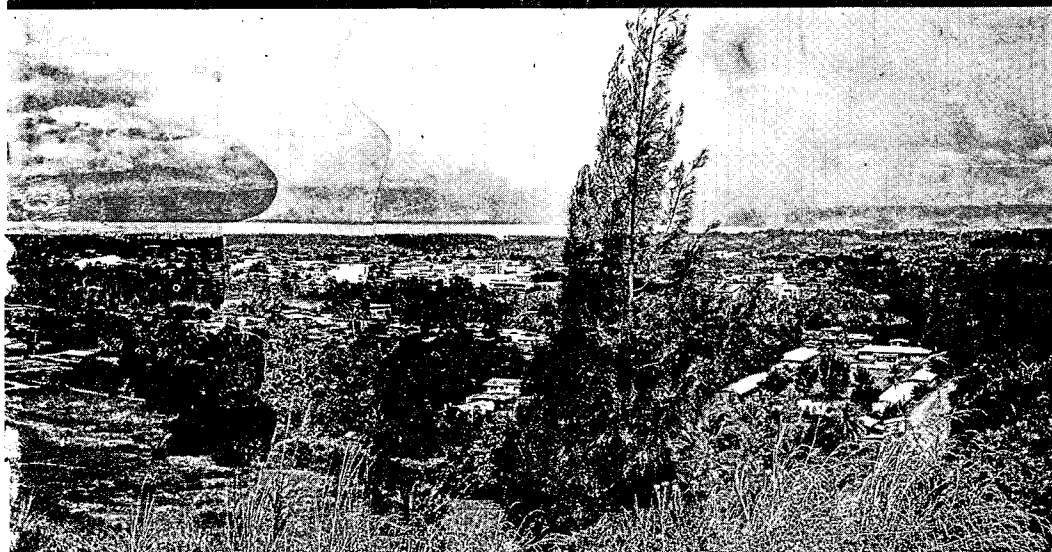


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Editorial

It can be easily observed from the proliferation of agencies and authorities created to perform a myriad of planning functions and from the numerous statements of government officials and citizens underscoring the need for and expressing support for planning, that interest in planning has definitely been aroused in the country.

Judging further from the increasing number of proposals for re-organizing and re-vitalizing planning agencies or for creating new ones, it is obvious that planning interest is growing even more steadily.

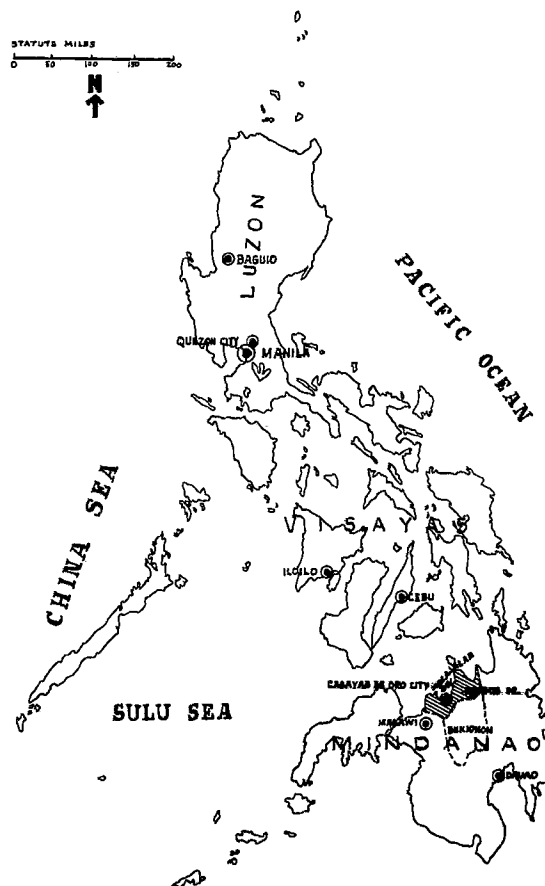
This interest, however, has not been translated effectively by many local government authorities into meaningful community decisions and projects. Santiago in an article in this issue attributes this apparent sluggishness of public action to certain defects and deficiencies in the structure of local governments.

At any rate, and however lamentable the situation is, it clearly presents a *challenge* to the imagination, the creativity, and the will of people involved in, and concerned with, planning: a challenge to unlearn lessons, habits of thought, and concepts that have been acquired in a different environment and "to start," as Santiago exhorts, "to experiment with new ideas and new techniques."

It is partly in response to this challenge that the PHILIPPINE PLANNING JOURNAL is publishing Fimalino's article on the planning experience of Cagayan de Oro City as a concrete albeit incomplete attempt to translate the interest in, and need for, planning in that city and as a possible model for other places which may want, as they ought, to attempt to experiment now with planning ideas and techniques; Santiago's paper on the planning law and practice of local governments with her proposals for re-organizing their structure so as to render them effectual and efficient in fulfilling their planning functions; and Abad's suggestion regarding the need for an integrated area-wide approach towards the solution of Metropolitan problems to achieve efficiency in management and economy in cost.

But whether or not the ideas and techniques discussed therein are indeed new and practicable, it ought to be stressed, even at the risk of sounding to belabor what is obvious, that ideas and techniques per se will not assure effective and fruitful planning activities. Ultimately, effectiveness in concretely improving the living conditions of the people in the planning areas, optimizing individual choice of work and leisure activities, is the shibboleth of genuine planning. For even new ideas and new techniques, notwithstanding their exciting newness, can easily be enshrined in paper plans and paper organizations that only serve to gather dust.

Pete N. Prado



Map of the Philippines showing the location of Cagayan de Oro City.

THE PLANNING OF CAGAYAN DE ORO

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INTRODUCTION

The planning of Philippine towns and cities has been a responsibility of the local governments since 1959, after the enactment of Republic Act 2264.¹ Under Section 3 of the said Act, the city and the municipal councils are authorized to adopt zoning and planning ordinances subject to approval by the city mayor or municipal mayor, as the case may be, and the cities and municipalities may consult the National Planning Commission on matters related to planning and zoning.

Very few cities have taken advantage of this provision of the local autonomy act (R.A. 2264). Thus far, no comprehensive plans have been prepared and approved by cities although zoning ordinances and building codes may have been passed and enforced.

Mounting problems caused by uncontrolled growth demand that the cities should prepare and adopt comprehensive plans to provide direction for urban expansion and to minimize existing problems. Problems like traffic congestion, shortage of potable water, inadequate drainage facilities and even environmental pollution are serious in many cities, especially in the Metropolitan Manila area.

Very recently, in some cities, government officials started to show interest in urban planning. They either employed planners to undertake surveys and to draft development plans or sought assistance from the National Economic Council (NEC) in order that such studies and plans could be prepared. One such city is

Cagayan de Oro. The circumstances and events that led to the preparation of a framework plan for Cagayan de Oro and the conditions that made it possible will be discussed in this paper.

CAGAYAN DE ORO: ITS SALIENT FEATURES

Cagayan de Oro is the capital of Misamis Oriental, a province in Northern Mindanao. It is about 491 miles southeast of Manila or approximately one and-a-half hours away by jet. Except for the city proper which is on level land and the coastal strip bordering Macajalar Bay, Cagayan de Oro is generally hilly. The total land area is 41,278 hectares with only about two percent built-up. The rest is devoted to agriculture, forest, open space and other rural uses.²

The city is an old settlement. It used to play an important role as a Christian outpost during the Spanish regime.³ When it became a city in 1950,⁴ its boundaries were extended to include the town of El Salvador, the municipal district of Lumbia and the barrio of Bogo of the municipality of Tagoloan, all of Misamis Oriental. Known only as "Cagayan", the words "de Oro" (of gold) were appended by Congressman Emmanuel Pelaez (now senator) who sponsored the bill granting Cagayan de Oro its charter. Pelaez claimed that the town was called "Cagayan de Oro" during the Spanish time and he was only complying with the desire of the people of Misamis Oriental by giving back that name.⁵

¹Previously, the National Planning Commission under the Office of the President had the power to prepare and adopt plans for urban centers and regions. *Executive Order No. 367*, series of 1950.

²Cagayan de Oro Foundation for Economic Development, Inc., *This Is Our City* (Socio-economic facts about Cagayan de Oro), 1970, pp. 2-3.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

⁴*Republic Act No. 521*, June 15, 1950.

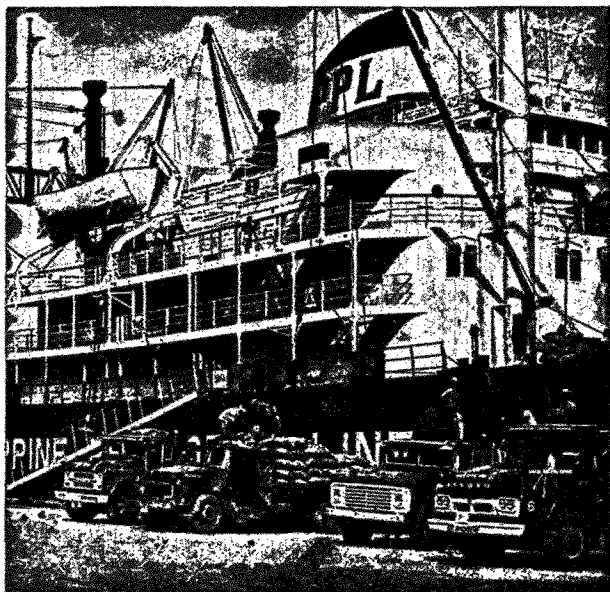
⁵Republic of the Philippines, House of Representatives, Second Congress, First Regular Session, *Congressional Records*, Vol. 1, Part 1, January 23-April 21, 1950, p. 1021.

The city lies outside the typhoon belt. The rains occur almost throughout the year broken only by a short dry season which takes place between March and April. In spite of the rains the city has never experienced a heavy flood.

Cagayan de Oro's population in 1970 was 127,687. This figure shows an increase of 59,413 or 87 percent over the 1960 census figure. The increase in the previous decade, from 1948 to 1960, was only 48 percent, which is an indication of a much higher rate of in-migration during the later period, from 1960 to 1970.

In a study by the Xavier University concerning migration in Cagayan de Oro, it was disclosed that the migrating population came principally from the Visayas and Luzon. The findings, likewise, revealed that relatively more in-migrant husbands possessed college education than native-born husbands. Moreover, a higher proportion of in-migrant husbands received higher incomes than the native-born husbands.⁶

The present role of the city in the region (an area roughly defined by the boundaries of the provinces of Misamis Oriental and Bukidnon) is more of a trading and distribution center. Through its port, lumber, plywood and some agricultural products are exported. The Philippine Packing Corporation, manufacturer of Del Monte products, uses its own private port to handle its exports. Imported goods consist of fertilizers, construction material, machineries, cars, household items and other consumer goods.



Cagayan de Oro Port

A study committee of the City Planning and Development Board of Cagayan de Oro conducted a

survey of commercial and industrial establishments of the city in 1968 and concluded that the industrial development was generally sluggish. The big manufacturing establishments mentioned were a fruit canning factory, soft-drink bottling plants, a coconut oil processing plant and logging and sawmill concerns. Important problems faced by the industrial sector were: (1) lack of surveys and information materials on industrial prospect of the city, (2) lack of new investments, (3) lack of incentives to attract investors into the city and (4) inadequate financial and credit facilities.⁷

Commercial activities, on the other hand, were considered brisk. For instance, the total retail sales of some 1,270 establishments in 1967 reached P7.4 million.⁸

Another important asset of the city beside its port is the availability of cheap electric power. This power is supplied by the Maria Cristina Hydro-Electric System whose transmission lines were extended to Cagayan de Oro in 1966. It is said that power here costs only half as much as that generated by a standing diesel unit.

Major service facilities provided by the city and the senior governments include, among others, 43 elementary schools, one city high school, three barrio high schools, one school of arts and trades, two hospitals, rural health units, a city library, a waterworks system, and a system of parks. The city also maintains its police force, a fire department, public markets and a network of streets.

Complementing the government facilities are those operated by the private sector. Among them are the 15 private schools (five at the college level, three secondary, one elementary and six vocational) and two hospitals having a combined capacity of 65 beds. Privately-owned jeepneys (jeeps converted into passenger vehicles), tricycles and cars-for-rent comprise the local transport system. Buses (also privately-operated) serve the inter-towns and inter-provincial routes. A national airport 10 kilometers away from the Central Business District (CBD) links the city with the other major urban centers of the country.

One of the problems of the city is the lack of a sewerage system. Although some residences may have septic tanks, the fact remains that only 11.3 percent of the dwelling units in 1968 had sanitary toilets.⁹

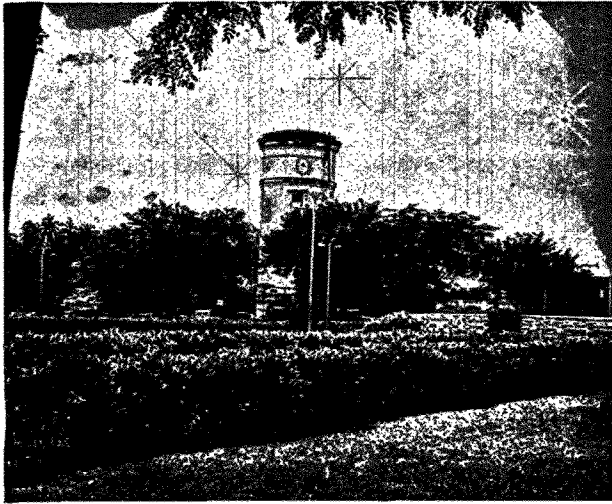
Another problem of Cagayan de Oro is the inadequacy of certain essential services. The water supply has to be augmented and the standard of health services to be raised.

⁶Cagayan de Oro Foundation of Economic Development, Inc., *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁷Cagayan de Oro City Planning and Development Board, *Draft Socio-Economic Program*, 1968, pp. 49-58.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 78.



Water Tank

INTEREST IN PLANNING

The preparation of a master plan for Cagayan de Oro was first conceived during the term of Mayor Justiniano Borja.¹⁰ Borja was appointed mayor in 1954 by the late President Ramon Magsaysay. Then he ran for the same position in the 1955 elections and won. He was reelected in 1959 and again in 1963.

During Mayor Borja's first term, in 1956, the Municipal Board passed a zoning ordinance which is still enforced. The ordinance regulates the use of land and buildings by defining what uses are to be allowed in each district. The city is divided into the following districts: residential, business, industrial-1, industrial-2 and the rest unclassified. For some time, the city engineer acted as ex-officio zoning administrator who enforced the provision of the zoning ordinance.

Probably, one of the most significant events which greatly enhanced the interest of the local officials and the citizens in planning was the formation of a committee of civic-spirited citizens in 1959 with Mayor Borja himself as chairman. This committee assisted Mayor Borja in planning and implementing, in a limited way, city improvement projects. Two of the projects, partly financed by local voluntary contributions, were the establishment of the Boys' Town and the development of city parks.¹¹ The same committee later became the nucleus of the City Planning and Development Board.

Another contributing factor to the growing interest of the city officials in planning was the assignment in 1964 with the City Planning and Development Board of a United States peace corps volunteer, Stanley Friedman, Friedman, who had a master of science degree in urban planning from Columbia University, New York,

was appointed planning adviser to the Planning Board. He worked with the Planning Board from February to November, 1964, organizing a seminar on urban planning and consistently urging the city officials to adopt a master plan for the city.¹² It could have been through his effort that the city engineer, who was ex-officio planning director, requested the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), in 1964, to furnish the Planning Board with information regarding possible financial support for surveys and urban planning. Of course, the USAID at that time did not have any program of assistance in the field of planning.

It might be of interest to mention here that the city officials, for a while, in 1964, were thinking of employing a planning consultant. This was the recommendation of the Planning Board which underlined the necessity of having an expert on urban planning. However, the proposal was shelved when the treasurer's office reported that employing a planning consultant would entail a heavy expense on the part of the city government. Alternative steps were then offered: (1) to request the National Planning Commission to assign a technical consultant to the city, (2) to engage the services of a private consultant for a limited period, and (3) to acquire planning information by reading literature on planning.¹³

Then in 1967, a team of specialists from the NEC and other government agencies discussed with the local officials the possibility of selecting Cagayan de Oro as a pilot city under the NEC-AID Urban Development Project. The Urban Development Project of the NEC receives assistance from the USAID in order to undertake pilot efforts in selected Philippine cities for the purpose of developing effective methods of dealing with urban problems and of making the cities more livable. The result of this discussion was the signing of a memorandum of agreement on July 15, 1968 between the city government and the NEC-Urban Development Project.

The agreement stipulated that the Urban Development Project would provide the city government with technical and limited commodity assistance in the following areas: (1) preparation and implementation of a comprehensive urban development plan, (2) improvement in city administration and in standard of public services, (3) social betterment and economic development programs and (4) mobilization of support of other agencies concerning legislation, programs and funding.

The city government in support of the project had to perform the following: (1) revitalize the City Planning and Development Board by providing it with

¹⁰ From an interview with acting Mayor Cecilio Luminarias, October 18, 1971.

¹¹ From interviews with Rev. William Nicholson of the Xavier University and Oswaldo Ludeña, a member of the City Planning and Development Board, October 15 and 17, 1970.

¹² From the minutes of the City Planning and Development Board, 1964.

¹³ *Ibid.*, February 4, 1965.

adequate technical staff, (2) cooperate with the Urban Development Project in conducting studies, (3) enlist citizen support for community projects, (4) provide counterpart personnel to work with the management survey team or other teams that might be sent to the city by the Urban Development Project and (5) provide office space, clerical help, office supplies and other forms of assistance to the project personnel and experts.

A number of studies were made under this agreement. A profile report describing the socio-economic conditions and administrative set-up of the city government was completed in 1968. Ad hoc committees that were organized to undertake studies in different areas like social, agricultural and industrial development, submitted reports which were useful in the drafting of the city framework plan.

In fulfillment of its commitments to the city government, as stated in the agreement, the Urban Development Project contracted with a planner to draft the comprehensive plan for the city. The city also received office equipment and vehicles for use of the city planning staff. The city on its part reorganized the Planning Board, provided an office space for the planning personnel and continued to allocate funds for the maintenance of the planning office and personnel.

THE CITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT BOARD

Any discussion of the planning experience of Cagayan de Oro will be inadequate without mentioning the organization and activities of the City Planning and Development Board. This body has, more or less, been institutionalized and many development problems have been referred to it by the local officials. The members representing the private citizens are recognized leaders of the community. The election of two of its former members as delegates to the Constitutional Convention is proof enough of this assertion.¹⁴ Its present chairman, Reverend William Nicholson, head of the department of economics of Xavier University, has been with the Planning Board since its inauguration in 1964.

The Planning Board was created on December 2, 1963 by the Municipal Board through Resolution No. 487, in compliance with the directive of the President, as embodied in Administrative Order No. 31, dated December 4, 1962. The administrative order called upon all municipal boards and city councils to create their respective planning boards with the following functions: (1) to initiate the preparation of physical development plans, (2) to prepare subdivision, zoning and building regulations for approval by the local legislative body and (3) to see to it that all public improvements harmonize with the official town or city development plan.

According to Resolution No. 487, the Planning Board shall be made up of nine members whose appointments are based on the following: (1) a chairman to be appointed by the city mayor from among civic-minded citizens of the community, preferably, one who has demonstrated interest in the city's development; (2) two councilors to represent the Municipal Board, one of whom must be chairman of the committee on planning and beautification and the other chairman of the committee on health; (3) the city engineer; and (4) five private citizens of the community to be appointed by the city mayor and who each may represent the civic organization, education sector, barrio sector, women's group and labor groups.

One of the functions of the Planning Board is to prepare and submit for approval by the Municipal Board a master plan for the physical, social and economic development of the city. The master plan shall indicate the Planning Board's recommendations for the development, redevelopment, general location, character and extent of: (1) transportation and street system; (2) public utilities; (3) sites for public buildings, such as hospitals, schools and other public facilities; and (4) parks and playgrounds. The Planning Board shall formulate studies, conclusions and recommendations, which will become parts of the master plan, on the following areas: (1) slum, blighted areas and housing; (2) land allocation for the different urban uses and land policies; (3) population growth; (4) public services and standards for health, police protection, fire protection, recreation, education and other services; and (5) long-range program for the implementation of the master plan.

The Planning Board shall recommend to the Municipal Board regulatory measures to be adopted or amended as means of carrying out planning proposals. Among these measures are the zoning and subdivision ordinances, health and sanitation code and the building code, to mention only a few. In the enforcement of these ordinances and regulations the Planning Board has the duty to receive and review all applications for subdivisions, zoning cases and public improvements and submit its findings and recommendations to the city mayor. The Planning Board must inform the public about the master plan and of any of the ordinances approved and implemented.

A position for the director of planning is provided in the resolution. The director of planning is supposed to undertake surveys on physical, social and economic conditions of the city, coordinate all national and local technical agencies with the Planning Board's work and conduct other studies and design plans deemed necessary by the Planning Board. He shall act as technical adviser and secretary of the Planning Board.

¹⁴The delegates are Rolando Piit and Dante Sarraga.

To be qualified as director of planning, one must be a holder of any of the following degrees: architecture, engineering and planning. In addition, he must have five years experience in urban planning or any other related field. His term of office is three years and he may be reappointed any number of times.

Until the time of this study, no full-time director of planning has been appointed. The city engineer and later the city public works supervisor acted as ex-officio planning director. Since last May, this year, the assistant planning director, Eduardo del Castillo has been performing the functions of the planning director. In spite of his many years of service with the Planning Board and of his experience in urban planning, del Castillo cannot qualify for the position of planning director. He still has to acquire his civil engineering degree for which he has to earn a few more units. He hopes that the Municipal Board will amend the resolution to do away with the requirement of a bachelor's degree so that he can qualify for the planning director's position.

Activities of the Planning Board in the beginning consisted generally of approving subdivision plans and building permits referred to it by the planning director. In the process, the Planning Board looked into the proper zonation of the city, determining the best use of the land in terms of the city's development and considering also the problems of pollution and nuisances.



A Subdivision Site

Soon the members of the Planning Board discovered that it was difficult to decide on many of the cases like the location of industries and of new subdivisions without a comprehensive city plan. An opportunity came when the NEC-Urban Development Project chose Cagayan de Oro as a pilot city for urban development. As previously stated, the Urban Development Project

contracted for the services of a professional planner to draft the plan for Cagayan de Oro.

The Planning Board, as previously mentioned, organized ad hoc committees to collect information on various aspects of development. The data were then submitted to the planner who was expected to make use of them in the preparation of the plan. The target date for the completion of the plan was December, 1968, giving the planner six months to work on it. However, the planner failed to meet the deadline and, consequently, asked for an extension of about four months. The extension period expired and the plan was not completed. It was not until September, this year, after a lapse of two years and-a-half when the draft framework plan was finally submitted to the Planning Board.

THE DRAFT FRAMEWORK PLAN

The plan is quite general in treatment except for certain specific proposals like the construction of another bridge across Cagayan River, the changes in traffic routes, viewing platforms and promenades and the pedestrian shopping mall. The plan with accompanying maps is divided into four main parts, namely: the introduction, framework plan, framework priorities and framework studies.

Emphasized in the plan are the concepts of "Physical Planning" and "Urban Design," upon which the proposed scheme of urban development is rationalized. The first concept mentions the necessity of considering as assets the natural elements — the mountains, the sea, the river and the plains — all having implications on the shaping of the urban area. It is with the second concept, however, that the ultimate urban pattern is articulated.

Based on its stated objectives, the framework plan is basically a design for the physical development of the city. The objectives are grouped into three categories: land use, environment and movement.

More specific objectives under "land use" are the strengthening of the CBD, support for the expansion of the educational institutions, encouragement of industrial development, organization of residential neighborhoods as interconnected communities and modification of the patterns of community growth to make the environment attractive and viable. As to the "environment," the planner suggested that urban aesthetics should be given importance. The urban area should be landscaped while the rich agricultural land should be preserved. Residential neighborhoods should be in a concentrated form of development and these should be provided with services and amenities. Specific objectives under the third category are also for the achievement of a pleasureable environment. For example, it is suggested that major thoroughfares should not wantonly dissect residential and institutional areas. In designing the principal highways, natural elements should be preserved and road alignments should accommodate views.

Among the major proposals which also include plan priorities are the following: (1) strengthening of the CBD as a regional trading center; (2) construction of another bridge across Cagayan River; (3) construction of pedestrian platforms and promenades to take advantage of the view along the river; (4) reclamation of marsh land and a portion of Macajalar Bay to be utilized as sites for industrial estates, an industrial park and a recreational parkway; (5) straightening of Cagayan River; and (6) acquisition of a site for the civic center.

The CBD is defined in the plan as the area consisting of three interrelated commercial districts. If developed, the CBD will offer diversity of shopping facilities ranging from small shops to more sophisticated department stores. The CBD will accommodate other uses: offices, banks, recreation centers, housing, dormitories, hotels, restaurants and other similar facilities. Part of the CBD will be the pedestrian shopping mall. There will be segregation of pedestrian movement from vehicular traffic. To achieve this objective, some segments of streets will be converted into parking spaces and pedestrian walkways, while traffic flow will be rerouted.

The construction of another bridge is proposed to reinforce the role of the CBD as a regional trade center. It will relieve traffic on the present bridge which connects the city proper to the fast growing barrio of Carmen and to the airport. The estimated cost of the bridge, including the acquisition of the road right-of-way, is P3,875,880.

Pedestrian platforms across Cagayan River and promenades along the bank of the same river are to be constructed to provide places for leisure activities of the citizens. These are linked with the pedestrian shopping mall in the CBD.

Along Macajalar Bay will be the sites for industrial estates and the industrial park. A recreational parkway, designed with due consideration to the special characteristics of the environment, will be the main access to the industrial park. The industrial estates will be located close to the mouth of Cagayan River.



City Hall

As contemplated in the plan, the civic center will be the site for government administration offices, such as the city hall, local courts and other local government units. The two possible sites mentioned in the plan are both outside the CBD, one a military reservation and another a private property. To acquire the first, a presidential proclamation transferring the military property to the city government is necessary; as regards the second, the city government has to appropriate funds for purchasing the property.

The framework plan of Cagayan de Oro is, perhaps, the first of its kind in the country today. It can be a model from which plans of other cities can be patterned. However, it has a number of defects which a non-planner may not easily notice.

One of its defects is the lack of integration of social and economic goals with the physical design. For instance, the plan proposed the construction of viewing platforms and promenades but nowhere in the plan is it shown that, indeed, a good portion of the city's population have enough leisure time to enable them to enjoy such recreational facilities. Again, no attempt has been made to relate the industrial estates and the industrial park proposals to the employment status of the working population, and also to the levels of education or occupational background of the workers who might be employed in the industries therein.

Intensifying the economic activities of the CBD might encourage movement of families from rural districts and from smaller towns of the province to the city. And, subsequently, there will be increased demand on housing. Unfortunately, the plan has not outlined any program on housing.

It seems that some of the proposals are not sufficiently backed up by research data. No study has been made to justify the relocation of the city hall to any of the alternative sites for the civic center. In fact, one of the alternative sites is a military reservation which is favored not so much for its strategic location but for its being government-owned. In the case of the CBD, the plan has no information as to the size of its present trading area. How large will the region be for which the CBD will serve as a trade center? Will there be a need of subcenters in the future?

Finally, the plan does not indicate the mode of implementing the development projects and proposals. Will the projects be financed entirely by the city government? What type of assistance will the city seek from the national government, if such assistance is needed? What ordinances should be enacted? What policies should the city officials initiate to achieve the avowed objectives of the plan? For the plan to be realistic, it must show, even in broad terms, how the policymakers will execute it.

CONCLUDING SUMMARY

The case study just presented suggests some insights into the factors that brought about the positive climate for planning in Cagayan de Oro. One of these factors is the presence of civic-minded citizens occupying leadership positions in the community and who cooperated actively with the local officials in the execution of important community projects. The City Planning and Development Board functioned logically as the means through which citizen participation in development programs and city decisions has been channeled. By participating in the deliberations of the Planning Board, the members gained valuable experience in dealing with urban problems. Such experience intensified somewhat the interest of both the officials and the citizens in urban planning and, subsequently, the drafting of a master plan became a felt need.

Certainly, more important than mere participation in the deliberation of the Planning Board is the seriousness with which the citizens discussed city problems. Likewise, they acted firmly in deciding zoning and subdivision cases. An example may be cited to illustrate this point. In the past, subdivision plans were approved by the Land Registration Commission even without prior approval by the Planning Board. This method of approving subdivision plans resulted in flagrant violations of the city subdivision ordinance. To correct this defect, the Planning Board made an agreement with the Land Registration Commission that, henceforth, no subdivision plans should be processed by that office without first passing the Planning Board.

Another motivating factor which helped arouse the people's interest in planning is the influence of external forces. The assignment of a peace corps volunteer with the Planning Board occurred at the most propitious time. The Planning Board was just organized and the members needed guidance and some ideas to deepen

their understanding of the growth process and of the need for planning. Of course, the coming of the NEC-Urban Development Project to offer assistance in the forms of equipment and specialists was another timely event. The memorandum of agreement signed between the Urban Development Project and the city government and its implementation has already been discussed.

As regards the framework plan, it has yet to be adopted by the Municipal Board in order that it will become official. The Planning Board obtained copies of the plan only a few months before the local elections. The elective officials who ran for reelection did not have ample time to review the proposals.

The plan must be presented to the people either through public hearings or by exhibiting it in the city hall. The individual citizen will probably react favorably or unfavorably depending on how the proposals will affect his property or his style of life. Nevertheless, the job of informing the people and convincing them of the benefits the city will gain if the plan is implemented is the responsibility of the Planning Board.

The stand of the city officials on the framework plan may be summed up by the comments of acting Mayor Cecilio Luminarias: "This method of planning may not be appropriate because establishments are already there. But we never had a plan before. It will be hard to enforce a new plan in a community badly growing — where developments are usually not in the right places. If the plan is finally approved, it shall be carried out as conceived. It will take a long time (to implement the plan) but it will improve the face of Cagayan de Oro."¹⁵ Of course this optimism has yet to be translated into action; for the real test of the effectiveness of the plan is in its implementation.

¹⁵From an interview with acting Mayor Cecilio Luminarias, October 8, 1971.

HOPE OR DESPAIR: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SLUM AND SQUATTER COMMUNITIES IN FIVE PHILIPPINE CITIES*

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INTRODUCTION

The growth of urban areas is one significant development that has characterized our times. A phenomenon in which cities serve as focal points in the economic and social organization of countries has definitely emerged. Related to this trend is the continuing movement of people from the countryside to urban centers.

Such a trend has important implications for the social and economic development of the country as a whole. A controversy has grown in this regard. On one hand, there are those who picture the large urban areas as ugly, dangerous and unpleasant. It is pointed out that the problems of such areas are so great that their growth should, therefore, be restricted.¹ On the other hand, a growing number of scholars view the growth of cities and urban areas as being the key to the development of the country.² These scholars argue that urban areas serve as centers for the development of ideas and activities which are vital to the building of the nation.

Participants in this controversy are, however, agreed on the fact that large urban areas are growing, and at a very rapid rate. In the Philippines, as in other countries, the urban population is increasing at a much faster rate (in excess of four percent) than the country as a whole, and this has been attributed to the massive rural-to-urban migration of people. Such massive migration has in fact been viewed as also the main reason behind such

urban difficulties as inadequate government services, unemployment and underemployment, and generally less comfortable and satisfactory physical conditions.

But nowhere does the problem of rural-to-urban migration manifest itself more clearly than in the area of housing. The many slum and squatter communities are the easily noticeable symptoms of a housing shortage. As Aprodicio Laquian puts it, "slums and squatter areas . . . typify the reaction of most migrants to the housing problem."³ In this connection, a similar debate on this particular aspect of urbanization has likewise emerged. Traditionally, slums and squatter areas have also been viewed as urban evils, often characterized as unhealthy, ugly, dehumanizing, etc. As such they should be eradicated and replaced with more healthy and comfortable housing units through some slum clearance or urban renewal program.⁴

More recently, however, some experts are beginning to advocate a "keep the slums" policy.⁵ These experts point out that squatting and slum dwelling is actually a self-help effort at solving the housing problem. Such effort must not, therefore, be wasted especially in the absence of a better and more comprehensive method of approaching the problem. Laquian even goes further in the development of this idea as he sees the slum and squatter areas as actually contributing to metropolitan and national development by serving as "transitional

*This study is based on the data gathered in a research project jointly undertaken by the International Association for Metropolitan Research and Development (INTERMET) and the Institute of Planning of the University of the Philippines. The author served as field research coordinator of the project which was supported by a grant from the Southeast Asia Development Advisory Group (SEADAG) of the Asia Society. The project is part of a bigger international comparative study, also sponsored by INTERMET.

¹See, for example Manuel Escodero, "Perception in an Urban Environment," *Philippine Planning Journal*, Vol. II, No. 1, (October, 1970), pp. 8-11.

²For instance, see Aprodicio Laquian's *The City in Nation Building* (Manila: Graduate School of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, 1966); and *Slums are for People*

(Manila: Graduate School of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, 1968).

³Aprodicio A. Laquian, "Rural-Urban Migrants and Metropolitan Development: A Research Design for an International Comparative Study," mimeo, p.4.

⁴Philippine government policy in dealing with slums and squatter areas has in the main been characterized by this approach. The two most common ways used in solving the squatter problem are on-site housing and relocation, both of which presuppose the razing down of slum and squatter communities.

⁵See for example Van Huyck and K. C. Rosser, "An Environmental Approach to Low-Income Housing," *International Development Review*, (September, 1966), as cited in Laquian, "Rural-Urban Migrants . . ." p. 5.

way stations" in which the transformation of the rural person to a truly urban man is more easily achieved. The argument is based on the research finding that slum and squatter communities are human settlements where social norms and behavior possess both rural and urban characteristics.⁶

FOCUS AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study seeks to further clarify the issues and problems related to, as well as describe the nature of life in, slum and squatter communities. More specifically, it attempts to: (1) determine the reasons behind the migration of squatters and slum dwellers to urban areas; (2) describe the nature and characteristics of the slum or squatter community; (3) ascertain the social, political and economic functions performed by the slum and squatter community; and (4) analyze the problems associated with squatting and slum dwelling, as well as the governmental and non-governmental measures that have been used in dealing with such problems. The central issue that commonly characterizes these questions has to do with the role played by slum and squatter communities in development. A crucial question in this regard is whether or not these communities enhance or hinder development. In the words of one author, the issue revolves around whether we are dealing with "slums of hope" or "slums of despair."⁷

In seeking to provide answers to the above questions, this study focuses upon squatters and slum dwellers in five cities of the Philippines, namely: Baguio, Iloilo, Cebu, Davao and Iligan.⁸ These cities were chosen primarily because they are the sites of the Centers for Regional Development Studies of the Institute of Planning, University of the Philippines, which is the principal collaborating unit in this research endeavor. It is no coincidence, however, that these cities are important urban and trading centers within their respective regions. Moreover, they are also commonly characterized by the fact that about a fifth to a quarter of their total population consists of squatters and slum dwellers.

Primary data for the study were gathered mainly through an intensive survey of a slum and squatter community in each city. A total of 2,552 heads of families were interviewed, broken down as follows: 512 in Baguio; 500 in Iloilo; 570 in Cebu; 470 in Davao; and 500 in Iligan. Interviewing was done from January to about May, 1971. As mentioned earlier, these surveys were carried out jointly with the Centers for Regional

Development Studies of the Institute of Planning, University of the Philippines which in turn are cooperative ventures with educational institutions and other government agencies concerned with urban and regional development.

Secondary information from books, government reports, previous studies, pamphlets, census reports, etc. were collated and analyzed to supplement the survey data. In addition, government officials, professionals, researchers and private persons who are concerned with the problem were also interviewed.

The Slum and Squatter Communities

The slum and squatter communities included in this study are: City Camp-Rock Quarry, Baguio; Barrio Concepcion, Iloilo; Barrio Pasil, Cebu; Bolton Riverside Community, Davao; and Tierra Negra, Iligan. These communities are fairly large (a population size of at least 500 families) and are considered essentially "typical" of the city. Some important characteristics of these communities are summarized in Table I.

Table I
Population, Size, Land Area and Spatial
Location of Slum Communities
(In Percent)

Communities	Population Size	Land Area (Hectares)	Distance from CBD (Kilometers)
City-Camp-Rock Quarry, Baguio	7,382	18.9	1.05
Concepcion, Iloilo	5,736	17	less than 1
Pasil, Cebu	3,654	10	less than 1
Bolton Riverside, Davao	9,845	10	less than 1
Tierra Negra, Iligan	7,426	2.5	less than 1

It can be seen that the slum communities have differences as well as similarities with respect to certain population and physical characteristics. In terms of population size, the communities average 6,808 persons, with the Bolton Riverside Community in Davao the largest (9,845 persons) and Barrio Pasil in Cebu the smallest (3,654 persons). The communities vary widely in land area, ranging from the more than 18 hectares of City Camp-Rock Quarry in Baguio, to the tiny 2.5 hectares of Tierra Negra, Iligan. Barrio Concepcion, Iloilo, also occupies a fairly huge land area of 17 hectares although only about a third is a squatter area. Both Barrio Pasil in Cebu and Bolton Riverside in Davao are situated in a land area of 10 hectares. Only about 6 hectares in Barrio Pasil, however, are occupied by squatters. The other four hectares are privately owned, and these conditions are slightly better.

⁶Aprodicio A. Laquian, *Slums are for People, op. cit.*, p. 26.

⁷Charles J. Stokes, "A Theory of Slums," *Land Economics*, Vol. 38 (August, 1962), pp. 187-197.

⁸The City of Manila was actually included in the sample of the research project. For purposes of this study, however, Manila was excluded since the city will be a part of the larger international comparative study of the INTERMET covering other cities of the world. Moreover, the slum and squatter conditions in Manila have already been the subject of numerous studies. This article is meant to be a comparative analysis of slums and squatters in smaller cities and outside Manila.

In all but the Baguio community, the land involved is mostly government owned, although there are claims of private ownership in the Davao, Cebu and Iligan communities. The Baguio community has been officially declared as a relocation site by virtue of a Presidential Proclamation No. 232 issued on July 14, 1967. Since then, most of the land in the area has been allocated to residents of the community.

A common characteristic of the communities has to do with the spatial location; they are all adjacent to the Central Business District. Despite this common feature, however, the communities seem to vary in regard to the degree of physical deterioration of the dwelling units. Most of the houses in all sample areas are generally built of cast-off and salvaged materials and the surroundings show neglect and lack of maintenance. However, there are certain sections in some communities where housing conditions are relatively better. In the Baguio community, in particular, houses in the exterior (those along the road) are generally better looking and built of stronger materials. In Davao, many of the dwelling units are made of wood and galvanized iron materials.

While variations in market prices will no doubt reduce the comparability of our data, information on the relative costs of the dwelling units will provide us with a better idea of the housing conditions in each community. To get this information, the respondents were asked to estimate the selling price of their dwelling units. The results appear to support the observation that the houses in the Baguio and Davao communities are in more satisfactory condition. Of the total respondents in Baguio, 23.8 percent claimed that their dwelling units could be sold for more than P5,000.00. A lower 16.0 percent of the Davao informants made a similar claim. The percentages are, however, even much lower in Iloilo (4.6 percent), Cebu (1.4 percent), and Iligan (1.8 percent). Conversely, a much higher percentage of the respondents in the latter three areas quoted a lower selling price of their dwelling units. A high 55.6 percent of the informants in Cebu, 36.1 percent in Iloilo and 45.2 percent in Iligan as against 4.9 and 7.2 percent in Baguio and Davao, respectively, admitted that their shanties cost P500.00 or less.

A majority of the total number of houses surveyed were one or two-room houses. But again the situation in Baguio appears to be better than in the other four areas. More than 70.0 percent of the houses surveyed in Baguio had three rooms or more. In the other four communities, the houses surveyed belonging in this category ranged only from 15.8 to 33.2 percent. Although differences are slight, doubling up in houses also appears to be a less frequent phenomenon in the Baguio community. Of the families surveyed, 80.1 percent of those in Baguio occupied one house each as against 79.2 in Iloilo, 79.1 in Davao, 73.8 percent in Iligan and a low 58.4 percent in Cebu.

There is very little variation among the communities with respect to the size of households. In all the sample areas, the average size of the slum dwelling household is from four to six members. In terms of utilities, however, Baguio and to a certain extent Davao again reveal generally better condition than the other areas. In the former two areas more than 80.0 percent of the households surveyed had electricity as compared to only 47.9 percent in Iloilo, 43.6 percent in Iligan, and 44.0 percent in Cebu. The situation is essentially the same as far as toilet facilities are concerned, except that the picture in Iloilo improves considerably and that in Cebu worsens. In Baguio and Davao, 94.9 and 96.4 percent of the informants, respectively, claimed they had toilets. For the other three areas, a relatively high 89.0 percent in Iloilo, 43.6 percent in Iligan and a very low 6.7 percent in Cebu made a similar claim. Quite a number of the dwelling units having toilets, however, still use the less modern facilities. Results of the survey show that only about 30.0 percent of these houses have the private "flush" type while a majority (close to 40.0 percent) still use the outdated "pit system." A few use public toilets and such unsanitary methods as the "pail system." Those not having toilet facilities either use the "wrap and throw" method or simply dispose their waste in open streams, rivers and vacant lots.

Facilities for drinking water also appear to be inadequate in most of the slum communities. As in most instances, the Baguio community provides the exception. It is only in Baguio where a majority of the households surveyed (67.6 percent) had piped drinking water within the house. A majority of the households surveyed in Cebu and Iligan (90.4 and 54.2 percent, respectively) depend on the piped water of neighbors. In Davao and Iloilo, the main source of drinking water of the squatter households (37.7 and 63.5 percent of the informants, respectively, resorted to it) were wells, streams and other open sources.

In sum, our analysis at this point seems to show that the Baguio community to a large extent, and the slum area in Davao to a lesser extent, are characterized by more satisfactory and comfortable physical conditions than the other three squatter communities. Our data show that in Baguio, particularly, there is a lesser degree of physical deterioration of dwelling units and surroundings, less extensive overcrowding and congestion of people, and relatively more adequate services. Consistent with the observation made by others, this phenomenon may be attributed to land ownership. Results of the survey show that while ownership of land by homeowners is almost non-existent in the other four communities, at least 28.3 percent of the informants in Baguio claimed that they owned the lots in which their houses were situated. It will also be recalled that the sample area in Baguio has been declared as a relocation site, a government policy that gives an assurance to residents of the place that house lots will be awarded to them in the future. There may, therefore, be some truth to what is often claimed that a definite land policy more than the construction of better houses is the "solution" to the

problem of slums and squatters. More light will be shed on this issue, however, as we turn to an analysis of the characteristics of the squatters and slum dwellers. These characteristics may have definite influence on the existing conditions in the communities themselves. Such analysis will bring us closer towards defining the role of slums and squatter communities in development.

THE SQUATTER AND SLUM DWELLERS

As stated earlier, the massive migration of people to urban areas appears to be the main reason behind the development of slum and squatter communities. Results of the study support this statement in that close to 80 percent of all informants are migrants. (See Table 2). As can be seen in Table 2, however, while a very small percentage of the informants in the other four areas were from the same city, 66.0 of the family heads interviewed in Cebu were non-migrants. The contention that slum areas are actually "transitional way stations" for the rural migrant, may, therefore, be less applicable to the Cebu community. This may also explain the fact that a greater majority of Cebu respondents have stayed longer in the community which may in turn cause lesser economic mobility of the residents in the area.

The main reason given for migration to the cities is to place oneself in greater economic advantage. A majority of the sample in all communities mentioned "to get a better job" as reason for moving. Other important reasons mentioned include the generally better opportunities in the new place, as well as dissatisfaction with the conditions in the place of origin.

There are no marked differences as far as age structure of the family heads is concerned. In general, family heads in all the communities tended to be young.

Table 2
Place of Origin of Family Heads
(In Percent)

	Baguio	Iloilo	Cebu	Davao	Iligan
1. In same city	9.6	20.2	66.0	6.6	14.0
2. Rural place in same metropolitan area	—	10.4	5.3	1.9	3.8
3. Urban place in same metropolitan area	—	1.4	3.2	0.4	0.2
4. Rural place in same urban region	70.9	27.7	3.5	2.3	8.6
5. Urban place in same urban region	2.5	3.0	0.4	1.1	4.2
6. Rural place outside region	12.9	29.3	16.0	64.3	49.2
7. Urban place outside region	3.5	7.4	5.4	22.3	19.4
8. Foreign country	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.6	—
9. Others	—	—	—	0.4	0.6
No data	0.4	0.2	—	—	—

Close to 65.0 percent of the sample in each community were 45 years old and below. Of these young community members, a range from a low 17.2 percent in Iloilo to a high of 29.6 percent in Iligan were 30 years old and below.

A slight variation favoring the Baguio and Davao sample areas may, however, be detected in the educational attainment of the informants. It can be seen in Table 3 that nearly 60.0 percent of those interviewed in

Table 3
Education Attained by Family Head
(In Percent)

	Baguio	Iloilo	Cebu	Davao	Iligan
No formal education, cannot read and write	2.5	1.0	17.2	—	4.2
No formal education, can read and write.	1.0	1.2	0.9	0.9	1.0g
Primary grade	11.9	15.4	28.6	14.3	21.0
Elementary	24.5	30.7	24.6	12.6	34.4
Secondary but did not graduate	16.8	24.6	17.2	21.9	22.4
High school graduate	19.1	13.0	4.7	19.4	9.4
College but did not graduate	10.2	5.4	3.5	13.4	5.4
College graduate	9.4	6.0	3.2	14.3	1.0
Post graduate	0.6	0.8	—	0.9	0.2
Vocational graduate	2.1	0.2	0.2	1.5	0.2
Others	0.4	1.2	—	0.4	—
No data	0.6	0.4	—	0.6	—

Baguio and a high 72.2 percent of the informants in Davao reached secondary school or higher. In the other three communities, on the other hand, 48.3 percent in Iloilo, 71.3 percent in Cebu, and 60.6 percent in Iligan had only an elementary education, or had no formal education at all. It will be recalled that our analysis earlier revealed that the physical conditions in the Baguio area, and to a lesser degree in the Davao community, are generally more satisfactory and comfortable than in the other three communities. Our data, therefore, seem to suggest that education may have a close link with the nature of life style in the slum or squatter community in terms of facilities, maintenance of clean surroundings, health habits and practices of the residents, and the degree of physical deterioration of the area in general.

A closely related variable to education is income. In general, squatter and slum communities are poor. As shown in Table 4, a good percentage of the sample are

Table 4
Monthly Family Earning
(In Percent)

	Baguio	Iloilo	Cebu	Davao	Iligan
P150 and below	16.2	34.5	36.3	18.3	45.8
151-200	12.3	16.8	15.4	17.9	18.4
201-300	39.8	26.5	25.1	35.5	21.0
301-350	5.1	3.6	5.4	6.2	4.6
351-400	5.5	2.2	4.6	4.0	2.6
401-450	2.1	3.2	3.0	3.2	1.6
451-500	2.7	2.6	1.9	3.4	0.8
501-550	2.9	0.6	1.2	0.6	1.4
551-600	3.5	1.2	1.1	2.3	1.6
Above 600	7.0	7.0	3.4	4.0	1.8
Others (no data, no income)	2.7	1.8	0.5	4.5	0.4

receiving P150 and below. Again, however, it can be noticed that the residents of the Baguio community and to a less degree those in the Davao area show higher earnings than those of the other communities. While 33.8 percent in Iloilo, 36.0 percent in Cebu and 45.8 percent in Iligan have monthly earnings of P150 and below, only 18.3 percent and a low 16.2 percent of the residents in Davao and Baguio, respectively, belonged to the same category. In Baguio where family earnings were highest, more than 70.0 percent of the sample had monthly incomes of P201 and higher.

These figures, particularly in the poorer communities, indicate that life is difficult in slum and squatter areas especially if one considers that the average size of the squatter family is from four to six members. Dependency is also high with more than 60.0 percent of family members in the sample of each community were below 20 years of age. Close to 70.0 percent of family members were out of school and more than 50.0 percent were unemployed. It will also be recalled that with the exception of the Baguio community, doubling up was a very common phenomenon in all the areas. All these factors no doubt influence the everyday life of a person, including the upkeep of his house and its surroundings, and the kind of services and facilities which he can afford.

Occupation is another variable which may have a relationship to both income and education. Indeed, the income of a family head is primarily determined by the occupation he pursues. It is not surprising to note, therefore, that our information on occupation slightly favors the communities where family heads show higher

levels of educational attainment and income. (See Table 5.) It can be seen in Table 5 that Baguio and Davao have a lower proportion of unskilled workers and a higher proportion of skilled workers and professionals. Cebu and Iligan appear the least fortunate of the five areas. They have the highest percentage of unskilled workers and a rather low percentage of skilled workers and professionals. The fairly high number of small businessmen in the Cebu areas may easily be attributed to the fishing industry in the community, Barrio Pasil being

Table 5
Occupation of Family Head
(In Percent)

	Baguio	Iloilo	Cebu	Davao	Iligan
Unskilled worker	16.8	20.0	35.6	8.5	33.4
Semi-skilled worker	14.5	22.8	18.6	14.0	25.0
Skilled worker	23.6	15.0	1.4	26.4	3.0
Professional	6.4	3.6	0.9	9.1	1.4
Small businessman	9.6	10.8	31.1	9.4	12.0
Handicraft maker artisan	1.2	0.4	0.9	2.6	1.6
Services	14.8	11.6	7.9	12.8	9.8
Clerical	3.3	2.2	0.2	5.3	3.0
Managerial	0.6	0.6	0.4	1.1	0.2
Not employed	5.3	3.2	0.4	4.9	4.6
Others	3.5	9.6	2.6	5.3	0.4
No data	0.4	—	0.2	0.6	5.4

located adjacent to the seashore and considered the "mini fish market" of the city.

On the whole, our comparison of the sample communities in terms of certain social and economic characteristics of the residents show a linkage between education, income and occupation, i.e., communities housing residents with better types of occupation, also house the better educated and the higher wage earners. Viewed in the light of our prior analysis of the physical characteristics of the communities, the combination of these factors also seem to influence the extent to which the dwelling units and their surroundings were maintained, the types of house facilities used, the health habits and practices of the residents and the degree of physical deterioration of the area in general.⁹ Knowledge of these linkages may be of crucial importance in the planning of projects and programs for slum and squatter communities.

⁹A similar observation was made by Laquian in *Slums are: for People, op. cit.*, Chapter IV.

While there were variations among our sample communities, on the whole, the physical, social and economic conditions existing in them were not very satisfactory. As our analysis of these conditions have shown, a number of problems and needs confronted those communities. To get a better idea of these needs and problems, however, the respondents were asked to suggest government programs which they feel would improve their community.

The essentially economic root of the slum and squatter problem is reflected in the fact that a majority of the informants in all but the Baguio community mentioned the provision of better employment opportunities as a program for community improvement. Next to employment opportunities, the respondents significantly placed a high premium on a government program for the provision of free land. Although a program of free housing is also stressed, the greater emphasis given to the provision of free land in most areas further underscores the claim that squatting and slum dwelling is perhaps more a land policy than a housing problem. As pointed out earlier, the uncertainty of land ownership is often the main reason behind the unwillingness of the slum dweller to introduce improvements in his house.

When asked to rank the "needs" of their community, however, the people interviewed tended to emphasize their more immediate and personal problems such as food, sufficient water supply and more government services. Because of the more satisfactory conditions in the Baguio community and perhaps because of the existing program of relocation, only the informants in Baguio were inclined to assess government efforts at solving their problems favorably. The residents of the other communities judged the government as not doing its best in satisfying their needs.

With conditions being what they were, an overwhelming majority of the people studied in all communities were nonetheless unwilling to return to their place of origin. Among the more important reasons cited for this attitude were "present place is closer to work," "better opportunities here," and "present place provides means of livelihood."

COMMUNITY AFFAIRS AND ORGANIZATION

Part of the reason for the refusal of the residents to move out of the slum and squatter area may be traced to their sense of belonging to the community. All in all, life in our sample communities seems to belie the disorganization, alienation and suffering from *anomie* that is traditionally assumed about squatters and slum dwellers. On the contrary, what was found in the communities studied were families which were tightly knit through various organizations and community affairs. Participation in community activities in turn provided the means through which the slum dweller achieves social stability and integration with the larger society. This is what is often referred to as the "development role" of slum and squatter communities. They are places where the adven-

turous rural migrant develops his personality and potential for urban living.

Despite the physical, social and economic differences among the communities surveyed, a sense of togetherness among the residents appears to be a common characteristic even in the poorer communities. In fact, common hardships and difficulties may be the factors that pull squatters and slum dwellers together. An indication of this may be gleaned from the informants' perception of community cooperativeness. A very high proportion of the people studied in all areas (86.7 percent in Baguio, 87.4 in Iloilo, 95.6 in Cebu, 70.4 in Davao and 76.0 in Iligan) perceived the members of the community as being cooperative. Ways of showing such cooperativeness included participation in community-wide affairs, extending help during emergencies and, in the main, formation of mutual assistance associations.

Associations for mutual assistance are in fact very common in all communities which reflect the generally "inner-directed" attitude of the squatters and slum dwellers. These mutual aid associations were essentially aimed at improving internal community life rather than life in the larger society. Among the activities of this type of associations included soliciting aid when a member dies or is a victim of some calamity, and getting assistance from government agencies in times of emergency.

Another kind of organization that was prevalent in all communities is the social and religious type. These organizations helped prepare the annual celebration of sponsored dances and athletic activities, assisted in the maintenance of the community chapel, or existed simply for camaraderie and relaxation.

With the exception of Iligan, notably missing in the other areas were associations the function of which was the maintenance of peace and order. This may indicate that most of the communities were not confronted with peace and order problems which belie the usual description made about slum areas as being "crime-ridden." Prominent in Iligan and Davao were community associations which were formed primarily for the purpose of acquiring or defending the land on which their houses were built. Such a move is of course a reflection of the uncertain legal status of the land on which these squatter communities were situated.

Aside from pursuing their own objectives, the associations occasionally joined hands in carrying out certain community-wide improvement projects. Such projects included cleanliness and garbage collection campaigns, filling in of low places, and even construction of certain community facilities. Because of the peculiar conditions in slum and squatter areas, the value of such projects cannot be overemphasized.

Despite the many problems and needs, and inadequacy of government services which give one reason to "despair," the communities managed to function

through the mutual aid and "self-help" activities of the people. The existence of a sense of community, therefore, provides the glimmer of "hope" in slum and squatter communities. Mainly for this reason it seems the squatters and slum dwellers were hopeful that better things are yet to come. Thus it is significant to note that a large majority of the family heads studied in all areas believed that the future occupation of their children will be higher than their own. When asked to compare their present community with their place of origin in terms of opportunities for young people, a very high proportion of the informants (95.1 percent in Baguio, 51.2 in Iloilo, 96.7 in Cebu, 89.1 in Davao and 83.2 in Iligan) felt that the present place offers better opportunities for young people.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

This has been a study aimed at clarifying some of the issues and problems associated with squatting and slum dwelling, as well as describing the nature of life in slum and squatter communities. Our analysis point to a number of observations about the physical, social and economic characteristics of slums and squatter areas.

Findings of the survey on the whole show that the slums and squatter communities included in the study were in varying degrees of relative poverty and misery. Physically, houses were mostly dilapidated, built of cast-off and salvaged materials. The surroundings of these houses also showed neglect and lack of maintenance. With few exceptions, houses were single-room dwelling units and such basic utilities as water and toilet facilities were greatly lacking. The situation was further complicated by the fact that "doubling up" in dwelling units was a very common phenomenon.

Most of the squatters and slum dwellers were migrants from the rural areas seeking to land better jobs in the city. Because of their generally low qualifications and educational attainment, their incomes were also low. An aggravating factor was the relatively large size of the average slum dwelling household and a high degree of dependency existed.

One significant finding of the study has to do with the close link among such factors as education, occupation and income, i.e., higher levels of educational attainment often meant higher levels of income and occupation. A combination of these factors in turn seemed to influence such physical characteristics of the communities as the extent of dilapidation of the dwelling units and the adequacy of toilet and water facilities, as well as the health habits and practices of the residents' perceptions of community needs and problems.

The interconnections of these factors partly determined the variations that existed among slum and squatter communities included in the study, i.e., communities that showed generally more satisfactory phy-

sical conditions also housed people with higher educational attainment and higher levels of income and occupation. Another factor that seemed to influence physical characteristics was land ownership. In the community where land ownership was high, physical conditions also tended to be more satisfactory. Knowledge of these variables and linkages is thus crucial to the planning of projects and programs for the improvement of slums and squatter areas.

What this implies is that a variety of slums and squatter areas exists, and that a single universal approach to the problem may be dangerous and misleading. In other words, approaches must be based upon the specific nature of each slum and squatter area. Indeed, problems and needs may vary from one community to the next.

On the positive side, the communities surveyed reveal the existence of a sense of community. Our analysis show that the squatters and slum dwellers were well organized, cooperative and participated in community affairs. They compensated for the lack of various amenities by mutually assisting each other in many traditional ways. In this sense, slum and squatter communities really serve as cheap "transitional stations" for the poor rural migrant in search for better opportunities in the urban society.

This important characteristic of slum and squatter areas suggests a re-evaluation of the "brick and mortar" approach which treat these areas as essentially a "physical" problem. Such an approach presupposes the razing down of "ugly" slum and squatter houses and replacing them with more decent and comfortable dwelling units. In the process, the all important human element is neglected. The approach ignores the fact that in the slum and squatter community, there may already be existing social conditions and human relationships which can be used for the carrying out of community improvement programs. The stress placed by the informants of the study on land ownership also suggests that better housing may not be the best solution to the squatter problem.

All told, the approaches that have so far been tried in dealing with the slum and squatter problem in the Philippines have been piecemeal, ad hoc and sporadic. In the light of the projected growth of urban areas, more solid programs have to be developed. What is called for is a more comprehensive approach which treats urban squatting and slum dwelling not as an isolated phenomenon but as part of the broader issues of region and national development.

There is a need to relate the slum and squatter problem to an overall plan for urban and regional development. Crucial in the development of such a plan is the formulation and adoption of a concrete national policy which must include a definite stand on squatting and slum dwelling, an over-all housing and land program, and a desirable allocation of resources among regions. Related to this must be an educational policy of manpower development aimed at upgrading technical skills which are consistent with the needs of given regions.

PLANNING LAW AND ADMINISTRATION IN PHILIPPINE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

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FORMAL AND LEGAL BASES FOR LOCAL PLANNING

Local governments in the Philippines have been vested with conventional urban planning powers for many years. During the 1920's, the Revised Administrative Code was amended to provide for the preparation by the director of public works of general plans for adoption by municipal and provincial governments.¹ Although the term "general plan" was not defined, it may be inferred that its function was to lay out and locate public buildings, parks, etc. and perhaps, to lay out major land use areas for further action in the form of a zoning map and ordinance. At about the same time, a number of local governments, without benefit of any zoning enabling act enacted rudimentary zoning ordinances restricting the location of certain noxious industries. Those ordinances were sustained by the Supreme Court, which found a sufficient source of authority in the police power granted to local governments under clauses covering health, sanitation, the abatement of nuisances and the general welfare.²

At the conclusion of World War II, President Sergio Osmeña, acting under his war-time emergency powers, created by Executive Order 98 (s. of 1946) the National Urban Planning Commission (NUPC) primarily to prepare plans for the rebuilding of the cities which had been destroyed during the war. The Commission was authorized to adopt general plans (controlling the location of public and publicly-assisted improvements), zoning ordinances and building and subdivision regulations for any urban area of the Philippines. The local legislative bodies were empowered, however, to override the general plans, zoning and subdivision regulations adopted by the Commission by a three-fourths vote. Where the legislative bodies did not act, the local zoning ordinances are considered to have taken effect.³ Under the same executive order, the Commission was empowered to delegate to the local planning commissions such powers and duties as it may deem proper imposing the procedural restrictions laid down by the Executive Order. It may also determine the organization of these local planning bodies and limit the scope of the exercise of their particular planning powers or duties. Under the Reorganization Act of 1950⁴ the NUPC was later

¹Act No. 3482 (1928) amending Revised Administrative Code, Sec. 1901 (Act 2711).

²People v. Cruz, 54 Phil. 24 (1929); Seng Kee & Co. v. Earnshaw 56 Phil. 204 (1931); Tan Chat v. Municipality of Iloilo, 60, Phil. 465 (1934).

³See People v. de Guzman 90 Phil. 132 (1951) sustaining a locally-enacted zoning ordinance without discussing the point. Section 7 of E. O. 98 provides that "... Unless said legislative body shall disapprove such resolution (of the Commission adopting zoning regulations) by a 3/4 vote within thirty (30) days from the date of filing, it shall thereupon take effect..." There is a similar provision affecting subdivision regulations in section 8 of the Order.

⁴Republic Act 422.

consolidated with the Capital City Planning Commission and the Real Property Board to form the present National Planning Commission which has much more limited powers in general, and in relation to the local planning bodies.

In 1954, in a case arising out of the adoption by the Commission of zoning regulations for the City of Manila, the Supreme Court nullified the delegation to the Commission of the power to enact zoning and subdivision regulations as an attempt to delegate legislative power to an administrative agency without sufficiently definite standards.⁵ Five years later, the Local Autonomy Act clarified the matter, by unequivocally and exclusively granting to the cities and municipalities the power to enact zoning and subdivision regulations and rendering the National Planning Commission an advisory body on these and planning matters.⁶ Pursuant to this law, President Macapagal issued in 1962 Administrative Order 31 directing municipal boards and city councils to form planning boards to prepare physical development plans, subdivision, zoning and building regulations, and enjoining them to harmonize all public improvements with the duly approved town or city development plan. To help implement the Order, the Commission in 1963 approved Resolutions 5 and 6 establishing the organizational set-up of local planning boards and the planning procedure of these boards, respectively. More recently, President Marcos created by an Executive Order⁷ Provincial Development Committees to adopt development plans for the province and integrate efforts in implementing plans and projects for the socio-economic development of the area.

Local governments possess not only formal urban planning powers in the strict sense, but other broad powers which are necessary to support and carry into effect their planning functions. These are the powers of regulation, taxation, expropriation, spending and borrowing, as well. Local governments are empowered to enact ordinances and resolutions not contrary to law which are necessary to carry into effect their powers and duties and such as are necessary to provide for the health and safety, morale and good order, comfort etc. of the locality and its inhabitants.⁸ They can impose real property taxes, license and services taxes and fees, taxes on profits and receipts from operation of public utilities and other business enterprises, and special benefit assessments.⁹ They can expropriate land for the usual public purposes¹⁰ and undertake any public works projects financed by the provincial, city and municipal funds, under the supervision of either the district or city engineer and without the intervention of the Department of Public Works and Communications.¹¹ While they can spend money for just about any public purpose¹² they can borrow money only within the limitations of law.¹³

Local government units are also granted specific powers under special laws which could be performed in aid of their planning powers. The recently enacted Republic Act 5223, for instance, authorizes any provincial, municipal or city government to enter into any contract with private persons for the construction of self-liquidating projects.¹⁴ In the implementation of Republic Act 3931, known also as the Pollution Control Law the city or district engineers shall decide on applications for the issuance or renewal of permits for

⁵ U.E. v. City of Manila 96 Phil. 316 (1954).

⁶ Republic Act 2264, Sec. 3 (1959). In 1958, President Marcos signed Administrative Order 152 requiring the municipal boards or city councils to submit proposed subdivision plans to the National Planning Commission for its review, comments and recommendations. The rationale behind the Order was to ensure that the minimum standards of subdivision ordinances existing in the locality, or the **Model Subdivision Regulations** of the Commission are complied with. The Commission has distributed copies of the Order to all local government units in the country for their guidance and information, but there has been no general compliance with it. Some subdivision plans still get approved without passing through the Commission. (Information was obtained in an interview with Director Benjamin Gomez and Architect Roseuro Paderon of the Commission, July 9, 1971).

⁷ Executive Order 121 (Feb. 26, 1968). Earlier an unnumbered circular was issued by President Marcos encouraging provincial governors and city mayors to form development councils in their respective areas and to submit provincial and city development plans. As of early 1969, Development Councils have been formed in Baguio, Calocan, Leyte, Palawan and Cavite. Bulacan has created a Provincial Development Committee.

⁸ This power of the municipal board is, however, subject to the authority of the provincial board to review municipal resolutions, ordinances or orders to see if it is not beyond the powers conferred upon the municipal council or mayor making the same. (Sec. 2233, Sec. 2701, par. 1(a)) *Revised Administrative Code*.

⁹ R.A. 2264, R.A. 5185. Under C.A. 470 (June 16, 1939), municipal councils may levy and collect by special assessment a tax according to benefits conferred on properties due to public works or improvements undertaken by the government.

¹⁰ Municipalities and cities are expressly granted the power of eminent domain (*Revised Administrative Code*, sec. 2245). Provincial boards have the authority to exercise this power upon favorable recommendation by the municipal council of the municipality if the project is within one municipality, and if the project shall be constructed within two or more municipalities, upon favorable recommendation by the district highway engineer who shall give a previous hearing to the municipal councils of the municipalities concerned. (R.A. 2264, sec. 3(b)).

¹¹ R.A. 2264, Sec. 3.

¹² The power of appropriation given to all local government units is quite broad, namely: "to appropriate money for purposes not specified by law, having in view the general welfare of the city and its inhabitants." (R.A. 2264, Sec. 3 (a)).

¹³ The legal borrowing capacity of local units is confined to seven percent of the total assessed valuation of taxable property in the locality minus outstanding contractual obligations. Furthermore, they are authorized to borrow only from national lending institutions like the PNB, DBP, CB, GSIS, and SSS. Pedro Almanzor, "Financing Local Investments: The Philippine Case," *Local Government Bulletin*, September-October 1969, pp.6-7, 14. In a legal opinion handed down on February 11, 1971, Secretary of Justice Vicente Abad Santos ruled, that unless authorized by law, municipal and city governments have no authority to contract foreign loans. *Manila Chronicle*, Feb. 12, 1971, p. 17.

the construction or operation of any commercial or industrial establishments which might cause an increase in the discharge of wastes, and the construction or use of any new outlet for the discharge of any waste directly into the waters or atmospheric air of the Philippines. The National Water and Air Pollution Control Commission is enjoined to consult and enter into agreements with provincial and municipal governments to secure their assistance in carrying out the provisions of the Act. Further, the law (Republic Act 6234) creating Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System (formerly NA-WASA) grants local governments outside Metropolitan Manila the option to remain under the system or to separate from it and manage their own waterworks system.¹⁵ All existing waterworks systems or any system that may be established by cities and municipalities shall have exclusive control over all sources of water supply such as rivers and streams for waterworks purposes. All of these general and specific powers show that local governments have sufficient formal powers to engage in planning activities or to lend financial and legal support to their planning powers.¹⁶

Local governments have either failed to exercise their planning powers or have not exercised them effectively. From its inception, the National Planning Commission has encouraged local governments to form planning boards. As previously mentioned, Presidents Macapagal and Marcos have given support to this encouragement by various executive and administrative orders. However, as of 1969, of more than 1,375 municipalities and 55 cities existing in the country, only 118 municipalities and 23 cities have formally created local planning boards, many of which are inactive. Only 62 municipalities have enacted subdivision regulations and only 16 have enacted zoning ordinances.¹⁷ Of the 55 cities, only 12 have enacted subdivision regulations, and only 7 have passed zoning ordinances. Of the four cities comprising Metropolitan Manila (Manila, Quezon, Pasay and Caloocan), only one has a planning board which is, however, inactive.¹⁸ Three of them have zoning ordinances, two of which were enacted in 1956 while one was passed only four years ago. Also, three of

these four cities have subdivision ordinances which have been enacted in the early fifties. These zoning and subdivision ordinances are being enforced by particular divisions within the city engineer's office.

More significant than the fact that most local governments have not sought to exercise their planning powers is the discouraging experience of those that have. The City of Manila, having failed to approve a master plan and zoning map prepared by the National Planning Commission in the 1950's is still theoretically going by a 1940 zoning ordinance which was based on a 1928 plan.¹⁹ Quezon City, on the other hand, created a planning board in 1964 which met several times to act on cases involving zoning and subdivision referred to it by the Council. Its activities have been very limited because of lack of staff, and its accomplishments consisted mainly of the adoption by the Council of some of its recommendations.²⁰ At present, the board is inactive, its last meeting having been held way back in 1969. Davao is now preparing to adopt a new master plan and a zoning ordinance but still has in effect a 1947 zoning ordinance based on a 1938 plan.

In almost every city with an enacted zoning ordinance, it is impossible to find any but coincidental resemblance between actual land use and zoning maps. There are several reasons for this situation. One of them is that amendments to the zoning ordinance are made almost indiscriminately, allowing uses different from that provided in the zoning map. Resolutions are usually passed by the council allowing non-conforming uses.²¹ Another is that even without the benefit of amendments, failure or laxity of enforcing officials have encouraged violation of the zoning ordinance. Political pressure or influences exerted on some of the officials have also prevented strict enforcement of the ordinance. A Quezon City subdivision exemplifies the problem with particular force. This particular subdivision²² was constructed in the mid-1950's as a model single family residential community and is inhabited by progressive upper-middle class families. It has been zoned as Residential 1 where only one-family and two-family

¹⁴ R.A. 5223, June 15, 1968.

¹⁵ The System is given jurisdiction over the cities of Manila, Pasay, Quezon, Cavite, and Caloocan, and the municipalities of Antipolo, Cainta, Las Piñas, Makati, Malabon, Mandaluyong, Marikina, Montalban, Navotas, Parañaque, Pasig, Pateros, San Juan, San Mateo, Taguig, Taytay, all of Rizal province, the municipalities of Bacoor, Imus, Kawit, Noveleta, Rosario, all of Cavite province.

¹⁶ There have been other legislative proposals to increase local planning powers. The Committee for the revision of the Draft Administrative Code recommended the vesting of substantial planning powers in the local government. (See Megavern, *Draft Administrative Code*, 1968, mimeo, I.P., U.P. pp. 9-13). The Commission on Reorganization proposes in its Plan to vest supervision of local planning on a proposed Department of Local Government and Community Development. (See Santiago and Megavern, "Nat'l. Physical Planning Legislation," 1971 mimeo, I.P., U.P.).

¹⁷ Basic source of information is the National Planning Commission, compiled by the College of Architecture, U.P., 1969.

¹⁸ Quezon City has a planning board created by *Ordinance 5739* on February 6, 1964. It is, however, inactive at present. Information was obtained from Engr. Jacinto Dasmariñas, City Engineer of Quezon City.

¹⁹ Carlos Ramos, "Manila's Metropolitan Problems," *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 5, No. 2, April 1961, pp. 89-117.

²⁰ Interview with City Architect Dasmariñas of Quezon City.

²¹ See Teresita Logan and Delia Roperos, "Zoning in Quezon City," unpublished paper for the course in E. P. 291, 1969.

²² Philamlife Subdivision.

²³ This is the Teachers' Village in Quezon City.

²⁴ "Residents Protest vs. City Ordinance," *Manila Times*, Feb. 25, 1969.

dwellings are allowed under the Zoning Ordinance. More recently, however, apartment units have been added to the rear, side, or top of the original single family buildings. Another subdivision²³ in the same city, which is not yet completely developed was intended for and is principally occupied by academic and professional families and was originally zoned Residential 1; but similarly, a substantial number of apartment buildings have been and are being built. Homeowners in this subdivision have in fact already petitioned the city council to repeal the ordinance which allowed the construction of commercial houses in the area and to refrain from approving similar ordinances.²⁴

For another example of non-enforcement of planning controls, land reserved by a subdivision plan for public or community use is on occasion sold off by the developer for private use.²⁵ In many cities, gasoline stations, expensive single family homes, motor repair shops (which carry on a good deal of their work on the sidewalk or pedestrian right of way), squatters' houses, small retail shops, occasional livestock and sometimes a factory or equipment yard can all be seen together within the same block. This observation does not suggest that mixed land use patterns are necessarily undesirable, but only emphasizes the fact that land control measures have not been effective to introduce even a semblance of order in land uses.²⁶

In related areas of activities relevant to planning, local governments have shown limited or ineffective capacity for performance. In so far as raising sufficient revenues for their respective areas are concerned, local governments have not been very successful. This is evidenced by their poor financial conditions and their heavy reliance on national grants and aids.²⁷ In general, they have remained financially weak and depend on the assistance of the national government to enable them to provide even the basic public services. This is not only because their taxing power is limited but because they

have not taken full advantage of the taxing powers granted them by law.²⁸ For instance, not even one municipality or municipal district has exercised the power to levy special assessments on real properties.²⁹ The reasons behind the reluctance to impose this tax are fear that it would antagonize the electorates, lack of funds and personnel to impose it and inability to keep track of improvements made.³⁰ Another reason is the difficulty of administering this tax. Although the real property tax is the major source of revenues of local units, collection of this tax has not really been high. This is aside from the fact that the level of assessment is only less than one-half of its fair-market value.³¹ Budgets are extremely unstable and most cities adopt an average of 50 supplemental budgets a year, which modify not only the amounts appropriated but also the purposes and uses of the appropriation.³²

Aside from their financial and fiscal problems, local governments also have problems of recruiting qualified civil servants into the service. Generally, recruitment, selection and promotion of personnel are done without regard to civil service rules and regulations. Aside from succumbing to political interference, majority of the municipalities are also financially incapable of giving even the minimum wages to personnel, thus failing to attract highly qualified men.³³ Closely related to this problem is that of the enforcement of laws and regulations in the local governments. Enforcement of traffic regulations for instance, is extremely lax. This, combined with a failure to set or enforce adequate building setback restrictions, the lay-out of streets at all kinds of angles, the use of sidewalks and streets by vendors, tricycles, jeeps, buses, push carts, etc., a pronounced tendency towards strip commercial development, and the not uncommon location of public markets along major highways, leads to considerable traffic congestions even with a low number of vehicles in relation to the population.

²⁵It was recently reported that a portion of the White Plains Subdivision originally intended for a 38 meter wide parkway has allegedly been converted into, and is being sold as, residential lots. The entire area was set aside by the National Planning Commission as a "condition" for the approval of the original plan for the housing subdivision ten years ago. See account in Filemon Tutay, "Road Lots for Sale," *Free Press*, Feb. 20, 1971, p. 8.

²⁶Quezon City has been considered by a writer as one of the best examples of how local and national governments have failed in urban planning. He cited Sixto Roxas, President of the BANCOM Development Corporation, as saying that in Quezon City, 80 percent of the population live on only 10 percent of the city's total land area because of the absence of proper land use policies and the failure of the local government to make other portion of the city equally accessible to the people. Alfio L. Locsin, see "Business Log," *Manila Times*, February 23, 1971, p. 12.

²⁷Eduardo Romualdez, Angel Yoingco, and Antonio Casem, *Philippine Tax System*, (Manila: 1970), p. 235.

²⁸Joint Legislative Executive Tax Commission, *12th Annual Report, 1970* (Manila, 1971), p. 18. The Report states that if the municipal authority to tax is utilized to the optimum, substantial revenues may be realized.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 19. Luz Dullin in an article in the *Congressional Economic Bulletin*, however, reports that a few local units have taken advantage of the Special Assessments Act during its 31 years of existence. In fiscal year 1967, according to the paper, city and municipal governments collected P8,000 and P3,000 respectively. None was collected in 1968 and two other fiscal years despite the fact that 295 bridges were built and 2,367 developmental, feeder, and gravel road projects were undertaken in 1968, Vol. 1, No. 15, Oct. 15, 1970, pp. 5, 12.

³⁰*Ibid.*

³¹JLRC, *loc. cit.* Real property tax collection rates in 1969 range between 17 percent (Palayan) and 111 percent (Batangas) for cities, and 21 percent (Nueva Vizcaya) and 72 percent (Occ. Mindoro) for provinces, with medians of 43 percent (Dagupan) and 41 percent (Nueva Ecija), respectively. Department of Finance, *Statistical Bulletin*, Vol. XIV, Jan. 1, 1970, pp. 44-45.

³²This information was provided by Lorinda Carlos, Chief of Local Government Finance Section, Department of Finance, in an interview on July 27, 1971.

³³Manuel Caoili, "Some Insights on the Management Problems of Philippine City Government," *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XIV No. 2, April, 1970, pp. 169-186. See also *Civil Service and Local Governments: Some Issues and Problems, and Personnel Management in Local Governments: Some Common Problems*, publications of the Joint Local Government Reform Commission, 1970, mimeo.

Other problems plague local governments which make planning more difficult. In most cities and urbanized municipalities, squatter settlements account for an already substantial and increasing proportion of the population. The statistics for the six cities studied and Task Force on Urban Development are revealing of the seriousness of the problem.³⁴ In Bacolod, for instance, the total area of the city occupied by the squatters is 26.90 hectares which is 2.28 percent of the city's developed land. Baguio has about 75 squatter areas scattered all over the city.³⁵ Iligan has six squatter areas consisting of about 13.2 hectares or 2.06 percent of the developed land; Legaspi City has 21 squatter areas consisting of 12.25 hectares or 2.05 percent of the developed area; while Zamboanga has three squatter areas occupying 1.5 hectares of land comprising 0.37 percent of the built-up area.³⁶ Although a growing number of cities have slum clearance programs, efforts in this direction have not been continuous and extensive enough since other problems demand attention from the local governments. It is not surprising to find these programs unimplemented or shelved just as it is uncommon to find public works projects and social and economic development programs abandoned. Local governments, indeed, have to solve many of their present domestic problems before they can be effective partners in the national planning efforts of the country.

AN EVALUATION OF PHILIPPINE LOCAL PLANNING

Physical planning at the local level has not been undertaken successfully. There are many reasons for this. First, the local governments have not had available the staff, expertise and financial resources required for effective planning administration. Provinces and cities have relied on the city or district engineers to enforce building and subdivision regulations. Only more recently have some cities employed city planners or contracted with planning consultants.³⁷ While, as already mentioned, some of these government units have local planning boards, their members are not generally qualified to undertake planning. Furthermore, these bodies do not have the necessary financial support in the performance of their activities. Serafin Aquino, Jr., referring to Metropolitan Manila, wrote that:

a scrutiny of municipal budgets will reveal that very little, if any, specific appropriations for systematic urban planning activities have even been made.³⁸

This situation is generally true for all other metropolitan areas in the country. This is not surprising because even the national physical planning agency, the National Planning Commission, has not received adequate appropriations through the many years of its existence.³⁹

Second, local governments have not established a strong administrative and procedural framework for planning. Planning boards have been established but in most cases they have not been given real responsibility and support by the city or municipal governments, and most of them are now little more than paper organizations. Many have expired or are inactive. Important decisions regarding the development of the community are often made without consultation of the board or even contrary to their recommendations. Subdivision plan approval (which should be considered an administrative function) has usually been reserved by the legislative bodies to themselves and exercised without any assurance of continuity of policy, expertise, and independence from undue political interference.⁴⁰ Procedural safeguards such as notice to the public and to affected parties, public hearings, referral to the planning board, written findings and administrative review of planning decisions are usually entirely lacking. This has made possible indiscriminate amendments to the zoning and subdivision ordinances made by the local legislative bodies. Applications to the planning officer (city engineer or zoning administrator) for exceptions or variances which are refused are often times granted by the legislative bodies. This has made it difficult to keep track of the various amendments to the existing ordinances and the citizenry are usually kept uninformed primarily because there is no established procedure for effecting these changes.

Third, zoning ordinances, subdivision regulations and capital improvement decisions are adopted, amended and applied without reference to any comprehensive plan or explicit objectives and standards. Capital improvement programming has not been attempted, and there is little relationship between the identification and programming of public works projects on the one hand, and zoning subdivision regulations, on the other. The usual practice is to adopt the National Planning Commission's **Model Zoning and Model Subdivision Regulations** without ascertaining their adaptability to the local conditions and their conformance to what the community wants to accomplish. The only plan is usually the zoning map itself and the zoning map and "plan" are

³⁴The creation of the Task Force was a joint project of the National Economic Council and the U.S. Agency for International Development.

³⁵Profile Reports for Bacolod and Baguio, (NEC-AID, 1968), pp. 25 and 26, respectively.

³⁶Profile Reports for Iligan, Legaspi, and Zamboanga City, pp. 22, 25, and 26 respectively

³⁷To the writer's knowledge, Quezon City, Davao City, and Baguio City have items for city planners. Government officials of Cagayan de Oro and Bacolod have consulted a private planning office and the Institute of Planning, respectively, to study and make recommendations affecting the physical development of their cities.

³⁸Serafin Aquino, Jr., "Urban Planning: The Case of Metropolitan Manila," *Local Government Bulletin*, Vol. 4, No. 3, May-June, 1969, p. 8.

³⁹*Ibid.* In the same article wrote that the annual budget of the Commission cannot even compare favorably with that of many a medium-sized city in the United States.

⁴⁰By virtue of *Administrative Order 152* (1968) subdivision plans are required to be submitted to the National Planning Commission to ensure their conformance with the minimum requirements of the existing subdivision ordinances. Where no such ordinance exists the NPC uses its Model Subdivision Ordinance as basis. (Interview with Director Gomez and Arch. Paderon *supra*).

considered one and the same time. Land is allocated among various use classifications without the benefit of supporting studies as to growth patterns, land needs, infrastructure requirements, or in some cases, even topography. Often the zoning map does not extend to the newly developing urban fringe areas, and yet, the local legislative body assumes the power to require the developer to apply to it for zoning permission. Permission is granted unconditionally, conditionally, or denied, all on a purely ad hoc basis.

The National Planning Commission **Model Subdivision Regulations** are vague both as to standards and procedure (to some extent necessarily so), yet, no attempt is made to refine and modify them as required for application to a particular community. For example, the regulations require approval of subdivision plans by various authorities referred to as "proper authorities," "proper public works agencies," "entities concerned," "engineering agency concerned," etc., without specifying who those authorities are. Procedural provisions are extremely sketchy and do not provide for time limitations, hearings, referrals, findings, appeals, etc. The substantive regulatory standards assume an independent system of highway classification and policy that normally does not exist in the local government. They provide for designation of land for public use and preservation of natural and historic features but do not make it clear under what circumstances land must be so designated or preserved. Similarly, the regulations provide specifications for water and sewerage facilities if constructed by the developer, but they do not provide under what circumstances such facilities are to be required. The regulations are replete with such indefinite standards as "suitable," "appropriate," and "most advantageous development of the entire neighboring area," which of course cannot be eliminated altogether but could be further elaborated and adapted to the circumstances of the particular community. Some local governments have not even enacted a subdivision regulation ordinance, but nevertheless assume that they have the power to require developers to submit their subdivision plans to the local legislative body for approval, which is granted or withheld without reference to any legally adopted standards whatever.

Fourth, planning has often been quite unrealistic in several respects. It has been predominantly design-oriented, concerned primarily with the laying out of a highway system or system of roads and a land use scheme based on a classification of uses according to traditional zoning concepts. Little attention has been given to the financing and sequence of development, the means required to realize the plan and the relationship of the plan with housing and urban development programs and those for the provision of public utilities and services.⁴¹ For

example, not one master plan, zoning map, or subdivision regulation ordinances that we know of even recognizes the existence and continued proliferation of squatter settlements and the need to provide alternative modes of development for low income families.

Zoning as a tool for development is extremely unrealistic. It is of the traditional U.S. variety, based on a scheme to segregate land uses according to functional purpose. The typical zoning classification scheme establishes zones for two classes of residential use, a single class of business use, and two classes of industrial use; and it lists specific uses permitted in each zone. No provision is made in the ordinance for variances, special exceptions or amendments. Consequently, no machinery and procedure for the application for and granting of these variations from the ordinance are provided for. Even with appropriate provision for accessory and auxiliary uses, this kind of zoning is, for several reasons, simply difficult to enforce in the Philippines. The planning authorities, for one reason, cannot be expected to predict the course of development accurately enough to enable them to identify with precision just what land will be required for what use. This is especially true now that urban development is tending increasingly to take the form of large residential and commercial complexes.

In the Philippine economy, for another reason, land uses necessarily tend to be mixed. Many families are engaged in a variety of economic pursuits, some of which must be carried on in or about the home. These include cottage industries, small shops and sari-sari stores, and the raising of livestock. With an inadequate system of mass transportation and low levels of family income, homes must be located close to places of shopping and of employment. Moreover, even if traditional zoning were considered sound policy, it is quite clear that the local government does not have sufficient political authority to make it effective. Traditional zoning inevitably affects land values heavily. And if zoning and local governments do not enjoy strong political support, the zoning map will yield to the pressure generated by the market and by individual land owners demanding the freedom of putting their property to its most profitable use. It seems necessary, therefore, to reduce the conflict or gap between the zoning map and the market, as far as practicable, restricting land use only pursuant to the clearest and most substantial public purposes and avoiding whenever possible substantial and disparate effects upon land values.

Zoning, subdivision, and building regulations also tend to be unrealistic in the particular design standards they set. The usual minimum lot size for single family homes is 180 square meters, with a minimum front yard of four meters and side and rear yards of two meters. This is appropriate, in general, for middle class housing

⁴¹ *Executive Order 98* (s. 1946) empowering the National Planning Commission to engage in planning does not have any provision on any of the above matters. It refers to general plans

which, however, are not defined in any part of the Order. An idea of what the general plan shall include is provided in the section dealing with the legal status of these plans (Sec. 6).

and subdivisions, but is economically unrealistic for truly low-cost housing. The disparity between legal and actual standards is illustrated, at the extreme, by very high densities in squatter settlements. In Quezon City, for example, there is a building lot of 640 square meters which is occupied by 42 families. This is not exceptional, and many similar lots can be found throughout the Manila area. Densities of that order are obviously not desirable, but neither is it necessary to go all the way to a minimum lot size of 180 square meters. In the first planned and organized squatter occupation of land that we know of in the Philippines, a group of squatters recently moved into a proposed public building site in Tondo and proceeded to lay out regular lots for their members. Those lots measured six meters by six meters, which was considered sufficient by the new occupants. Although this is obviously not ideal, it represents a substantial improvement upon many existing squatter settlements. If the government is to attempt to provide an alternative to squatting, it will have to do so at realistic costs. The difference in cost between a lot of 50 square meters and one of 180 square meters would run to thousand of pesos, which neither the low-income family nor the government can afford.⁴² If lots of 50 or 60 square meters could actually be made available to low income families, that in itself would be an achievement of sufficient magnitude to stand as a target for now.

A fifth reason for the ineffectiveness of local planning is the lack of any arrangement to link local to national planning. The Local Autonomy Law, as already mentioned, grants cities and municipalities planning powers without relating them with the planning functions of the National Planning Commission. The latter plays only a limited role in local planning as an advisory and consultative body, with no control or even supervisory powers over local planning bodies. The local governments also have limited participation in national decisions made by the national departments and agencies affecting their physical development. For instance, in most local governments, the local government itself accounts for only a minor share of public works expenditures within its territory. National decisions in the form of industrial financing (for example, the financing of the Iligan Integrated Steel Mill, cement plants, flour and textile mills and sugar centrals) and the granting of industrial investment incentives by the Board of Investments (BOI) obviously play an important part in determining the course of urban development.

Yet, national infrastructure and industrial investment decisions are made in complete isolation from the local land use planning process. In form, urban planning is a local function under the Local Autonomy Act; but in fact the local governments have little or no part in many of the most important governmental decisions affecting their growth.

A sixth reason for the failure of local planning exists in the general weakness of local government. Although as already noted, the local governments have considerable formal power, they are in fact fiscally and politically weak and dependent upon national government. In order to secure the release of funds for nationally-financed local public works projects and even of funds legally owing to them by the national government, local officials must often spend a good deal of their time in bargaining with congressmen and national officials.⁴³ The city and district engineers, city and provincial fiscals, and the city and provincial treasurers are all appointed at the national level and are naturally responsive to national as well as local pressures.⁴⁴ Political power within the local government is often either monopolized by a prominent family or fragmented among a number of competing factions, and in either case is exercised according to highly particularistic considerations. Fiscal and personnel management, as already noted, tends to be quite haphazard.⁴⁵

Finally, it is not only the local government but the political system generally that is weak in those characteristics necessary for effective planning. The Philippine political system is remarkably strong in several respects, especially in constitutional protection of individual liberties against authoritarian suppression and in providing relatively open and widespread participation in the political process (in the context of an economy in which nearly two-thirds of the labor force is employed in the traditional agricultural sector). But, in part, as a consequence of those virtues, political institutions are not strong enough to be able consistently to subordinate short term, particularistic interests to more general public interests.

PROPOSAL FOR REFORMS

The measures that can be suggested to make local urban planning more effective follow fairly obviously from the foregoing discussion of the reasons for its present weakness. Some of the suggested measures are discussed below.

⁴²The representative land values per square meter in Metropolitan Manila and in other urban areas range from P40 and above, and P30 and above, respectively. (Urban Housing Cost Chart, PHHC, Quezon City, May 1970).

⁴³In June 1970, Rep. Neptali Gonzales (Rizal) denounced the national government's failure to release P92.7 million of local government revenues to Rizal Province and its towns. This represented the shares of the Rizal provincial government as well as of the Rizal cities and towns in the excess income tax allotment as provided for in *R.A. 2343* since FY 1968-1969. The five biggest shares unreleased by the national government were: Rizal Province - P24,912,924.66; Makati - P25,974,344.64; Quezon City - P6,774,161.66; Mandaluyong - P6,118,198.30; and Parañaque - P3,726,823.83. (*Manila Times*, June 17, 1970).

p. 10. More recently, Rep. Francisco G. Reyes revealed that based on BIR estimates for the last FY, the shares of local governments in collected taxes from July, 1970 to April, 1971 amount to more than P500 M. He said that withholding releases has resulted in the accumulation of unremitted shares amounting to several millions of pesos for the past many years (*Manila Times* July 2, 1970), p. 11.

⁴⁴Under *R.A. 5185* (Decentralization Law), the provincial assessor, provincial agriculturist and other heads of offices entirely paid out of provincial funds and their respective assistants shall be appointed by the provincial governor. The city assessor, city agriculturist, city chief of police and city chief of fire department and other heads of offices entirely paid out of

A. Staff and Resources for Planning

As to the need for adequate planning staff and resources, the UP Institute of Planning will now be graduating professional planners with Master's degree in Environmental Planning at a rate of more than 20 per year, and many graduates can expect eventually to find employment in local government. Obviously, though, only a few of the nearly 1,400 municipalities in the nation can expect to employ full-time planning staffs. Even if the planners were available, most of the municipalities could not afford them. For only about 20 percent of all municipalities have an annual income in excess of P100,000.⁴⁶ Most municipalities, of course, do not require much physical planning. And the obvious way to provide for them is to strengthen the National Planning Commission, which continues to struggle along on a budget of only about P200,000. Whether a national planning agency can work effectively at the local level in a purely advisory role, without any control over the resources and the decisions determining the course of development, is, however, debatable. And, as will be argued a little later, an effective national planning agency with some but not all planning powers could not serve to strengthen planning at the local as well as at the national level. A simpler and less technically-demanding approach to planning would also enable local governments to plan effectively without unnecessary staff requirement. In general, however, it appears that planning staffs and procedures can be strengthened significantly in a few wealthy and fast-growing local governments and in a national agency authorized to assist in local planning. During the foreseeable future, however, physical planning will be feasible only in those communities that are wealthy, rapidly-developing, or associated with problems or opportunities of national significance.

B. Administrative and Procedural Reforms

In those local governments that are able to undertake physical planning of some consequence, substantial administrative and procedural reforms are possible. A local planning commission vested with genuine responsibility and authority is mandatory. The functions of the commission shall include formulation of plans, review of proposed capital budgets and regulatory measures, administrative determination of applications for approval of subdivision plans and preservation of land for future public use, and appellate review of decisions of the city engineer concerning the interpretation and application of planning regulations. Procedural safeguards such as

notice, public hearings, referral of proposed legislative actions to the planning commission, and written findings and decisions on planning matters should be included in the planning ordinance. One issue that should be resolved is the issue of the independence of the local planning commission in relation to the mayor. On the one hand, the commission should be broadly representative of the local government and community and independent of any particular faction. On the other hand, it should also enjoy the confidence and support of the mayor if it is to function effectively. This can be achieved by providing for relatively broad representation on the commission and for fixed tenure of members from the private sector. Still the mayor has to make most of the appointments within his term of office. This compromise, however, could easily fall on either side of the issue.

C. A Comprehensive Plan

Development decisions and actions should be undertaken pursuant to a comprehensive plan. The comprehensive plan envisaged is not, however, a traditional design-oriented master plan, and it may even be misleading to term it comprehensive. We have assumed that neither the planners nor the local political system is capable of predetermining and coordinating decisions over a long period of time and broad expanse of territory, especially those decisions that are primarily within the private sector. Consequently, the kind of planning recommended is directed primarily to the short and intermediate term and to concrete programs of action, specifically including the zoning, regulatory and other legal actions required to reach the objectives of the plan. Emphasis, in other words, is to be placed on clear and attainable objectives. Although this sort of plan may not be considered deserving of the term comprehensive, it should serve far more effectively than the traditional master plan to coordinate and discipline particular planning actions and decisions such as zoning amendments, the adoption of subdivision standards, and public works projects expenditures.

D. Realistic Planning

The local planning commission contemplated by the authors can provide for a limited and workable approach to planning which cannot, of course, assure realistic planning. In so far as zoning and regulatory provisions are concerned, the ordinance that may be adapted can follow the lines suggested above. No attempt would be made in the zoning regulations to control building

city funds and their respective assistants or deputies shall be appointed by the city mayor.

⁴⁵See Caoili, "Some Insights on the Management Problem of Philippine City Governments," *Op. cit.*

⁴⁶In the latest classification of the 1,385 regular municipalities made by the Department of Finance on the basis of their annual income only 51, or 4.1 percent belong to the first class; 42 or 3.0 percent to the second class; 178 or 12.9 percent to the third class; 330 or 23.8 percent to the fourth class; 336 or 24.3 percent to the fifth class; 304 or 21.9 percent to the sixth class; and 129 or 9.3 percent to the seventh class. Nine municipalities created in 1968 or 0.6 percent are still unclassified. To be considered a first class municipality, it must have

received an average income during the preceding fiscal years of from P300,000 to P2,500,000 or more. The rest of the municipalities are classified according to average income obtained during the preceding four fiscal years as follows:

Second Class	-	P200,000	-	P299,999
Third Class	-	100,000	-	199,999
Fourth Class	-	50,000	-	99,999
Fifth Class	-	30,000	-	49,999
Sixth Class	-	15,000	-	29,999
Seventh Class	-	less than 15,000	-	-

See Joint Legislative Exec. Tax Com. (12th Annual Report), (Manila, 1971), p. 15.

height, area, or bulk. There would be no side and rear yard standards. Because setback from highways is considered so important, however, set back restrictions should be provided, but according to highway classification, not to zone. (Building design and siting, however, may be subject to regulation in the building and subdivision regulation ordinances). The zoning regulations might better be given another name, for they would depart radically from traditional concepts of separation of uses. The approach is not to try to separate land uses according to purpose but to allow most land to be used for any purpose, subject only to standards and exceptions intended to exclude nuisances uses, and to establish additional zones only to achieve particular planning objectives. Thus, it should be recognized that the central business district requires special forms of regulation to provide for fire protection, off-street parking, arcade construction, setback, and a measure of amenity. An offensive zone would be established to concentrate uses that give rise to substantial heavy damage and have nuisance effects. And an open, or perhaps more accurately, a low-density zone, would enable the planning authorities to restrict intensive development along flood plains and bodies of water (in order to mitigate pollution as well as flood hazards), in outlying areas in which premature development would give rise to problems of transportation, water supply, and services, in buffer zones, along certain highways, and possibly in areas the community wishes to preserve as green space. In view of the legal, political and economic difficulties in maintaining relatively open areas against the pressures for intensive urban development, however, the open zone would allow a far wider range of uses than is normally associated with green belts or open spaces. The permitted uses would include low-density residential and institutional uses.

We see no possibility for the provision of housing to the lower economic brackets of the urban population in conformity with the standards embodied in current building, subdivision and zoning regulations. The only feasible way to improve housing and environmental conditions for low-income families is to legalize, channel and upgrade the process of squatter settlement because government cannot afford to provide high standard housing on a significant scale. We believe it can afford to provide land and essential facilities by developing sites and services projects undertaken in the context of comprehensive urban expansion schemes. The planning ordinance contemplated can provide the legal framework for such projects in the form of low-cost homesite zones which are exempted from conventional building and subdivision regulations and subject only to minimum standards in respect to access, water, sanitation and a minimum lot size of 50 square meters (as compared to typical existing standards of 180 sq. meters). Development of this kind is unlikely to prove sufficiently profitable to allow the planning authorities, from a legal and political point of view, to dictate it to land owners, and in most cases only government agencies would be willing to make land available for such development. In

occasional cases, however, private owners might be included to do so, especially if the low cost homesite areas were to comprise only a part of a larger development including more profitable uses, some of which might benefit from the low-income community as consumers and employees. If the private owner were assured that he would in fact be able to regain possession of his land, he might also be willing to devote it to low-income residential use for a temporary holding of, say, fifteen years while awaiting the opportunity to put it to a more intensive use. But considering the probable difficulty of regaining possession, (we recognize that this would depend so heavily upon the initiative of the particular developer, whether public or private), the ordinance could provide that the low-cost zones may be designated only upon the affirmative application of the land owner. To assure that the exemption from building and subdivision regulations is not abused and that land so designated is in fact made available to low-income families, designation would be contingent upon the developer's satisfying the planning commission that he has a feasible program of development and of lot disposition to such families at prices or rent within their means.

The final zone that can be provided for — land reserved for future public use — would not truly be a use zone at all. It is intended to enable government to receive notice of any proposed development on land which it reasonably expects to acquire for public use, and if practicable, to impose reasonable restrictions that will allow the owner to develop his land without unduly prejudicing the proposed public use. Although this would not strictly be a use zone in the usual sense, there is every reason to designate such land on the zoning map rather than on a separate map. Designation of such land would be on application by the appropriate government agency to the planning commission.

Regulation of access and development of land adjacent to highways would also be provided for in the ordinance as an important instrument of planning control. But we concede that it is not at all clear that intensive and uncontrolled strip development could be successfully resisted.

The regulatory system outlined above is obviously not capable of much refinement or subtlety of planning control over private land use. In order to achieve more control over the course of urban development, and, equally important, in order to further narrow the gap between planning controls and market conditions, reliance must be placed on positive planning instruments, particularly on greater public participation in urban development. For example, sites and services projects could be used to determine the location of high density low income residential communities and industrial estates could be used to determine the location of important industrial plants.

Although we recognize that the regulatory scheme presented here might itself prove unrealistic in many

respects, and that it would undoubtedly require further modification in the light of the experience gained in the adoption and application in particular communities, we believe that it at least suggests direction towards a more effective alignment of planning regulations with economic and political realities.

E. National and Regional Framework

No local government can of itself establish the national or regional framework required to interrelate its planning decisions with those of other local governments and the agencies of the national government. But it can use its political influence to secure conformity of their actions to its planning policies and objectives and it can relate its own planning actions to those of the national government. The existence of a formal plan embodying local policies should itself help to guide national decisions. And the city and provincial engineers who serve in both a national and a local capacity should be able to provide liaison and a considerable measure of coordination in relation to infrastructure projects. The local governments can also form regional planning organizations on their own initiative, as in the Bicol Development Planning Board. But it should be recognized that such an organization suffers inherent limitations in its lack of significant resources and its lack of legal authority over even its own members. In the few areas where the local governments are wealthy enough to support major development projects, a regional development authority funded by and accountable to the local governments can be created by an act of Congress. The promising start made by the Laguna Lake Development Authority suggests that this may be an effective form of regional organization, but is doubtful whether this form would be successfully used in any but the most dynamic and progressive areas of the country where the local governments have the necessary funds and the political process is less particularistically oriented. Regional development authorities created as agencies of national government have not proved effective and offer little hope.⁴⁷ In the long run, the greatest chance for effective linking of local regional and national planning appears to lie in the creation of a flexible national physical planning office, closely related to the principal economic planning agency and empowered to initiate, coordinate, supervise and participate in planning at all levels when and as this appears to be both important and feasible.

F. Strength of Local Governments and Political Institutions

The basic institutional difficulties to effective planning — the weakness of local governments and of the political institutions necessary to give effect to public over private interests — are of course the most intractable. Planning is almost completely dependent upon the capacity of the political system to impose some discipline upon the play of private, local, short-term and

special interests in order to advance more general public interests. But planning can also have some influence upon the political system, and efforts to establish effective planning should be able to introduce somewhat greater discipline in the political process. At the local level, this implies that planning should be so organized as to generate as much political and public support as possible for the plans and their objectives and policies. That, of course, is far easier said than done. The means adopted to that end in the planning ordinance proposed in this paper include a relatively strong planning commission, public hearings, procedural checks, and emphasis upon the most urgent problems. It is possible, however, that immediate actions may lead to conflicts, delay, and confusion, although we do not see any more promising alternative.

A definite trend towards a strengthening of the capacity of government for planning can be seen at the national level. A multitude of special committees, councils, and task forces are effectively coordinating major development decisions and projects. The National Economic Council (NEC) appears to be playing an important and increasing part in basic policy formulation and review, and is now engaged in the preparation of a long term perspective plan of economic development. The Presidential Economic Staff (PES) has emerged as a strong and capable planning agency, particularly in identifying and initiating major development projects and in providing impetus and coordination — often in a highly informal way — to the many agencies concerned with project and program execution. And the PES, NEC and an interagency task force have undertaken an annual review and extension of the national Four Year Development Plan. The Board of Investments (BOI) has gained an excellent reputation for ability and independence in the planning and administration of a system of tax incentives designed to channel industrial investments into those areas of the economy most important to national economic development. The Department of Public Works and Communications is now selecting infrastructure projects in accordance with the Philippine Transport Survey, a comprehensive study of transportation needs over the next decade. The Infrastructure Operations Center (IOC) has established an effective system for the execution of infrastructure projects.

Equivalent progress will probably not emerge at the local level at a very rapid rate. But as the national agencies become more concerned with planning in terms of locational relationships, while at least some local governments gain fiscal and political strength, and as demands for political reform become more intense, local planning can be expected to receive growing institutional support.

PROPOSED APPROACH TO LOCAL PLANNING

In the foregoing discussion are many implicit suggestions as to the kind of local planning we believe would be most effective during the foreseeable future. Perhaps, it would be well before concluding this report to outline explicitly the approach to planning we

⁴⁷See Abelardo G. Samonte, "Regional Development Authorities: Role, Structure and Feasibility," *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, *op. cit.*

envisage. The first step would be to identify the most suitable and probable areas for urban expansion during the next ten or twenty years. In some towns and cities, of course, this would depend heavily upon the location of land suitable for urban development, future sources of water supply, and the probable nature and location of major transportation and industrial projects, and we do not mean to exclude demographic, economic and land use studies. But we do not believe that these would require great sophistication or detail. Most, if not all, Philippine cities will in the near future require studies of water resources and supply systems regardless of whether or not they intend to undertake more comprehensive urban planning. Beyond that, it should be a reasonably simple matter to identify with sufficient certainty the peripheral areas most likely to undergo rapid development.

Once those areas have been identified, the planners should concentrate their attention on them. Urban renewal should in general be ignored. Land in the central city has already been fragmented and heavy investments have been made in improvements, both public and private, which ordinarily is not feasible to destroy for land clearance purposes. Excepting for planning in regard to improvements in public facilities, planning in such areas would as a consequence necessarily entail such great difficulties that it would be wiser not to attempt it at all. Planning for new towns would probably prove equally difficult because of the heavy investment that would be required in infrastructure and the difficulty and long period of time required to attract residents and employers. (We would distinguish from new towns large-scale satellite communities which, though possibly incorporating substantial commercial and industrial development, would be economically closely related to, and would in reality represent extensions of, the existing urban settlements. It might very well be possible to encourage private developers to undertake development of such satellite communities pursuant to a flexible plan. In any event it can be safely predicted that no matter what the planners might wish, the predominant areas of urban development in the next decade will be on the periphery of existing urban communities. And consequently, that is where the planning authorities should be concentrating their attention.

Planning for urban expansion should be strongly oriented to the planning and programming of public infrastructure investments, especially in highways. The tendency towards strip commercial development along major highways should be checked by the use of restrictions in relation to setback, access, off-street parking (preferably to the rear or side of the building) and traffic generating uses. Strategic sites at highway intersections, adjacent to major highways, and along bodies of water should be acquired before implementation of infrastructure projects in order to allow more effective control of development, provide land for public

use, and capture for the public some of the benefits of rising land values resulting from urban expansion. Special benefit assessments should be levied on private land which appreciates in value by reason of public improvements, not only to recoup part of the cost of those improvements but also to reduce speculative and political pressures generated by the prospect of increased land values. Developers should also be required to dedicate to public use specified portions of the land they propose to develop which they are required to do under current subdivision regulations.

Combination of low, middle, and high income housing and associated commercial developments should be encouraged in order to enable low returns on low-income housing to be offset by high returns on more profitable uses.

The planning authorities should make every effort to reduce to a minimum the disparate effects of the plan upon land values, not only as a matter of fairness, but to minimize political pressures that would undermine the plan. The means available to that end include public acquisition of strategic sites, special benefit assessment, mandatory dedication of land to public use as a condition to subdivision or development approval, taxation policy, and a careful allocation and combination of more and less profitable uses. And those means could be used flexibly and in combination to achieve the desired result. For example, if the plan rendered a part of one owner's land particularly suitable for intensive commercial use, another part might be zoned for low-density use or the owner could be required to dedicate a relatively large parcel to public use.

One of the public uses for which land should be acquired in urban expansion programs is sites-and-services projects for low-income families. As argued above, the only feasible means to provide decent housing and environmental conditions for a large part of the urban population is in such projects. And land for that purpose could be acquired at a reasonable cost in the context of an urban expansion program carried out with heavy public involvement along the lines suggested above.

PROSPECTS

In the foregoing discussion we have made a number of related suggestions for the organization, performance, and legal implementation of physical planning at the local level. We do not claim that these suggestions offer a solution to the problems of local planning. If some local governments decide conscientiously to adopt every one of those suggestions, they would, without doubt, still encounter some difficulties. New and unforeseen issues would arise and the community would be left with critical problems. As experience has demonstrated, however, the existing approach to planning has not been effective and to achieve progress, local governments must start to experiment with new ideas and techniques.

HOUSING ASPIRATIONS OF THREE GROUPS OF U. P. CAMPUS RESIDENTS*

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INTRODUCTION

The housing needs of the Philippines when spread over a period of twenty years, has been estimated to reach about 470,000 dwelling units per year. This requires the construction of about twelve new dwellings per thousand population per year to accommodate new households, replace "unacceptable" dwellings such as the barong-barong or such other make-shift structures used for dwelling, allow for internal migration, and cover the backlog resulting from the actual rate of construction of only two dwellings per thousand population per year.¹

The Philippine government, through its various agencies involved in housing, has tried to meet the problem by various means, ranging from the construction of low-cost tenement houses to relocation. Various agencies have also been created at different times to study and provide solutions to the problem.

It seems, though, that the very steps taken to solve the problems have by themselves precluded the solution. A study made of the different housing agencies has revealed that the creation of so many agencies to solve the housing problem has only resulted in a lack of coordination in housing administration and in formulating a concentrated research program focused on housing.²

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¹Jacobo de Vera, "The Philippine Housing Needs," *Philippine Economy Bulletin*, III, 2 (November-December, 1963)

²Task Force on Housing, Commission on Reorganization, "Study of Housing Agencies for Reorganization," (mimeo., May, 1970)

It is perhaps this lack of a comprehensive research program which has contributed to the multifarious problems which have accompanied government efforts at meeting the housing shortage.

Research is basic to planning; it provides a basis for the planners' work. In the case of housing, one of the vital considerations is the people's choice. Since the planning of housing is to be done for the people, there is need to know their desires and expectations. It is only by knowledge of the nature of housing desired can the planning of housing be made which would approximate the aspirations and fit the needs of those for whom these are intended.

THE STUDY

In general, this study sought to investigate the nature of the housing aspirations of residents of the University of the Philippines (U.P.) campus. Housing aspirations, as defined in the study, encompass the desire to own both the house and the lot. More specifically, the study attempted to answer questions, among which were the following:

1. Do the residents, in fact, aspire for home ownership? Who are those who aspire? Who are those who don't?
2. What place does home ownership have in their hierarchy of values?
3. What is the nature of their housing aspirations?
 - a. type of house
 - b. materials
 - c. location of house
4. Are their housing aspirations within the level that they can afford?

The primary tool used in gathering the data was the interview. With the use of stratified simple random sampling procedure with equal allocation, a sample size of 150 was drawn from an updated list of U.P. personnel who had been awarded housing in the campus. The stratification was based on two factors: (a) nature of housing occupied, whether bungalow, cottage, rowhouse, or whitehouse³; and (b) nature of employment, whether academic or non-academic.

Fixing the size of each group at fifty, three groups of samples were drawn: one group, composed of non-academic personnel from the two employees' villages; another group, composed of academic personnel from all other housing areas; and the third composed of non-academic personnel also from all other housing areas. The few who owned houses in the campus were excluded from the sample.

Interviews were conducted in April and May, 1971. For purposes of the study the household heads, usually the husbands, were interviewed. In most cases, however, both husband and wife were present throughout the interview session.

Following the census definition, household was defined as being "composed of persons who may or may not be related to each other but who sleep in the same dwelling unit and usually have a common arrangement for the preparation and consumption of food."⁴ Boarders and lodgers, however, were excluded in the operational definition because of two considerations: (1) the improbability of getting the correct number of boarders/lodgers from all the sample; and (2) the number of boarders/lodgers of each household may vary from semester to semester. For this study, therefore, a "household" included the nuclear family involved (excluding the children who no longer lived with their parents), relatives staying with the family, and live-in maids, drivers, gardeners and/or other household help.

FINDINGS

The study revealed some important findings which would be of value to planners. Although the samples covered only a particular community, the planners can at least gain insights from the responses given by the informants. In planning residential areas, the planners

will need information on prevailing housing demand according to income and other relevant factors. Among the most important findings are the following:

1. **Housing is a social value.** This was indicated by the large majority who had aspirations for home ownership, regardless of type of housing occupied and position in the University. Asked if they had plans of owning a house and lot, only nine (six percent) of the respondents answered in the negative. All of them were males, of whom only one was single. Two worked as laborers and their reason for the negative answer was that they could never be able to afford it. The other seven were all members of the faculty and the main reasons given were financial inability and preference for travel (going abroad especially). Two said they had already their own house in the province.

The rest, 94 percent, expressed their desire to own a house and lot, suggesting that the value placed on home ownership is widely held.

2. **The value placed on housing is high.** About 56.7 percent mentioned housing as their highest aspiration, while 32.1 percent gave it a ranking of either second, third, or fourth in their hierarchy of preferences. In all, then, a total of 88.8 percent placed ownership of house and lot among their four highest aspirations for the family.

3. **The singled detached unit was the most preferred type of house.** Of those who expressed a desire for home ownership, 85 percent specified the single detached unit. The main reason given was for privacy. About 10 percent preferred the duplex and five percent the multi-family dwelling unit. Those in the lower income group who wanted either of the latter option would make provision for housing for their married children later on so they could all live close to one another. Those in the higher income group who preferred either the duplex or the multi-family housing would have other units rented out so that the whole project could be self-liquidating and eventually become sources of additional income.

The most preferred material for walls was concrete (37 percent), although there was also a large percentage that preferred a mixture of wood and hollow blocks (32 percent). A few planned to use either hollow blocks (18

³These are the types of housing available in the U.P. campus. Bungalows are single detached one-story units. The walls are usually of concrete hollow blocks and the floor, of colored cement tiles, except for the bathroom which is of vitrified unglazed tiles. The roofing is of galvanized iron while the interior walls, ceilings and closets are of plywood. Bungalows vary in the number and sizes of the rooms, but all are awarded to faculty members only.

Rowhouses are multi-family units with essentially the same material specifications as the bungalows but of different layout: a living-dining-kitchen-bathroom area in the lower floor and two bedrooms on the second floor. As a rule, the more recently built rowhouses are awarded to the academic staff, while the older ones are occupied by both academic and non-academic personnel.

Cottages are the obsolete, temporary, barracks-like structures used for dwelling. These are sawali houses built for the American military personnel in World War II and thereafter turned over to the University. Both academic and non-academic personnel stay in these cottages.

Whitehouses are the single-story rowhouses reserved for the non-academic staff. The material specifications are the same as the bungalows and rowhouses.

All four types of houses are fitted with aluminum wire screens.

⁴Bureau of the Census and Statistics, *Census of the Philippines 1960 Population Housing*, I, p. x.

percent) or wood (13 percent). The preference for concrete was based on its strength and durability and that for the mixed type for its beauty and durability. Hollow blocks were preferred because while they are also strong and durable, they are not as expensive as concrete. The preference for wood was primarily based on its being cheap and secondarily on its beauty.

For flooring, cement was highly preferred (44 percent) because it is cheap enough and easy to clean. Most of the respondents who chose this material occupied the whitehouses. It is possible that their choice may have been influenced by their experiences in their current housing, although their level of income may be an equally, if not a more important, factor.

Tile (36 percent was for it) was also a popular choice for flooring and the main reason given was its beauty and the possibility of selection from varied designs. Parquet, or wood tile, was preferred by 15 percent, and marble was stated by five percent.

For the bathroom, tile was a general choice for both walls (93 percent) and flooring (87 percent) because it seemed to be the most commonly used material for that purpose, aside from its being durable. Other materials mentioned for flooring of the bathroom were cement and marble, and for walls, cement and glass.

About 52 percent wanted to have two bathrooms in the house, while 30 percent preferred to have only one. About 15 percent wanted to have three or four bedrooms while three percent preferred to have more than four — one person in each bedroom. The number of toilet facilities desired was usually the same as the number of bathrooms.

From four to six bedrooms were preferred by 48 percent while a slightly smaller percentage, 45 percent, preferred to have two or three with very few opting for two. Usually the latter consisted of the master's and the children's bedrooms; or a master's bedroom, male children's room, and female children's room. Some preferred from seven to nine bedrooms and three percent wanted to have at least ten rooms — a master's bedroom and one for each child.

A garage, usually appended to the house, was required by about 73 percent. Other facilities mentioned included a den, library, music room, maid's quarters, storage room, and a yard large enough for the children to romp in or for flower and vegetable gardens.

The house was generally preferred painted (82 percent) for both beauty and protection from the elements. A few preferred it varnished, with bricks or sandblasting finishing; one expressed preference for marble.

4. The Greater Manila area was the most ideal location for the house, according to the majority of the informants (66 percent), particularly the residential areas near the University such as the UP Model Homes, Up Village, and the various subdivisions in Novaliches

and Marikina. Provincial cities and towns were mentioned by 22 percent of our interviewees as sites for their houses, while 12 percent specified the farm.

5. The modal house aspired for by the interviewed UP residents consisted of a single detached unit, with concrete walls and overall flooring, having two bathrooms with tiled walls and flooring, four to six bedrooms, and a carport appended to the house. The whole house was preferred painted and located in the Greater Manila area.

6. Very few of the respondents would be able to afford the modal house desired. Even if payments were to be made on installments, at the usual length of 10 years to pay at 12 percent interest, payments would still prove to be too onerous for most.

If the average proportion of the income put aside for housing is 25 percent monthly, family incomes will have to be at least P2,000 for the family to be able to pay the amortization for a four-bedroom modal house alone.

While an annual family income of at least P24,000 would be needed, the data show that only 13 percent of the respondents actually earned at least P20,000 per year; 63 percent earned less than P10,000 and 21 percent earned between P10,000 and P20,000. At the same time, household sizes were fairly large, with 45 percent having more than ten members and 31 percent having at least seven members. Expenditures could therefore be expected to be concentrated on family needs, with little left for others.

7. The respondents were aware of the difficulties involved in realizing their housing aspirations, as shown by the intention of most to stay indefinitely in the campus housing in spite of their plans for home ownership. Also, only 15 percent answered "yes" to the question: "Considering your present income, do you think you will be able to afford the house that you desire?" — in spite of the fact that about 56 percent were actually either amortizing or owning residential lots.

8. The respondents maintained the level of their housing aspirations even with the knowledge that these were above their present financial capacity. Although these aspirations appeared to be unrealizable at the time of the survey, it could be possible that the respondents entertained hopes that they could acquire eventually the housing type of their choice. In fact, some of them had made visits to existing subdivisions and even explored various financing schemes. It was previously mentioned that more than one-half were already either amortizing or owning lots.

9. The highest percentage, 45 percent, tended to rely on government assistance, through its lending agencies, for the realization of their housing aspirations. About 20 percent would depend on various other means. Most of those who belonged to this group were waiting for their retirement pensions which they intended

to use for housing; others considered taking positions outside the University to increase their earnings; still others just mentioned sheer hard work. About 17 percent would rely on pure luck, while an equal percentage did not know of any means by which they could realize their housing aspirations. The rest expected assistance from relatives in the form of financing or labor or both.

CONCLUSION

It is to be noted that the preference for the single detached unit was general, with both academic and non-academic groups expressing their desire for it. This finding is made more significant by the fact that the aspiration was not lowered even with the awareness of the difficulties of realizing it. The more obvious implication of this preference would be the cost involved, not only in terms of the construction of the house itself, but also in terms of the area of land. The total cost of both of these would have to be borne by the prospective homeowner himself. In our survey, it was shown that most of those who aspired for home ownership were not in a position to finance such housing. This is particularly true because the land values in areas of preference were quite high.

For the University, the inability of its personnel for home ownership would mean a demand for more housing as the population increases. Because of the majority's intention to stay indefinitely, not enough units will be vacated to make room for others who will be needing housing accommodations.

For the residents desiring to have their own houses, a major obstacle is their financial inability. Financing schemes could therefore be studied by the agencies concerned to explore possibilities of reducing payments down to the level of the income of the prospective homeowner. The Land and Housing Redevelopment Corporation (LHDC), for instance, has considerably reduced the monthly installments that prospective homeowners will have to pay for the house and lot by extending the period of payment. Thus, under the LHDC, the prospective homeowner pays an equity of 10 percent, with the rest payable in installments over a period of 25 years at seven percent interest.

In the case of the U.P. modal homes, if payments were made under the same terms of 90 percent financing, with 25 years to pay at seven percent interest, more would be able to afford the desired house. However, such mortgage terms are not easily available, particularly on an individual basis. Thus a person desiring to have a house constructed will not be able to secure loans under such terms. But since several have expressed preference for basically the same type of house and the same location, they could probably form themselves into an association and make negotiations with developers and/or financing agencies as a group.

If a suitable financing scheme could be arranged such that those in the higher income brackets would be able to afford the monthly installments, the campus housing shortage would ease. More residents would be

able to move to their prospective homes, thus providing chances for other lower-income personnel to take advantage of the campus housing until they, too, shall have been financially able to make arrangements for eventual home ownership.

On a broader scale, the implications of the aspirations expressed by the U.P. residents are difficult to determine because of the difficulty of generalizing. It is to be recalled that the community studied is a university community and that the aspirations of the members of the community, being a specialized one, may be different from those of members of other communities.

If the preference for a single detached unit is widespread, then there is need to modify low-cost housing policies. It has always been assumed that single detached units would be more expensive than the duplex or the multi-family units and that there would not be enough land for the purpose. Studies could therefore be directed towards the reduction of construction costs. Various ways, such as mass construction of unit parts, could be explored and evaluated. It might be possible to reduce costs significantly without sacrificing the quality of the house. Where the construction cost of the single detached unit cannot be significantly reduced, perhaps its desirable features can be incorporated into the design of the multi-family units. For instance, by proper design, greater privacy might be afforded to dwellers of each unit.

At the same time, arrangements by which the prospective homeowner might be assisted in meeting the payments could also be studied. Government lending agencies, for instance, could extend more housing loans at more liberal terms with lower interest rates. Further, the feasibility of establishing housing cooperatives might be considered. This arrangement would prove more beneficial where individual residential lots are not available. The cooperative could purchase a big piece of land for its members at a lower price than when each one would individually buy a few square meters of the land. It could also negotiate a housing loan as a body. Government and semi-government financing agencies could make it a policy to extend liberal housing loans to such cooperatives to encourage them.

It is perhaps fortunate that the private sector has also embarked on a housing program of their own. Some companies have housing projects for their employees with financing schemes suited to their earning capacity. Private developers and financiers have also opened housing projects with different payment schemes from which the prospective homeowner could choose. Installment schemes with various periods of payment, amount of equity and rate of interest are made available. The prospective homeowner is also given a choice of the type of house.

One limitation in this type of program is that the choice of the place would necessarily be limited to only those areas where the housing projects are located. Where one has already chosen a site and wants to have a house constructed, one would not be able to get

financing at the same terms of payment offered by developers.

Also, this type of an arrangement reaches only the moderate-income group. Even with the sensitivity analysis⁵ and the cost reductions in construction, the payments have not been sufficiently reduced to accommodate the low-income group. A study made of a low-cost housing originally intended for the P300-P500 a month income bracket, for instance, has revealed that the families that moved in actually belonged to higher income groups.⁶ It has also been estimated that the LHDC dwelling unit worth approximately P16,650, payable at 90 percent financing with 25 years to pay at seven percent interest is above the reach of those earning P5,000 per annum or less unless they devote more than 20 percent of their income to housing. On these terms, housing would be available only for 29.1 percent of Metropolitan Manila's population, or to nine percent of the population of other urban areas who earn above P5,000 per annum.⁷

Of course, there are government tenement houses such as those in Vitas, Pandacan and Taguig that are supposed to cater to those earning at most P1,800 yearly and the different housing projects intended for different income levels. Studies are needed, however, for better insights into the housing conditions in the country. Are these housing projects really catering to the income level for which they were meant? How closely do they approximate the housing desires and needs of their occupants?

Are Filipinos, particularly the lower income groups, prepared to live in tenement or in condominium houses? What effects will limited space have on interpersonal relationships? How will ethnicity affect social life in such a setting?

These are some of the questions that need to be answered. It seems, though, that the more immediate problem is knowing the housing demands. Conceivably, different groups of people would have different housing needs and aspirations. People with different income, education, or type of occupation, for instance, would have different demands and desires for housing. In order for the housing program to be meaningful, there is a need to know what types of houses are required by which type of population. What types of houses are desired? Who are those who demand specific types of houses?

Housing programs should aim not just for the provision of shelter for the greatest number, but rather for the provision of homes *which would fit the needs* of those who will live in them. Answers to the questions posed above are therefore needed so that a more meaningful program could be planned.

⁵ Sensitivity analysis refers to the study of the effects of varying the terms of the mortgage. See Sixto K. Roxas III, *Testimony on Low-Cost Housing before the Senate Committee on Housing*, Urban Development and Resettlement (brochure, n.d.) p. 6.

⁶ Ernesto Ganlao, Gabriel Alvare, Mary R. Hollnsteiner, et. al. "The New Suburbanite: Profile of a Low-Cost of Housing Community," *Philippine Sociological Review*, XVII, 1 (January, 1969), pp. 28-29.

⁷ Sixto K. Roxas III, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

INTEGRATION OF SERVICES AT THE METROPOLITAN LEVEL

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"Man as the only culture-building animal on the globe not only adapts to environment but creates environment to which to adapt. The metropolitan area is man's more complex cultural construct which on the one hand is an impressive symbol of achievement, and on the other the matrix of serious and pressing problems. The emergence of a metropolitan area is a modern phenomenon dependent on the technology and the economics, social and political organization identified with the industrial revolution."

Philip Hauser

INTRODUCTION

From the statements of Philip Hauser,¹ one can say that the metropolitan area is not only the consequence of such developments (as mentioned by Hauser) but also is a determinant of further change. Urbanism has profoundly affected the social order, thereby, producing increased demand for changes in the political order. Thus, we will find that many of our contemporary problems in the metropolitan area are symptomatic of the continuing strains arising from our traditional political order. In the face of the radically changed requirements of metropolitan areas, the crucial question, therefore, is whether the political order is able to cope up with the growth requirements and socio-cultural exigencies of urbanization. We shall seek the answer to this question by examining the problems of Metropolitan Manila.² Then, in the latter portion of this paper, perhaps, we may be able to present some suggestions to improve the administration of services having metropolitan-wide implications.

METROPOLITAN MANILA: THE HUB OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE

Metropolitan Manila today assumes hegemony over the other urban areas of the country. It is the nerve center of the country's political, administrative, commercial, transportation, religious, recreational and educational activities. For this reason, Metropolitan Manila represents the center of progress and excitement, release from the monotony and confining pressures of rural life and opportunities that will come one's way either through luck or effort. Therefore, it is not surprising that Metropolitan Manila invites a large aggrupation of people of variegated interests, diverse backgrounds and occupations.

To begin with, Metropolitan Manila is the seat of all the national government agencies and of offices of large business establishments. It is considered as the center of national political life. Because Metropolitan Manila carries such political significance, the links between itself and the national polity are close and vital. For instance, issues that affect the politics of Metropolitan Manila are often brought into sharper focus and consequently attract national attention. The rest of the country closely watch the political developments occurring here. National political actors and external political events

¹Philip Hauser, "On the Impact of Urbanism on Social Organization, Human Nature and the Political Order," in Philip Coulter, ed., *Politics of Metropolitan Areas* (Massachusetts: Thomas Crowell Co., 1967), pp. 3-4.

²The Bureau of Census and Statistics originally defined in 1960 Metropolitan Manila to be consisting of the cities of Manila, Quezon, Pasay and Caloocan and the municipalities of San Juan, Parañaque, Mandaluyong and Makati. The area was changed by the 1970 definition to include five cities and 23 municipalities.

play prominent roles in the local politics of the area. Likewise, during the national elections, the support of local officials are often solicited by candidates since they are at a vantage point to influence voters in their respective localities. Political leadership in Metropolitan Manila may sometimes even serve as a springboard for key national positions. It is, in fact, the recruiting area for officials who rise to higher ranks of national leadership. Generally aware of the doings of the national government officials, the voters in Metropolitan Manila are among the most informed and are more intelligent and highly critical of administrative performances of the government.

Aside from being the center of national political life, Metropolitan Manila is the trade and commercial center of national import. In 1961, one-third of the 127,885 commercial establishments and industries, large and small, in the country were conducting business within its boundaries.³ Fifty percent of the large industries all over the country were located within Manila and its suburbs. In Makati and in Mandaluyong were the 1,200 largest trading centers and manufacturers of chemical and industrial supplies. Pasay City had 168 of the large manufacturing companies in the metropolitan area and more than 2,000 service establishments. San Juan, which is one of the smallest towns in the area, had 1,154 commercial establishments, while Quezon City, being the largest unit in terms of area, had 8,161 business and commercial establishments.⁴ All major commercial banks have their central offices in the metropolitan area. The port of Manila handles the largest volume of the nation's exports and imports, while the airport in Pasay City serves the international flights coming into and out of the country.

Metropolitan Manila as the foremost center of social and cultural activities offers a variety of entertainment places, shopping centers and educational institutions that indeed attract a great number of people from the rural communities. In addition, there are commuters coming from the nearby provinces of Laguna, Cavite and Bulacan and from some other inland towns of Rizal Province to work, study or be entertained in the metropolitan area.

The mass media is similarly concentrated in the area. Daily newspapers and weekly magazines with nation-wide circulation are printed here. In 1971, the Manila Times has an estimated daily circulation (except Sunday) of 231,606 constituting more than one-third of the total circulation of the other dailies in Metropolitan Manila.⁵ The area has also the highest concentration of radio and television stations where six out of the thirteen television stations in the country are located. In

terms of radio ownership, out of the 60 percent radio-owning homes in the Philippines, 90 percent, in 1968, were in Metropolitan Manila.⁶

Since Metropolitan Manila is the hub of political, economic and social activities, it has become very attractive to migrants. In 1960, for instance, 433,104 or 38 percent of the City of Manila's population were in-migrants. However, Rizal Province, where all of the cities and municipalities of the metropolitan area are situated, registered a higher percentage of in-migrants which was 50.5 percent. Comparing the data of Rizal Province and Manila, the former gained 210,296 or 30 percent of its total (728,434) in-migrants from the latter; it lost only 16,663 to Manila.⁷ However, the figures may have very little significance if we consider the fact that the population that Manila lost could have been accommodated within the metropolitan area. Metropolitan Manila's population in 1970 was 3,209,607 which shows an increase of 46 percent over the 1960's population of 2,119,715. If the 1970 definition of the metropolitan area were used, the figure would rise to 4,442,229. This is about 12 percent of the 1970 total national population of 36,684,486.⁸

URBANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF SERVICES

The continuous rapid population growth and the increasing industrialization of Metropolitan Manila have given rise to multifarious urban requirements which at the same time impose additional strain upon existing services and facilities. Metropolitan problems continue to mount: inadequate supply of water, poor drainage facilities, traffic congestion, rampant crimes and vices, spreading slums and lack of health and recreational facilities. The increasing number of people living in the metropolitan area has generated more demands for essential public services and facilities and which demands are not adequately met. These problems pose a challenge to the local units which are called upon to render such services.

However, the administrative structure of the local governments is characterized by management resource fragmentation where the politically autonomous units administer separately some of their own services. Metropolitan Manila suffers under this system where the individual units could not upgrade services due to insufficiency of resources. Fragmented setup also resulted in fragmented planning decisions, tackling the problems by piecemeal.

³Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Economic Census of the Philippines, 1961*, especially Table 6, pp. 38-41.

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵Data taken from the circulation department of *The Manila Times*.

⁶Carlos Arnaldo, "Mass Media: Prospects for Development" in J. J. Carroll, ed., *Philippine Institutions* (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1970), p. 117.

⁷Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Migration Statistics*, Appendix II, Summary Report, 1960.

⁸1970 Population Census by the Bureau of Census and Statistics.

Solving the metropolitan problems need a more imaginative and innovative approach. One possibility is for the local units to coordinate with each other in the preparation of a common general plan which would outline each one's responsibility in implementing projects and in providing services. Another is to create special purpose metropolitan authorities clothed with ample powers and equipped with sufficient resources to perform specific functions. A more drastic move, however, and perhaps, a more effective one, is to integrate certain services and to establish a metropolitan form of government.

An area-wide approach in the provision of certain services may become a necessity when problems spread over areas broader than the existing boundaries of the local government units. Our urban complexes are now so closely linked economically and socially because of the daily human movements and activities that a problem of one municipality may actually be a spill-over from an adjacent jurisdiction. Pollution, for example, cannot be efficiently contained within the confines of one local jurisdiction since pollutants are carried away by air or water beyond the boundaries of that political unit. People's needs for goods and services, in many instances, cut across local boundaries due to an improved transport system. Again, because of the availability of car or bus service, people may continue to work in the central city although they are now residing in suburban municipalities. The drainage problem is better solved by metropolitan-wide approach. And so with the problems of transport and sanitation.

According to Ross Stephens, public policies of a group of individual local units do not add up to a public policy capable of controlling the destinies of the metropolitan area. Service problems can effectively be solved through political integration.⁹

Because of the interdependency of urban communities, there becomes a need for an integrative or cooperative action among local governments comprising the metropolitan area. Certain services can be administered more economically and planned more intelligently when handled on an area-wide basis. Furthermore, technological innovations are made possible through the pooling of resources.

The question it seems is no longer whether to integrate certain services or not. The inevitable question is: what specific services require an area-wide authority and on what criteria shall the change or need for such area-wide authority be determined?

Before answering this question, it would be worthwhile pointing out the broad categorization of services which are presently being provided in the Philippine communities. The services under the different categories are:

Protective Service

- Police Protection
- Fire Control

Health and Sanitation

- Water and air pollution control
- Water supply
- Sewage disposal
- Medical care and hospital facilities.
- Garbage collection and disposal

Public Works

- Roads and bridges
- Transportation

Education Service

- Elementary
- Secondary

Vocational

- Social Welfare Services
- Housing
- Slum clearance
- Disaster Relief

Recreation

- Parks
- Sport Centers

⁹Gordon Ross Stephens; *Metropolitan Reorganization: A Comparison of Six Cases*, (Michigan: University Microfilms, Inc., 1961), p. 396.

These services are provided on purely local, purely national, or on shared basis. The national agencies have implementing units in the localities making available services like elementary education, health and sanitation, social welfare, public works and protection of person or property. Sometimes special agencies are created either by a congressional act or by an executive order also to perform some functions at the local community. Through mutual agreements among agencies, a particular service may be performed independently of the regular line departments. The scope of their functions is generally not limited to the traditional political boundary of one unit.

Some special agencies created to serve Metropolitan Manila are experimental in nature. This sector of the country is greatly favored for such innovations due largely to Metropolitan Manila's historical and locational advantage. An example of the agency is the Commission for Fire Victims created by the Office of the Executive Secretary.

Generally, the quality and extent of services rendered by a city or a municipality is dependent on its fiscal capacity to provide said services. Some municipalities and cities may not be able to adequately provide all the services expected of them due to financial constraint; richer cities and municipalities, however, may not be undergoing this difficulty.

It was pointed out earlier that a fragmented system of administering services creates the problem of raising the standard of such services. It can also be the reason for the lack of uniformity in the quality of services available in the different communities that comprise the metropolitan area. Moreover, the system breeds competition among the political units precluding thereby the possibility of a cooperative venture wherein the units undertake jointly certain vital projects. Environmental pollution and flood control, integrated transport system and improved water distribution and sewage disposal systems are matters that concern the local governments since these affect greatly the quality of life in the metropolitan area.

BASES FOR INTEGRATION

In determining which services require an area-wide authority, we shall be guided by the economic, administrative and political criteria proposed by the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.¹⁰

The economic criterion includes the following considerations:

(1) Benefit Area

The scope of governmental jurisdiction should be extensive to enable the benefits from that service to be consumed primarily within the jurisdiction. The benefit from the service and the cost of failing to provide it should have a minimum of spill-overs into other jurisdictions. "Spill-over" here refers to social benefits and social costs being broadly diffused beyond the community as against consumption service benefits narrowly confined to individuals.

(2) Economy of Scale

The unit of government should have an area large enough to permit realization of the economies of scale. "Economy of scale" is the tendency for unit costs of output to decline with increased output resulting from the application of assembly line methods, greater efficiency of centralized overhead functions such as purchasing and personnel and greater flexibility in coping with the problem of discontinuities in capital capacity.

Included in the administrative criterion are:

(1) Geographic Adequacy

The geographical boundary to carry on the function must be adequate for effective performance. It may be desirable to preserve neighborhood and small community areas for the boundaries of governmental functions. At the same time, it may be necessary to follow natural boundaries or expand the geographical coverage.

(2) Legal and Administrative Ability

The unit of government performing the function should be equipped with the resources like sufficient legal authority, adequate structure and administrative personnel, civic leadership and proper financial base.

(3) Comprehensiveness of Governmental Unit

The local government unit must be responsible for a sufficient number of functions. A broad and comprehensive scope for a level of

¹⁰U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Performance of Urban Functions*, an information report (September, 1963), p. 41.

government is important because services depend upon one another. And when a government controls sufficient services, it can balance present needs and assign priorities as well as plan for the future.

The last two items are basically under the category of political. These are:

(1) Controllability and Accessibility

The performance of functions by a unit of government should remain controllable by and accessible to its residents. Some structural and procedural features include election, distribution of power, initiative and referendum, recourse to court and grievance procedures.

(2) Citizen Participation

Active citizen participation must be fully mobilized. Functions should be assigned to that level of government which maximizes citizen participation. The idea of bringing the citizen closer to the government is significant in view of increasing citizens' demand for services with accompanying increase in cost of performance, changes in methods of administering functions and agglomerations of population in metropolitan areas.

PROPOSALS

By applying the above criteria on the different categories of services, we shall attempt in this paper to determine which services can best be provided at what level of government.

Protective Services

Each local government unit traditionally has a fire department. The costs and benefits arising from a fire service provided by an individual locality do not spill over very much to other localities. From the point of view of "benefit area" fire protection may be administered at the municipal or city level considering that the fire-fighting units are closer to areas of potential fire. However, the planning of total fire-fighting resources as well as personnel recruitment and training may be undertaken on an area-wide basis. Savings may be realized when there is coordination of fire stations. The absence of any legal sanction in rendering outside aid may, however, prevent cooperation.

One form of assistance rendered by the national government for fire protection is the distribution of fire-fighting equipment to the different provinces, cities and municipalities through the Committee on Fire Control of the National Civil Defense Administration. In addition to the above agency, the Office of the Executive Secretary has also created a Manila Commission for Fire Victims. The creation of several special agencies and commissions only resulted in duplication of functions especially when these are performed independently of each other. Special agencies and commissions may become obsolete if an entity to coordinate fire protection function at the metropolitan level can be organized.

Traditionally, there is a strong responsibility at the municipal level with respect to police service. However, the "spill-over" of costs and benefits concerning several aspects of the police service suggests a definite advantage of an area-wide approach. Modernizing the service by putting up laboratories, sophisticated communication network and a more systematic filing of records favor a centralized form of management which can facilitate overall planning and intensive utilization of equipment and personnel.

Again, directing traffic on inter-city highways can be handled more effectively by a metropolitan police organization. Criminal cases in Metropolitan Manila are, likewise, better handled this way since many of the crimes are perpetuated by syndicates which usually operate in more than one town or city. This arrangement can also prevent a criminal from eluding the police by hiding in the next community away from the scene of the crime.

There are currently two agencies assisting the police departments of the various units in Metropolitan Manila. These are the PC Metropolitan Command (Metrocom) and the United Intelligence Operations Groups-Interpolice Coordinating Center (UIOG-IPCC).¹¹ The experience of the local police forces in working with the mentioned agencies could facilitate the integration of the police service at the higher administrative level.

Health and Sanitation

The installation of water supply networks and sewage disposal facilities certainly require area-wide planning and management if one has to apply the "economy of scale" principle. Besides, the water mains and the sewage disposal system can be laid out in a manner that they can influence urban development

¹¹The Metrocom is a special unit of the Philippine Constabulary assigned in Metropolitan Manila. The UIOG-IPCC is the implementing arm of the signatories to the memorandum of agreement on cooperative enforcement of Law and Order. The signatories are the four cities and four municipalities of Metropolitan Manila, including Cavite City, Trece Martires, Marikina, Malabon, Navotas, Pasig and Las Pifias.

toward desired metropolitan objectives. Also, undertaking waterworks and sewerage projects require enormous initial investments which the individual localities cannot possibly meet without financial assistance from the national government.

Presently, the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System (formerly NAWASA) provides water and sewerage services to the people of Metropolitan Manila. This agency has to tap other sources of water in the future to cope successfully with the increasing demand due to population growth and industrial development.

In the case of environmental pollution control, the application of "benefit area," "economy of scale" and "geographical adequacy" emphasizes again the desirability of an area-wide administration. Pollution does not observe boundaries and therefore cannot be solved easily on a locality by locality basis.

Charged with the duty of controlling pollution in Metropolitan Manila as well as in the other parts of the country is the National Water and Air Pollution Control Commission created in 1964. However, the Commission has limited funds and even powers to carry out its program of activities. Meanwhile, the problem of pollution in the metropolitan area has continued unabated. A pollution control board with extensive powers to regulate the operation of industries, motor vehicles and other establishments that discharge pollutants into the atmosphere, streams and soil may be created at the metropolitan level.

Another function under the health and sanitation category which can best be handled by a metropolitan organization is the collection and disposal of garbage. This suggestion finds its support from the "spill-over" of costs and benefits angle. Some local units which are almost completely built-up are short of disposal sites and this problem can be solved through cooperation of communities in a larger geographic area. The use of an incinerator may solve the need for a disposal site or land fill of one locality, but then, for reasons of economy, a few large incinerators serving a bigger catchment area would be preferable.

Considering the wide dispersion of costs and benefits affecting the health service, it would be advisable to operate hospitals and other medical units at the metropolitan level. It is at this level where coordination of the health programs and activities is most needed. The problem of epidemics which result from pollution does not respect territorial boundaries. Hospitals, too, both private and government-owned, accept patients coming from almost any locality, although it is preferable that each hospital will have its catchment area.

A highly specialized hospital, however, should be operated by the national government. This type of hospital shall function as a training and research center

for medical practitioners who may want to specialize in certain fields. It can be a referral hospital for more serious cases that may require skills in surgery or medical treatment.

Education

In view of the metropolitan character of the "benefit area," the desirability of providing a higher standard of education and the advantages which can be derived from the "economy of scale," it is more beneficial for a school system to be supported by a large population and tax base. This suggests that the educational system (elementary and secondary) must be integrated at the metropolitan level in order that costs can be minimized and the uniformity of standard can be achieved. Location of elementary and secondary schools can also be properly planned in relation to residential areas.

Public Works

The construction and maintenance of roads and bridges generally depend on the classification of these facilities. The three main categories of roads are: national, provincial and city or municipal. The national government through the Bureau of Public Highways, under the Department of Public Works and Communications, takes care of the national highways while the province is charged with the responsibility of constructing and maintaining provincial roads. Each city or municipality undertakes road projects (within its jurisdiction) classified under the third category. There are, however, local roads (city and provincial) which are entitled to fund allocations from the highway special fund which is administered by the Bureau of Public Highways.

From the above arrangement, it is possible to reorganize the system of road classification by introducing the category of "metropolitan highways." The local units should continue to improve and maintain local access roads together with the sidewalks within their boundaries while the metropolitan highways consisting of collectors and arterials will be the concern of a metropolitan authority. The national government may retain its responsibility over national highways which directly connect the metropolitan area to the provinces.

Another aspect to be considered in relation to the road networks is the planning of coordinated metropolitan transport system. The transport system should be an integral part of the highway development program of the metropolitan area. A metropolitan transport authority with adequate powers and resources can, perhaps, design a more efficient bus and private vehicle movement, traffic signalling and parking facilities to avoid traffic congestion and accidents. It can make studies and prepare plans for an integrated and modernized transport system.

Social Welfare

Heavy reliance is made on the private sector to provide the housing needs of families in Metropolitan Manila, especially those with high incomes. To the extent that the private sector cannot meet the housing requirements of the lower income groups, The government may step in to initiate housing projects which may now constitute one form of welfare assistance.

Construction of houses for low-income families has been a function of the national government. Three national agencies engaged in housing are: People's Homesite and Housing Corporation (PHHC), Home Financing Commission (HFC) and the Presidential Committee on Housing and Urban Resettlement (PRECHUD). In addition, the Development Bank of the Philippines, Government Service and Insurance System and the Social Security System offer loans intended for housing. The two insurance agencies sometimes undertake housing subdivision projects for the benefit of their members. Of all the government entities mentioned, the PHHC has the most extensive program of housing; although it has not gone very far in solving the housing shortage of the urban centers because of its limited resources.

The problem of housing is somewhat acute in Metropolitan Manila and this is primarily caused by the influx of in-migrants. Lack of housing facilities to provide shelter for rural in-migrants resulted in the proliferation of squatter communities. For instance, a survey in 1948 counted 23,000 persons living in squatter communities. In 1970, the figures rose to 800,000 or an increase of some 35 times. Manila, among the local governments in the metropolitan area, has the largest area occupied by squatters and slums. Of the 3,828 hectares comprising Manila proper, about 940 hectares are claimed to be sites of slum and squatter dwellings described as "urban jungles" inhabited by approximately 50,427 families.¹²

What appears to be the present policy in solving the housing problem is to build more low-cost houses and to relocate squatters outside the city limits. It is significant to state that this policy does not necessarily remedy the problem of squatting. Thus, the squatter communities still remain as important features of the urban structure that we refer to as Metropolitan Manila.

The necessity of having an overall plan for relocation and housing suggests that this function should be administered on larger scale, preferably by the national

government. The local communities lack the necessary funds for this purpose. The problem also demands the adoption of policies affecting migration and the dispersal of industries which only the national government can effectively implement.

Likewise, relief for victims of disasters and general welfare assistance can best be administered by the national government which has the resources and the capacity for immediate action through established agencies like the Department of Social Welfare, Philippine National Red Cross and Home Defense Office of the Department of National Defense. What is needed is a more coordinated approach to prevent wastage of funds, efforts and time. Attempts should be made to achieve equitable distribution of welfare assistance and relief efforts so that no portion of the country's population is discriminated against.

Parks Development

District and neighborhood parks and playfields should be owned and administered by the individual units in the metropolitan area for reasons of "local control" and "accessibility". However, regional parks which would attract users all over the area should be provided by the metropolitan authority.

Presently, the development and maintenance of parks is the job of the individual local governments. However, as one may observe, the local units appear to have given very low priority to park projects. Rizal Park which is now fully developed and improved has to rely on private donations for its maintenance.

CONCLUSION

Central to the solution of major urban problems in our metropolitan areas is the institution of an improved governmental machinery. The structure of government profoundly creates an impact on the lives of metropolitan citizens. As has been shown earlier, the present arrangement, with so much overlapping of functions and fragmentation of administrative responsibilities, has not served well the citizenry. It has also failed to take a comprehensive view on matters of area-wide concern such as environmental pollution, traffic congestion and problems of health and sanitation, education and police protection. These matters if left unattended to will seriously undermine the quality of metropolitan life.

¹² Richard Poethig, "Roofing the Urban Squatters," *Solidarity* (June, 1971), p. 15.

The Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development recognized the need for local government reform by saying:

"The bewildering multiplicity of small, piecemeal, duplicative, overlapping local jurisdictions cannot cope with the staggering difficulties encountered in managing modern urban affairs. The final effects of duplicative suburban separatism create great difficulty in provision of costly central city services benefiting the whole urbanized area. If local governments are to function effectively in metropolitan areas, they must have sufficient financial support for solutions to area-wide problems.¹³

It is understood, however, that a better machinery alone will not in itself guarantee the development of substantive programs. Nevertheless, changing their structure is a prerequisite to effective functioning of local governments faced with newer and more challenging urban problems. Also, the economic reality of scarce resources precludes the possibility of having a massive supply of resources to solve burgeoning metropolitan problems. But a government machinery on a metropo-

litan level can greatly contribute to the marshalling of available resources as well as to their effective allocation and utilization. The consolidation of government authority as opposed to the present fragmentation should be able to do away with bureaucratic red tape and political interference in the planning and administration of services.

Under this setup, the local government units will be partly relieved of their burdensome obligation to undertake with meager resources large and costly projects. By transferring to the metropolitan authority the responsibility of providing the services cited in our proposals, the local units will in fact be made stronger and more capable of meeting citizen demands for the residual services. Among these services for which the local units will remain responsible are: local access roads, fire-fighting units, neighborhood and district parks and other recreational centers, libraries, public markets and slaughterhouses. The individual localities will also be empowered to prepare plans which will include the proposed land uses within their respective jurisdictions. These plans, however, should be subject to approval by the metropolitan authority.

¹³Committee for Economic Development, *Reshaping Government in Metropolitan Areas* (February, 1970), p. 16. The Committee for Economic Development in New York City is an organization of businessmen which, through research and study, develops policy statements in major areas of U.S. economic problems such as fiscal and monetary policy, price supports for agriculture and improving the management of the federal government.

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT CENTERS

AURORA PAL-MONTAÑO

Planning coordination in the Philippines received a much-needed boost with the signing of separate memorandum of agreements between the University of the Philippines and two government executive departments.

The first agreement is with the Department of Public Works and Communications (DPWC). It was signed on November 24, 1970. The second agreement, signed on July 27, 1971, is with the Presidential Arm on Community Development (PACD). Both agreements took effect upon approval. They will last for two years and are renewable by the contracting parties for a commonly acceptable period.

The Presidential Advisory Council on Public Works and Community Development (PACPWCD) is a signatory to both agreements. Through an earlier agreement it signed with the U.P., the PACPWCD has provided the regional development centers with buildings, atlases and some furniture. The centers were established in 1969 to implement COREDES' projects in the cities of Baguio, Cebu, Davao, Iloilo and Marawi. The PACPWCD further helps the centers' maintenance through financial and staff assistances.

AREAS OF COORDINATION

The first agreement stipulates that through the Institute of Planning, the U.P. shall coordinate with the DPWC and the PACPWCD in preparing annual and long-range infrastructure programs that effectively support all sectors of the economy. To attain this objective, three work programs are necessary, namely, physical planning at the central office, regional physical planning at the regional centers and the holding of regional and

provincial level seminars and in-service training programs on comprehensive environmental planning and development.

Under each work program the signatories' specific duties are:

1. Physical Planning at the Central Office
 - a. PACPWCD will provide office facilities and administrative support services to the working committees;
 - b. DPWC will work on infrastructure planning and evaluation, and through it, the National Planning Commission will be requested to provide some technical services; and
 - c. U.P. will provide technical expertise and supervise the working committees' activities.
2. Regional Physical Planning at the Regional Centers
 - a. PACPWCD will provide facilities and administrative support services, coordinate with local governments and assign a staff to the regional centers;
 - b. DPWC will gather data and statistics for infrastructure planning and provide technical support services to the regional centers; and
 - c. U.P. will provide technical expertise and control over activities of the regional centers having to do with regional physical planning and development.

3. Regional and Provincial Level Seminars and In-Service Training Programs

- a. PACPWCD will provide administrative support services and coordinate with local governments;
- b. DPWC will enjoin pertinent technical personnel from all field agencies to actively participate in the seminars and in-service training programs; it shall also supply competent resource speakers and fund seminars and other training activities through seminar fees; and
- c. U.P. will provide resource speakers on such specialized fields as regional physical planning, urban planning and related subjects.

On the other hand, the second agreement specifies four work areas in which the U.P., again through the Institute of Planning, shall coordinate with the PACD and the PACPWCD. These areas include physical planning at the provincial, city and municipal levels, seminars and in-service training programs, research and pilot projects, and the maintenance and updating of data and statistics for physical, economic and social planning.

The agreement underscores the need for comprehensiveness in Philippine planning efforts. Through seminars and in-service training programs, it would extend technical expertise in planning, development financing and management to provincial, city and municipal governments as well as local development councils and private organizations involved with local development. Moreover, through research and pilot projects, it would seek to discover and apply innovations to present local development approaches and provide physical, economic and social planners with updated data and statistics relevant to planning at the national, regional and local levels.

The signatories' duties under each work area are as follows:

1. Physical Planning at Provincial, City and Municipal Levels

- a. U.P. will provide technical expertise and supervision over local physical planning processes;
- b. PACD will assist local governments, local development councils and private organizations in preparing local physical plans; and
- c. PACPWCD will provide data and statistics as well as administrative support services to the regional centers which, in turn, will provide technical expertise and guidance over local physical planning activities.

2. Seminars and In-Service Training Programs

- a. U.P. will provide most of the resource

speakers at the central office and at the regional centers;

- b. PACD will enjoin pertinent technical field personnel to undergo training and assist in enlisting local officials for the specialized training programs; and
- c. PACPWCD will provide resource speakers on performance budgeting, special financing schemes, data evaluation and statistics and render administrative support services to the regional centers.

3. Research and Pilot Projects

- a. U.P. will provide technical expertise and over-all supervision;
- b. PACD will provide technical personnel and recommend possible research and pilot projects; and
- c. PACPWCD will recommend further possible research and pilot projects as well as innovations based on research studies.

4. Maintaining and Updating of Data and Statistics

- a. U.P. will formulate procedures of data gathering and evaluation;
- b. PACD will provide data and statistics from the local level, coordinate data collection with local governments and assist in updating the municipal atlases; and
- c. PACPWCD will compile and evaluate data and statistics from regional data banks to be put up in the regional centers.

IMPLEMENTATION

In accordance with the first agreement, seminar-workshops on comprehensive environmental planning and development were held in Baguio City from January 31 to March 11, 1971; in Cebu City from April 19 to May 27; and in Legazpi City from June 21 to July 29. Except for the latter which was co-sponsored by the Bicol Development Planning Board, the first two seminar-workshops were co-sponsored by the regional centers in the area. Similar seminar-workshops are scheduled with the regional centers in Davao, Marawi and Iloilo.

The seventy-nine participants in the three seminar-workshops were mostly DPWC senior field personnel. Among seminar-workshop objectives were: (1) to improve the participants' capability in using planning techniques and methods; (2) to enable them to understand more fully the social, political, economic and physical context in which planning takes place; and (3) to critically review the constraints, obstacles and specific opportunities for planning and plan implementation in the Philippines.

PROGRAM CONTENT

- * **National and Local Development Trends and Problems in the Philippines-development trends in housing, industry, land use, transportation, exports and imports, migration, agriculture, rural and urban land policy, etc., nature and relationships of problems, and implications for public policy.**
- * **Environmental Planning: Goals and Basic Aspects-planning and development efforts, physical, social, political and economic aspects of planning, problems of integration.**
- * **Levels of Planning-national, regional, metropolitan, city and town planning, interrelationships, problems and prospects.**
- * **Political and Administrative Problems in Plan Implementation-community power structure and interest groups, the problem of coordination among planning agencies, local-national government relations, sources of inter-governmental conflicts, resources for development, financial and legal problems.**
- * **Planning Techniques, Methods and Approaches-statistical techniques, measurement of benefits and costs, collection, processing and interpretation of data, review and evaluation of plans.**
- * **Basic Studies for Planning-theoretical bases, methodology, uses and practical application of land use, economic base, infrastructure and population studies.**

Three projects specified in the first agreement, namely, the National Framework Plan, the Mindanao Development study and the Manila Bay Region project, were simultaneously started in March 1971. The National Framework Plan project aims to determine the physical parameters of urban growth and develop physical development guidelines for future planning work. The Mindanao Development study proposes to establish a physical development plan for the entire Mindanao on the basis of a comprehensive study of the region, while the Manila Bay Region project has for its objective to arrive at a strategy for the region's development and at the same time develop a program of priority to widen the information base for the area's development.

On the other hand, several activities are underway to effect the provisions of the second agreement. The questionnaires, the answers to which will be utilized in the updating of the municipal atlases, have been formulated. Towards the second week of December, the data and statistics committee will conduct briefings on data gathering procedures and distribute data formats to PACD regional, provincial and municipal development officers in Mindanao and Visayan regions covered by the regional centers.

Two projects, a socio-environmental study of the Magat Dam in the province of Isabela and the study on the reactivation of the Cabanatuan canning plant, are being undertaken by the research and pilot projects committee. The latter is due for completion in December 1971. Also due for completion in December is a manual on local physical planning, a project of the physical planning committee.

At the outset, the following were listed as priority projects: framework physical plan for Mindanao; in-service training programs at the regional and provincial levels; a national physical framework plan to be used as a basis for the DPWC's long-range infrastructure programs; and an integrated physical plan for the Greater Manila area to include the flood control projects, the sewerage projects, the mass transit study, the Manila Bay roads project, the Epifanio de los Santos highway project and the Laguna de Bay Authority project.

PLANNING NEWS

Gabriel Ma. J. Lopez

Student Activities

First trimestral classes at the Institute of Planning formally opened on June 28, 1971. Of the forty-four students enrolled, nineteen were on full-time while the rest were part-time. The students have varied backgrounds distributed as follows: architecture, 11; civil engineering, 9; business education and related fields, 7; liberal arts (majors in political science, education, philosophy, social work, etc.) 15; and physical sciences, 2.

Two students are on scholarships: Pedro N. Prado, a philosophy graduate from Ateneo de Manila University and a recipient of a university scholarship, and Gabriel Ma. J. Lopez, a humanities graduate from the same institution and a recipient of an Institute graduate fellowship.

In a welcome party tendered for the students by the administration and the faculty of the Institute of Planning, last July 8, Dean Leandro A. Vioria briefly explained the programs of the Institute and then introduced the members of the IP staff and faculty. Each student in turn introduced himself or herself.

July 15, 1971 was election day at the Diliman campus of the University of the Philippines. At the Institute of Planning the students elected their own class officers. Elected were:

Castor S. Surla, IV	PRESIDENT
Horacio Abelarde	VICE-PRESIDENT
Ruth Nguyen	SECRETARY-TREASURER
Gabriel Ma. L. Lopez	PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER
Pedro N. Prado	REPRESENTATIVE TO THE STUDENT COUNCIL

On August 21, 1971 the students and some faculty members of the Institute of Planning went on a field trip. Their first stop was at the Vitas Housing and Tenement Project in Tondo, Manila, where they were briefed on the conditions there by the Department of Social Welfare representative, Mrs. D. Saguisag. The group then proceeded to Marikina where they looked over the low-cost housing subdivision project of the Social Security System. A project engineer supervising the construction of the houses talked about the project and conducted a tour inside the subdivision to show the different house models.

Later, the students and the faculty members went to the New Town Subdivision in San Jose del Monte, Bulacan, where they witnessed the initial development of a new community with a grandiose plan. A week prior to this trip, Architect Ben

Bautista, chief planner of the mentioned subdivision, had already briefed the students and the faculty members at his office in Escolta, Manila about certain details of the project and some general notions of subdivision planning.

From New Town Subdivision the group next visited Sapang Palay, also in San Jose, to obtain firsthand information concerning the squatters relocation project of the government in that area. Felix Abesamis, director of the Central Institute for Training and Relocation of Urban Squatters (CITRUS), was around to explain what his agency has been doing for the squatters. From Sapang Palay, the group decided to return home since it was already dark and it was raining.



A group of IP graduate students and their guests pose for a picture during their party last July 30, 1971 at Pat Jordan's home.

UNDP Assignments

This year, four United Nations consultants who rendered technical assistance to the Institute of Planning left for other assignments abroad after the termination of their short stints here in the Philippines. Prof. James Magavern returned to the University of New York in Buffalo, while Dr. Sigurd Grava and Dr. Ralph Kaminsky returned to Columbia University and New York University, respectively. Both universities are in New York City. Prof. Hermund Skjolberg who served for a much longer period also left for his home in Norway.

Two new arrivals in the Institute are: (1) Dr. Peter McGovern, a senior planning officer of the Scottish Development Department in Edinburgh, Scotland and (2) Prof. Jagdish Sah, an Indian expert on land and development economy.



Architect Ben Bautista, chief planning architect of New Town Development Corporation, explains to the IP students and professors who visited his office, the different phases and projects presently being undertaken in New Town Subdivision, San Jose del Monte, Bulacan.



Secretary of Public Works and Communications David M. Consunji and three assistants met with Dean Leandro A. Vilorio and some faculty members of the Institute of Planning and UNDP Project Manager Walter G. Faithfull at a luncheon in the Asian Labor Education Center last October 20, 1971. In the meeting Secretary Consunji assured Dean Vilorio that he will continue the projects jointly undertaken by his department and the Institute started by his predecessor



Director Abesamis of the Central Institute for the Training and Relocation of Urban Squatters (CITRUS) discusses with his visitors, IP students and professors, the work of his agency affecting the squatters in Metropolitan Manila and in relocation areas.

IP Faculty

Prof. Roque A. Magno left for Japan on August 4, 1971 to conduct research on regional planning and development. This trip was sponsored by the Japan Center for Area Development Research which receives support from the Ford Foundation. Prof. Magno was in Japan for three months. After the completion of his research, he submitted a paper to the Center entitled: Metropolitan Regional Planning and Development in Japan.

Another faculty member, Prof. Federico B. Silao, received a grant from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) to enable him to observe metropolitan planning and administration abroad. He left last August 17, 1971. His first stop-over was in India where he observed the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization in action. He observed that, while available resources were not adequate to finance important projects of the Organization, it had, nevertheless, given much priority to industrial development.



Prof. Gerardo S. Calabia of the Institute of Planning addresses a question to Director Abesamis of the CITRUS.

Silao's next stop-over was in Poland where he was a guest of the Warsaw Regional Planning Office. He remarked that the planning system in that country — where economic, social and physical planning activities are integrated, and where regional planning is an attempt at an expression of investments, decisions and spatial development — may serve well as a guide to Philippine planning.

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Juliet C. Abad is instructor and research associate of the Local Government Center, College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines. She graduated from the University of the Philippines with a B.S.F.S. degree in 1965. She is presently enrolled in the M.E.P. program of the Institute of Planning.

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Dolores A. Endriga is instructor and research associate of the Institute of Planning. She obtained her A.B. (psychology) degree from the University of the Philippines in 1958 and her M.A. (sociology) also from the University of the Philippines in summer of the current year.

Tito C. Firmalino is assistant professor and director of training of the Institute of Planning. He has a B.S.E. (1953) degree from Far Eastern University and an M.P.A. (1960) degree from the University of the Philippines. He graduated from the University of British Columbia with an M.A. (planning) degree in 1968 under the Colombo Plan scholarship.

James L. Magavern was a visiting professor and UNDP consultant on legal aspects of planning assigned with the Institute of Planning from May 28, 1970 to July 22, 1971. He finished law from the State University of New York at Buffalo in 1959 and consequently became associate professor of law in the same institution. Magavern was in the Philippines in 1967-68 as overseas professional fellow of the International Legal Center of New York assigned with the U.P. Law Center.

Asteya M. Santiago is assistant professor and director of graduate studies of the Institute of Planning. She also holds the position of secretary of the Institute. She obtained her law degree (cum laude) from the University of the Philippines in 1963. She has an M.T.C.P. degree from Sydney University which she finished in 1968 under the Colombo Plan scholarship.

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