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WHERE DO THEY GO? WHAT DO THEY DO?  
TRAVEL PATTERNS IN THE BICOL RIVER BASIN

CONTENTS REVISED

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**ABSTRACT.** In April 1974 SSRU interviewers visited a random sample of 3240 households in the 33 municipalities which constitute the Bicol River Basin in Camarines Sur. The data which they collected were many and varied, and will be used as a baseline against which to measure the progress of the Bicol River Basin Development Program. In 1079 randomly selected households, information on intermunicipal travel was gathered, the aim being to learn the most common destinations of River Basin residents and why they went there. Among the cities and municipalities of Camarines Norte, Camarines Sur and Albay, residents of Camarines Sur visit Naga City far more often than any other place. Iriga City is a distant second, followed by Pili and Legazpi City. Urban centers (anywhere) most commonly visited by respondents are, in order of frequency, Naga, Iriga, Metro Manila, and Legazpi. The most frequently offered reasons for this travel are economic, either to buy things (32 percent) or to sell them (20 percent); visiting kin is the third most popular reason (17 percent). It is concluded that a functional effective network of transportation centers, with Naga City at its center, gives unity to the River Basin; further, that any plans for the development of the Basin must reckon with these patterns.

To know where residents of the Bicol River Basin travel, and why, is a high-priority goal for the Social Survey Research Unit. Current traffic patterns--observed, analyzed, and understood--will constitute an essential input for the

This research report is based mainly on selected findings of the SSRU's Annual Panel Survey 1 (April 1974). A technical summary of AP1 is found in SSRU Research Activity Summary, No. 13, which is available from the SSRU on request. The senior author is the SSRU's field supervisor, while Frank Lynch is its director.

planning of a better road system and more efficiently located depots, markets, and agribusiness enterprises. All this is clear, of course, but the knowledge will also serve as a 1974 baseline to be compared at later dates with the results of subsequent studies of River Basin travel. For we expect that as local levels of living change for the better, the average resident will have the opportunity and the means to go more places, do more business, see more things, and greet more people. Given the opportunity and the wherewithal, moreover, average Bicolanos will almost certainly take to the road, because among the experiences they seem to cherish most is the satisfaction of traveling.<sup>1</sup>

#### RESPONDENTS OF THE TRAVEL STUDY

In the SSRU's first annual panel survey (AP1), conducted in April 1974, a sample of 3240 Bicol River Basin households was visited for interviews. In about a third of the houses, questions concerning travel were asked (for some details about AP1, see Appendix A). The information we sought concerned (a) the respondents's origins, (b) the traveling they had done in the past year, (c) the reasons for that travel, and (d) how they felt about the amount of travel they had accomplished in the past year. After a brief description of the respondent sample, each of the four topics will be discussed.

1. Modal characteristics. All of the 1079 respondents are HH heads, residing in one of the 33 municipalities of the study area. Beyond this, the majority are male (92 percent), married or widowed (88 and 10 percent, respectively), barrio residents (78 percent), and natives of Camarines Sur (75 percent).
2. Age and education. The respondents' median age is 44.5 years; their median education, 6.1 years--a complete elementary schooling.
3. Socioeconomic status. The materials of which a house is built, and their state of repair at the time of interview, can be used as a rough indicator

<sup>1</sup>This point is developed further in the last section of the findings, below. It will also be one topic in the special SSRU Research Report on perceived quality of life in the Bicol River Basin (forthcoming).

of the socioeconomic status of the respondent.<sup>2</sup> Using these criteria, we conclude that 23 percent belong to the upper class (including an elite of 5 percent) and 77 percent to the lower.

The respondents are, then, mostly mature male HH heads of the Bicol River Basin in Camarines Sur. Moreover, a comparison of male and female travel patterns indicates that there are no significant differences between them in destinations visited, and predictable differences in reasons for going there.<sup>3</sup> In view of this, and in view of the small percentage of women in the sample (91/1079, or 8 percent), the male-female distinction will not be made in the analyses which follow.

#### RESPONDENTS' ORIGINS

In this section, we speak of where respondents came from. If they were born outside Camarines Sur, we examine the circumstances that brought them here.

4. Origins. Three-fourths of the respondents are natives of Camarines Sur; others came here as children, or at least before marriage (15 percent), while a final group (10 percent) came at the time of marriage or after it.
5. Natives vs. immigrants. The overall immigration rate of 25 percent masks at least three significant subgroup relationships in this regard.

The first and most clearly observable is the straight-line correlation between immigration rate and age, that is, for each succeeding age group, the percentage of immigrants is larger: under 25 years, 18 percent; 25-34, 21 percent; 35-44, 23 percent; 45-54, 25 percent; and 55 years and over, 31 percent. Put the other way around, with the passage of years (since World War II), increasingly smaller percentages of the population have been immigrants into the River Basin.

The second is the tendency of migrants to be living now in barrios (27 percent) more than poblaciones (20 percent; 0.05).

<sup>2</sup>A justification of this position is offered in SSRU Research Report Series, No. 8, pp. 8-9 (Ilo and Lynch 1974: 8-9).

<sup>3</sup>Women tend more than men to travel for reasons of marketing (buying things), visiting kin, and medical care. They do less traveling than men for business reasons (selling things) or recreation.

The third is the association of very different immigration rates with the various districts. Although the mean is 25 percent, the range is 32; from 45 percent in Sipocot, through 26 percent in Magarao, to 13 percent in Iriga. The other figures: Naga, 28; Milaor, 20; Goa, 19 percent.

The differences by civil status (12 percent for presently single, 26 percent each for married and widowed) are probably related to the age differences noted above, rather than to civil status per se. No significant differences occur by education or socioeconomic class.

6. Reasons for immigrating. What reasons do immigrant respondents give for having come to Camarines Sur? The two most frequently mentioned reasons are that they came along with the family, or joined it here (41 percent) or that they came looking for a source of livelihood (34 percent).

Age is related to variation in the percentage who came here looking for work. The percentage is highest (46 percent) among the eldest, who are 55 years or older, and proceeds downward as follows: 45-54, 38 percent; 35-44, 20 percent; 25-34, 21 percent; and under 25, 0 percent. Not only has the percentage of immigrants decreased over the years (paragraph 5), but fewer and fewer of them have come expecting to find work here.

Variation by district is pronounced, the job-seekers being highest in Sipocot (43 percent) and Goa (40 percent) and lowest in Milaor and Iriga (19 and 26 percent, respectively). Naga (29 percent) and Magarao (36 percent) are in between. Only the Naga and Iriga districts have sizeable numbers of residents who are where they are because of a job assignment that sent them there (10 and 26 percent, respectively).

Variation by education is pronounced--among the poorly educated (at most, some elementary school training), 45 percent were job-seekers; among the middle educated, 24 percent; among college graduates, 13 percent.

Once more, the civil status percentages seem to reflect the age differences mentioned above. Differences are not significant by socioeconomic class or residence.

#### WHERE DO THEY GO?

Of all the municipalities in Camarines Sur, Camarines Norte, and Albay, respondents were asked to name those places they had visited at least four times in the past 12 months. A list of the municipalities and cities (66 in all)

was used as a prompter.<sup>4</sup> They were also asked how many times, if at all, they had visited the following seven urban centers in the past year: Metro Manila, Cebu, Baguio City, Hong Kong, Naga, Iriga, and Logazpi.

#### Travel Within Camarines Sur

The immediate bases for most (not all) of the findings presented here are the accompanying fold-out diagram of River Basin travel patterns, and Tables RS09.01-03. Readers are urged to familiarize themselves with their contents before proceeding further.

7. HH heads are travellers. More than four out of five (83 percent) of our respondents had visited one or more places outside their own municipality at least four times in the 12 months before they were interviewed. In the same period four out of five had been to Naga City at least once, and more than one-third, to Iriga City.

Those who traveled more than made up for the few who did not. The average number of places in Camarines Sur visited per respondent (including those who stayed at home) ranged from 1.00 (Del Gallego residents) to 4.03 (Naga). The average mobility rate for travel within Camarines Sur is 2.32.

8. Clearly, the provincial travel center par excellence is Naga City. Only this center can make the following claims.

a. It was visited four times in the past year by at least 20 percent of the HH heads of every other municipality of the province. Its nearest competitors are Iriga, Pili, Calabanga, Pasacao, Goa, Nabua, and Sipocot. See paragraph 9, below, and Tables RS09.01-03.

b. It is the only place in Camarines Sur visited at least four times in the year by a majority (55 percent) of the province's HH heads. Iriga is next, with 19.3 percent; then Pili, 13.5 percent; Goa, 9.1; Calabanga, 8.7; Nabua, 7.6; Sipocot, 7.4; and Pasacao, 6.4 percent.

c. It led all other places in the number of municipalities for whose residents it was the most frequent travel destination. Twenty-four

<sup>4</sup>Where respondents stated they had visited a particular place at least four times in the past year, they were asked the reason(s) for the trip(s). The replies are analyzed in the next major section of this report.

Table RSO9.01. Percentages of respondents reporting that they visited specified municipalities of Camarines Sur, Camarines Norte, or Albay at least four times in past year, by respondent's municipality of residence (Bicol River Basin, Camarines Sur, April 1974)<sup>a</sup>

Municipality of residence	Sample size	% who travel	Municipalities below were visited by:			
			20 percent	40 percent	60 percent	80 percent
<b>a. SIPOCOT DISTRICT</b>						
<u>Sipocot</u>	50	70%	Libmanan (32%) Naga (36)			
<u>Del Gallego</u>	13	77	Naga (54%)			
<u>Ragay</u>	33	61	Sipocot (30)	Naga (45)		
<u>Lupi</u>	19	68	Ragay (32)	Sipocot (42) Naga (42)		
<u>Cabusao</u>	8	87	Bombon (25) Garchitorena (25) Iriga (25) Sipocot (34) **Mercedes (25)	Libmanan (50) Calabanga (50) **Daet (50) <sup>b</sup>	Naga (88%)	
<u>Libmanan</u>	58	86	Cabusao (24) Pamplona (31) Sipocot (34)	Naga (67%)		
<b>b. NAGA DISTRICT</b>						
<u>Naga City</u>	71	80	Bao (21) Calabanga (21) Iriga (23)			

<sup>a</sup>Places visited by fewer than 20 percent of the respondents from the municipality in column 1 are not shown here (data are available at the SSRU office; however, the "percentage who travel" figure (column 3) includes these travelers.

<sup>b</sup>Municipalities whose names are preceded by asterisks are located in Albay (\*) or Camarines Norte (\*\*).

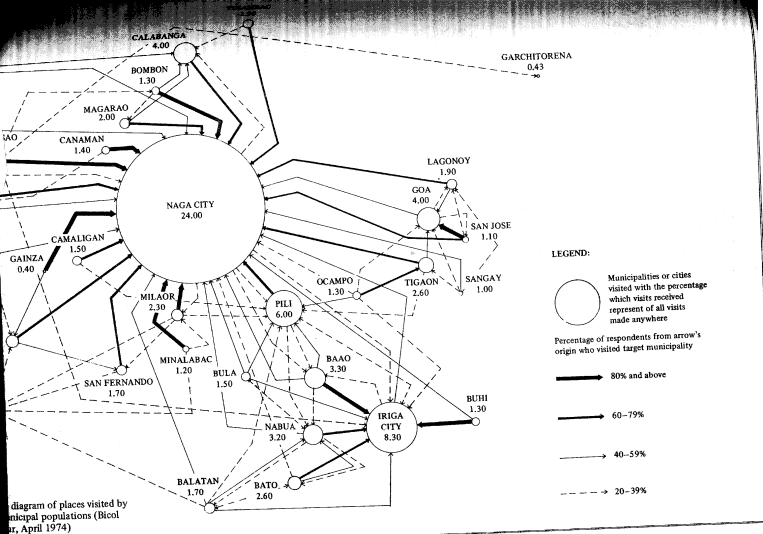


Diagram of places visited by municipal populations (Bicol, April 1974)

Table BS09.01. (cont'd)

Municipality of residence	Sample size	% who travel	Municipalities below were visited by:			
			20 percent	40 percent	60 percent	80 percent
<u>Naga City</u>			Pili (28) Milaor (20) *Legaspi (28) **Daet (21)			
<u>Beao</u>	30	90	Nabua (30%) *Polangui (20)	Pili (43%) Naga (53)		Iriga (80%)
<u>Bula</u>	31	84	Nabua (23)	Pili (42) Iriga (42) Naga (55)		
<u>Ocampo</u>	18	89	Iriga (32) Naga (28) Goa (33)	Pili (50)	Tigaon (72%)	
<u>Pili</u>	29	79	Nabua (21) Iriga (38) *Polangui (21)		Naga (62)	
c. MAGARAO DISTRICT						
<u>Magarao</u>	31	90		Calabanga (45)	Naga (74)	
<u>Bombon</u>	18	94	Magarao (33)	Calabanga (44)		Naga (39)
<u>Calabanga</u>	98	82			Naga (71)	
<u>Canaman</u>	34	94	Libmanan (24)			Naga (80)
d. MILAOR DISTRICT						
<u>Milaor</u>	19	95	Pasacao (21) San Fernando (21) Pili (26)			Naga (89)
<u>Camaligan</u>	12	83	Pili (25)		Naga (67)	



Table RS09.01. (cont'd)

Municipality of residence	Sample size	% who travel	Municipalities below were visited by:			
			20 percent	40 percent	60 percent	80 percent
<u>Gainza</u>	12	100		Pamplona (58%)		Naga (83%)
<u>Minalabac</u>	49	100	Pasacao (20%) Milaor (22)			Naga (83)
<u>Pamplona</u>	27	93	Pasacao (33)	San Fer- nando (41)	Naga (78%)	
<u>Pasacao</u>	32	72	Pamplona (34)	Naga (50)		
<u>San Fernando</u>	27	78	Pasacao (26)		Naga (63)	
e. GOA DISTRICT						
<u>Goa</u>	39	59	San Jose (21) Lagonoy (38)	Naga (54)		
<u>Lagonoy</u>	36	92		Goa (53)	Naga (61)	
<u>Sangay</u>	17	76	Lagonoy (24) Goa (29) Tigaon (35) *Tabaco (29) **Daet (24)	Naga (47)		
<u>San Jose</u>	27	100	Lagonoy (37) *Legaspi (20)		Naga (63)	Goa (85)
<u>Tigaon</u>	26	77	Pili (23)	Goa (42)	Naga (62)	
<u>Tinambac</u>	35	86	Calabanga (20) *Legaspi (20)		Naga (60)	

Table RSO9.01. (cont'd)

Municipality of residence	Sample size	% who travel	Municipalities below were visited by:			
			20 percent	40 percent	60 percent	80 percent
f. IRIGA DISTRICT						
<u>Iriga City</u>	62	69	Pili (21%) Baao (27) *Legaspi (21)	Naga (42%)		
<u>Bato</u>	29	83	Balatan (28) Naga (31) *Polangui (34)	Nabua (45)	Iriga (62%)	
<u>Buhi</u>	43	91		Naga (40)		Iriga (88%)
<u>Balatan</u>	12	75	Naga (.33) Pili (.24) Bato (.25) *Legaspi (.25)	Nabua (.42) Iriga (.50)		
<u>Nabua</u>	34	85	Bula (21) Balatan (26) Bato (32) *Polangui (21)	Naga (50)	Iriga (68)	

Table RS09.02. Mobility rates of respondents, by municipality of residence and by province visited at least four times in past year (Bicol River Basin, Camarines Sur, April 1974)

Municipality of residence	Sample size	Camarines Sur	Camarines Norte	Albay	Overall rate
<b>a. SIPOCOT DISTRICT</b>					
Sipocot	50	1.80	.36	.68	2.84
Cabusao	8	3.63	1.25	.75	5.63
Del Gallego	13	1.00	.15	.62	1.77
Libmanan	58	2.31	.29	.91	3.52
Lupi	19	1.58	.10	.05	1.74
Ragay	33	1.39	.18	.06	1.64
<b>b. NAGA DISTRICT</b>					
Naga City	71	4.03	.92	1.63	6.58
Baao	30	2.73	.17	1.00	3.90
Bula	31	2.10	.39	.90	3.39
Ocampo	18	2.78	-	.11	2.89
Pili	29	2.66	.17	.62	3.45
<b>c. MAGARAO DISTRICT</b>					
Magarao	31	2.42	-	.39	2.81
Bombon	18	2.72	.17	.50	3.39
Calabanga	98	1.97	.06	.22	2.26
Canaman	34	2.26	.09	.41	2.74
<b>d. MILAOR DISTRICT</b>					
Milaor	19	2.74	.21	.32	3.32
Camaligan	12	2.17	-	.50	2.67
Gainza	12	2.25	-	-	2.25
Minalabac	49	2.43	.08	.53	3.04
Pamplona	27	2.89	.18	.78	3.85
Pasacao	32	2.00	.34	.84	3.19
San Fernando	27	1.67	-	-	1.67

<sup>a</sup>By mobility rate is here meant the quotient obtained by dividing the total visits made by the number of respondents in the sample (TVM/n).

Table RSO9.02. (cont'd)

Municipality of residence	Sample size	Camarines Sur	Camarines Norte	Albay	Overall rate
e. GOA DISTRICT					
Goa	39	2.21	.23	.54	2.97
Lagonoy	36	2.47	.14	.36	2.97
Sangay	17	2.53	.06	.48	3.47
San Jose	27	3.07	.15	.94	3.93
Tigaon	26	2.31	-	.35	2.46
Tinambac	35	1.34	.23	.63	2.20
f. IRIGA DISTRICT					
Iriga City	62	1.82	.11	.56	2.50
Bato	29	2.07	-	1.07	3.10
Buhi	43	1.72	.02	.58	2.33
Balatan	12	2.16	-	.92	3.08
Nabua	34	2.35	.06	.62	3.03
g. OVERALL RATE 1079					
		2.28	.20	.61	3.10

Table RS09.03. Percentages of respondents reporting that they visited specified municipalities of Camarines Sur at least four times in past year by municipality visited (Bicol River Basin, Camarines Sur, April 1974)<sup>a</sup>

Municipality visited	Municipalities from which there came (as visitors):			
	20 percent	40 percent	60 percent	80 percent

a. SIPOCOT DISTRICT

<u>Sipocot</u>	Ragay (30%) Cabusao (38) Libmanan (34)	Lupi (42%)
<u>Del Gallego</u>	-	
<u>Ragay</u>	Lupi (32)	
<u>Lupi</u>	-	
<u>Cabusao</u>	Libmanan (24)	
<u>Libmanan</u>	Sipocot (32) Canaman (24)	Cabusao (50)

b. NAGA DISTRICT

<u>Naga City</u>	<u>Sipocot (36)</u> <sup>b</sup> Ocampo (28) Bato (31) Balatan (33)	<u>Del Gallego (54)</u> <u>Ragay (45)</u> <u>Lupi (42)</u> Baao (53) <u>Bula (55)</u> <u>Pasacao (50)</u> <u>Goa (54)</u> <u>Sangay (47)</u> <u>Iriga (42)</u> Buhi (40) Habua (56)	<u>Libmanan (67%)</u> <u>Pili (62)</u> <u>Magarao (74)</u> <u>Calabanga (71)</u> <u>Camaligan (67)</u> <u>Pamplona (78)</u> <u>San Fernando (63)</u> <u>Lagonoy (61)</u> San Jose (63) <u>Tigaon (60)</u> <u>Tinambac (60)</u>	<u>Cabusao (88%)</u> <u>Bombon (89)</u> <u>Canaman (89)</u> <u>Milao (89)</u> <u>Gainza (83)</u> <u>Minalabac (80)</u>
<u>Baao</u>	Naga (21) Pili (24) Iriga (27)			

<sup>a</sup>Places from which fewer than 20 percent visit a particular municipality are not listed here, but the data are available at the SSRU office.

<sup>b</sup>Underlining indicates that this is the top percentage of visitors reported for this municipality of origin. In this particular example, it indicates that Naga is the place most commonly visited by people of Sipocot.

Table RS09.05. (cont'd)

Municipality visited	Municipalities from which there came (visitors):			
	20 percent	40 percent	60 percent	80 percent
<u>Bula</u>	Nabua (21%)			
<u>Ocampo</u>	-			
<u>Pili</u>	Iriga (21)	Baao (43%)		
	Naga (28)	Bula (42)		
	Milaor (26)	Ocampo (50)		
	Camaligan (25)			
	Tigaon (23)			
	Balatan (25)			
c. MAGARAO DISTRICT				
<u>Magarao</u>	Bombon (33)			
<u>Bombon</u>	Cabusao (25)			
<u>Calabanga</u>	Naga (21)	Cabusao (50)		
	Tinambac (20)	Magarao (45)		
		Bombon (44)		
<u>Canaman</u>	-			
d. MILAOR DISTRICT				
<u>Milaor</u>	Naga (20)			
	Minalabac (22)			
<u>Camaligan</u>	-			
<u>Gainza</u>	-			
<u>Minalabac</u>	-			
<u>Pamplona</u>	Libmanan (31)	Gainza (58)		
	Pasacao (34)			
<u>Pasacao</u>	Milaor (21)			
	Minalabac (20)			
	Pamplona (33)			
	San Fernando (26)			

Table RSO9.03. (cont'd)

Municipality visited	Municipalities from which there came (as visitors):			
	20 percent	40 percent	60 percent	80 percent
<u>San Fernando</u>	Milaor (21%)	Pamplona (41%)		
GOA DISTRICT				
<u>Goa</u>	Ocampo (33) Sangay (29)	Lagonoy (53) Tigaon (42)		<u>San Jose (85%)</u>
<u>Lagonoy</u>	Goa (38) Sangay (24) San Jose (37)			
<u>Sangay</u>	-			
<u>San Jose</u>	Goa (21)			
<u>Tigaon</u>	Sangay (35)		<u>Ocampo (72%)</u>	
<u>Tinambac</u>	-			
IRIGA DISTRICT				
<u>Iriga City</u>	Naga (23) Cabusao (25) Ocampo (22) Pili (38)	Bula (42) <u>Balatan (50)</u>	<u>Bato (62)</u> <u>Nabua (68)</u>	<u>Baao (80)</u> <u>Buhi (88)</u>
<u>Bato</u>	Balatan (25) Nabua (32)			
<u>Balatan</u>	Bato (28) Nabua (26)			
<u>Buhi</u>	-			
<u>Nabua</u>	Bula (23) Baao (30) Pili (21)	Bato (45) Balatan (42)		

municipalities out of the other 32 in the River Basin thus put Naga in first place; for Iriga the corresponding figure is five; for Pili, Tigaon, and Goa, one each (Table RSO9.03).

d. Whereas Naga's pull is Basinwide, the other places just mentioned have relatively minor orbits. Thus Iriga is the most common target only for towns which surround it (Baa, Balatan, Bato, Buhi, and Nabua). Pili, Tigaon, and Goa pull in high numbers of visitors only from their nearest neighbors, namely, Naga, Ocampo, and San Jose, respectively (*ibid.*).

9. Nontheless, seven other important centers may be distinguished. Of more restricted, but sizeable influence, they exist at two levels.

Directly below Naga are two subprovincial centers, Iriga and Pili. Iriga was visited by at least 20 percent of the HH heads of 10 municipalities, including both Naga and Pili. Pili, in turn, was visited by the same percentage of HH heads from Naga, Iriga, and seven other places.

District centers are five in number: Goa, Calabanga, and Nabua--each visited by one-fifth or more of the HH heads of five other places--and Sipocot and Pasacao (four places). See Tables RSO9.01 and .03.

10. Evidently less popular destinations are at least 10 in number. Not visited by 20 percent of the HHs heads of any other municipality in the province are these places: Buhi, Canaman, Camaligan, Gainza, Minalabac, Sangay, Tinambac, and Del Gallego, Lupi and Ocampo.

It will be noted that the first seven towns are located at the end of dead-end roads. Del Gallego and Lupi are so-called railroad towns, built along the Philippine National Railways track in northwest Camarines Sur--on no road at all and reached generally by rail. Ocampo is seemingly little more than a flag stop for the express busses plying the transpeninsular highway between Naga and Goa.

#### Travel Within the Peninsula

Respondents were asked, not only about the towns of Camarines Sur but also about those of Camarines Norte and Albay. Many of the pertinent data are in Tables RSO9.01-02.

11. Relatively small percentages of Camarines Sur residents regularly visit Camarines Norte or Albay. The evidence for this statement is varied.



- a. Of the 33 municipalities of Camarines Sur which were studied, only 11 report visits of 20 percent or more of their HH heads to any towns in the two neighbor-provinces. These visitors come from Naga, Cabusao, Tinambac, Sangay, San Jose, Pili, Baao, Iriga, Nabua, Balatan, and Bato (Table RS09.01).
  - b. Only two places in Camarines Norte (Daet and Mercedes) and three in Albay (Legazpi City, Polangui, and Tabaco) were visited by HH heads from one or more of the above-mentioned 11 towns of Camarines Sur (ibid.).
  - c. Only one place (Daet) was visited by more than 35 percent of HH heads from any town of Camarines Sur: one-half of Cabusao respondents went to Daet four or more times in the year before they were interviewed (ibid., section a).
  - d. Mobility rates of respondents are consistently much lower for Albay (average rate, 0.61 percent) than for Camarines Sur (2.28 percent), and even lower for Camarines Norte (0.20 percent). See Table RS09.02.
12. However, four places in Albay and Camarines Norte outdraw one or more district centers of Camarines Sur. The comparative data are in Table RS09.04.
13. The average visiting done by residents varies greatly from place to place. The basic data are found in Table RS09.02.
- a. The overall average mobility rate (total visits per respondent in sample is 3.10).
  - b. Most mobile are the people of Naga (overall mobility rate, 6.58), Cabusao (5.63), San Jose (3.93), and Baao (3.90). All these centers are relatively strong in out-of-province visiting.
  - c. Least mobile are the HH heads of Ragay (1.64), San Fernando (1.67), Lupi (1.74), Del Gallego (1.77), and Tinambac (2.20). With the exception of San Fernando, all these places are at the end of the road, or without a road.

The San Fernando mobility rate is lowered particularly by its barrio respondents, who are twice as many as the poblacion respondents, and live in the hills to the southwest of the poblacion, far from the national road. Their rate is only 1.43, compared to 2.33 for the poblacion (average is 1.67).

Table RS09.04. Percentages of respondents who visited selected places in the Bicol Peninsula (Bicol River Basin, Camarines Sur, April 1974)

Place	Province	Visitors from Cams. Sur
Naga City	Cams. Sur	55.0% <sup>a</sup>
Iriga City	Cams. Sur	19.3
Pili	Cams. Sur	13.5
<u>Legazpi City</u>	<u>Albay</u>	<u>11.5</u>
Goa	Cams. Sur	9.1
Calabanga	Cams. Sur	8.7
<u>Tabaco</u>	<u>Albay</u>	<u>8.5</u>
Nabua	Cams. Sur	7.6
Sipocot	Cams. Sur	7.4
<u>Polangui</u>	<u>Albay</u>	<u>7.0</u>
<u>Daet</u>	<u>Cams. Norte</u>	<u>6.9</u>
Pasacao	Cams. Sur	6.4
Total n		1079

<sup>a</sup>Percentage of all Camarines Sur respondents who visited the place (column 1) four times or more in the past year.

#### Travel to Urban Centers

To discover what kind of experience the average HH head might have of the world outside the Bicol region, respondents were asked if in the past year they had ever visited Metro Manila, Cebu City, Baguio City, or Hong Kong (Naga, Iriga, and Legazpi were added for control, or comparison, purposes). If the reply were affirmative, respondents were asked if they had been to that city once, or more than once. The recorded results are in Table RS09.05.

14. Of all the cities, only Naga was visited by a majority of respondents (81.2 percent vs. 36.1 for Iriga, the nearest competitor).
15. Generally speaking, frequency of travel to a place is inversely related to its distance from the starting point. One glaring exception is Metro Manila, which is much farther away than Legazpi, but is visited more frequently by the HH heads of Camarines Sur (the differences in percentage are not statistically significant, however).

Table RS09.05. Percentages of respondents visiting selected urban centers (Bicol River Basin, Camarines Sur, April 1974)

City	Percentage of respondents (n = 1079)		
	No visit	One visit	More visits
Naga	18.8%	13.2%	68.0%
Iriga	63.9	6.1	30.0
Legazpi	75.7	9.5	14.8
Metro Manila	70.9	12.5	16.6
Cebu	99.4	0.3	0.3
Baguio	97.8	0.9	1.3
Hong Kong	99.7	0.2	0.1

16. Generally speaking, large places visited once will continue to be visited. Note that in all cases the frequency of "more visits" is at least equal to (Cebu), and generally higher than, the frequency for "One visit."

#### WHAT DO THEY DO?

Whenever respondents said they had visited a particular place, they were asked the main reason(s) for the trip. The interview schedule offered eight possible answers from which respondents might choose, and a ninth category if they could give no reason (Table RS09.06).

When a reply was coded "Other" or "Combination," the exact answer given by the respondent was written verbatim. In the editing process it was noted that a large number of the tallied "Other" answers--more than half of them, in fact--could be coded as "Work-related travel," understood as visiting or temporarily residing in a place because of a job assignment: sent there to investigate some matter, to interview someone, to receive in-service training, attend a seminar, or something similar. In the final analysis of the data, this new category, "Work-related travel," became the tenth code category.

Table RS09.06. List of fix-alternative replies for questions about reasons for traveling (AP1 schedule, Bicol River Basin, Camarines Sur, April 1974)

Reason	Explanation
a. <u>Marketing</u> (Bk., <u>pagsaad</u> )	Buying things, generally for domestic consumption
b. <u>Business</u>	Selling things, generally carried with the respondent from his home municipality, or from some other place
c. <u>Religious</u>	Attending rituals, making pilgrimages, visiting shrines
d. <u>Recreation</u>	Excursions, going to the movies, to a cockfight, and so on
e. <u>Medical</u>	Seeking treatment for oneself or for someone one is accompanying
f. <u>Visiting kin</u>	Visiting anyone recognized as a kinsman, however remote the relationship
g. COMBINATION	For replies in which two or more reasons were given
h. OTHER	A residual category for answers not classifiable elsewhere (above)
i. DON'T KNOW	For replies in which respondents indicated they didn't know, or could not recall the reason for the trip

#### Most Common Reasons for Travel

Respondents reported a total of 2504 visits to places within Camarines Sur. Of these the great majority were for economic reasons: marketing (31.7 percent), business (20.0), and work-related travel (8.5), adding up to 60.2 percent in all. The next broad category is social: visiting kinsmen (17.3) or seeking recreation (6.6), adding up to 23.9 percent. Religious and medical purposes account for 3.0 percent each. Combinations (5.1), others (3.0), and Don't Know's (1.8) complete the distribution. See the totals at the end of Table RS09.07.

Table RS09-07. Percentages of respondents reporting that they visited specified municipalities of Camarines Sur at least four times in past year, by municipality visited and by reason for visit (Bicol River Basin, Camarines Sur, April 1974)

Municipality visited	MKT <sup>a</sup>	BUS	REL	REC	MED	VIS	WORK	OTH	COMB	DK	TVR	PTV
a. SIPOCOT DISTRICT												
<u>Sipocot</u>	18.8	21.3	1.3	6.3	3.8	26.3	13.8	3.8	5.0	-	80	3.19
<u>Cabusao</u>	24.4	24.4	-	7.3	2.4	22.0	14.6	2.4	-	2.4	41	1.63
<u>Del Gallego</u>	12.5	41.7	-	4.2	-	16.7	20.8	-	4.2	-	24	0.95
<u>Libmanan</u>	18.3	19.7	1.4	11.3	-	21.1	15.5	4.2	5.6	2.8	71	2.83
<u>Lupi</u>	15.6	37.5	3.1	9.4	3.1	12.5	15.6	3.1	-	-	32	1.27
<u>Ragay</u>	25.0	31.3	3.1	6.3	3.1	9.4	12.5	6.3	3.1	-	32	1.27
<u>Subtotal</u>	19.3	26.1	1.4	7.9	2.1	20.0	15.0	3.6	3.6	1.1	280	11.18
b. NAGA DISTRICT												
<u>Naga City</u>	47.0	11.5	2.4	7.6	4.4	8.3	2.7	2.7	10.1	3.4	593	24.00
<u>Baao</u>	12.0	29.0	3.6	3.6	3.6	24.1	16.9	2.4	2.4	2.4	83	3.31
<u>Bula</u>	17.5	17.5	-	7.5	2.5	32.5	17.5	2.5	2.5	-	40	1.59
<u>Ocampo</u>	14.3	20.0	8.6	11.4	0	17.1	17.1	2.9	5.7	2.9	35	1.39
<u>Pili</u>	41.7	22.0	1.4	5.5	2.0	15.1	6.2	4.8	1.4	-	146	5.83
<u>Subtotal</u>	40.4	15.4	2.5	7.0	3.7	12.3	5.8	3.0	7.5	2.6	897	35.82

<sup>a</sup> Abbreviations for column headings are as follows: MKT - marketing (to buy things); BUS - business (to sell things); REL - religious; REC - recreation; MED - medical; VIS - visiting kin; WORK - work-related travel (assignment); OTH - others (not elsewhere classified); COMB - combination answer (several of the preceding); DK - Don't Know; TVR - total visits received by municipality named in column 1 of this row; PTV - percentage that TVR represents of all visits made by respondents anywhere in Camarines Sur.

Table R309.07 (cont'd)

Municipality visited	MKT <sup>a</sup>	BUS	REL	REC	MED	VIS	WORK	GTH	COMB	DK	TVR	PTV
c. MAGARAO DISTRICT												
<u>Magarao</u>	13.7	19.6	5.9	7.8	11.8	25.5	7.8	4.0	4.0	-	51	2.03
<u>Bombon</u>	22.9	11.4	-	-	-	40.0	20.0	2.9	2.9	-	35	1.39
<u>Calabanga</u>	20.0	24.2	10.5	6.3	-	21.1	5.3	4.2	6.3	2.1	95	3.79
<u>Canaman</u>	21.6	24.3	2.7	10.8	-	19.0	8.1	5.4	5.4	2.7	37	1.47
<u>Subtotal</u>	19.3	21.1	6.4	6.4	2.8	24.8	8.7	4.1	5.0	1.4	218	8.70
d. MILAOR DISTRICT												
<u>Milaor</u>	13.8	20.7	1.7	6.9	-	34.5	15.5	3.4	1.7	1.7	58	2.31
<u>Camaligan</u>	17.5	35.0	7.5	5.0	-	15.0	15.0	2.5	-	2.5	40	1.59
<u>Gainza</u>	8.3	16.7	8.3	-	-	41.7	16.7	-	8.3	-	12	0.47
<u>Minalabac</u>	6.5	25.8	6.5	3.2	9.7	22.6	16.1	3.2	3.2	3.2	31	1.23
<u>Pamplona</u>	42.4	18.6	6.8	1.7	-	15.3	6.8	5.1	3.4	-	59	2.35
<u>Pasacao</u>	25.0	22.0	3.0	4.4	-	28.0	10.3	3.0	4.4	-	68	2.71
<u>San Fernando</u>	23.3	18.6	4.7	9.3	-	32.6	7.0	-	2.3	2.3	43	1.71
<u>Subtotal</u>	22.5	22.5	4.8	4.8	1.0	25.7	11.6	2.9	2.9	1.3	311	12.42
e. GOA DISTRICT												
<u>Goa</u>	43.8	19.4	1.0	2.0	7.1	13.3	4.1	4.1	4.1	1.0	98	3.91
<u>Lagonoy</u>	20.4	22.4	4.1	2.0	2.0	22.4	14.3	8.2	2.0	2.0	49	1.95
<u>Sangay</u>	15.4	26.9	-	11.5	7.7	23.1	15.4	-	-	-	26	1.03
<u>San Jose</u>	21.4	32.1	3.6	3.6	-	25.0	14.3	-	-	-	28	1.11

Municipality visited	MKT <sup>R</sup>	BUS	REL	REC	MED	VIS	WORK	OTH	COMB	DK	TVP	PTV
<u>Tigaon</u>	34.8	18.2	3.0	9.1	4.5	16.7	4.5	3.0	4.5	1.5	66	2.63
<u>Tinambac</u>	22.0	26.0	8.0	12.0	2.0	16.0	6.0	2.0	4.0	2.0	50	1.99
<u>Subtotal</u>	30.6	22.4	3.2	6.0	4.4	17.7	7.9	3.5	3.2	1.3	317	12.65

## f. IRIGA DISTRICT

<u>Iriga City</u>	50.0	13.0	1.4	6.3	2.0	11.0	3.4	3.4	5.8	3.4	208	8.30
<u>Bato</u>	18.2	33.3	3.0	6.0	1.5	18.2	15.2	1.5	3.0	-	66	2.63
<u>Buhi</u>	11.4	34.3	2.9	8.6	2.9	25.7	8.6	-	5.7	-	35	1.39
<u>Balatan</u>	36.4	25.0	-	4.5	6.8	15.9	9.1	-	-	2.3	44	1.75
<u>Nabua</u>	25.6	24.3	3.7	8.5	2.4	23.1	8.5	-	3.7	-	82	3.27
<u>Subtotal</u>	36.1	21.1	2.1	6.7	2.8	16.1	7.1	1.8	4.4	1.8	435	17.37

## g. NON-BASIN MUNICIPALITY

<u>Caramoan</u>	25.0	25.0	8.3	-	-	25.0	16.7	-	-	-	12	0.47
<u>Garchitorena</u>	18.2	36.4	-	9.1	-	18.2	18.2	-	-	-	11	0.43
<u>Parubcan</u>	33.3	11.1	-	-	11.1	11.1	22.2	11.1	-	-	9	0.35
<u>Siruma</u>	21.4	28.6	-	14.3	-	14.3	14.3	-	7.1	-	14	0.55
<u>Subtotal</u>	24.0	26.1	2.2	6.5	2.2	17.4	17.4	2.2	2.2	-	46	1.83

h. OVERALL TOTAL 31.7 20.0 3.0 6.6 3.0 17.3 8.5 3.0 5.1 1.8 2504 100.00

We may summarize the above in this proposition.

17. Most traveling is reportedly done for economic (60 percent) or social (24 percent) reasons. Nonetheless trips for medical or religious purposes account for a sizeable amount of traffic (3 percent each).

#### The Functional Centers

But these are provincewide averages. From our knowledge of the way in which cities and towns develop certain emphases, finding their niches in the social environment, we should expect that some places will attract for one reason, others for another, and one or two places for many reasons. Using as the criterion that percentage of all travel for a specific purpose which finds its way to a particular municipality, we can pick out the places which have the greatest drawing power for different reasons. We confine ourselves to five such functions. See Table RS09.08.

18. Naga City is a unique Basinwide, multifunctional center. It leads all other places in every category considered, but its dominance is especially pronounced as a marketing, business, medical, and recreational center in (each case, more than double the frequency of the second-ranked place).
19. Iriga City and Pili are important subprovincial centers (see paragraph 9) for marketing, business, and recreational purposes. Additionally, Iriga's medical facilities are widely used.
20. Goa is far more popular (for marketing and medical reasons) than the four other district centers we earlier identified (paragraph 9). It seems to be in an intermediate position--somewhere between district and subprovincial status. This may be due to its having a "captive hinterland," the people of the so-called Partido district, in the pocket east of Mt. Isarog.<sup>5</sup>
21. Two apparent anomalies are explained by existing, and thriving folk practices. Thus Calabanga's popularity as a religious destination is due to its being the home of a famous image of the Reclining Christ

<sup>5</sup>In Spanish times the present "Partido" was Partido de Lagonoy, while today's "Rinconada district" (Iriga, Buhi, Nabua, Balatan, and Bato) was the Partido de Rinconada. Over time, the original names changed in two different ways.



Table BS09.08. Most commonly visited centers in Camarines Sur by reason for people's traveling there and percentage of all such visits which it receives (Bicol River Basin, Camarines Sur, April 1974)

Function	Leading places		
	Name	Percent <sup>a</sup>	Rank
a. <u>Marketing</u>	Naga City	35.0%	1
	Iriga City	13.1	2
	Pili	8.0	3
	Goa	5.4	4
	Total no. visits	793	
b. <u>Business</u>	Naga City	13.5	1
	Pili	6.3	2
	Iriga City	5.3	3
	Baao	4.7	4
	Calabanga	4.5	5
Total no. visits	502		
c. <u>Religious</u>	Naga City	20.0	1
	Calabanga	15.3	2
	Total no. visits	65	
d. <u>Medical</u>	Naga City	34.6	1
	Goa	9.3	2
	Magarao	8.0	3
	Iriga City	6.6	4
	Total	75	
e. <u>Recreational</u>	Naga City	27.2	1
	Iriga City	7.8	2
	Pili	4.8	3
	Libmanan	4.8	4
	Total no. visits	165	
Total no. visits (all reasons)		2504	

<sup>a</sup>Percentage of all visits by respondents for the reason in column 1.

(the Hinulid found in Barrio San Miguel, just outside the poblacion).<sup>6</sup>

Magarao is tied for last place (with Bula, Canaman, and Milaor) in terms of the modern medical facilities it has (or does not have), yet it ranks third, after Naga City and Goa, in medical visits received. Its popularity is explained by the fame of its folk-healers, or hilot.

### TRAVELING BRINGS HAPPINESS

Aside from the utilitarian ends served by the many trips our respondents report, there is a final dimension to be considered--the contribution which traveling makes to the people's sense of well being. For if there is evidence that there is cultural value attached to the experience of going from one place to another, we shall have found an additional reason for improving the transportation network. Moreover, we shall have learned something important about Bicolano ways of thinking and valuing.

Included in the first annual panel survey were 17 perceived-quality-of-life questions. Two of them were identical general inquiries: "All things considered, how do you feel about your life as a whole--are you happy, unhappy or somewhere in between?" This question was asked at the beginning, and again at the end, of the two-hour interview. At both times respondents were shown a seven-point scale and asked to point out where they would place themselves, at the "very happy" end (score 1), at the "very unhappy" end (score 7), or at some intermediate point (scores 2-6). The average of the replies to this general question was used as an indicator of each respondent's overall satisfaction with life.

In the same manner, very similar questions were asked (just once) about these 15 particular aspects of life: job, income, present housing, food and drink, travel, position in life, residence (barrio or poblacion), health and

<sup>6</sup>The hinulid (from hulid, Bikol for 'lie down, recline, rest') shows the clothed Christ stretched full length, supine, apparently asleep. This is a folk conception of Christ between his being taken down from the cross and rising from the dead.

Table RS09.09. Means and standard deviations of satisfaction scores for life and for travel, with their correlation coefficients ( $r$ ), by district (Bicol River Basin, Camarines Sur, April 1974)<sup>a</sup>

District	Life		Travel		n	F test	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.		$r$	(signif.)
Sipocot	3.76	0.95	3.59	1.26	210	.35	0.001
Naga	3.74	1.11	3.40	1.20	188	.40	0.001
Magarao	3.69	1.01	3.40	1.22	141	.47	0.001
Milaor	3.77	1.00	3.43	1.01	173	.28	0.001
Goa.	3.71	0.84	3.38	1.17	119	.18	0.05
Iriga	3.62	0.99	3.51	1.12	145	.34	0.001
All combined	3.72	0.99	3.46	1.17	976	.35	0.001

<sup>a</sup>A seven-point scale was used for replies: 1 - very happy; 7 - very unhappy. Hence 3.72, for example, indicates strong feelings in neither direction, but a slight tendency toward satisfaction.

physical condition, availability of health services, own education, children's education, participation in formal organizations, participation in informal groups, furniture and possessions, and current prices. Thus, at the end of the block on travel, respondents were asked how happy they were about the traveling they had been able to do, and the number of places they had reached, in the past 12 months. Replies were expressed on the seven-point scale already described.

The findings of the substudy are as follows (see Table RS09.09). Overall, the average score for life in general is 3.72 (just over the midline, on the happy side of the scale). Moreover, this degree of satisfaction with life is apparently shared by most HH heads of the River Basin whether they live in Del Gallego, Tinambac, Buhi, or Bato. They are basically content with life as it is--not very happy, not free of worry (who is?), but certainly not really unhappy.

The average resident of the Basin feels a little bit happier about the travel he has done, for the mean score for the question on travel is 3.46, which is 0.26 points closer to the "very happy" pole.

The fact that there is a consistently significant positive correlation between scores for life and scores for travel (Table RSO9.09) would seem to indicate that satisfaction with the travel they have done affects the way Bicolanos feel about life in general. This is most probably the case, but a more definitive statement on the effect that travel has on general feelings of contentment must await the results of a more intensive investigation of the data.<sup>7</sup> Further, since the correlation, though positive and significant, is also relatively weak (.35), we do know that even those Bicolanos who are extremely pleased with their travel records are likely to take with them, no matter where they go, a fair share of handcarried anxiety. Arog lang kaiyan an buhay.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to answer two questions, namely, to what places residents of Camarines Sur regularly traveled, and for what reasons. Implied was a third, more fundamental question, that is, whether or not consistent travel patterns were discernible in the data.

The patterns are clear. To begin with, Naga City is revealed as a unique metropolis set at the center of the Bicol River Basin. It is, as it were, the primate city of Camarines Sur, with all the functions and prerogatives of such an urban center.

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<sup>7</sup> Hopefully some technique such as path analysis will shed light on the causal links that join various life perceptions to one another. The results of this analysis will be reported in a forthcoming number of the SSRU Research Report Series.

Ancillary to Naga, each with its own orbit of influence, are two, perhaps three, smaller centers: Iriga City for the Rinconada District, Goa for Partido, and--linking the two of them through its popular market--the municipality of Pili. Both Iriga and Pili are certainly subprovincial centers that must be placed on a level just below Naga.

Goa does not attract so many visitors as they. However, because the entire relatively isolated area east of Mt. Isarog is dependent on it for many essential services, Goa enjoys a special prominence. Functionally it may be the equal of Iriga and Pili; if it is not, then it is certainly the most important of the district centers.

These district centers (aside from Goa) are Sipocot, Pasacao, Calabanga, and Nabua. Each regularly attracts a sizeable portion of the patronage of four or five other municipalities, and belongs on a third level of importance.

The patterns are clear indeed. Among the 33 municipalities in the study area, an easily recognized, functionally effective network of transportation centers exists, with Naga City at its center.

We wish to draw only one further conclusion before closing this brief report. It is a corollary of the first. Given the broad data base on which the first conclusion was drawn (1079 HH heads reporting on a minimum of 10,000 trips they had taken in the year just passed<sup>8</sup>), it seems safe to conclude that any plans for the development of the Bicol River Basin can count on, and must reckon with, the travel preferences and PURPOSES revealed by this study.

#### Reference

Illo, Jeanne Frances I., and F. Lynch

1974 Who get the jobs--the old or the educated? Education and employment in the Bicol River Basin. SSRU Research Report Series, No. 8. July. Naga City, Social Survey Research Unit, Ateneo de Naga.

<sup>8</sup> In the population of HH heads represented by our sample, this would be about 1.4 million trips.

Research Report Series

1. What rice farmers of Camarines Sur say they want from the Philippine government (by F. Lynch)
2. Rice-farm harvests and practices in Camarines Sur: Do compact farms, Masagana 99, and the Samahang Nayon make a difference? (by F. Lynch, with an appendix on compact farming in Camarines Sur by J.V. Barrameda, Jr.)
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16. SSRU transportation inventory of the Bicol River Basin as of January 1974 (by Agapito M. Tria II)

Note: Revised versions of Reports 7, 11, 12, 13, and 14 will be ready in FY 1976.

- Announcements Series:
1. SSRU research plans for February-June 1974;
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