against respected families.

Through this perception in Tondo, Manila, many gang-related crimes were documented in Manila City Jail in 1964. The gang population of Sigue Sigue Sputnik and the OXO was a significant gang conflict in jail. While the OXO had a steady increase in number during this period, another gang group, the Sigue Sigue Commando, also increased, but on a smaller scale. With 4,954 inmates in 1964, 1,908 are part of the significant gangs, namely Sigue Sigue Sputnik, OXO, Bahala Na, and Sigue Sigue Commando. Among the three, Sigue Sigue Sputnik has 731 inmates, followed by OXO with 727 inmates, while the Sigue Sigue Commando has 239 inmates, and Bahala Na has 211 inmates. These gang members are committed to participating in violent and non-violent crimes. Of the recorded gang members in Manila City Jail, there is a total of 35 violent offenses; Murder is the highest crime committed, while the least is Assault with Slight Physical Injuries. Other crimes such as Frustrated Murder, Robbery with Frustrated Murder or Homicide, and Frustrated Homicide. The non-violent crimes are lower in number; however, there is a recorded crime: robbery-snatching is the highest, followed by theft, vagrancy, deadly weapons, drunkenness, and estafa (Ashburn, n.d., p.132)

## Conclusion

Gangs, as social networks of individuals who come together in time and space, engaging in community activities and producing collective identity, played a significant role in the social structure of Tondo. The geographical conditions of Tondo and the social network coverage demonstrated by the gangs would understandably influence behavior. Known for its resilient and hardy inhabitants, Tondo has often been portrayed in newspapers and movies. These portrayals, which usually focus on the community's ability to overcome adversity and a strong sense of community, have significantly shaped the public's perception of Tondo and its people. This paper narrates the evolution of Tondo based on Spencer's theory of Social Darwinism.

Through Spencer's theoretical framework, the behavior of the Tondoeños was predominantly understood as survival-driven, with their actions profoundly embodying a communal identity. This collective orientation underscores the remarkable hardiness of Tondo's residents. The emergence of opportunity in Tondo is based on the advantage of its geography for livelihood, transportation, and well-being. These advantages lead to disadvantages- one needs to survive among the competition in space, opportunity, and identity.

These gangs are not only a product of oneness and delinquency but also a product of behavior in the community that contributes to social history, which should be acknowledged because it leads to a broader perspective in arts, media, literature, and even politics.

Contrary to the analysis and passive recipients of Tondo Manila, several investors, businesspeople, academicians, and supporting nongovernment organizations have actively engaged in improving the urban development and environment to provide intervention and improve the current situation. Through this label depicted by society, the idea continued throughout the period, and this also neglects the idea that other neighborhoods have, perhaps, the same or much more than Tondo.

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