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“We must renew and recreate this city,
bestow it and revive it with our love.”

-Gov. Imelda R. Marcos



*Improving the quality of life
of the urban poor*

The Tondo Foreshore Urban Development Project

Postwar Changes in Manila

Shortly after World War II, major changes in the social, technical and economic trends in the convalescing city of Manila, occurred at a rather fast pace. Although the atmosphere of change had its influence felt in the areas of education, politics and even culture, the basic catalyst of this urban evolution was predominantly economic, as indicated by the accelerated industrial growth taking place right after liberation. This postwar switch from the traditional human labor to mechanization had somehow triggered greater production. Visible signs of this postwar change are the jeepney and the faster interisland vessel which replaced the calesa and the banca.

The principal effect of this change was to accelerate the urban activities of manufacturing, marketing and wholesaling, which, in turn had tremendous repercussions on the areas of migration and employment.

This phenomenon, which was more universal than Filipino, enhanced the Utopian image of the city among the people back in the provinces and promoted the exodus of migrants to Manila. Unfortunately, Manila could not, all at once, accommodate the hordes of migrants in its midst, despite its relative success at reha-

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bilitation and development. Its seemingly unincreasing volume of job opportunities accounted for the accumulation of maladjusted and unemployed migrants who came along with hardly the skills or education required by the urban economy. They struggled for survival, while the thick of shack communities we term *slums* offered them refuge. Perhaps, the history of slums actually dated back even before the Second World War, but historians normally attribute their growth to the reconstruction of the late 1940's, because it was at this particular stage that the continuous streams of migration occurred.

Although the classification of slums may vary, that is, either they are temporary shelters on public or private lots, or structures improved upon existing ruins, all of them share a common characteristic: they serve as a shelter for the migrants from the harsh realities of their new urban environment.

But slums and squatters are not unique to Manila. Reports indicate the existence of squatter-settlements in Ankara, Kinshasa, Calcutta, Caracas, Bangkok, Singapore, Peru, Hongkong, Mexico, Indonesia and New York.¹ Even to date, these countries and cities share the experience of urban implosion, their undiminished appeal enticing the continued arrival of more families per year. In Metro Manila, the implosion has deteriorated into the formation of slums, their total population numbering about 201,000 squatter families as of 1972. Approximately 13 percent of this figure comprise the 27,000 squatter families of Tondo Foreshore, acknowledged today as the biggest squatter colony in the entire Southeast Asia. They, too, are the beneficiary of the biggest and most comprehensive development plan ever undertaken by the national government.

For many years, the stigma of this community, with all its crimes, violence, filth and socio-economic-political disorder and deprivation, lingered in the mind of every Manilaño.

Tondo Foreshore has a total area of 137 hectares, 67 of which cover the residential areas, and into which are squeezed 27,000 families equivalent to 180,000 people. Population density is estimated at 3,000 persons per hectare. Congestion is compounded by grave deficiencies in site and services and the inadequacy of basic community amenities. The inadequacy of water, light, toilet and medical facilities explains the disease and misery that once were prevalent therein. But viewed alone as a government land lost to squatters, Tondo Foreshore was a problem replete with political interference that almost laid its case utterly hopeless.

This narrow sliver of land was originally intended for the construction of an inter-island port complex (now the North Harbor) and to serve as site for the proposed extension of the Dewey Boulevard (now the Roxas Boulevard). Unfortunately, several shacks sprung up on this land just as soon as it was reclaimed, and this partly frustrated the original plans for the reclaimed area. The expansion of the North Harbor might have been pursued as intended, but the planned Roxas Boulevard Extension which was expected to relieve traffic congestion already predicted then was aborted due to the existence of squalid settlements.

Soon the issue of land tenure or occupancy right emerged. Politicians, lobbyists and agitators found common cause with the squatters and succeeded in having Congress enact a number of measures benefiting the squatters. Special mention may be made of *Republic Act 1592*²

²This Act, known as Republic Act No. 1597, authorized the Land Tenure Administration to sell without delay and without the necessity of public bidding the lots as subdivided to their respective lessees and bonafide occupants. It was amended by Republic Act No. 2439 in 1959, which enlarged the land subject to subdivision from 130.5 has. to 185.75 has. and shrank the land available for port and road improvements.

¹See Charles Abrams, *Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1964

passed by Congress in 1956. This act authorized the subdivision of the Foreshoreland and the immediate sale of the lots to the residents at P5.00 per square meter as an open condonation of urban squatting and a bestowal of protective rights to the squatter families.

But such gestures of sympathy of the government to the squatters were not altogether favorable to either party and were often self-defeating. On one hand, it meant discontinuance of the originally planned use of the Foreshoreland; on the other, it gave more anxiety to the squatter families because the law was never fully implemented.

Today, the community leaders debate with the authorities on the spirit of *Republic Act 1597* and its provision to sell the land on easy terms whenever the issue of land rights is brought to the fore. The people cling fast to the grace of this measure, and insist on its complete implementation. But until then, the residents still speculate over the vague status of their occupancy with a feeling of insecurity. Worst of all, the people have learned to be cynical to the point of apathy or demanding to the point of belligerence.

Comprehensive Human Settlements Approach to Redevelopment

Confronted by the ever-increasing problems posed by the Tondo Foreshore slum issue, President Ferdinand E. Marcos created the Tondo Foreshore Urban Renewal Project, which was later transformed into an implementing body - the Tondo Foreshore Development Authority (TFDA).³

The general objective of the project is to improve the quality of life in Tondo Foreshore, through a comprehensive and integrated upgrading of site and services tied up with the social and economic reformation of the people and, with minimum relocation to resettlement sites. The task is rather broad and encompasses

a wide scope of community development activities that include the social rehabilitation of the squatter families, the cultivation of civic or social consciousness, social integration, leadership training, introduction of community projects, the establishment of land ownership, and the breaking of attitudinal resistance of the residents, conditioned by the unfulfilled promises of unscrupulous politicians in the Old Order.

Evidently, the entire development of Tondo Foreshore gives equal emphasis both to the physical structural changes as well as to the values, attitudes or culture of the community. Thus, the general objective, which is ultimately set at improving the quality of life of the people of Tondo Foreshore, entails the accomplishment of the following specific *tasks*:

1. The resolution of the land issue;
2. The development of Tondo Foreshore through the improvement of site and services, including housing;
3. The development of a self-sustaining resettlement site for the population spillover;
4. The establishment of a planned commercial-industrial estate which will generate economic opportunities for prospective relocatees; and
5. The creation of an implementing body.

These specific *objectives* are to be achieved along the following guiding principles:

1. Maximum community participation;
2. Total community development;
3. Provision of economic opportunities;
4. Maximum retention of structures and infrastructures;
5. Provision of site and services; and

³Presidential Decree 570.

6. Maximum recognition of land rights.

To support all social, economic and physical plans for the area, the Tondo Foreshore Urban Renewal Project conducted a socio-economic baseline survey and an environmental research to define the community profile.

Seventy-three percent of the total population, according to this survey, have migrated from the provinces, while 27 percent are originally from Metropolitan Manila. The community has a very young population with a median age of 17 years for household members.

The average household size corresponds to the national average of 6.5 members.

Majority have had some form of formal education but 33 percent have not completed elementary education. Despite their low educational attainment, however, the Tondo residents are considered highly literate because of their access and high exposure to mass media.

Ninety-six percent of household heads interviewed are employed. Twenty-four percent of them are skilled workers and the rest unskilled. About 30 percent of employed household heads in Tondo Foreshore work within walking distance in the Foreshore area and 22 percent within the periphery of the Tondo district.

The average monthly income per household is about P372.00⁴ while the average monthly expenditure is about P402.00.

Fifty-three percent of those interviewed have toilet facilities in their houses and about seven percent make use of public toilets in their area. However, human waste is generally disposed of through the "wrap and throw method."

Sixty-four percent do not have any drainage system at all. Drainage is commonly the open

type where water from the house passes into an open canal.

About 53.4 percent of the structures are either severely dilapidated or showing evidence of major deterioration and 46.6 percent may be retained or simply rehabilitated, if not affected by final layout or design considerations.

Water is very scarce: only 40 percent of the area has adequate water supply. There is only one water source - a deep well - in the area. Others buy water sold by the can. There are no existing sanitary sewers except for a 42-inch sewer outfall that traverses the area. Only three 36-inch pipelines for storm drainage serve the Foreshore area.

From the community findings, the Tondo Foreshore Urban Renewal Project evolved, in coordination with constituted leaders - civic and political - and residents of the area, three alternative framework plans (A, B, and C) which offered varying uses and transportation networks for the Foreshoreland.⁵

Under alternative Plan A, Tondo Foreshore will be developed basically as a residential area. Roxas Boulevard Extension (R-10), will skirt the customs zone in the western boundary, at a distance of 146 meters from the pier bulkhead. It requires the least number of relocatees but, like the other two plans, it provides for the resettlement of about 1,500 families residing in Dulo Puring Bato, Luzviminda and Bonifacio, which comprise the site entirely covered by the proposed International Port.

Plan B earmarks about 35 hectares for commercial and port facilities. Roxas Boulevard Extension will pass 260 meters away from the pier bulkhead, setting the commercial area apart from the residential. About 17,000 families will be resettled under this scheme.

⁴This figure may not be very accurate because people tend to underestimate their income.

⁵Tondo Foreshore Development Framework, from the Tondo Urban Renewal-cum-Resettlement Project.

Alternative Plan C calls for the development of more areas for commerce and industry, or about 81 hectares with a meager portion left for residential purposes. A greater number of residents - about 22,000 families - will have to be relocated.

But based on the objectives of the project, framework Plan B was adopted and readjusted to fit technical and social requirements. The major change is marked by the realignment of R-10 to merge with the proposed Customs Road and by-passing the houses of 10,000 families who would otherwise be relocated. The revised plan also expands the industrial and recreational areas within Tondo Foreshore and in the reclaimed areas in Vitas.

Nevertheless, all plans require a solution more substantial than housing, that is to say, relocation or provision of low-cost housing complexes. More than this, the solution of the problems of human settlements in Tondo Foreshore consists of the elimination of urban poverty and deprivation which justifies the inclusion of commercial-industrial sectors in the project site as well as in the resettlement site. If housing were the only remedy for the problem of squatting, government-subsidized tenements would have long wiped squatter communities off Metro Manila.

Basically, this comprehensive and integrated plan entails not merely a housing solution, that is to say, relocation or the provision of low-cost housing complexes.

The essential features to be demonstrated in Tondo Foreshore and its resettlement site are therefore, two-fold, namely: a commitment to improve human conditions and to raise the level of living through economic development closely integrated with social and environmental development program attuned to the socio-economic and psychological make-up of the residents.

The achievement of these dual objectives depends, among other things, on the rational allocation of the different means of production, consumption and services in an efficient, healthful, convenient and pleasing environment.

Citizens' Participation

The over-riding principle adopted by the TFDA in support of the physical, social and economic development of the area is the participation of the people in planning and implementation. This would at least ensure that the overall plans for the area will suit the true aspirations, interests, needs and socio-economic character of the residents. Further, such a "people-centered approach" has enhanced government's efforts in the area. Today, a closer and genuine working relationship between the government and the people has been initially achieved through this particular approach.

Utilizing several media of communication, supported by interpersonal liaison, the TFDA delivered and introduced its plans to the people.



This was done through a multifarious communication program consisting of dissemination of question-and-answer leaflets, copies of *Pintig*, the Project Team's monthly newsletter, and a series of public meetings with the Barangay Chairmen and other civic leaders.

The establishment of rapport with the leaders and the community at large, with the end in view to stimulating the people to participate and cooperate with the Team's study and implementation activities, was painstakingly planned and carefully executed.

An unprecedented program which aimed to strengthen the approach was the holding of a series of seminars sponsored by the Authority. Such group dynamics and leadership training seminars have, to a large extent, contributed to the Barangay Chairmen's better perception and understanding of the development project. As a result, these organizations - of youths, civic leaders, etc. - now serve as channels of information between the Authority and the community.

To further concretize its concept of people-participation, the TFDA has likewise conducted public hearings to seek out the views and opinions of the people on certain issues, specifically on land tenure.

Since its inception, the TFDA has undertaken interim physical and social development projects in Tondo Foreshore with the active participation of the people themselves under a "Bayanihan Bayan" arrangement, while simultaneously working on the expropriation and reclamation of the 471-hectare Dagat-Dagatan - a subdivision of marginal fishponds owned by a few private families. Dagat-Dagatan, which is at present under the jurisdiction of the cities of Caloocan and Manila and the municipalities of Navotas and Malabon, was chosen as the resettlement site for the Tondo Foreshore population spillover who will be affected by the development of the International Port and other infrastructures because it is only three kilometers away from Tondo. Aside from residential use, the Dagat-Dagatan resettlement

will be developed with commercial and industrial sectors which can generate productive activities for the benefit of a large number of relocatees.

Interim Projects

Due to the low nutritional and sanitary conditions of Tondo Foreshore, which basically resulted from the inefficient or non-delivery of basic health services and medical supplies, there is an urgent need to develop an integrated health service system for the area. Thus, in December 1974, the TFDA initiated interim projects on social services and economic opportunities in the Foreshoreland.

Some thirty-two volunteers from the community were trained to become local paramedics who assist today in the deliveries, dissemination of family planning information, and promotion of health and sanitation campaigns.

Eleanor Guerrero

Dagat-Dagatan is probably the first real attempt at building a planned community in the country. It is envisioned to absorb some 13,000 families from the Tondo Foreshoreland who will be displaced by the massive public works and urban renewal projects currently being implemented.

Unlike previous resettlement projects where squatters from Manila were virtually uprooted and simply transferred to some relocation sites several kilometers away in the nearby provinces, the Dagat-Dagatan project holds the promise of a better life for the Tondo residents for a number of reasons. First, the proposed site is within walking distance from the North Harbor in Tondo where most of the intended residents are employed. This spares would-be relocatees

For health protection, the Social Services and Manpower Development Office of the TFDA embarked on deworming and immunization drives for pre-school children.

Equal emphasis was also given to training on basic construction skills like masonry, carpentry, plumbing, tinsmithing and house electrical wiring. Thus, in the event that the Tondo Foreshore and Dagat-Dagatan will be fully developed, the inactive labor supply of the Foreshoreland may be utilized maximally. Simultaneously, the Authority has continuously sought the assistance of the Department of Local Government and Community Development on the feasibility of organizing cooperatives for the area, to strengthen production and marketing efforts.

Viewed as a whole, the project, launched in December 1974, reflects the almost blurring complexity of the Tondo problem -- its components, almost intertwined with one another,

demand a coordinated and integrated program of personnel training, nutrition education, food assistance to pre-schoolers, health protection and the provision of income generating activities.

Evidently, the plan being prepared for Tondo Foreshoreland and Dagat-Dagatan rides on new approach to the slum problem. Whereas, the traditional approach has been one of resettlement and nothing beyond, this plan shall demonstrate a program of upgrading the physical blight and raising the economic status of the urban poor.

Every component of the project reflects the TFDA's consciousness of the total needs of the residents.

In line with the provision of housing, the Team has adopted the core-house scheme for the residents, a scheme experimented on in Latin America, Africa and some parts of Asia. This is basically a self-help project by which the

Dagat-Dagatan: Building a Total Community

from the economic dislocation that was the lot of others in previous relocation projects. Secondly, the site will be accessible not only to places of work but also to other areas of the city, thus enabling the residents to enjoy the amenities of city life normally denied previous relocatees. Thirdly, Dagat-Dagatan is planned as a total community where not only the dwelling units but also facilities and services such as schools, shopping centers, church, health services and the like will be provided. Furthermore, opportunities for social and recreational activities among neighbors will be provided by the multi-level hierarchy of open spaces.

The new community will rise on a 367-hectare site to be reclaimed from marginal

fishponds in Navotas, Rizal, some three kilometers away from Tondo. Five hectares of this area have been allocated for a model community which will house 526 families. Another five hectares have been set aside as the site of the first-prize winning entry in the on-going International Competition for Human Settlements using Tondo as the prototype. The rest of the area will be developed for the settlers: 50 percent of which is planned to be residential, 25 percent commercial-industrial, and 25 percent institutional and open spaces.

The implementation of the project started in 1974. When completed in 1979, the target date, the project shall have cost the government an estimated P500 million.

applicant is awarded a corehouse composed of a party wall, toilet and bath and kitchen sink. Through the owner's initiative, supported by free technical advice on building, the occupant may undertake the expansion or improvement of his house. It is hoped that, under his own supervision with the least interference from the technocrats, the house can be constructed or remodelled according to the lifestyle, density and household chores of the dweller.

This housing concept, incidentally, will be applied in the development of two experimental sites - one in Tondo Foreshore and another in Dagat-Dagatan. The need for an experimental community which will serve as a testing ground for all theoretical formulations, was recognized by no less than the World Bank.

Due to the existence of structures in the Foreshore experimental area, planners undertook a physical survey of the Old Tondo (a vast portion of which is covered by the experimental community) to determine the possibility of

retaining old but satisfactory structures. The planning group has also gathered information on housing improvement schemes based on the findings. As proposed, the TFDA will only provide technical assistance to the residents.

Lessons from the Tondo Experiment

From the objectives of the Tondo Foreshore and Dagat-Dagatan development projects, it is obvious that the planners have employed an inversion-of-the-problems process. There is danger and little sense in relying on limited key objectives which have, in fact, been adopted already by past authorities in piece-meal fashion. There have been so many attempts at eliminating or relieving urban squatting, at least to a realistic degree, but previous failures clearly strengthen the suspicion that somewhere, one or other substantial ingredient had been missed by those who held the reins. The slum issue of Tondo is a lesson, both to the people and the technocrats who, at one time in the past, colla-



borated to undertake the rehabilitation of the slums.

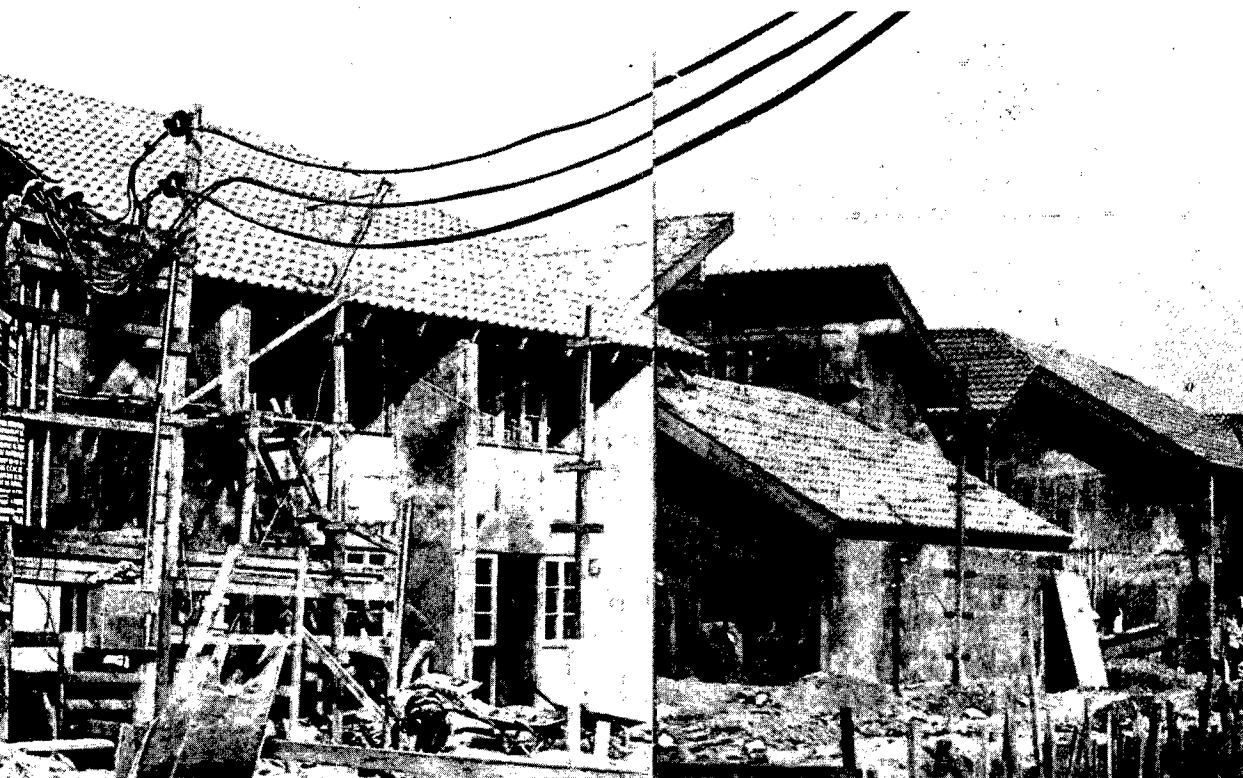
Not that the planners of the Tondo Project assume that they found the ultimate solution to this haunting ill, but from what they have seen in the past, as they do see in the present, the people for whom they lay out technical plans, are people who know their goals in life, and that, given the chance, they could establish and maintain a point of reconciliation with the planners. For this reason, the planners submit their theoretical formulations to the thinking of, and debate by those who are to benefit or suffer from them. Perhaps, as the recipients themselves would observe, the multifarious activities that the project entails are all being carried out on experimental basis, in an attempt to really comprehend and improve the effects of its induced social development.

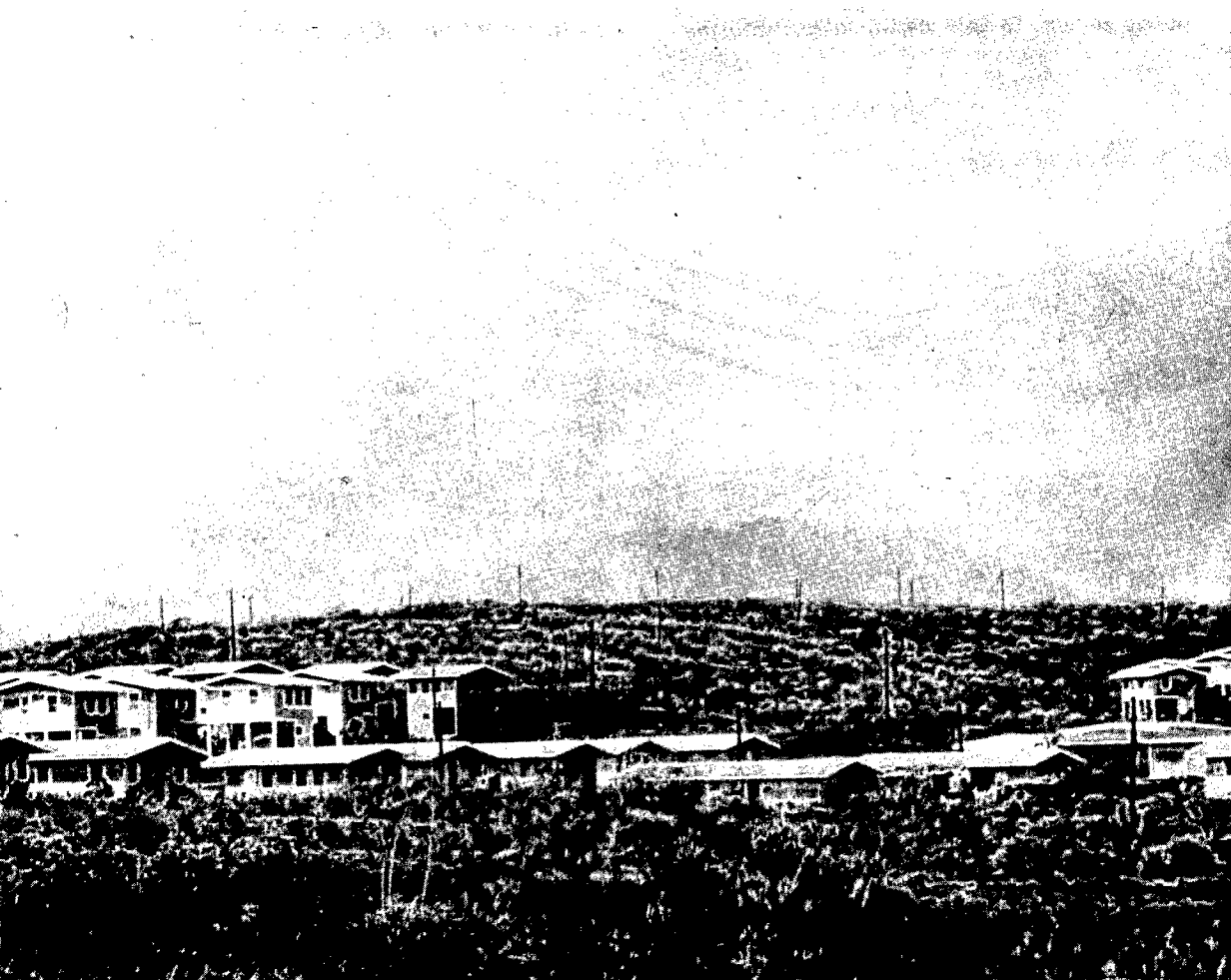
Its unusual methodology - which interlinks the planners' and the people's aspirations - exemplifies an aim to gain useful insight into the

problems of the government and the squatters, so as to evolve ways by which both could mutually progress.

On the surface, it may appear that consultation with the people is an insignificant aspect of the planning process. But it has been proven that actual communication with the people by the planners elicits a greater cooperation from those involved. It gives the people a sense of responsibility and the ability to recognize their potential as humans and to prevail over their wretched conditions.

It is not, in any way, to be assumed that the Tondo Foreshore Development Project has found the ultimate solution to urban squatting. In fact, its plans do not even guarantee the stoppage of potential squatters' migration to Metro Manila, but that instead, the on-going comprehensive project in Tondo Foreshoreland should be understood as an experiment in human settlements the results of which only the people - who have served as co-planners and co-implementors - may ultimately be the judge.





Relating community design to people's values

The Andam Mouswag Project: An Experience in Resettlement

Introduction

Resettling families to places of their choice or to government-selected sites, with government assistance of some kind to achieve certain national objectives, has been a practice in the Philippines for many years. For instance, during the Commonwealth period, before World War II, low-income families in congested urban centers like Manila were encouraged to resettle in Mindanao which was then a frontier area. Aside from the objective of decongesting the cities, the government hoped to populate rapidly the island of Mindanao to exploit its natural resources and to attain self-sufficiency in staple food.

The resettlers were advanced loans and were each allotted a few hectares of land for cultivation and for residential use. The government also provided the newcomers with essential community services and undertook construction of roads to connect the resettlement areas to more developed urban centers or to port terminals.¹

Then in the past decade or so, the national government made serious efforts to solve the

¹ An organized program of resettlement to develop vast rural hinterlands is now under the responsibility of the Bureau of Resettlement, Department of Agrarian Reform.

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seemingly formidable problem of squatting in Metropolitan Manila. The main solution adopted was the clearing of squatter communities, especially in park areas, along railway tracks and in sectors where crime rates were high. Most of the squatter families were transported to relocation areas hurriedly prepared for them.

Government assistance generally consisted of the following: transportation of squatters to resettlement sites, assignment of lots upon which the squatters could reassemble their dismantled shacks, and some initial services. The resettlement projects (notably Sapang Palay in San Jose, Bulacan; San Pedro, Laguna; and Carmona, Cavite) have one common shortcoming: they are far from places of employment. For lack of job opportunities within project sites or in nearby towns, the heads of the resettled families continued to work in the metropolitan area. Costly transportation fares reduced considerably their income while the distance between their homes and places of work increased travel time.

More recently, in its effort to accelerate economic development, the national government undertook huge infrastructure and industrial development projects, some of which were financed by foreign loans. The engineering requirements of a few of these projects necessitated the uprooting of existing settlements.

An example of such projects is the construction of the Pantabangan Dam (in the province of Nueva Ecija) by the National Irrigation Administration.² The main objective of the project was to irrigate from 72,000 to 77,000 hectares of land. Expected additional benefits include effective flood control, supply of potable water, fish production, installation of hydroelectric power system, and recreational facilities.

The National Irrigation Administration commenced construction work in 1970, but it actually closed the dam in 1974. As a consequence of the dam closure and the impound-

ment of water, the town center of Pantabangan and the surrounding barrios (villages) were inundated. Some 1,624 families had to be resettled in 1973.

A more elaborate guideline for the resettling of the affected residents near the dam sites was drafted, essentially with the following features; 1) notification of the families about the project, its importance and purpose; 2) compensation for owners of property to be submerged and provision of job opportunities for those who would be deprived of their means of livelihood; 3) distribution of farm lots and home lots with long-term lease agreement; 4) organization of cooperatives; 5) food assistance to sustain families through rationing for a period of three years; and 6) loans of various categories - housing, subsistence, etc.

The above-cited guideline suffered in its implementation as shown by the numerous complaints aired by the resettlers. Examples of such complaints were: 1) services were inadequate; 2) food rations were not suited to the people's taste or eating habit; 3) some property owners were not adequately compensated; and 4) there was a shortage of agricultural land for farm needs.

Another significant project which caused disruption in the existence of a rural community is the industrial estate project of the PHIVIDEC Industrial Estate Authority³ in the province of Misamis Oriental in Northern Mindanao. The estate is located along the coastal area of the province, 20 kilometers from Cagayan de Oro City. It covers an area of 3,000 hectares in the towns of Tagoloan and Villanueva. Among its objectives are: to induce the development of export-oriented industries which can utilize indigenous labor and raw materials and to enhance the fulfillment of the national policy on industrial dispersal.

²A research on the resettlement phase of this project was conducted in 1974 by Cynthia D. Turiffan of the U.P. Institute of Environmental Planning.

³The Authority was created on August 13, 1974 by Presidential Decree 538 as a subsidiary of the Philippine Veterans Investment Development Corporation, "to operate, administer and manage PHIVIDEC Industrial Areas and other areas which shall be proclaimed, designated and specified in subsequent Presidential Proclamations."

If fully implemented, as claimed, the project can accommodate 12 heavy, 60 medium and 240 small-scale industries. The industries can generate some 10,000 jobs. Incentives offered to industries are in the forms of: 1) tax exemption on imported capital equipment and raw materials, 2) tax exemption on capital gains, 3) admission of fully-owned foreign enterprises in selected industries, 4) employment of foreign nationals, and 5) simplified import and export procedures.⁴

The first industrial concern that took advantage of the generous incentives offered is the Kawasaki Steel Corporation which is putting up an iron ore sentering plant, with a pier wharf of 200,000 - ton dead weight capacity. To give room for this plant, some 138 hectares of land, in private ownership, had to be purchased through negotiation.

The plant site is in Nabacaan, a barrio in the municipality of Villanueva. Affected were 143 families who had to be resettled somewhere outside the estate. Again, as in the Pantabangan Dam construction project, the national government was called upon to assist in the resettlement of the Nabacaan families. An inter-agency task force was formed to carry out the task of "providing a new community for families from Nabacaan and other barrios affected by the rise of the Northern Mindanao Industrial Estate."⁵

With the representative of the Development Management Staff (under the Office of the President) as Chairman, the Inter-Agency Task Force (IATF) had the representatives of the following other agencies as members: Philippine Veterans Investment and Development Corporation (PHIVIDEC), People's Homesite and

Housing Corporation (PHHC), Presidential Assistant on Housing and Resettlement Agency (PAHRA), Bureau of Public Works (BPW), Bureau of Public Highways (BPH), National Housing Corporation (NHC), 52nd Engineering Brigade, Philippine Army, and Department of Social Welfare (DSW). The IATF was charged with the responsibilities of choosing the relocation site, preparing plans and designs for the development of the site, and supervising the implementation of the plans. The discussion that follows deals entirely on the establishment of the new community (called Andam Mouswag)⁶ in Kalingagan, part of Villanueva, where the Nabacaan families found their new homes.

Some Guiding Concepts

It is perhaps common knowledge that some of the previous relocation sites were selected haphazardly with little regard for the people who would ultimately reside there. This was not the case of the Andam Mouswag project where some clearly defined concepts have guided many of the decisions affecting the different aspects of its development.

The concepts formulated by the IATF might be summarized as follows:

1. *Element of Choice* - Insofar as relocation was concerned, every family had three options. One was to move to any residential area purely on the family's own initiative, but fully compensated like the rest of the families. Another was for the family to be resettled to a Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR) resettlement project in Bukidnon, enjoying all types of assistance offered by that agency. A third, of course, was to obtain an award of a house and lot in the Andam Mouswag project. Based on the IATF survey, 88 percent preferred the third alternative.

The families were also asked their preferences among three to four types of housing. The result of this survey provided the IATF a basis for preparing a more detailed site plan.

⁴The Authority, likewise, cited in one of its brochures incentives guaranteed by the Constitution: 1) the repatriation of the proceeds of the liquidation of the investment (in the same currencies in which investment was made); 2) non-registration of property (except for just cause); and 3) freedom from expropriation.

⁵The data on the industrial estate and of the succeeding discussion on the Andam Mouswag Project were obtained from the reports of the Inter-Agency Task Force that carried out the difficult job of relocating and rehabilitating the families adversely affected by the industrial estate project.

⁶The term *andam mouswag* is a local expression which means "ready to progress".



A system of footpaths leading from the houses to centrally located services separates pedestrian from vehicular traffic.

2. Concern for Environmental Quality - One of the factors considered in the selection of the site was its distance from the industrial estate. The idea is to preclude any future problem of pollution. A distance of about six kilometers from pollutive industries is believed to be safe. Through the use of this criterion and a host of other factors,⁷ the barrio of Kalingagan in the town of Villanueva became the logical choice.

Foremost in the mind of the planner when he designed the land use scheme and the circulation system of the area was to create a more satisfying environment. A system of footpaths leading from the houses to centrally located services (e.g., the elementary school and the community center) would separate the pedestrian from vehicular traffic. The road network consisting of culs-de-sac and single loops was aimed at promoting neighborhood activities and possibly group identity.

At this stage, however, it is extremely doubtful whether the residents could appreciate the scheme (of pedestrian separation from traffic) since vehicles entering the project are almost

⁷The other factors that influenced the selection of Kalingagan as the relocation site were: 1) physical characteristics of the site (terrain and area for expansion), 2) cost of development, including land acquisition, and 3) social considerations such as the people's preference and proximity of the site to places of work.

nil. The families, too, have close kinship ties that neighboring is a common phenomenon.

3. Provision of Basic Community Services and Utilities - The scheme indicated what services and utilities should be provided in Andam Mouswag. Certainly, the first priority was elementary education for which service three prefabricated buildings were set aside. A community center to house other services and offices (health clinic, library, DSW field office, barangay hall and post office) was part of the outline plan.

A local spring with a discharge of 8,000 gallons per minute was tapped as a source of potable water supply. The waterworks system was constructed at a cost of about one and a-half million pesos. The Kawasaki Steel Corporation contributed pumps and pipes for the system. The system's present capacity is adequate for 20,000 residents.

Electricity is provided by a private franchise holder, the Cagayan de Oro Electric Power and Light Company (CEPALCO). This company obtains its power from the Maria Cristina Hydroelectric Plant in Iligan City.

4. Betterment of Economic Life - According to the pre-relocation survey of household heads, over 50 percent of the Nabacaan families had income of P250 & below. This apparently low income of the majority of the households is due mainly to the fact that most household heads earned their income as laborers, clerks or drivers in construction work, the industrial sector and in transport service. The farmers and the fishermen constitute 20 percent of the household heads. Only nine percent belong to the category of professionals (in the fields of teaching, medicine and engineering).

More than 50 percent of the household heads did not finish elementary education. This probably explains why most of the respondents were dependent on wages as means of livelihood.

These findings indicate positively that the paramount problem faced by the resettlers is economic in nature. The IATF made the appropriate decision by stressing the initiation of projects that could augment the income of the families.

In this regard, a number of income-generating projects were started. Among them were: weaving, sericulture, tomato growing, and dairy and meat processing. In fulfillment of its promise, Kawasaki hired many of the male adults as construction workers in the preparation of the site and of the wharf for the iron ore sentering plant.

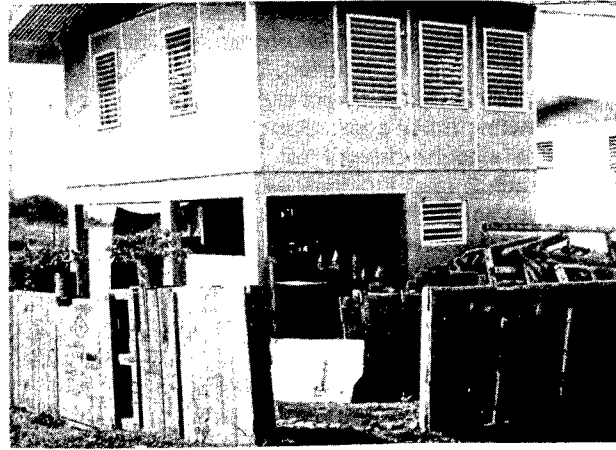
5. Andam Mouswag as Nucleus of a Larger Community - One of the underlying reasons why Kalingagan was favored as the relocation site was that the barrio has sufficient space for expansion. It was believed that with the coming of industries to the Industrial Estate more people will be displaced and will have to be relocated somewhere. It was envisaged that Andam Mouswag should perform such function of accommodating families forced out by the invading industries. To attain this objective, the scheme proposed the staging of development (of Andam Mouswag) into three phases. The first phase has already been completed with the development of 30 hectares⁸ for the families from Nabacaan. In the future (to proceed with the succeeding phases), adjacent areas will be developed for residential use and more sophisticated facilities (a commercial center, a hospital, a university and a memorial park) will be the attractive features of the emerging town.

Project Implementation

The first phase of the Andam Mouswag project was started in September, 1974. The 52nd Engineering Brigade of the Philippine Army cleared and graded the site and later laid out the road network as well as the drainage structures. Private firms undertook the construction of the waterworks system under contract, but supervised by the Bureau of Public Works field staff.⁹ Two months later, after the preparation of the site, the housing

⁸The ultimate size of the community, if fully developed, will be 500 hectares.

⁹The data on the implementation of the project were furnished by the administrative staff of the IATF, through interviews in September, 1975. Further verification was made at a much later date with Remy Fernandez of the same office.



In the people's view the individual lots were too small to allow such backyard activities as poultry and hog raising and gardening.

units of different types (single, duplex, and two-storey) were built. This particular aspect of the project was entrusted also to a private firm through bidding. By May of 1975, 136 dwelling units were completed and were ready for occupancy.

The Bureau of Public Highways (now a department) took charge of improving an old road which connects the project site to Villanueva proper. The Bureau engineers realigned and widened the existing road from six to nine meters. They, likewise, regraded (reducing the grade at certain sections from 10 to 7 percent) and surfaced it with gravel.

Earlier in July, 1974, Kawasaki began bulldozing the Nabacaan area for its ore sentering plant, the PHIVIDEC Industrial Estate Authority having paid out all claims on the lots and on every tangible improvement incorporated in said claims. The residents had to be sheltered temporarily in bunkhouses constructed for them, just about 500 meters from their original homes.

The awarding of the houses and lots to Nabacaan families was scheduled for May, 1975. This continued until September of the same year. Original residents of the project site were privileged to occupy some of the houses as long as they could pay the amortization.

Payment for the houses and lots is made on a long-term arrangement. The occupants can choose either of the two schemes: a 25- or a 30-year amortization period. The monthly dues for the first five years are reasonably low, not exceeding thirty pesos. But during the sixth year, the amount charged for the units will go up around one hundred and sixty pesos. The assumption here is that the families by that time will have earned higher incomes.

People's Reaction

An interview of heads of families (either the husband or the wife) was conducted in September, 1975, to seek the people's opinion on or reaction to the following: 1) the design of the houses and other spatial characteristics of the community, 2) the location of Andam Mouswag in relation to Villanueva proper and comparing this with their previous residence, and 3) the services that were available at the time of the survey. The respondents were also asked what things they missed in Andam Mouswag and which they had in Nabacaan. In short, the interview tried to identify the resettlement problems generally encountered by the resettlers in adjusting to the new environment.

The interview elicited interesting responses from the interviewees. The sample might be small (about 8 percent) but there was a consensus of opinion in several aspects of community life.

There was not much criticism about the design of the houses, except in the incompleteness of the structure. The walls at the lower floor of the two-storey houses were purposely omitted so that the owners could exercise discretion in the putting up of said walls. But the residents wished that the walls were there because of the climate of the place - being cool in the evening.¹⁰ In the people's view, the individual lots ranging from 240 to 300 square meters were too small, based on their own standard. The yards were inadequate for the raising of poultry and hogs and even for purposes of gardening. No comment was aired concerning the road network, the footpaths, and the cen-

tral location of the elementary school and the community center.

As to the Andam Mouswag site itself, the respondents merely said that the place was "peaceful," "has plenty of fresh air, but far from the highway and from the town center." A few claimed there was no other place where they could go.

The respondents almost unanimously expressed the need for essential facilities like a market, a high school, a church (chapel) and a more reliable means of transportation. The high school servicing the new community was located in the town center (Villanueva proper) which was seven kilometers away. The market and the shops were also in the town center. Sari-sari stores were opened in some of the residences but the goods sold lacked variety. Two buses operated by the IATF administration provided a limited transport service. But if the buses were not in good running condition, the people had to rely on other transport facilities which were indeed very rare and very often more costly. Occasionally, the people and the high school students had to hike the distance between Andam Mouswag and the town center.

Among the things missed by the residents were: 1) fresh food items, 2) enjoyment of the sea (bathing and fishing), 3) extra income, and 4) some social activities. Many asserted that in Nabacaan, fresh food items (fresh fish and meat) were abundant. The barrio was only two kilometers from Villanueva proper and bus or *jeepney* trips were more frequent. They could earn extra cash through the sale of farm crops. The proximity of their previous homes to the town center and to relatives in nearby barrios offered opportunities for social activities. Perhaps, statements like: "The house and the farm were ours," "We lived there since childhood," or "We cried when we had to demolish our houses," are expressive of what really was the psychological cost, probably unaccounted for in the computation of the costs and benefits of the industrial estate project.

The most common problems cited by the informants were in areas similar to those discussed above. However, the most serious one profoundly felt by them was the problem of not having a more stable source of income from which

¹⁰The site is a rolling plateau with some 500-meter elevation above sea level.

they could amortize the house and lot. Some of them entertained fears of being ejected once they fail to pay their monthly obligations. The following statement can probably summarize tersely their feeling of insecurity: "I don't know whether I will stay here long, we have to pay for the house, electricity and water."

Conclusion

It is too early to evaluate the Andam Mouswag project. Hardly a year has passed since the people moved to this place to start life anew.

It is to the credit of the IATF that the project follows certain guiding concepts toward which coordinative efforts of various agencies are directed. These concepts make the project more innovative in approach.

As revealed somewhere in this study, one priority area that should not be overlooked by the agencies participating in the project is the strengthening of the economic base of the community. It seems that the agencies have responded accordingly to such an urgency, as indicated by the number of economic activities now in progress.

For the sericulture project, for example, mulberry trees have been planted initially in a two-hectare lot. The coverage will be extended to five hectares. The National Science Develop-

ment Board finances the project while the National Manpower and Youth Council organizes some training activities along this line.

A private entrepreneur agreed to assist those who attended the loom-weaving classes in marketing their products. On the other hand, the National Cottage Industry Development Authority is promoting meat-processing as a cottage industry.

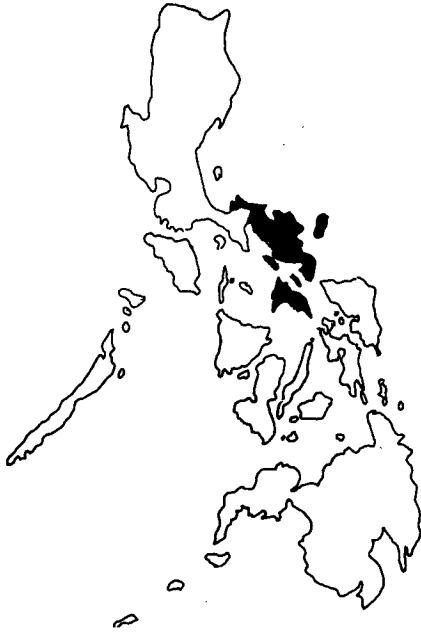
Shortage in the supply of fresh milk (supposed to come from Claveria, the next town) has snagged the dairy processing project. The Bureau of Animal Industry intends to distribute milking cows to interested families so that adequate supply of milk will be assured to keep the local processing equipment (which has already been installed) busy.

Indeed, for one who is interested in resettlement planning, there are lessons to learn from the method introduced by the IATF in the Andam Mouswag project. It would be a worthwhile endeavor to compare Andam Mouswag with that of Dagat-Dagatan in Tondo, Manila, sometime in the future. The former is a rural community; the latter is urban in character. Certainly, the Andam Mouswag project, as well as the other resettlement projects before, suggests to us that in environmental planning, it is of utmost necessity to relate the design of a community to the values, practices and needs of the people.



A PNR PHOTO





Migration and Regional Development: the Bicol Region

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Nature and Scope of the Study

The need to consider internal migration in development efforts can hardly be emphasized since some of the most acute social and economic problems of the world and of the country today are associated with population movements. The fact that the large concentration of population in Metropolitan Manila has been mainly the result of rapid rural-to-urban migration, for instance, is amply documented.¹ It is pointed out in this regard that the continuing trend towards concentration has brought about increasing interregional and rural-urban disparities in terms of social and economic progress and conditions of welfare in the country. The lag of certain regions due to the mas-

sive loss of manpower has also been another source of concern. In the receiving areas, migration is also pointed to as the root-cause of such urban phenomena as the breakdown of services, congestion and traffic snarls, slums and squatters, and other related urban problems.²

The significance of population movements on development may indeed be obvious in that they provide an important network for the transmission and diffusion of ideas, indicate symptoms of economic and social change, and can be viewed as the adjustments of people to development problems in the broadest sense. Thus, it is not only because of basic academic

*A slightly different version of this paper will appear in a forthcoming book entitled *Migration and Development in Southeast Asia: A Demographic Perspective*, to be edited by Robin J. Pryor.

¹See, for instance, Leandro A. Vilorio, "Manila," in Aprodicio A. Laquian, ed., *Rural-Urban Migrants and Metropolitan Development* (Toronto: Intermet, 1971), pp. 135-150.

²For more on this, see Benjamin V. Cariño, "Managing Migration Streams and Population Redistribution: Alternative Strategies and Research Needs," a paper prepared for the "Experts Meeting on Philippine Population Research" held at the Population Center Foundation from 10 to 12 October 1974, jointly sponsored by the Department of Sociology, University of the Philippines, the Philippine Social Science Council and the Commission on Population.

interest, but also because of this crucial link of migration to development processes and problems that the phenomenon has been the subject of quite a number of social science researches in the Philippines.³

The purpose of this study is to explore further the relationship between migration and development by looking at the actual experience of the Bicol region in the Philippines. It will specifically examine the magnitude of population movements to and from the region, the composition of these streams in terms of certain characteristics of the migrants, as well as the impact of these movements on regional development. In the process, the factors that may have influenced such movements will also be evaluated.

In addition to available secondary data, this study will present some of the results of a geographic mobility survey which was conducted in Bicol in mid-1974.⁴ The household data in this migration survey included information on the migrant status of persons ten years old and over, the characteristics of the migrants, their reasons for moving, as well as the origins and destinations of the movements.

³See, among others, Aprodicio A. Laquian, "Coping with Internal Migration in the Philippines," *Solidarity*, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (July, 1973); Elvira M. Pascual, *Population Redistribution in the Philippines* (Manila: Population Institute, University of the Philippines, 1966); and International Development Research Center and International Association for Metropolitan Research and Development, "Town Drift: Social and Policy Implications of Rural-Urban Migration in Eight Developing Countries," a basic documentation of a Conference on Rural-Urban Migration and Metropolitan Development, held in Istanbul, Turkey from 24 November to 1 December, 1973.

⁴The results of this survey are presented in full in Imelda A. Zosa, "Movers and Migrants of Bicol," a report prepared for the Bicol Regional Development Project of the National Development Research Center, University of the Philippines, 1975. For sampling purposes, Bicol was delineated into 11 sub-regions based on the factor analysis of 67 socio-economic characteristics of the 112 municipalities in the region. From each sub-region, a municipality was chosen at random. In turn, from each municipality, two barrios (again chosen at random) and the poblacion were included in the survey. Sixteen households were then randomly selected after mapping of the barrios was completed. The respondents thus totalled 528 household heads.

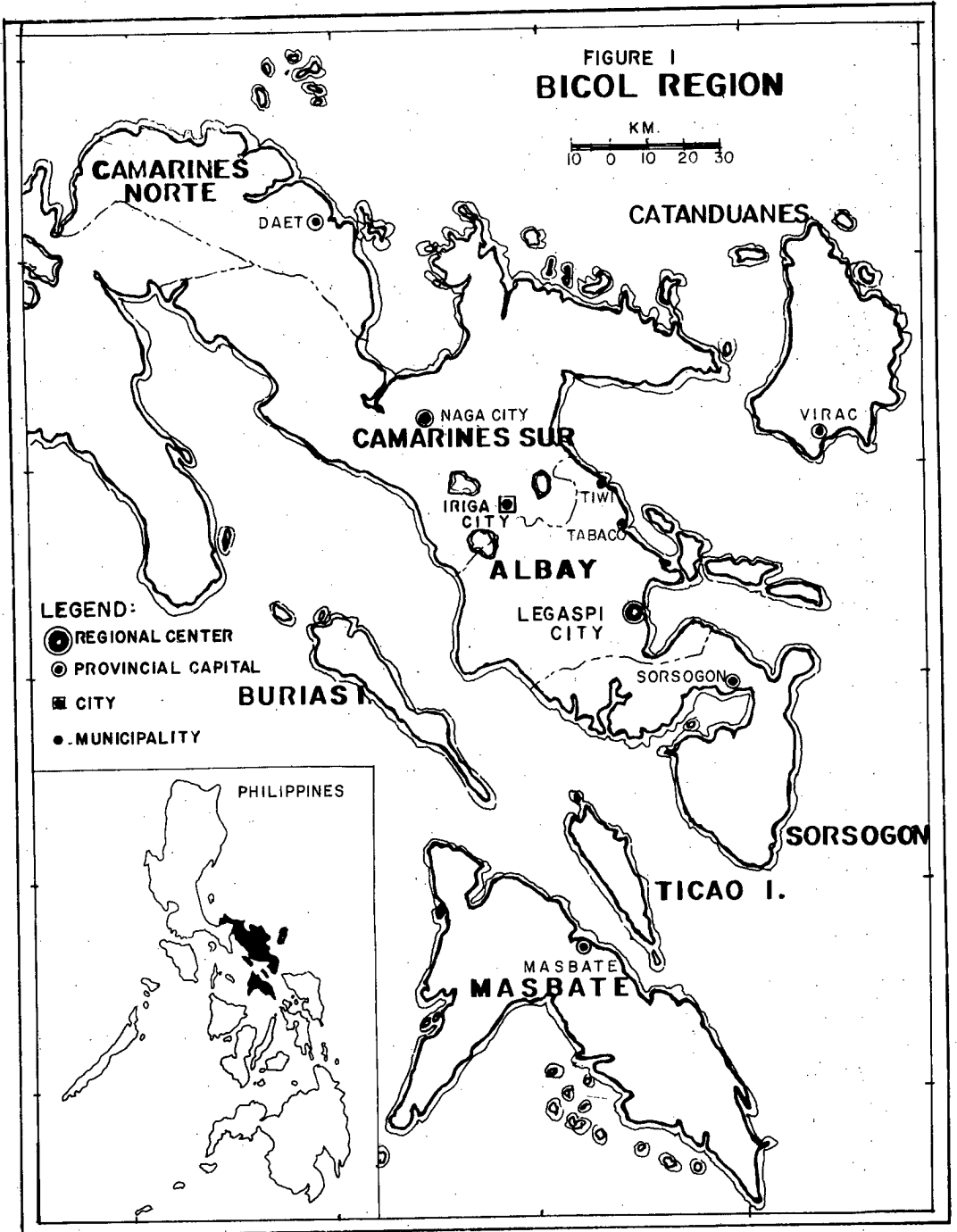
The Bicol Region

Officially referred to as Region V, the Bicol region of the Philippines is composed of the various provinces and cities located in the south-eastern extremity of Luzon and on the islands adjacent to it (See Figure 1). The region houses around three million inhabitants which is about one-thirteenth of the total national population. Having a total land mass of around one-sixth the size of the entire country, it ranks ninth in territorial size among the 12 Philippine regions.

The provinces that constitute the Bicol region are Camarines Norte, Camarines Sur, Albay, and Sorsogon in the mainland, and the island provinces of Masbate and Catanduanes. The province of Masbate also includes the islands of Ticao and Burias. The three cities in the region are Naga and Iriga in Camarines Sur, and Legazpi in Albay. Although the provinces have been found to have many cultural similarities, the Bicol language area is smaller in size than the region as administratively defined. People in the southern part of Sorsogon speak the language of Samar (a province just a few kilometers away across San Bernardino Strait), and only a part of Masbate province is Bicol-speaking. Furthermore, the northern half of Camarines Norte is actually Tagalog-speaking. As Lynch has aptly observed, "the region's unity is mainly political: it has been and is a government administrative unit, and in times past its legislative representatives constituted the Bicol bloc."⁵

Legazpi City, the regional capital, is more than 500 kilometers from Manila taking close to 18 hours to negotiate if one takes the bus or truck. The time involved is a little less (about 12-14 hours) if one takes the train. By plane (there are two daily flights from Manila to Legazpi City), the trip takes only about one hour.

⁵Frank Lynch, "The Role of a Social Science Research Organization in the Bicol River Basin Development Program," a paper read at the public lecture series entitled "Strategies for Development," sponsored by the Philippine Sociological Society and held at the San Miguel Auditorium, Makati, January 23, 1975, p.2.



Relative to the other regions of the country, Bicol has been characterized as economically less developed. Quite a number of development problems presently confront the regions. To begin with, the economic performance of the region as a whole has not been very satisfactory. For the period 1961-1969, value added for the region grew 5.3 percent per annum compared to the country's average of 5.5 percent. Moreover, the Bicol economy is still heavily agriculture-based. As of 1970, 62.6 percent of the total labor force of the region was employed in agriculture. In the same year, only 11.2 percent was employed in manufacturing, and 12.8 percent was engaged in services.

While agricultural activities continue to be the main source of livelihood in Bicol, productivity in this sector has at the same time been insufficient. In 1970, for example, regional production in rice (which is the principal agricultural crop in the region) was characterized by an estimated shortage amounting to P6,620,470 cavans. In 1972, the production shortage in fish was estimated to have reached 65,982,474 kilograms, while in poultry and livestock the estimated shortage amounted to 86,813 metric tons. Low agricultural productivity can be attributed in general to poor conditions of production (inadequate roads, power plants, etc.) and particularly to insufficient irrigation facilities. Although the region has a substantial water resource base (it has seven major rivers and three lakes), it is paradoxical that only 12 percent or 146,624 hectares of its farmlands were irrigated in 1972.

Related to the problem of low agricultural productivity is the problem of low incomes. Beyond dispute, per capita income in Bicol is very low. It has been estimated that as of 1974 the average per capita income was about P550 per year or P1.50 a day over a 12-month period.⁶ Moreover, social stratification in the region is also known to be highly inegalitarian. Based on income figures in 1961, 1965 and 1971, it has been shown that "there is relatively more income inequality in Bicol than in the nation as a whole."⁷

⁶As stated *Ibid.*, p. 4

⁷United Nations' Center for Regional Development, *Regional Development of Bicol: A Comprehensive Planning Report*, Volume 1, p. 97.

From the point of view of the people themselves, there are two major problems in the area: flooding and land tenure.⁸ Indeed, flooding in the region is both frequent and destructive and more than half of the rice and corn farmers are share tenants. Further aggravating these problems is the fact that the area is located within the typhoon belt.

Migration in the Region

Concern for the development problems of Bicol cannot of course be divorced from the conditions and problems existing in other regions of the country. The development problems of a rural region like Bicol are undoubtedly inextricably intertwined with the growth trends in other regions, particularly those in the Manila Metropolitan region. In turn, the problems of Metropolitan Manila are also influenced by the conditions existing in rural regions like Bicol. One manifestation of these linkages among regions can be seen in the phenomenon of migration.

In the light of the generally poor conditions existing in Bicol, it is not surprising that the region is essentially an outmigration area. Available direct and indirect estimates easily confirm this fact. As can be seen in Table 1, only Masbate among all the six provinces in the region gained (however slightly) during the decade 1960-1970. The province of Camarines Sur, already starting to lose population in the preceding intercensal period, was estimated to have experienced the heaviest loss in the last decade. All in all, the region's provinces were already losing areas in the 1948-1960 period, and this process of out-migration had persisted and gained momentum in the period of 1960-1970. (Table 1)

To get an idea of the relationship of Bicol with other regions in terms of migration flows, the origins and destinations by region of lifetime net migrants of Bicol as of 1970 are shown in Table 2. It can be seen that two main streams

⁸These views were expressed in a survey of a sample of farmers conducted by the Social Survey Research Unit of the Bicol River Basin Development Program. See Frank Lynch, "What Rice Farmers of Camarines Sur Say They Want from the Philippine Government," SSRU Report Series No. 1, December, 1973.

Table 1
**NET MIGRATION ESTIMATES FOR BICOL PROVINCES
 BOTH SEXES**

	Lifetime Net Migrants 1960 ^a	Net Migrants 1948-1960 ^b	Net Migrants 1960-1970 ^c
Albay	-96,154	-29,800	-37,035
Camarines Norte	20,807	25,600	-6,886
Camarines Sur	25,160	-14,600	-6,886
Catanduanes	-23,671	-10,800	-45,162
Masbate	12,642	4,400	7,740
Sorsogon	-27,185	-29,200	-57,556

^aThese values were obtained from the Bureau of the Census and Statistics, Census on Population and Housing 1960, Appendix to Volume 2 (1964). The summary values were obtained by using place of birth statistics for the native-born population.

^bAs estimated by Elvira Pascual, *Population Redistribution in the Philippines* (1966).

^cAs estimated by Yun Kim, "Net Internal Migration in the Philippines," (1972).

left Bicol while a much smaller counterstream headed toward the region. The first discernible outflow moved towards nearby regions in Luzon provinces including Metropolitan Manila (Region IV) as major recipients. Bicol also lost substantially to Central Luzon the next region to the north. Likewise, the region sent migrants to frontier Mindanao, although the stream is smaller than those observed in Luzon.

Only one notable counterstream from the Visayan provinces south of Bicol can be observed. These provinces have been found in recent censuses and surveys to be heavily losing areas. On the whole, therefore, Bicol had experienced heavy out-migration, while in-migration had been negligible.

The results of the geographic mobility survey which was conducted in Bicol in mid-1974 generally reveal the same migration trends in the region. The results of this survey show that only 4.6 percent and 5.0 percent of household members ten years old and over (n=2,204)

came from Metropolitan Manila and the rest of the country, respectively.

On the other hand, regional out-migration involved larger proportions. Of the same sample of household members ten years old and over, persons who left for Metropolitan Manila alone constituted 9.4 percent. It is thus easy to note that migrants from the region who headed for Metropolitan Manila area exceed the counterstreamers who have left the primate city for Bicol.

What is really problematic in regard to out-migration from the region, however, has to do with a process of "selectivity" that appears to be taking place. It has been pointed out in this connection that migration selectivity is either positive or negative depending upon the magnitude and composition of the stream leaving or entering an area. In-migration is thus positive if the people who are moving in are the young, economically active and possess the skills for employment in the region's economy.

Conversely, out-migration is negative if those who have moved out are the young, the well trained and the skilled, i.e., the high-labor-potential population. A comparison of in-migrants and out-migrants of the region in terms of the balance of selectivity may thus be necessary.

In this connection, the results of the same migration survey in the region show a greater number and proportion of out-migrants (in comparison with in-migrants) of the region belonged to the age range 10-29. A high 74.8 percent of all out-migrants to the Metropolitan Manila area belonged to this age range, while only 57.8 percent of the counterstreams were found to be in the same age bracket. Similarly, 73.2 percent of out-migrants to all other parts of the country (as against only 51.6 percent of all in-migrants) belonged to this age group.

Although no sex selectivity can be discerned, a similar pattern can be observed in regard to selectivity in terms of educational attainment. The results of the same survey reveal that the proportion and number of regional out-migrants reaching high school and higher levels of education are greater than those of the regional in-migrants. A good 65.6 percent of all out-migrants from the region were in this broad educational category, as compared to only 53.9 percent among in-migrants.

Moreover, out-migrants to Metropolitan Manila tended to be even younger and had higher educational qualifications when compared to all other out-migrants. Furthermore, the educational qualifications of the out-migrant group were also found to be much higher than those of the stayers in the region. A definite "brain drain" from the region is thus occurring, and such an effect has not been offset by the negligible in-migration taking place.

On the whole, therefore, the migration experience of the region is negatively selective. It may be appropriate at this point to turn to a discussion of the factors that may have influenced this process prior to the identification of its consequences for regional development.

Factors Influencing Migration

The factors that may have contributed to the process of out-migration from the region have already been hinted at in earlier sections of this paper. Mention was made of the development problems of the region which may have served as "push" factors. As indicated earlier, Bicol is relatively underdeveloped when compared with other regions of the country. The economic growth of the region has proceeded at a very slow pace. While farming is the main source of livelihood, agricultural productivity is very low largely because of poor production conditions. Related to the problem of low agricultural productivity is the problem of low incomes. Tenancy rate in the region is also very high. Such a situation may have encouraged people to leave agriculture and seek employment in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the regional economy.

The problem, however, is that the manufacturing and industrial activities in the region are indeed very insignificant. Except for a few establishments such as the Philippine Iron Mines in Larap, Jose Panganiban, Camarines Norte, and the Legazpi Oil at Rawis, Legazpi City, no other large-scale establishments exist in the region. These factors, coupled with the pull of industrial and commercial activities in Metropolitan Manila and the wide socio-economic disparities that exist between the primate city and Bicol, have combined to strengthen the push factors in the region.

A related explanation for the phenomenon of out-migration may be traced to the complementary roles played by education and economic activity. As already mentioned, structural forces are heavily at work in the region but only segments of the population, namely, the labor-potential population, actually respond by migrating. While the Bicol economy is characterized by the predominance of the agricultural sector, a large number of educational institutions concentrated their efforts in non-agricultural fields, which only provided the impetus for qualified entrants into the non-agricultural labor force to migrate. Not surprisingly, therefore, out-migrants have been mostly the young and persons of higher skills and qualifications.

Table 2

**LIFETIME NET MIGRANTS OF THE BICOL REGION,
ALL AGES^a, 1970**

Regional Sources/ Destinations of Bicol Net Migrants	In-Migrants	Out-Migrants	Net Migrants of Region V
Region I - Ilocos	1,204	3,767	2,563
II - Cagayan	- 2,153	1,026	3,179
III - Central Luzon	- 18,788	9,528	28,316
IV - Southern Tagalog Greater Mla. Rest of Southern Tagalog Provinces	- 208,157	39,073	247,230
VI - Western Visayas	4,415	9,129	4,714
VII - Central Visayas	28,795	34,117	5,322
VIII - Eastern Visayas	9,123	14,873	5,750
IX - Western Mindanao	2,408	248	2,656
X - Northern Mindanao	- 4,750	1,545	6,295
XI - Southern Mindanao	- 8,488	1,273	9,761

^aThese estimates were provided by the U.P. Population Institute. The figures were originally reproduced in Imelda Zosa, "Movers and Migrants of Bicol" (1975).

As a whole, this is indicative of the region's growing incapability of utilizing its human resources fully and gainfully.

This situation is also reflected in the fact that the primary motivation for leaving Bicol had to do with "work-related reasons." Results of the migration survey in the area again show that 57.8 percent of those headed for Metropolitan Manila area and other regions of the country were looking for jobs or had jobs in these areas at the time of migration. On the other hand, only few in-migrants cited this reason as their primary motivation for moving into Bicol. A good majority of them in fact were "chain-migrants," i.e., they were simply follow-

ing the heads of their respective households who had earlier migrated.

Impact of Migration on Development

The impact of the phenomenon of out-migration on Bicol's prospect for development may indeed be very serious. As noted earlier the region's out-migrants are mostly the young, and the better skilled and educated, and no clear replenishment through in-migration is discernible. One adverse consequence of this process

which can easily be anticipated would be the degradation of the age structure of the region's population.⁹ Such a worsening of the age structure would deplete the region's manpower resources on one hand, and increase its dependency burden, on the other. The latter effect is of course enhanced by the process of chain migration observed in the region (migrants are merely following their respective family heads) and by the fact that people migrate to the region not for work-related reasons.

Another important repercussion of the process of out-migration is the relative deterioration of the skill structure of the region. Along with the degradation of the age structure, a related consequence of this phenomenon would of course be the slowing down of the region's economic growth and development. That regions oriented towards growth and development need skilled men cannot be overemphasized. Otherwise, development efforts may only lead to a situation where new development structures and institutions which are created will be left without an indispensable minimum of skilled labor. Indeed, it is not seldom that government institutions in the region, for instance, would complain of the lack of trained manpower for the implementation of much-needed development programs.

It has of course been argued that families left behind in the areas of origin will benefit from the successes of out-migrants by receiving remittances or other forms of support. However, although no conclusive data can be presented, the opposite may also be possible, i.e., instead of being a sender of remittances, the out-migrant could be the recipient of economic aid from his relatives in Bicol. At any rate, it is probably a moot question to ask as to whether the sending of money by the out-movers to families back in the region would be a real compensation for the loss to the regional economy brought about by the departure of members of the labor-potential population, and for the cost of educating that population. In short, it is contended here that

Out-migration from the region is only a symptom of, and a response of the people to a much graver problem of the larger society, namely, the problem of regional imbalances and social inequality.

out-migration from Bicol must not only be viewed as a demographic loss; it is also, in a very real sense, a socio-economic loss to the region.

Lessons from the Experience

The migration experience of Bicol reveals the fact that the basic problem is structural, i.e., out-migration from the region is only a symptom of, and a response of the people to, a much graver problem of the larger society, namely, the problem of regional imbalances and social inequality. The Bicol region, as shown in this paper, is characterized by such problems as low agricultural productivity, low incomes, and high tenancy rate. These problems appear to have been the crucial factors that have led to the outflow of people mostly to the Metropolitan Manila area which is the primate city of the country and the center of social and economic activities.

What this suggests is that, in the ultimate analysis, the solution to the problem of out-migration must also be structural in character, i.e., programs and policies must be conceived to bring about not only a process of growth, but much more importantly, a process of structural change. In this connection, the most important structures to be altered are those of the distribution of wealth not only among regions, but among groups of people as well. It is not of course possible to totally bridge the gap between rich and poor regions. At the same time, however, there is a need to ensure that the gap decreases, rather than continues to widen

⁹This consequence of out-migration was also observed in Yugoslavia by Kosta Mikailovic, "Socio-Economic Aspects of Inter-regional Migration in Yugoslavia," *International Social Development Review*, No. 4 (New York: United Nations, 1972), pp. 28-41.

Establishing propulsive industries capable of creating employment in all sectors of the regional economy, and fully articulating the educational system to the needs and potentials of the region could stop people from seeking employment elsewhere.

In this connection, hopes have been raised in Bicol with the implementation of the Bicol River Basin Development Program.¹⁰ This program has precisely been designed to narrow the socio-economic gap between Bicol, on one hand, and the other regions of the country, on the other. The primary objective of this development project is to increase per capita incomes to be achieved through improved agricultural productivity, increased employment opportunities, land reform, and the development of agri-business and industrial enterprises. The strategy is thus one of relocating and diverting economic activity away from the Metropolitan Manila to a less fortunate region of the country.

It is important to point out, however, that while the above strategy may redistribute wealth among regions, it may not necessarily lead to the redistribution of income among groups of people. A distinction must be made between "place prosperity" and "people prosperity", i.e., investments in development projects in Bicol may not necessarily result in the enrichment of Bicolanos as the multiplier effects of such development projects could take place elsewhere.¹¹

¹⁰For more on this, see Department of Public Works, Transportation and Communications, *Bicol River Basin Development Program*. Manila: February, 1973.

¹¹This is discussed more lengthily in Benjamin V. Cariño, "Development and Technical Problems in Integrative Regional Planning: The Bicol Case," a paper presented for the SEADAG seminar on "Imperatives and Models for Integrative Area Planning and the Rural Poor," held at the Hyatt Hotel, Manila, Philippines, August 18-20, 1975.

The development benefits pipeline of large-scale projects which may be implemented in Bicol could very well be all directed to the Metropolitan Manila area in view of the latter's primacy in the nation's economy. It is, therefore, the national economy that benefits at the expense of the region where the large-scale projects are located. Hence, the strategy may not also necessarily stem the outflow of the labor-potential population from the region.

In addition to the relocation of economic activity, therefore, there is also a need to ensure that the ultimate beneficiaries of development projects are the region's own inhabitants. In this connection, one must guard against programs which may have been purposely designed to deal with the imbalance in income distribution, but the effect of which may precisely be the enhancement of such imbalance. Programs in industrial dispersal, for instance, may seemingly contribute to the rectification of inter-regional imbalances. However, for as long as priority is given to industries which are more capital than labor intensive, and geared more to the production of luxury items rather than mass consumption goods, then such industries will not be responsive to the problem of income redistribution,¹² and thus to the problem of out-migration.

For the Bicol region, emphasis must be given to "propulsive" agro-related, labor-intensive industries which employ local materials and manpower, and which are capable of generating employment in the other sectors of the regional economy, particularly the agricultural sector. Coupled with this must be a policy of fully articulating the educational system to the development needs and potentials of the region. The skills and technology required for regional development must be clearly established so that the educational system could produce individuals who are well-equipped with the appropriate expertise to deal with the region's problems and needs and therefore need not seek employment elsewhere.

¹²For greater elaboration on this, see Eli M. Remolona, "Growth Poles for Employment in Less Developed Countries," a paper prepared in partial fulfillment of a graduate course at the Institute of Planning, University of the Philippines, 1973.



*Raising the unsettled questions on housing
and land development*

Current Issues in Housing and Land Development

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Introduction

The concern for human settlements in general and housing in particular has never been more overwhelming than it is today. Everybody talks about housing -- from the President of the Republic to the technocrats of the public and private sectors, to the slum dwellers of Tondo. The reason is quite obvious. The magnitude of the present and future needs for housing the country's rapidly increasing population demands that immediate and concrete measures be instituted before this reaches a magnitude of unmanageable proportions.

It is estimated that with the annual growth rate of 3.01 percent in population, the number of urban population multiplies at the rate of four to five percent per year. This situation is further compounded by the proliferation of slum and squatter settlements in centers of population whose growth is estimated to be at 12 percent per year. In addition, we have to consider the housing backlog of previous years and the need to replace substandard houses including those lost through deterioration and

natural calamities. All together, the latest estimate of the national annual housing need, based on the 1970 Census, is placed at 375,000 dwelling units or about seven units of new houses per 1,000 population. The present production, however, registers only two units per 1,000 population per year, thereby creating an annual deficiency of five dwelling units per 1,000 population.

Indubitably, the foregoing situation calls for a determined effort both on the part of the government and private sectors to evolve a more pragmatic, realistic, and workable plan of action to resolve this nagging social problem.

The main objective of this presentation, however, is not so much to overemphasize the gravity of the housing problem since this is obvious, but more specifically, to outline the unanswered questions or issues that confront our policy makers and housing practitioners. Despite our efforts in the field of housing and land development, many issues have remained unresolved and unless these are clarified and understood, no effective policy decision, much less a meaningful program implementation, can ever be pursued.

*Delivered at the First Annual Real Estate Seminar on "The Integrated Approaches to the Planning and Development of Human Settlements," on 6 March 1975, Philippine Columbian Club, Taft Avenue, Manila. Sponsored by the Chamber of Real Estate and Builders Associations (CREBA).

The Issues And Their Implications

Most of the current issues in housing and land development invariably attempt at seeking probable solutions to the general housing and land development problems. These are:

1. *What should be the objective in housing?*

Housing is such a complex subject that it touches on all aspects of planning and development. It is considered one of the main components in the planning and development of human settlements since residential areas generally comprise a relatively large percentage of the total land in any human settlements. It is, therefore, necessary that we have definite objectives in dealing with the problems of housing. Such objectives should serve as a guide to policy formulation and program implementation.

Considering the magnitude of the housing problem, we might consider two primary objectives. A short-term objective is to improve the existing condition of housing, thereby arresting the further worsening of the housing situation. A long-term objective is to make housing of reasonable standards and quality available to all the people, no matter in what income level, in well-planned, integrated, and well-managed human settlements that provide a wholesome living environment. Reasonable standards and quality may mean the minimum acceptable standards and quality in terms of safety and health but may vary in terms of structural and architectural forms, depending on the socio-economic status of the individual.

These objectives are very general ones and they virtually concern the environment more than individual pursuits. In the United States, the ultimate goal of housing is "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family." Must this also be true for Filipinos? Shall we consider housing to mean "one house for every single Filipino family?"

2. *What resources do we have for housing and land development?*

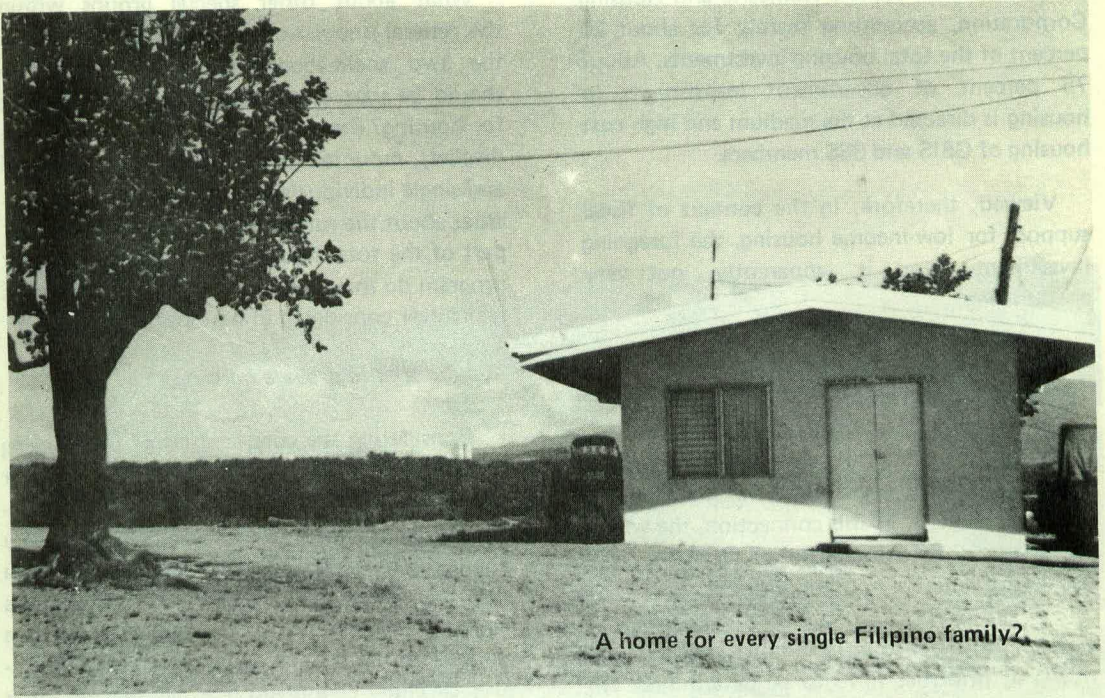
The resources that we have to identify are land, building materials, manpower, and sources of financing. Do we really have enough of these resources to solve our housing problems?

a. *The availability of land.* No one will argue that the Philippines is not land-poor, unlike Hong Kong or Singapore. No less than the Bureau of Lands has estimated that even if we multiply the present urban population ten times, "each urban family will have, available to itself, about 345 square meters of home lot." In most cities, there is still plenty of raw land available within a reasonable distance for development. The problem, however, lies in the abnormal land situation. Some housing experts have identified this situation as: (1) abnormal concentration of land ownership; (2) low tax on land; (3) tradition of land ownership characterized by the Spanish institution of large estates with serfs or peasants; (4) paucity of alternative investment; (5) anticipation of a windfall through public works; (6) reluctance of the government to use the power of expropriation; and (7) high land prices due to artificial urban land scarcity.

Certain policies have been established to remedy the land situation, the most basic of which is the land reform policy of the new Constitution: "The State shall promote social justice to ensure the dignity, welfare, and security of all people. Towards this end, the State shall regulate the acquisition, ownership, use, enjoyment and disposition of private property ownership and profits."

While this policy measure may attain certain objectives, have we translated it in three-dimensional terms? What do we really mean by diffused property ownership?

b. *Availability of building materials.* The use of building materials greatly affects the design and cost of housing. The Philippines, in



A home for every single Filipino family?

general, is fortunate to have the necessary resources for building materials development and the construction industry. It is also one of a few Asian countries with a well-developed architectural and engineering profession that is skilled in housing design. It also has a competent construction industry. The problem, however, calls for a revision and improvement in the design and technique of construction of housing that will reduce the cost to a minimum without sacrificing the standards of livability and should, as much as possible, be acceptable to the culture of the people.

c. *The manpower situation.* The Philippines has a cheap labor supply. Its surplus labor constitutes a sizeable army of the unemployed. The present unemployment rate is 6.9 percent, with construction laborers representing one of the lowest paid non-agricultural workers. The housing industry is expected to use more of this surplus resource.

In a general sense, capital-intensive techniques are consistent, time-saving devices but they run counter to the objective of promoting more employment. Proponents of this

technique advocate that the traditional method (labor-intensive) should give way to the industrialized method (such as the pre-fab method) in order to attain mass production, which lowers the cost of construction without sacrificing quality.

On the other hand, advocates of the labor-intensive technique claim that residential housing is essentially labor-intensive. Furthermore, they argue that there is no sense in employing capital-intensive techniques, considering our present acute unemployment levels.

d. *The financial situation in terms of investment.* Financial support to housing is generally limited. Trends indicate that investments in housing based on current prices, share only an average of 2.6 percent of the GNP (an average of only about P700 million per year), which is far below the acceptable international standard rate of five to six percent. The greater bulk of the investments (80 percent) is attributable to private individuals and private developers, with the government, through the Government Service Insurance System, the Social Security System, the Development Bank of the Philip-

pires, and the People's Homesite and Housing Corporation, accounting merely for about 20 percent of the total housing investments. About 75 percent of government investments in housing is directed at the medium and high cost housing of GSIS and SSS members.

Viewed, therefore, in the context of fiscal support for low-income housing, the foregoing investment trend is, apparently, not very encouraging.

3. *For whom are we providing housing?*

In other words, who are our clients? Housing, second only to food and clothing, is a common need. Everybody has a right to decent living and environment. In this connection, the whole population should therefore be part of a comprehensive national housing program.

With limited resources and other constraints, however, priorities have to be determined. We can classify the population into two general socio-economic groups that need housing: (1) families who can afford to obtain housing without any assistance; and (2) families who need financial assistance, either partially or wholly.

The first group is a very small proportion of the population. In the second group falls the greater proportion whose biggest drawback is the lack of capacity to pay for housing and the lack of land of their own. No matter what happens, they have to have roofs over their heads. There are more than a hundred thousand of these in Greater Manila alone.

If we look at the income profile of the Philippines, and consider P300 and below as the lowest monthly income, we have 70 percent of the total earning population in this group. If we increase the cut-off point to P500 per month, more than 80 per cent of the total earning population belong to this group.

Given this socio-economic situation, what, then, should be the priorities of a national housing program?

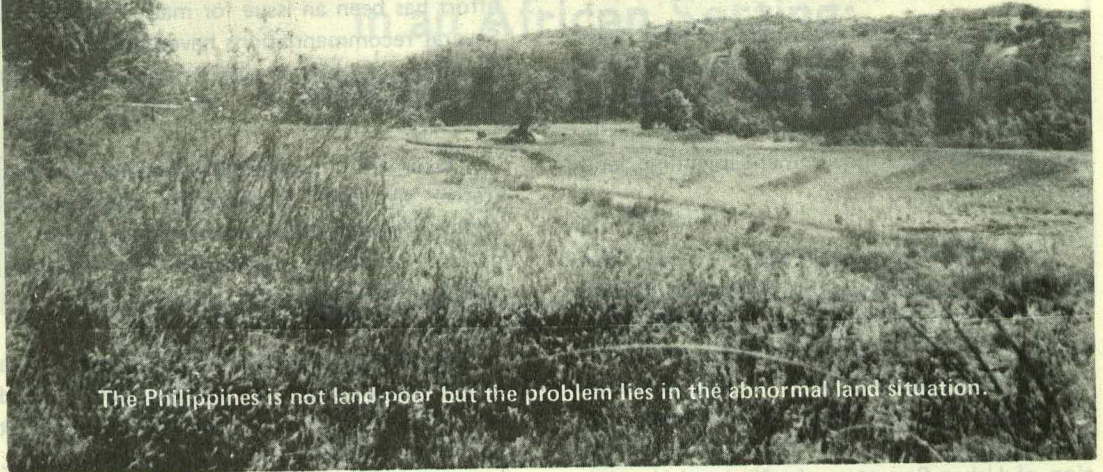
What about other special groups within the general population who may not fall within the two socio-economic groups but which should be part of the comprehensive planning for housing? Examples are minority groups, sea dwellers, mountain people, employees, the aged and single individuals or one-person households. What about the rural people in general? To what part of the total housing and land development program do they belong? Are all of these groups really ever considered in national planning?

4. *Who should provide housing?*

Considering the complexities of the housing problem, the issue as to which particular sector (public or private) should undertake the responsibility of providing houses to the inadequately sheltered millions of our people may well be regarded as academic. The government, with its limited financial resources allocated to the various development requirements of the country, certainly cannot do it alone. On the other hand, the private sector with its profit-orientation would be adamant in channelling a greater portion of its resources to the low-cost housing venture. Under this situation, the need to resolve the housing problem, therefore, calls for a joint venture between the government and the private sector. But what role should each play? Should the government concentrate on social housing or publicly-subsidized housing? What about the private sector? Will it have a part in social housing?

5. *How can low and moderate income families be provided with adequate and decent shelter?*

Looking again at our socio-economic profile, we may find a group of families who can afford to obtain housing for themselves, provided they are given the necessary incentives and assistance. A sizeable proportion of this group are members of the Government Service Insurance System and the Social Security System who cannot take advantage of all the privileges of being members of these institutions.



The Philippines is not land-poor but the problem lies in the abnormal land situation.

In this connection, perhaps, the key issue would be on policies relating to lowering the costs of housing and land development and improving the approach to home financing.

Several approaches may be considered in relation to lowering the costs of housing and land development. These are reduction in the area or size of housing and building materials, and providing minimum land development (such as minimum finishing, no concrete street gutters, open drainage, etc.). In connection with home financing, the present legal structure of home mortgages may be made flexible so that funds of lending institutions are not "frozen" in the hands of borrowers. The institution, therefore, of a secondary mortgage system whereby home mortgages may be transferable or marketable will make capital mobile to meet credit demands.

6. *What kind of housing (and in what location) should be provided for the lowest income groups of people, including squatters?*

As has been mentioned, the main problems of the lowest income people are their inability

to pay for housing and the inavailability of land to own.

Considering these constraints, some kind of policy criteria and standards have to be developed. These will include decisions on whether to provide sites only or sites and services; the shell only or core housing or a complete house? What types of materials and construction should be used and at what cost? What area of lot and floor space? While we can have some minimum standards can we also have maximum standards for government intervention? Should social and public housing serve as the ultimate means for sheltering people or only a means to an end?

In some countries the filtering concept is adopted in such a way that social housing is provided as a temporary shelter, and as the economic condition of the people improves, they are given other opportunities to transfer to communities of higher standards. If this is adopted, however, what will be its effect on cultural traditions?

Lastly, where should housing be located? While, ideally, it should be accessible to economic opportunities, should there be ways by which economic opportunities can be made close or accessible to housing?

7. *Finally, how should housing and land development be organized?*

In many countries, housing and land development activities are handled by a specific ministry, department or agency. In some cases, these activities are combined with activities in public works, local government, planning, land development, etc.

In the Philippines, there are several agencies that are involved in various aspects of housing and land development. These are the People's Homesite and Housing Corporation, the Home Financing Commission, the Presidential Assistant on Housing and Resettlement Agency, the Central Institute for the Training and Relocation of Urban Squatters, the National Housing Corporation, and the Presidential Coordinating Committee for Housing and Urban Resettlement.* Before the advent of the New Society, these were the agencies created specifically to deal with our housing problems, not to mention other institutions which are also engaged in housing although their main functions are not directed to housing. Today, through Presidential Decrees, executive orders or memorandum circulars, we have added several more. We have the Task Force on Human Settlements, the Tondo Foreshore Development Authority, and several other *ad hoc* interagency task forces which have been established and are now engaged in the planning, implementation, and monitoring of various projects in land development, housing, and resettlement.

To some extent, it seems to work out well, but we see a number of duplication and the non-coordination of efforts, thus resulting in an unbalanced allocation of resources. With-

out citing statistics, for example, we can see that some people, who are squatters, without income, and who do not pay taxes are provided with more opportunities than some law-abiding, small wage earners.

How we will organize our present housing activities into a unified and well-coordinated effort has been an issue for many, many years. Several recommendations have been forwarded by public and private agencies involved in these activities.

To organize our existing housing administrative structure, a three-tier organizational system may be the answer. This should be national or central, regional or provincial, and metropolitan or local.

The national or central authority would take charge of formulating national housing and related land policies, programs and projects. It would initiate the necessary legislative measures, including provisions for public funding for housing, particularly the social housing needs. It would lay down building standards through a continual upgrading of the building code and other housing codes such as zoning and subdivision regulations. It would coordinate with the building industry in the promotion of building research and the training of planners, supervisors, and housing managers. And, of course, it would exercise general supervision over activities of the regional or provincial and metropolitan or local bodies, including the evaluation of various schemes and programs.

The regional, provincial, metropolitan, or local bodies would undertake the planning and preparation of local housing programs, including the collection of housing statistics, conducting housing surveys, and undertaking socio-economic studies on a regional, provincial, or local scale. They would also take charge of the organization of local housing cooperatives and the implementation of local housing programs, including the planning, execution, and administration of slum clearance, relocation activities, and social or public housing projects.

*The National Housing Authority, created by Presidential Decree 757 dated July 31, 1975, integrates all these entities under one agency. (See Planning News Section of this issue) - Ed.

The Central Place Theory in an African Setting: Ibadan as a Case Study

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Introduction

The rapid growth and expansion of cities in the developing countries in the last one-and-a-half decades¹ is forcing a study of various aspects of urbanization on intellectuals. Some of the fields that draw the interest of researchers are patterns of migration, diffusion process, and urban hierarchy. Prospective migrants are not equally attracted to all cities; they have preferences depending upon what their chief aims are. Some cities attract more people than do others. Partly for that reason we have a hierarchy of cities. The mere population size of a city may, in itself, be unimportant, but the responsibilities that a heavily populous city forces on its administration are usually significant. The availability of goods and services, the range of these goods and services as well as the

price paid for the distance in money and comfort, are all very important.

This paper will discuss an analysis made on the hierarchical arrangement of Nigerian cities particularly in relation to Ibadan, the Western State capital.

The Case of Ibadan

In Nigeria, the largest and fastest developing urban centres are Lagos, the Federal Capital, and Ibadan, the Western State Capital. In order to assess the importance of these cities in terms of goods and services and their population, it is necessary to turn to a relevant classical study by Walter Christaller.² Building on Von Thunen's theory that man's economic activities are concentrically arranged because they depend on

¹By 1960 a large number of African countries had attained their political independence. Hopes of availability of jobs in the cities because of the attainment of nationhood drew many people to the cities soon after independence. These hopes (now more of an illusion) are still attracting people into the cities in large numbers.

²Walter Christaller, *Central Places in Southern Germany*, translated by Carlisle W. Baskin, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1966. This study was carried out in 1933 and was originally published in German: *Die Zentralen Orte in Suddeutchland*, June 1935.

distance from the Centre, Christaller worked out a scheme called the central place theory which begins with the simple assumption that a certain amount of land will support a town and that the bigger the area the bigger the town.³

In this paper, Ibadan will be the focus of attention. There are several reasons for this. Physically, Ibadan is more centrally located in Nigeria than Lagos; Lagos is at the coast; Ibadan is in the hinterland. Ibadan also performs similar central functions as Lagos, and both cities are almost of the same size in terms of population.⁴

Ibadan City is located 7° 20' North of the equator; it is about 90 miles North of Lagos. It covers a total area of 33 square miles⁵ and has a population of 627,379.⁶ It is the largest city in Nigeria and in West Africa, but the second most populous in either case.⁷

Ibadan is the capital of the Western State.⁸ For administrative convenience the Western State is divided into five provinces of which Ibadan is one. Ibadan province is itself subdivided into two Divisions: Oshun and Ibadan Divisions. More than half of the population of Ibadan Division live in Ibadan City.⁹

³Emrys Jones, *Towns and Cities*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1966, p. 85.

⁴1963 census figures.

⁵There is disagreement on the actual area of Ibadan because of its rapid expansion. The Nigeria Year Book 1970 puts it at 33 square miles; but the Ibadan Area Planning Authority in 1971 recorded 39 square miles.

⁶The 1963 census figures; Ibadan's population is now estimated at about 1.5 million. The 1973 provisional figures for Nigeria have not yet been confirmed after the check. Hence, 1963 figures are being used.

⁷Lagos with a population of 665,246 is the most populous city both in Nigeria and in West Africa.

⁸Nigeria is divided into twelve states; the Western State is one of these twelve states.

⁹The 1971 estimated population of Ibadan Division was 2 million.

Ibadan is also the largest and most important Yoruba¹⁰ city, with many of the characteristics¹¹ of Yoruba towns. There are, however, many non-Yorubas in Ibadan. The following table summarizes these relationships.

Table 1¹²

RELATIVE SIZE OF IBADAN IN THE LARGER CONTEXT

Settlement	Area in Square Miles	Population
All Africa	11,000,00	350,000,000
Nigeria	356,669	55,558,163
Western State of Nigeria	29,100	9,487,525
Ibadan Province	4,521	3,326,647
Ibadan Division	2,221	1,259,000
Ibadan City	33	625,379

In spite of its size, there is controversy as to whether Ibadan is truly a city. The controversy arose because of its dual structure: there is the traditional section of the city, popularly known as the "core"¹³ inhabited by the indigenous people, many of whom spend half of the week in the surrounding villages and the rest in the

¹⁰The Yorubas are an ethnic group, the second largest of the 35 major ethnic groups in Nigeria (major here meaning more than 100,000 people). There is also a substantial Yoruba population in Dahomey (Nigeria's neighbouring country) separated by colonial developments.

¹¹The institution of divine kingship is one major characteristic of Yoruba towns; the second is the imperialistic nature of the Yorubas. Most Yoruba towns "arose largely as a form of colonial settlements among indigenous, more backward and perhaps hostile people." See Akin Magounje, *Urbanization in Nigeria* (London: 1968, p. 76).

¹²Source: S.O. Oyedeji, "Ibadan: A study in spatial distribution of urban public services," New York, New York University, Ph.D. Dissertation, May 1972 (Table 1), p. 3.

¹³The "core" of Ibadan is unplanned and access to the residences is difficult.

city; then there is the modern or immigrant section occupied by immigrants and the literate elite from the "core". Consequently, Ibadan is sometimes described as a "city-village."¹⁴

Early Beginnings of Ibadan

Founded in the last quarter of the 18th century by a group of adventurers from Ile-Ife,¹⁵ Ibadan was first situated in Egbaland; but because of civil wars in the Yorubaland resulting from the slave trade and the Fulani Jihad, Ibadan was physically moved to a new location and its name was changed. It was first known as Eba Odan (because it was located near a grove); later, it was changed to Ebadan (for the sake of simplicity); and for further simplification it finally assumed the present name Ibadan.¹⁶

Present Ibadan actually started as a refugee camp in 1829 but it rapidly expanded and became a permanent settlement for the wandering soldiers from Ile-Ife, Ijebu and the Oyo Empire.

The old Oyo Empire went into decline about the 1850's creating a vacuum of authority in Yorubaland. Ibadan rulers recognized this situation and seized the opportunity to carve out a sphere of authority for Ibadan. Ibadan rewarded industry and recognized anybody who had something to contribute in this age of competitive local power struggle. By 1865 Ibadan had emerged as the single most important city in Yorubaland.¹⁷ This importance was not only political or military, it was also commercial. Its location between the interior and the coast

¹⁴Emrys Jones, *Towns and Cities*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1966, pp. 40-41.

¹⁵Ile-Ife is the cradle of the Yorubas.

¹⁶See I.B. Akinyele, *Iwe Itan Ibadan*, (Lagos, 1946).

¹⁷Akin Mabogunje, *Urbanization in Nigeria* (London, London University, Press, 1968), p.93.

made it a convenient confluence of routes and traders from all parts of the Yorubaland. Whereas the old Oyo Empire was north oriented in its commercial activities, when it declined there was a shift in the direction of trade to the south, reflecting the location of the new power.

Ibadan and the Theory of Urban Locations

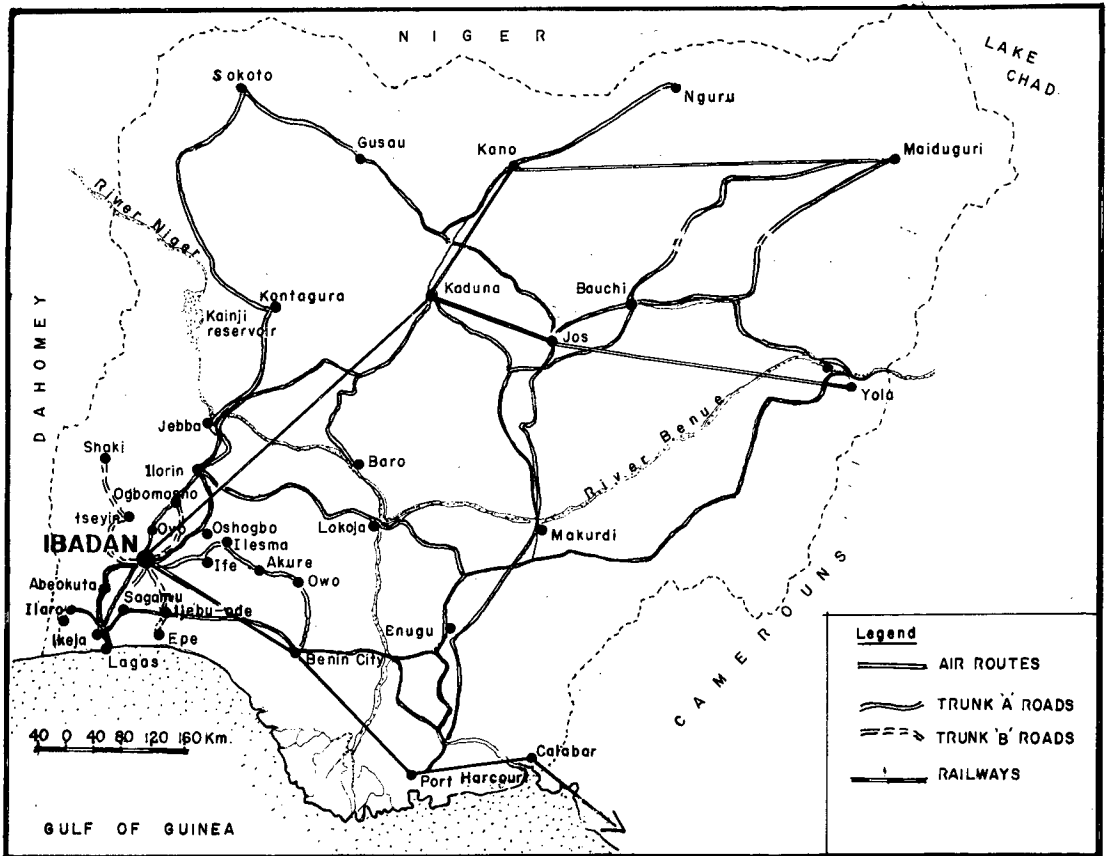
J. H. Johnson¹⁸ has a good summary of the theories of location of cities. Johnson suggests that there are four possible factors, one or a combination of which would explain the location of any city. One such factor is linkage with the outside world. A city may exist because it is concerned with linking an area to the outside world or linking an area with certain types of manufacturing that are located on through routes. A second possible location factor is that cities can cluster around physical resources; thirdly, location of cities can be explained by chance and human whims; and finally, there can be settlements which are predominantly concerned with serving the needs of tributary areas.

The initial founding of Ibadan was by chance and human whim. Lagelu, an adventurer from Ile-Ife, and his companions were only seeking a safe place that would offer them the opportunity to satisfy their adventurous desires. They seemed to have picked rather arbitrarily a location in the forest from other alternatives that were probably equally good for their purpose. When this first settlement was destroyed, a second settlement was founded. It was an Egba village up to 1829 and it escaped destruction by pure chance during the devastations by the warriors of the raging civil wars of that period.

However, if it were by chance alone, Ibadan would probably have remained a village or at best a small town. It just happened that it offered protection for the refugees and so it attracted more people. It is situated on a hill (a physical resource) around which the people

¹⁸James H. Johnson, *Urban Geography* (New York, Pergamon Press, 1967).

Figure 1



THE FUNCTIONAL CENTRALITY OF IBADAN IN NIGERIA

clustered and within a short time, many hamlets, villages and towns sprung up. It has another physical resource: the soil of its environs turned out to be suitable for growing cash crops such as cocoa and palm trees, both of which attracted farmers and traders.

Ibadan has also turned out to be a linkage to the outside world; it links the West of Nigeria to the East and North by trade, transportation and telecommunication; all the major means of transport in Nigeria pass through Ibadan, from Lagos, to other parts of the country. The Ibadan airport (though a later development) connects flights from Lagos with the Mid-Western and Eastern States through Benin airport and with the Northern States through Kaduna airport.

Of the two main railway lines in the country, one originates in Lagos and passes through Ibadan on its way to Kwara State before it reaches its Northern terminus. The same line meets another line from Port Harcourt at Kaduna and Zaria, making it possible for a traveller from Ibadan to make connections to all parts of Nigeria by rail. To complete the nodality of Ibadan, all the major roads in the country pass through it, either from Lagos, the Federal capital, to the rest of Nigeria, or from the East or North, to Lagos.

Finally, Ibadan is a central place; it serves the needs not only of its inhabitants but also of those in surrounding areas. There are many nearby towns that fall under its sphere of influence politically, educationally and commercially.

Thus, Ibadan's location is explainable, not by one but by all four factors determining location of cities as set forth by Johnson. The accompanying map of Ibadan (Figure 1) demonstrates its functional centrality.

For the rest of this paper, we will consider the relationship of Ibadan with the Central Place Theory which is one of the locational determinants of the cities.

The Central Place Theory

A theoretical framework for the study of the distribution of human settlements is provided by the works of Walter Christaller and August Losch.¹⁹ This theory has two major parts: the form or shape of settlements and the activities or functions of the settlements.

Form of Settlements

Christaller states that all settlements are hexagonal in shape for the purpose of conserving space.²⁰ Furthermore, Christaller states that all settlements of the same size are equidistant from one another and do not overlap; they only overlap with settlements of other sizes and specializations. For instance, a city may be surrounded by, and overlap with, hamlets and villages. For every six towns there is a larger, more specialized city which is equidistant from other cities with the same level of specialization as itself.

Also important among the characteristics of the form of Christaller's settlements is the rank-size rule which links urban size to urban rank.

¹⁹Walter Christaller, *Die Zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland*, (June 1935) and August Losch, "The Nature of Economic Regions," *Southern Economic Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (July 1938), pp. 71-78.

²⁰This theory avoids the type of situation created by Von Thunen's proposition of a central place with a circular tributary area, and the city in the centre. For details see Johann Heinrich Von Thunen, *Der isolirte Staat in Beziehung auf Nationalo Konomie Und Landwirtschaft*, (Gustav Fischer, Stuttgart, 1966), a reprint of the 1826 edition.

In other words, population of cities is inversely related to their ranks. Thus, the second largest city should be one-half of the largest while the third should be one-third the largest. The distances of cities are also inversely related to their ranks. Thus, the smallest centres are 7 kilometers apart while the next size cities are 12 kilometers apart.²¹ This, in essence, is a grading of needs showing the distance one has to travel to obtain a particular item of need. Table 2 clarifies this point²² of need.

Functions of Settlements

According to Christaller's theory, cities of the same size are supposed to have the same level of specialization and perform the same specialized services. The more specialized the cities are the farther they should be from each other. Furthermore, the highly specialized settlements require larger areas for their existence. In this theory there are two factors that control the distribution of central places: the "range of a good" and the "threshold of a good". Both of these factors were later developed by W.L. Garrison and B.J.L. Berry, respectively.²³

The range of a good, or the distance people are prepared to cover to obtain a particular service from the urban centre, according to Garrison, has both an upper and a lower limit. The upper limit is determined by competition from other places which supply the same service while the lower limit is the minimum amount of purchasing power necessary to allow it to function. The latter is the threshold factor developed by Berry.

²¹See Edward L. Ullman, "A Theory of Location for Cities," in William H. Ebahy, David L. McKee and Robert D. Deen (Eds.), *Urban Economics*, (New York, The Free Press, 1970), Table 1, p. 108.

²²Emrys Jones, *Towns and Cities*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1966, p. 88.

²³B.J.L. Berry and W.L. Garrison, "Functional Bases of the Central Place Hierarchy," *Economic Geography*, No. 34 (1958), pp. 145-154.

Table 2

A TYPICAL TRAVEL CHART FOR VARIOUS NEEDS

Item	Settlement Where Obtainable	Distance
1. Food necessities, sweets and tobacco	Village/Small town	3-8 miles
2. Household goods, working clothes	Small town	10 miles
3. Children's clothing	Large town	10-30 miles
4. Better clothing	Large town	15-30 miles
5. Display clothing, better furniture	Provincial centre	50-100 miles
6. Expensive Jewelry	City	100-150 miles

Other scholars have also shown interest in this rank-size rule.²⁴ However, the best known elaborate study of the subject is by G.K. Zipf.²⁵ He explains the forces of unification and diversification at work in urban settlements, the result of which is an optimum distribution of population. In both Christaller's and Zipf's theories, as the population diminishes. This is the logical development from "efforts to maximize markets, to minimize travel effort and

costs, and to take advantage of economies of urbanization and of scale."²⁶

Ibadan and the Central Place Theory

Having discussed the main features of the central place theory (at least for the purpose of this paper) let us now examine Ibadan in the light of this scheme and see how much it conforms to the theory.

There is a striking contrast in the form and shape of settlements between Christaller's theory and Nigerian cities. In the whole of Nigeria there are only two cities with a population of over 500,000²⁷ and they are within

²⁶Lloyd Rodwin, *Nations and Cities: A comparison of Strategies* for Urban Growth, New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970, p. 21.

²⁴Well known references to city-size relationships in the geographical literature are those of Mark Jefferson, "The Law of the Primate City," *Geographical Review*, XXIX (1939), 226-32 and J.O. Stewart, "Empirical Mathematical Rules Concerning the Distribution and Equilibrium of Population," *Geographical Review*, XXXVII, (1947) 461-85.

²⁵George K. Zipf, *Human Behavior and the Principle of Least Effort*, Cambridge, Addison-Wesley Press, Inc. 1949.

²⁷1963 census figures.

90 miles of each other: Lagos and Ibadan. The latter is situated North of the former. By the stipulations of the central place theory, there should be six cities of the same size and specialization as Ibadan, equidistant from one another. What we find in Nigeria is that other cities that are of comparable distance from Ibadan as Lagos are much less in size, population and specialization. For instance, Ondo, 90 miles East of Ibadan has a population of 74,343. Ilorin, 90 miles North of Ibadan has 208,546 people.

By the rank-size rule, there should be six towns half the size of Ibadan within a radius of

65 miles or 108 kilometers.²⁸ Here too, the Ibadan Region does not conform. Ilesha, 72 miles East of Ibadan has a population of 165,822; Oshogbo, 70 miles North of Ibadan shelters 205,966; Ilaro, 70 miles South-East, has less than 100,000 people; so is Epe, 60 miles South of Ibadan. The only town that is about half of Ibadan in population is Ogbomosho, 65

²⁸See James Johnson, *Urban Geography*, New York, Pergamon Press, 1967, Table 2, p.95.

Table 3*

HIERARCHIES OF SETTLEMENTS IN IBADAN HINTERLAND

Settlement	Distance from Ibadan	Population (1963)
IBADAN		627,379
1. Lagos	90 miles South	665,246
2. Ogbomosho	65 miles North	319,881
3. Oshogbo	70 miles North	208,966
4. Ilorin	90 miles North	208,546
5. Abeokuta	43 miles West	187,292
6. Ilesha	72 miles East	165,822
7. Iwo	27 miles N.E.	153,583
8. Ede	59 miles N.E.	134,550
9. Ile-Ife	54 miles East	130,050
10. Oyo	33 miles North	112,349
11. Ikorodu	70 miles South	81,024
12. Shaki	70 miles N.E.	76,290
13. Ondo	90 miles East	74,343
14. Moniya	10 miles North	2,936
15. Akufo	12 miles West	1,549
16. Gbada	14 miles S.E.	1,692
17. Egbeda Atuba	10 miles South	1,428
18. Olopometa	13 miles East	2,044
19. Akufo	12 miles West	1,549
20. Iddo	12 miles West	1,448

*Source: S.O. Oyedeji, "Ibadan: A Study in Spatial Distribution of Urban Public Services," New York, New York University, Ph.D. Dissertation, May 1972, p. 26.

miles North.²⁹ The rank-size study of the Ibadan Region is summarized in Table 3.

One significant similarity between the form of Central Place Theory's settlements, and that of Ibadan Region is the overlapping of hamlets and villages. There are over 3,000 such hamlets and villages that serve, and are served by Ibadan. But the similarity ends there, because as can be seen in Table 3, the villages and hamlets of the same size and specialization are not equidistant from one another. For instance, Akufo with a population of 1,549 lies 12 miles West of Ibadan. A hamlet of comparable specialization and about equal distance from Ibadan is Moniya, but it has a population of 2,936 (nearly double the size of its counterpart). To the East of Ibadan there are greater disparities. Lalupon is only 13 miles East of Ibadan but it supports a population of 30,000. Compare this with Akufo (earlier mentioned), 12 miles West of Ibadan, with a population of only 1,549. Lalupon is a big market, and like most of the Yoruba towns, its population shows the extent and size of its market compared with the other markets in the Ibadan Region. It also has a railway station.

Close to each of these settlements already mentioned are a host of other settlements that are of almost equal size and specialization but are neither equidistant from the centre nor from one another. An example will suffice here. Eruwa, with a population of 26,963 is 34 miles from Ibadan. It is not exactly equal in population with Igboora, a town of equal specialization, but with a population of 37,354 and a distance of 52 miles West of Ibadan. Igboora and Eruwa, on the other hand, are only 12 miles from each other. Thus, the Ibadan Region passes neither the "equidistance" nor the "rank-size rule" test of the central place theory.

As for the specialization and its inverse relationship with the size of a city, Lagos and Ibadan, the largest cities in Nigeria (and in West

Africa), are also the most important centres of learning. As far as their educational function is concerned, they are on equal level of specialization. Ibadan has one University (the University of Ibadan), so does Lagos (the University of Lagos); Ibadan also has the Polytechnic and Lagos has its counterpart, the Yaba College of Technology. In addition, both Lagos and Ibadan have several secondary grammar schools, some of them with Higher School Certificate classes that prepare students for direct entry to the Universities.³⁰ Also, both Ibadan and Lagos have almost an equal number of Teacher Training Colleges and primary schools.

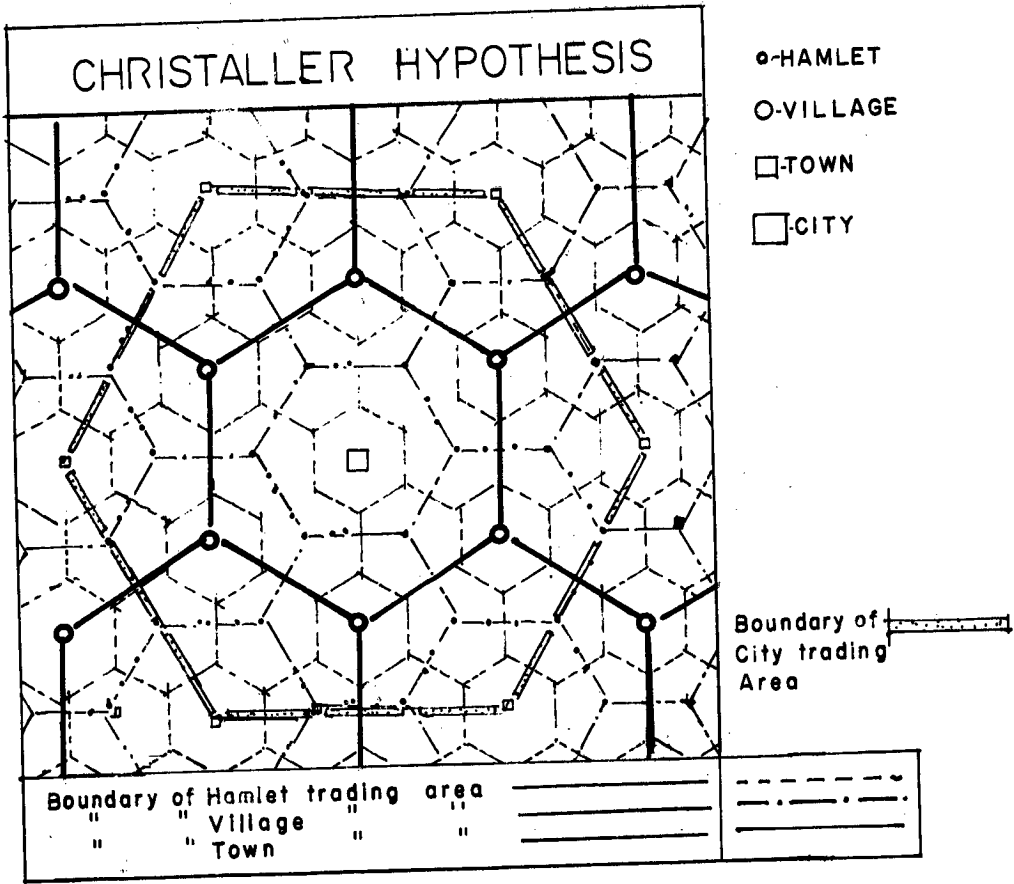
Both cities are commercial centres but not on the same level of specialization, Lagos being the more developed commercially. This is also true of the administrative importance of both cities because, although Lagos is the Federal Capital of Nigeria, Ibadan, apart from being the capital of the Western State, also hosts many Federal (headquarters or branches) establishments; these include, the Federal Office of Statistics, the National Archives, the Federal Ministry of Labour and the Nigeria Cocoa Research Institute to mention but a few.

Ibadan's conformity with the central place theory as regards specialization does not go too far because according to that theory, there should be six, not two, of such cities as Lagos and Ibadan. Instead of five competitors, therefore, Ibadan has only one, Lagos. Consequently, in the language of the central place theory, there is hardly an upper limit to the range of a good or service from Ibadan since most other cities do not, and are not likely to, offer such goods and services.

The lower-limit aspect of the theory does not come into the picture since Ibadan's population is almost sufficient to consume the goods and services produced there. But Ibadan is experiencing rapid immigration and urbaniza-

²⁹The population of Ogbomosho in 1963 was 319,881. All population figures used in this paper are 1963 census figures unless otherwise specified; the rate of population growth in each of the towns so far mentioned is not strikingly different from one another.

³⁰From 1975/76 session, Ibadan schools will drop the Higher School Certificate classes; the Polytechnic will then be fully responsible for preparing students for direct entry to the Universities. Lagos will continue with the H.S.C. classes.

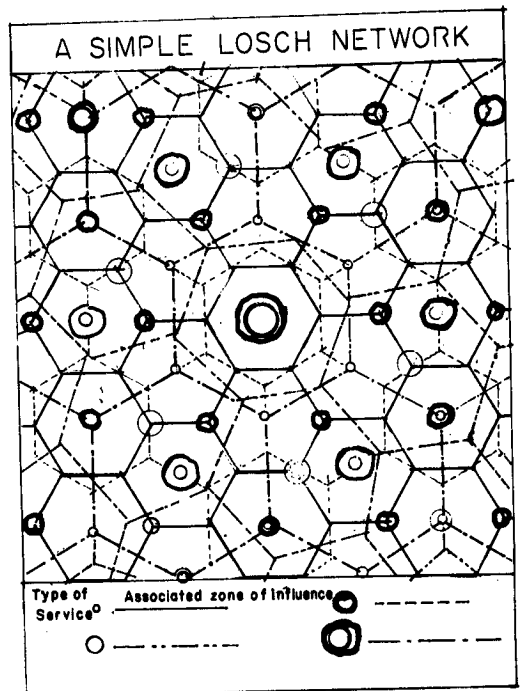


Figures 2 and 2-A

tion, so its inhabitants certainly have enough purchasing power necessary to allow it to function as an urban centre.

One of the difficulties that one runs into with the central place theory is its lack of guidance for determining the boundaries of cities. In Ibadan, for instance, the hamlets and villages are sometimes so close to each other that it is almost impossible to determine their boundaries, much less their spheres of influence. Sometimes settlements of the same size and specialization overlap (contrary to the central place hierarchies).

This point is particularly significant in the case of Ibadan whose boundary is still unre-



solved.³¹ Individuals take the boundary that suits their particular need. The central place theory has not helped in any way to determine the boundaries of either Ibadan city or its hamlets and villages.

The conclusions reached by Christaller will only partially apply to Ibadan. Certainly, Ibadan does not conform to his location hypothesis of central places in terms of physical location. Since there are two main aspects of the central place theory (the form and the function) we now turn to the central functions of Ibadan.

Central Functions of Ibadan

Christaller himself recognized the fact that a city is not necessarily important because of its physical size and population alone; "centrality of a place means the relative importance of a place with regard to the region surrounding it or the degree to which the town exercises central functions."³² Also, he was not very rigid on the physical distance between towns of the same level of specialization. His main concern was the economic distance which is determined by the costs of freight, insurance, storage, time and loss of weight or space in transit. As regards passenger travel, economic distance means the cost of transportation, the time required and the discomfort of travel.³³

Applying these rules to Ibadan, one notices some conformity with the central place theory

³¹Interviews with Professor R.A. Akinola (Professor of Geography at the University of Lagos and a specialist in the Urban Geography of Ibadan), and with officials of the Western State Ministry of Lands and Housing (Town Planning Division), confirm this controversy.

³²Walter Christaller, *Central Places in Southern Germany* (translated by Carlisle W. Baskin), Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice-Hall, 1966, p. 18.

³³Zopf defines distances as "equal to the geographical distance converted into freight and other economically important transportation advantages or disadvantages by which we mean to say in money value instead of numbers" (cited in Christaller, *op. cit.*, p. 22).

especially with regard to central functions. All routes (road, rail and air) which connect Lagos with the rest of Nigeria, have links with Ibadan.³⁴ Apart from trunk routes, there are several state, district and local routes most of which terminate in Ibadan: Ibadan-Iwo; Ibadan-Akanran-Ijebu-Igbo; Ibadan-Mamu-Ijebu-Ode; Ibadan-Ikire-Ile-Ife, to mention a few.

Ibadan performs central functions in its wholesale region which has a radius of about 60 miles. Ijebu-Ode, 43 miles South of Ibadan has a population of less than 100,000; Abeokuta is also 43 miles West of Ibadan with a population of 177,292; Oyo, 33 miles North has 112,349 people; Ogbomoso, 70 miles North has 319,881; Ile-Ife, the cradle of the Yorubas, 54 miles East has a population of 130,050; Iwo lies 27 miles to the North East with a population of 158,583 while Ijebu-Igbo lies 39 miles South East of Ibadan and has less than 100,000 people.

The map of Ibadan's wholesale region (Figure 3) explains its physical and functional centrality in that area.

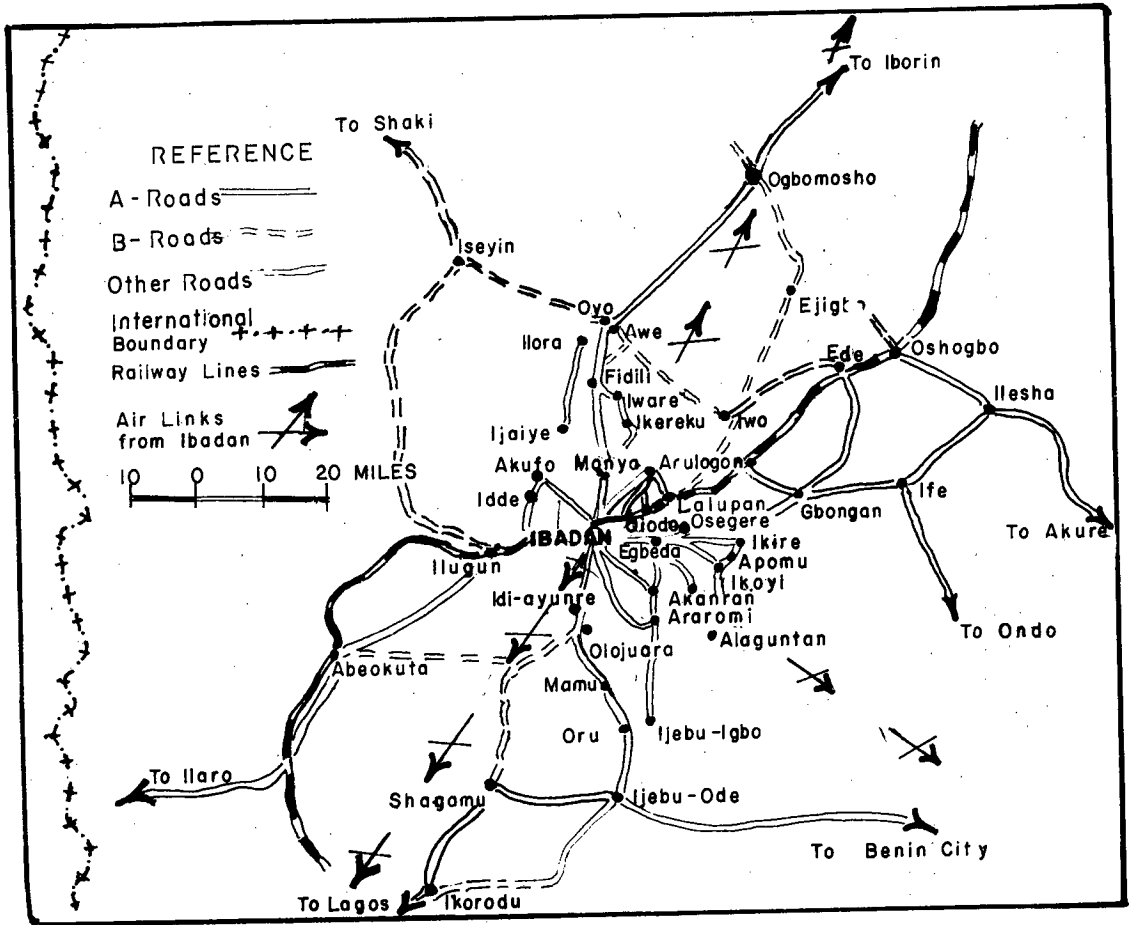
All of these towns are close to one another in level of specialization and functions and Ibadan serves them almost in the same way. Between these settlements are towns such as Ikire to the East, Mamu to the South, Fiditi to the North and Eruwa to the West. These, too, regard Ibadan as the Regional Centre and almost equally benefit from its functions. Then there are villages and hamlets such as Araromi Aperin to the South East, Omi Adio to the West, Olodo to the East, Onipe to the South and Moniya to the North, that serve and are served by Ibadan City.

While most of the villages and hamlets are within a radius of 20 miles of the city, most of the towns and cities are within a radius of 60 miles of Ibadan, all constituting the Ibadan wholesale region.

³⁴A detailed illustration has been made of Ibadan's nodality earlier in this paper; see Figure 1, p. 38

Figure 3

THE PHYSICAL AND FUNCTIONAL CENTRALITY OF IBADAN IN ITS WHOLESALE REGION



It will however be misleading to limit the sphere of influence of Ibadan to settlements within the 60-mile radius. It goes far beyond this region. Northwards most of the Yoruba traders in Kwara State travel to Ibadan to purchase wares for sale; so do traders from the other Northern and Eastern States.

of travelling extra 90 miles to obtain or sell the same quality products with little or no price differentials. Ibadan is therefore an important commercial centre, not only for its region but also for all of Nigeria. However, because it is not centrally located in Nigeria, Ibadan is used more frequently by its wholesale region than by the other towns and cities.

Because of its location in the centre of the rich agricultural district and the availability of manpower for agricultural production, Ibadan markets attract traders from all over Nigeria. Traders from the East and North who need to pass through Ibadan to Lagos would rather make their purchases or sales in Ibadan instead

The educational functions of Ibadan are also central functions. The seat of the Premier University in Nigeria, Ibadan remained the only University town till 1960 when the Nigerian Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology in the former three Regions of the West, North and

East were upgraded into Universities. Since then the Universities of Lagos and Benin have also been established. Although Ibadan is no longer the only University town, it is nevertheless still the most important University town in Nigeria, for two main reasons: firstly, its graduate school is larger than any other in Nigeria; secondly, it is the "Oxford" of Nigeria. University students who do not attend Ibadan have only one of three reasons: either that their course of study is not available there or that they are not qualified enough to get admitted; in some very few cases, location deters a student from choosing to enroll in Ibadan. The standard is as high today as it was at its inception.

While Ibadan was the only university in Nigeria, the primary and secondary schools had to expand and increase to accommodate the children of both the lecturers and students of the University and of the community at large. This tradition remains as there are more students intake and more lecturers in Ibadan University than in any other institution in the country. Furthermore, there is a Polytechnic and several secondary schools with higher school certificate classes preparing students for both the West African School Certificate and the University direct entry requirements. Also there are trade schools like the Cooperative College for the training of cooperative inspectors throughout the country; the Nursing Schools and the Teacher Training Colleges.

Ibadan also performs central administrative functions. As the capital of the Western State, its administrative sphere extends to about 175 miles from North to South and about 225 miles from East to West. Within the city are situated the Western State Government ministries, boards, corporations, commercial firms and professional offices; also several Federal Government establishments have headquarters or branches in Ibadan. It is also the divisional headquarters for Ibadan Division and City Councils.

Conclusions

We have found that there is no single theory of location to explain the location of Ibadan; rather, it conforms to a combination of location theories including the Central Place Theory. We also found that although Ibadan is not centrally located physically in Nigeria, it nevertheless performs central functions; Ibadan is, of course, more or less centrally located in its wholesale region apart from performing central functions within that region.

With this examination, and the fact that many of the African cities are similar to Ibadan in location and functions, it becomes necessary to evolve another theory or set of theories for the location of African cities.

A glance at the location of major cities on the map of Africa will convince us that most of them perform central functions but are not centrally located. For instance, Cairo and Alexandria in Egypt, Accra in Ghana, Marrakesh and Rabat in Morocco, Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania, Cape Town in South Africa, are all cities of major importance but are located near the coast in each case. The main explanation for this development goes back to the colonial era when the colonial masters developed the cities nearest the coast for easy access to the sea. In fact, more than 80 percent of the capital cities of Africa are located along the coast. The other 20 percent are located inland mainly because the countries of which they are capital are land locked. An example is Niamey in the Niger Republic. There are, of course, a few exceptions like Addis Ababa in Ethiopia, that are centrally located and perform central functions; so is Khartoum in the Sudan Republic. In these two cases the location of the River Nile makes access to the two capital cities easy and economical. The colonial masters did not have to build many communication routes through those cities.³⁵

³⁵Ethiopia was never really colonized except for the period of temporary occupation by Italy from 1936-1941.

In most of the other countries of Africa the colonial masters were only interested in straight roads to the coast for the purpose of transporting the products of the hinterland to the coast. Ibadan, an inland city, became important through its own efforts, when it occupied the vacuum of authority and supremacy created by the declining old Oyo Empire in Yorubaland.

Now that most of African countries have attained nationhood, there is a need for developing the hinterland to decongest the coastal cities which are in most cases, the capital cities. In Nigeria, that stage is being reached by the creation of twelve states. In this way, the new capital cities which are far inland and have been less developed, such as Ilorin, Sokoto, Jos and Maiduguri are now being developed to face the challenges of urban areas. It is hoped that urban developments in Nigeria will not be limited to the capital cities but will include all the major cities (about thirty-five in number).

With the development of capital cities into urban areas will come educational and commercial facilities. For instance, there is already a College of Technology at Ilorin and three new Universities are to be built at Jos, Maiduguri and Sokoto. Very soon, most of the commercial firms in Lagos and Ibadan will start opening up branches in these cities. Such a development will be of great economic significance for the people in those regions because they no longer have to travel to Lagos or Ibadan for educational or commercial reasons.

The rate of growth in population of Lagos and Ibadan will also be slightly reduced, as there will be less attraction in moving out of the newly developing cities, with facilities comparing fairly well with those of the larger cities.

With specific regards to the Ibadan wholesale region, we have found that there is no other city of Ibadan's size and importance in this region; in fact, there is only one other such town in the whole country, and that is Lagos. Within its wholesale region only one town is half its population, Ogbomoso, but by no means half of Ibadan in importance and level of specialization. Ibadan therefore offers the great-

est attraction to prospective immigrants from its wholesale region and this explains why Ibadan's population has demonstrated a phenomenal growth as shown in Table 4.

Table 4

GROWTH PATTERN OF IBADAN, 1934-1974

Built Up Areas	Growth in Acres	Growth in Square Miles	Growth in Population
1934	2,288	3.6	387,133
1957	5,262	8.2	459,196
1966	25,217	39.4	627,379
1968	25,513	39.9	800,000
1974			1,500,000

It can be noticed from the table above that Ibadan has nearly doubled its population between 1968 and 1974. This is due to large migration from, not only the villages and hamlets (because of loss of interest in agriculture), but also from the smaller cities of the wholesale region.

One way of checking this rapid migration to Ibadan City is the development of the other cities in Ibadan region with modern facilities including commercial houses, so that there will be no special attraction for Ibadan. In this way, the inhabitants of these cities will not have to travel too far to avail themselves of urban services and Ibadan will also be relieved of the burden of serving too large a region. Even where the cities in Ibadan Region are not centrally located, they can be planned to perform central functions. The easiest way to do this is to develop communications routes linking these cities with one another and with their own spheres of influence. As soon as this is done, commercial houses are likely to establish branches of their firms in these areas. They could also be induced by government to diffuse and ease existing congestion. Also, it is most likely that the government would like to establish schools and institutions of higher learning in such areas.

There are advantages in developing the small cities to perform central functions. It helps to improve the spatial distribution of services and to decongest Ibadan City for better planning and administration.

PD 757

National Housing Authority Created

Presidential Decree 757 creating the National Housing Authority was promulgated by the President on July 31, 1975.

The new housing body has been assigned the function of developing and implementing "a comprehensive and integrated housing program which shall embrace, among others, housing development and resettlement, sources and schemes of financing, and the delineation of government and private participation."

As stipulated in the decree, the National Housing Authority has been created with the following objectives:

- a) To provide and maintain adequate housing for the greatest number of people;
- b) To undertake housing, development, resettlement or other activities as would enhance the provision of housing to every Filipino; and
- c) To harness and promote private participation in housing ventures in terms of capital expenditures, land, expertise, financing and other facilities for the sustained growth of the housing industry.

The decree has also laid out the guidelines that the housing agency will follow in the attainment of its objectives, as follows:

- a) The management of urban development to promote the economic and social well-being and physical mobility of the people, and facilitate industrial growth and dispersal;

- b) The conservation of land for housing development as well as the regulation of land use to achieve optimum utilization patterns;

- c) The organization of public and private resources into financial intermediaries to meet the demand for housing, including provisions for incentives and facilities to broaden the private sector participation in housing investments; and

- d) The extensive use of building systems, which shall maximize the use of indigenous materials and reduce building costs without sacrificing sound engineering and environmental standards.

The new government housing body has absorbed the powers and functions and applicable appropriations of all existing agencies that deal with housing, resettlement, and the like. The following agencies, corporations, committees and task forces on housing have been abolished: Philippine Homesite and Housing Corporation (PHHC), the Presidential Assistant on Housing and Resettlement Agency (PAHRA), the Tondo Foreshore Development Authority (TFDA), the Central Institute for the Training and Rehabilitation of Urban Squatters (CITRUS), and the Presidential Committee for Housing and Urban Resettlement (PRECHUR).

**FORTY-FIVE ENROLLEES ADMITTED
TO NEW MURP COURSE**

Forty-five out of more than seventy applicants were admitted into the newly instituted Master in Urban and Regional Planning course of the UP Institute of Environmental Planning, during the first semester of school year 1975-1976.

The first batch of MURP students boasts of four honor graduates and seven scholars under various sponsorships. A sizeable portion of the batch (15) have economics and business backgrounds; five are architecture and engineering graduates; and the rest are evenly distributed among the different social sciences. A multinational tinge is lent to the class by the presence of four foreigners: two Americans and two Nigerians.

Of the total enrollees, 16 are in the full-time program and 29 in the part-time program. The new graduate program of the Institute requires four semesters to complete on full-time basis.

The new MURP course is being offered by the Institute as an improvement upon the old one-year Master in Environmental Planning course which is now being phased out. This is in response partly to the recommendations made by the Institute's graduates in a survey made early this year, and also to the growing

need for the skills and expertise of urban and regional planners in line with the development thrusts of the government.

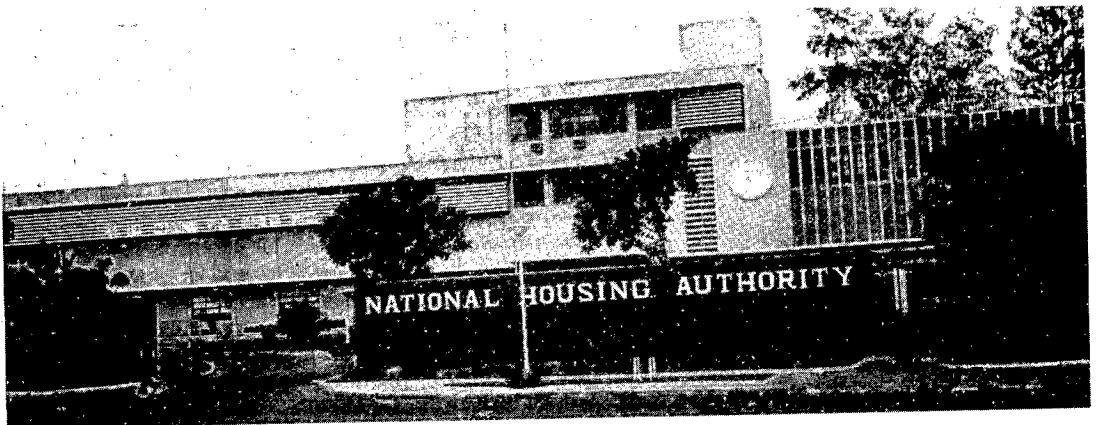
**MURP STUDENTS TO CONDUCT INDUS-
TRIAL LOCATION STUDY IN CALAMBA**

Following the basic educational dictum of integrating theory with practice, the Regional Location Theory Class (Second Semester, 1975-1976) under Professor Gerardo S. Calabia will conduct a study of industrial location in Calamba, Laguna.

The study consists of a survey of the different industrial establishments located in that municipality with special emphasis on the textile factories that abound in the area. The survey will probe into the factors that these firms considered in deciding to locate in Calamba, and the effects of such decisions upon their present business experience and performance.

Professor Calabia hopes that out of the study, the students will be able to acquire the tools necessary in drawing up a regional industrial location program within the framework of the industrial dispersal policy of the government.

The study will also serve as an important input into the framework plan and zoning ordinance for Calamba which the municipal government commissioned the Institute to prepare.



TRAINING

SPECIAL TRAINING FOR URBAN PLANNERS IN PILOT CITIES

Last year, the Department of Local Government and Community Development (DLGCD), particularly the Urban Development Division of the Bureau of Community Development, in consultation with the Institute of Environmental Planning, launched its special course in urban planning to train planners of cities selected as "pilot" communities for urban development. Thirteen cities initially were chosen as beneficiaries of this program. A total of 36 representatives from those cities came to Manila to undergo a two-month training (consisting of lectures and workshop exercises) to learn the fundamentals of urban planning such as community analysis, planning techniques and strate-

gies, project feasibility study and evaluation, and techniques of plan implementation.

The fieldwork portion of the course took place right in the home station of the participants where they undertook surveys and collected data about their city. With the involvement of the citizens and the city officials, they formulated alternative schemes which consequently served as bases for the city plan.

Another group of cities (12 in all) joined the program this year. The second special course was conducted with 40 participants attending the said course from August 25 to October 30. Some of the graduates of the previous year's course acted as resource speakers, thereby enriching the course by providing the later group with practical knowledge about the different aspects of planning gained directly from experience.

The training is only one form of assistance offered by the DLGCD to the "pilot" cities. The cities are also entitled to cash grants which would enable them to carry out certain functions related to urban planning, starting from the preparation of development schemes up to the adoption of plans. These grants, however, require certain obligations on the part of the recipient cities. For example, they have to put up counterpart funds and they have to meet the deadlines in the performance of important activities.

Some of the items covered by the grants are: research (conducting socio-economic profile studies), P10,000; echo-seminar for the citizens especially the members of the task forces and of the planning board, P2,500; public hearing (to discuss alternative development schemes with



The City Planning and Development Board of Cagayan de Oro headed by Mayor Reuben Canoy (seated, second from left in upper photo) presents the framework plan of that city to the first batch of participants in the Special Course in Urban Planning. Before the same batch, Mayor Jose Villanueva of Iriga City (lower panel) discusses the development problems and proposed projects of that city. With him are the Chairman, Jose Reyes, and the members of the CPDB.

ACTIVITIES

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

the citizens), P2,500; printing of the plan, P5,000; and the initial salary of the urban planner (or a contractual basis) for a period of one year after which the city assumes the responsibility of paying the salary of said personnel, P750 (maximum monthly).

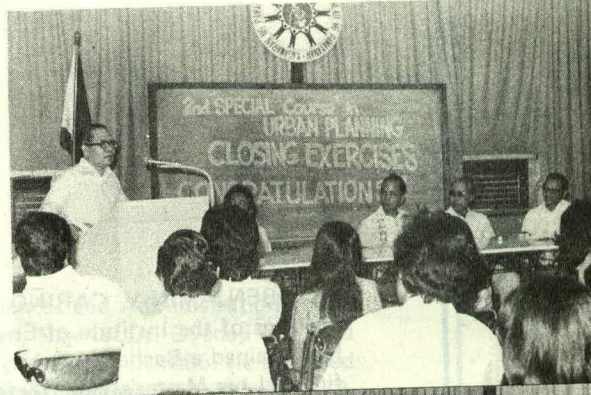
Thus far, all the "pilot" cities with planners trained last year have development plans adopted by their law-making bodies. However, Cagayan de Oro City has yet to come up with a revised version of its present plan which had already been approved before the DLGCD started its training program.

The 25 "pilot" cities included in the DLGCD's urban planning assistance program are listed below:

1974 Group	1975 Group
Bacolod	Angeles
Cabanatuan	Calbayog
Cagayan de Oro	Cotabato
Cavite	Dagupan
Cebu	Dumaguete
General Santos	Iloilo
Iriga	Laoag
Ozamis	Lipa
Puerto Princesa	Naga
San Pablo	Pagadian
Tacloban	Silay
Tagbilaran	Surigao
Zamboanga	

Dean Ramon C. Portugal (top photo) of the UP-IEP addresses the second batch of participants in the Special Course in Urban Planning, while the lower panel shows him handing a certificate of completion to one of the participants. Assisting him is Mayor Carlos S. Solis of Lipa City.

In third photo, Prof. Tito C. Firmalino, Director of Training of the UP-IEP, briefs the DLGCD personnel at the opening session of the Environmental Planning seminar-workshop sponsored by that Department. The same group of personnel listens to Director Marceliano Cosio of the Planning Service, DLGCD, lecture on the Department's programs and activities (bottom panel).



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Dr. Ramos finished her Bachelor of Science in Architecture (Gold Medalist-Valedictorian) at the Mapua Institute of Technology, Manila, in 1957; Master of Science in Housing at Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana, in 1964; and Ph. D. major in Housing, minor in City Planning and Rural Sociology at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, in 1970.

One of the country's few experts in housing, Dr. Ramos has attended and written papers for a number of conferences on the subject of housing and human settlements both in the Philippines and abroad. She was also a recipient of several fellowships, scholarships and travel grants, among which were the UNDP Fellowship to observe housing and urban development trends in Latin America and Europe in 1970; the NEDA grant to observe housing and town planning in Singapore in 1973; and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development Fellowship to attend the Economic Development Institute Programs and Projects course in Washington, D. C., El Salvador, and Guatemala, in 1975.

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