

PHILIPPINE : THE ROLE AND PARTICIPATION OF
LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE DEVELOPMENT
OF DEPOPULATED RURAL AREAS: THE PHILIPPINE EXPERIENCE

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	207
1. THE INTERNAL MIGRATION SITUATION IN THE PHILIPPINES	208
2. CAUSES OF RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRATION	212
2. 1 Quest For Employment	212
2. 2 Search For Relief From Poverty	214
2. 3 Desire To Acquire Higher Education	215
2. 4 Obsession With Life In The City.....	216
2. 5 Peace And Order Situation In The Rural Areas	216
3. EFFECTS OF DEPOPULATION	217
3. 1 Effects On Local Development.....	217
3. 2 Effects On Agricultural Labor Force And Poductivity	217
3. 3 Migrants' Remittances To The Villages	218
3. 4 Retarded Regional And Balanced Development	219
4. PHILIPPINE LOCAL ADMINISTRATION AND SOME RELEVANT ASPECTS	220
5. POLICIES AND PROGRAMS IN RESPONSE TO THE PROBLEMS OF OUTMIGRATION AND DEPOPULATION	221
5. 1 Improvement Of Conditions In The Rural Areas	222
5. 2 Creation Of Jobs	222
5. 3 Livelihood Projects	224
5. 4 Creation Of Countryside Business Enterprises	224
5. 5 Dispersal Of State Educational Institutions	225
6. REINFORCING THE COUNTERACTING EFFORTS OF THE "RECEIVING" LOCAL UNITS	227

6 . 1	Enjoying Urban Migrants To Return To Their Places Of Origin	227
6 . 2	Discouraging The Entry Of Migrants To The City	229
7 .	CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION	230
7 . 1	Devolution Of Powers And Decentralization Of Certain Services	230
7 . 2	Increasing The Financial And Administrative Capacity Of Local Governments	231
7 . 3	Balanced Regional Development	231

The ineffectiveness of rural development policies and programs in most countries of the developing world may be attributed to the fact that they do not respond to one crucial problem that prevails in the rural areas that is, the exodus of migrants and their inflow to the urban centers.

In the Philippines, as in other Southeast Asian developing countries, the projects undertaken to increase agricultural productivity, e.g., the construction of irrigation system, proper use of fertilizers, transfer of farmtechnology are ineffect aimed towards rural development. The introduction of agrarian reform and the promotion of community development, the mobilization of people's participation in the process of governance, are geared towards accelerating development in the rural areas. These rural development projects and strategies, however, have mitigated the problem of out-migration; and this is a real problem in the rural areas, which the Government has not directly addressed with its rural development policies and programs.

The government is preoccupied with the conditions and problems obtaining in the urban centers, like slum settlements, squatter areas, unemployment, which are likely to have been brought about by the moving in of people, coming from the rural areas. Apparently, the government takes greater concern for these people and their adopted places of habitation. But what about their places of origin and the people left in the rural areas? And the conditions taking place therein as a result of the moving out of some of the inhabitants?

Research studies on internal migration have placed considerable emphasis on what is happening in the population —congested urban communities and reflect seeming indifference, on the other hand, to what is happening in the depopulated areas. This general urban bias in internal migration studies is a research trend taking place in many countries in Asia and Africa, according to Alan Simmons who points out the relatively minimal attention given to the social and economic implications of migration in rural areas of origin.¹

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In view of the foregoing premises, there is a great need to undertake a study, which is designed to: (1) depict the outmigration situation in the Philippines and conditions in the depopulated areas as resulting from outmigration; (2) analyze the problems and implications of the depopulation; (3) present some programs of the government being undertaken or policies proposed to be introduced in response to such problems; and (4) recommend further policy actions and administrative measures that the national and local governments can adopt to promote social and economic development in the depopulated rural areas.

1. The Internal Migration Situation in the Philippines

The Philippine population was registered at 48,098,460 in 1980 (the latest census year)², and was estimated at about 57.4 million in 1987³. With a land area of about 300,000 square kilometers, the country had a population density of about 191 persons per square kilometer in 1987.

Being basically an agricultural country, the Philippines has more rural than urban population. Its rural population, registered at 30,189,175 in 1980, comprise about 62.8 percent of the total population. Owing partly to the movement of people from the rural areas to the urban centers, however, the country's rural population had a much lower growth rate at only about 0.97 percent annually compared to the 6.12 percent annual growth rate of the urban population between 1975 and 1980. In terms of absolute number, the rural population grew by only about 1.4 million while the urban population increased by about 4.6 million. Likewise, as shown in Table 1, the proportion of rural population decreased by about 5.6 percent, from 68.4 percent in 1975 to 62.8 percent in 1980.

Table 1. Urban and Rural Population of the Philippines in 1975 and 1980

	1975		1980		Growth Annual
	Population		Population		Rate
	(In millions) %		(In millions) %		(Per Cent)
Urban	13.3	31.6	17.9	37.2	6.12
Rural	28.8	68.4	30.2	62.8	0.97
Total	42.1	100.0	48.1	100.0	2.71

Sources : 1975 Integrated Census of the Population and Economic Activities, National Census and Statistics Office (NCSO) and Philippine Statistical Yearbook 1987, National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA).

Over the period 1975—1980, inter—regional migrants in the Philippines reached 1,148,277. As expected, Metropolitan Manila or the National Capital Region (NCR) , being the most developed region in the Philippines, absorbed the highest of migrants from the other twelve regions.⁴ It pushed out 204,778 persons to other regions, contributing about 17.8 percent to the total number of inter —regional migrants, but at the same time, pulled 378,878 migrants or about 33.0 percent of the total migrants from the other twelve regions. Hence, migration accounted for a 3.5 percent increase in the NCR population between 1975 and 1980 (see Table 2).

Information as to which particular provinces the over one million migrants come from and go to is not available. Nonetheless, the Center for Migrant Youth reported that majority of the young people (below 18 years of age) who migrated to Manila came from the provinces of Ilocos Norte in Region I, Ifugao in Region II, Bicol (no specific provinces mentioned in Region V), Davao in Region X and Cotabato in either Region XI or XII.⁵

Apart from NCR, Five other regions experienced increases in population due to migration during the period 1975—1980. Arranged in terms of net migration rate from highest to lowest, the five other leading recipient areas were:

- 1) Region X (Northern Mindanao) with a net migration rate of 1.54 percent over its 1975 population;
- 2) Region IV (Southern Tagalog) with a net migration rate of 1.31 percent;
- 3) Region XI (Southern Mindanao) with a net migration rate of 0.99 percent;
- 4) Region XII (Central Mindanao) with a net migration rate of 0.86 percent; and
- 5) Region III (Central Luzon) with a net migration rate of 0.23 percent.

It may be noted that the net migration rate of the second leading recipient region (Region X) was only 1.54 percent which was far below the 3.50 percent net migration rate of NCR during the same period (see Table 2).

On the other hand, seven (7) out of the thirteen (13) regions in the country suffered depopulation during the period 1975—1980. Regions VIII (Eastern Visayas) and V (Bicol Region), being two of the least developed regions located along the country's typhoon belt, were the leading depopulated areas with negative net migration rates of 2.73 percent and 1.95 percent, respectively. As shown in Table 2, migration also decreased the population of Region VII (Central Visayas) by 1.87 percent; of Region VI (Western Visayas) by 1.74 percent; of Region I (Ilocos Region) by 1.53 percent; of Region X (Western Mindanao) by 0.44 percent; and of Region II (Cagayan Valley) by 0.15 percent.

Table 2. Inter-Regional Migration in the Philippines:
1975-1980

Region	No. of In-migrants	No. of Out-migrants	Net Migration	
			Number ^(a)	Rate ^(b)
MCR	378,878	204,778	174,100	3.50
I (Ilocos)	35,588	87,578	(51,990)	(1.59)
II (Cagayan Valley & Cordillera)	33,259	36,208	(2,949)	(0.15)
III (Central Luzon)	101,844	92,255	9,589	0.23
IV (Southern Tagalog)	183,077	114,683	68,394	1.31
V (Bicol)	36,939	99,285	(62,346)	(1.95)
VI (West Visayas)	33,523	105,536	(72,013)	(1.74)
VII (Central Visayas)	51,757	114,987	(63,230)	(1.87)
VIII (Eastern Visayas)	27,605	98,489	(70,884)	(2.73)
IX (Western Mindanao)	28,141	37,205	(9,064)	(0.44)
X (Northern Mindanao)	92,323	56,621	35,702	1.54
XI (Southern Mindanao)	89,017	62,080	26,937	0.99
XII (Central Mindanao)	56,326	38,572	17,754	0.86

Notes: (a) This refers to the difference between the number of in-migrants and the number of outmigrants. Figures in parentheses have negative signs, denoting a higher outmigration rate compared with their migration rate in the region.

(b) Percent of the region's population in 1975.

Source : NEDA, Philippine Statistical Yearbook 1987.

There would have been less problems on internal migration in the Philippines if migration trends were primarily from the densely, populated to the sparsely populated areas. Table 3 however reveals that the National Capital Region which attracted most of the migrants from the other twelve regions had a population density of 9,317.4 persons per square kilometer in 1980, compared with Region VIII, the most depopulated region, which had a population density of only 130.6 persons per square kilometer during the same period. Moreover, the 60 cities in the Philippines to which most of the internal migrants within each region go had an average population density of 541.4 per square kilometer, more than thrice higher than the national average which was only 160.3 per square kilometer in 1980. Thus, internal migration aggravates congestion in the urban centers of the country while simultaneously depriving the rural areas of human resources especially, of the well-educated and intelligent people, not to mention the financial and other material resources that migrants from the rural areas bring along as they transfer to the urban centers.

Table 3. Population, Land Area and Density by Region and of Cities: 1980

Region	Population (In thousands)	Land Area (Sq. km.)	Density (Person/km. ²)
NCR - Metropolitan Manila Area	5,926	636.0	9,317.4
I Ilocos Region	3,541	21,568.4	164.2
II Cagayan Valley	2,215	36,403.1	60.9
III Central Luzon	4,802	18,230.8	263.4
IV Southern Tagalog	6,119	46,924.1	130.4
V Bicol Region	3,477	17,632.5	197.2
VI Western Visayas	4,526	20,223.2	223.8
VII Central Visayas	3,787	14,951.5	253.3
VIII Eastern Visayas	2,799	21,431.6	130.6
IX Western Mindanao	2,528	18,730.0	135.3
X Northern Mindanao	2,759	28,327.8	97.4
XI Southern Mindanao	3,347	31,692.9	105.6
XII Central Mindanao	2,271	23,293.1	97.5
Philippines	48,098	300,000.0	160.3
60 Cities	12,161	18,803.3	541.4

Note : Details may not add up to totals due to rounding.

Source : Philippine Statistical Yearbook 1987, NEDA.

2. Causes of Rural-to-Urban Migration

Studies have pointed out the stereotyped causes of outmigration, which are not less true in the Philippines. Internal migration in developing countries, is induced by similar factor and conditions occurring in migrants' places of origin and in their destinations. Said causes and conditions differ only in degree or extent of occurrence and in the number of migrants that are motivated by which causes or conditions.

2.1. Quest for Employment.

Implied in the preceding section that gives some information and figures on outmigration is the fact that those places, which a great number of migrants exit from, are generally poor; severe unemployment pervades in the area and the people seek some relief from their economic and financial hardships. The logical trend is the migrants' quest for job opportunities in the city.

Some facts and figures on rural labor force, rural unemployment and underemployment may be pertinent at this juncture of our discussions.

The Philippine rural labor force was estimated at about 13,381,000 persons, comprising about 62.2 percent of the country's total labor force in 1986. Owing primarily to the rural Filipino family tradition to involve all physically fit family members in the cultivation of farms, almost all (about 91.4 percent) of the rural people in the labor force were considered employed; thus, rural unemployment was estimated at only about 8.6 percent, much lower than the 17.1 percent estimated urban unemployment rate in 1986. It must be noted, however, that almost all of the employed persons in the rural areas are in the agricultural sector which usually provides only seasonal or part-time employment. Hence, as shown in Table 4, rural underemployment was very high, at about 42.4 percent compared to the 22.0 percent underemployment rate in the urban areas. Translated into rural numbers, there were about 5,184,248 underemployed in the rural areas in 1986 compared to only about 1,480,160 underemployed in the urban areas during the same period.

Table 4. Estimated Labor Force and Employment, Urban-Rural: 1986

	Urban		Rural	
	No.	%	No.	%
Labor Force	8,118,000	100.0	13,381,000	100.0
Employed	6,728,000	82.9	12,227,000	91.4
Unemployed	1,390,000	17.1	1,154,000	8.6
Underemployed ^(a)	1,480,160	22.0 ^(b)	5,184,248	42.4 ^(b)

Notes : ^(a) This refers to the employed persons working less than 40 hours a week.

^(b) Percent of employed persons.

Sources : Medium—Term Philippine Development Plan 1987—1992, pp. 24—26.

A similar pattern of under employment in the rural areas was also found by the survey on labor force and employment conducted by the National Census and Statistics Office (NCSO) in April 1986. The NCSO study reveals, among others, that about 5,452,000 or 44.3 percent of the employed persons in the rural areas worked for less than 40 hours during the week preceding the survey. As shown in Table 5, about 1,839,000 or about 14.9 percent of the employed persons in the rural areas even worked for only less than 20 hours, or less than half the required time for full-time employment.

Table 5. Number of Persons Employed by Number of Hours Worked During the Week Preceding the Survey in April 1986

Number of Hours Worked and Area	Number of Workers (Thousands)	Per Cent
<u>Philippines</u>	<u>19,024</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Less than 20 hours	2,363	12.4
20-29 hours	1,959	10.3
30-39 hours	2,688	14.1
40 hours and over	12,014	63.2
<u>Urban</u>	<u>6,705</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Less than 20 hours	524	7.8
20-29 hours	483	7.2
30-39 hours	551	8.2
40 hours and over	5,147	76.8
<u>Rural</u>	<u>12,319</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Less than 20 hours	1,839	14.9
20-29 hours	1,476	12.0
30-39 hours	2,137	17.4
40 hours and over	6,866	55.7

Note : (a) Details may not add up to totals due to rounding.

Source : "Labor Force in the Philippines: April 1986" NCSO'S Special Release, No. 580 (August 1, 1986).

Indeed, although rural people work full—time or even overtime during the peak agricultural season (planting and harvest seasons), most of them remain jobless in—between planting and harvest seasons. Some of them try to make both ends meet by fishing, hunting or raising poultry and livestock during the slack agricultural season, but when their secondary source of income would not enable them to feed their families before the harvest season comes, the logical trend is for them to seek better employment in the urban centers. Some of them may intend to work in the urban areas as only during the slack agricultural season. In many cases, however, they never return to the farm either because they have landed year—round jobs in the urban centers or are ashamed to admit to their relatives and friends that their job—hunting adventure in the city was a fiasco. Many of those who migrate to the city to look for employment end up as waiters/waitresses, factory workers, domestic servants, office janitors, motor vehicle drivers, and construction laborers. They may fit for higher job classes, but most of them land jobs that are not any higher than these mentioned.

2.2. Search for Relief from Poverty

Poverty prevails throughout the country, but this is more prevalent in the rural than in the urban areas. This has been the case in the Philippines despite the fact that the cost of living in the rural areas is relatively lower than in the urban areas.

The poverty line or the monthly income required to satisfy the minimum nutritional requirements and basic needs of a Filipino family of six was estimated in 1985 as follows:

- a) ₱2,382 for the whole country;
- b) ₱3,282 for the National Capital Region;
- c) ₱2,285 for the other twelve regions;
- d) ₱2,912 for the urban areas outside NCR; and
- e) ₱2,066 for the rural areas. ⁶

It may be noted that the poverty line for the rural areas was lower by ₱1,216 per month compared to that of the National Capital Region and by ₱846 per month compared to that of the National Capital Region and by ₱846 per month compared to those of the urban areas outside the National Capital Region. In spite of this, however, rural poverty incidence was higher at about 63.7 percent compared to that of the NCR (about 44.1 percent), which is an all—urban region, and those of the urban areas outside NCR (about 56.1 percent).

As shown in Table 6, about 3.8 million rural Filipino families were below the poverty line in 1985. Most of these poor rural families may have survived by borrowing food and money from their relatives, neighbors, friends and, in many cases, from money lenders who charge usurious interest rates. Those whose credit line is no longer good owing to their inability to pay previous loans may have also survived by making do with whatever they have, but only until some family members get sick, owing to inadequate nutritional intake, poor housing condition and other deprivation brought about by poverty. When worse comes to worst, poor rural families may, at first, seek financial help from their relatives and friends in the urban areas who, in turn, would later convince them to come to the city to either serve as household helpers for the middle and upper income families, to apply as salesgirls or waiters, or to try their luck in market vending and in other unskilled economic activities in the urban centers.

Table 6. Poverty in the Philippines: 1985

Areas	Magnitude of Families ^(a) (In thousands)	Incidence ^(b) (Percent)
Philippines	5,676	59.3
National Capital Region (NCR)	551	44.1
Outside NCR	5,126	66.6
Urban	1,325	56.1
Rural	3,800	63.7

Notes : (a) Refers to the total number of families below the poverty line.

(b) Percent of the total families in each areas.

Source : Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan 1987-1992, P.33.

2.3. Desire to Acquire Higher Education

The other reason for some people to migrate to the urban centers is the absence of institutions for higher education—there are not even vocational schools—in their hometowns. Those who finished secondary education may go to college or study a vocational course in Manila or in the capital town; that is, if there are no tertiary institutions or vocational schools in their home provinces. One negative consequence, of this trend is that very few of those people who have acquired higher education or vocational skills will ever go back to their home

provinces or hometowns and have their communities of origin and fellow townsmen benefit from the educational advancement or vocational training they have acquired.

2.4. Obsession with Life in the City

One of the strongest stimuli to outmigration is the obsession of some people in the villages to go to Manila and experience city life. They may give up a humble but relatively comfortable home in the farm in favor of living with relatives and friends in crowded squatter settlement areas or squalor and slum districts. Many of them get employed in the city but the chances are, they can only find simple menial jobs in factories, restaurants and family homes. In the case of some of the migrants, that obsession to find work and to live in the city might end up in a more tragic way—their landing a job at a massage parlor or a brothels' house.

The communication between the migrants and kinsfolk and friends may reinforce that desire on the part of the latter, or induce many others, to migrate to the city. In their correspondence, one side would be writing about the "excitement" of living in the city, while the other side would be telling the usual drab way of life in the rural town. The general tendency of migrants is to make a visit to their hometowns during a fiesta celebration or on their town patron saint's day, appear in their best clothes to their relatives and fellow townsmen, bring them some presents, and give the good impressions of city life.

Those who do not have jobs rarely correspond with their relatives and friends, and seldom visit their towns of origin simply because they cannot afford to make the visit or feel embarrassed to their kinsfolk and friends and so the unfavorable aspects of living in the city are not told.

In a study of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) on migrant youth in the Philippines, it is reported that high percentage of migrants below 18 years, majority of whom came from the northernmost and southernmost provinces of the country, suffer acutely from loneliness and culture shock. They are enticed by "job recruiters" to go to Manila with job offers, only to become victims of crime syndicates. To survive, they are forced to engage in prostitution, prohibited—drugs pushing, pick—pocketing and other crime—related jobs.⁷ But this factual situation on migrants in Manila is not known to the people in the rural areas; hence, they would not have that occasion to be warned and dissuaded from migrating to the city.

2.5. Peace and Order Situation in the rural areas

Insurgency, created by subversive elements, is one of the political problems that have been menacing the country, though not that extensively, during the last ten years or so. The followers and members of the rebel forces aiming to overthrow the Government, have infiltrated certain areas in the countryside, scaring away the inhabitants and forcing them to leave their home villages and seek refuge in the

poblacion, (center of the town) or in other municipalities. There are some towns that can be identified to be generally infested by subversive elements and are experiencing a significant rate of depopulation. Reports of the Department of National Defense and the Integrated National Police disclose the information that the peace and order situation in certain rural areas of the country has been causing the outmigration from said areas.

3. Effects of Depopulation.

Implied in the preceding discussion is the depopulation of the exit centers of migrants. The logical question that may be posed: What would be the impact or adverse effects of depopulation on the socio-economic development and progress of the provinces and municipalities affected?

Research studies have not come up with categorical and conclusive answers to the question as whether outmigration has accelerated or retarded the development of the rural areas. No definite correlation has been established between a high rate of outmigration and the underdevelopment of the outmigrated places. At best, research findings and observations point out both positive and negative effects of outmigration in the rural areas.

3.1. Effects on Local Development.

There is one definite observation regarding the consequences of outmigration and this is implied in the foregoing discussion: Outmigration areas lose a significant of the younger and better educated population. In the Philippines in other developing countries, young persons predominate among those leaving the rural areas. Most of the professionals and those with technical skills work in Manila and in highly urbanized cities—if they do not emigrate to the United States or work in the Middle East. The labor force left behind consists mostly of the over-aged, the sickly, the undereducated and unskilled. Losing the professional group and the skilled work force, the migrants' places of origin are thus deprived of the capable productive participation in local development of the outgoing migrants.^a

The loss of human capital is universally recognized as one serious repercussion of rural outmigration. Those who migrate are usually the better educated and they leave, they take with them the investments made on their education.

3.2. Effects on Agricultural Labor Force and Productivity

The outmigration of the rural work force may result in the reduction of agricultural productivity and impairment of local agricultural services. No causal relationship, however, has been finally established between the two variables, because of some other factors which may be placing strains on agricultural production and even be responsible for outmigration.

A few studies correlating outmigration and agricultural productivity suggest that

the negative consequence of outmigration on agricultural productivity may not be that drastic, since the agricultural communities seem to be able to adjust to the reduced labor force and minimize its unfavorable effects. In fact the speculation in other studies is that the negative effects of outmigration on agricultural productivity may be off-set by reduced pressures on land—resources, increased labor's marginal productivity, and possible increased labor force's per capita income.

Outmigration would have some effect on the labor force, changes in which would in turn affect the economic conditions in the place—origins of migrating people.⁹ If employment exists in the place, there is likely to be labor surplus, which may decrease as a result of outmigration. And with the reduction in labor force, per capita income might increase and so will wage levels. "Outmigration, therefore, may serve as an economic adjustment mechanism by reducing local labor surpluses and lessening competition for scarce labor."¹⁰ The counteracting hypothesis, however, is that as long as population continues to increase rapidly, labor surplus may not be reduced.

The theory of underemployment and agricultural productivity has its variation. According to Roenstein—Redan, reduced underemployment resulting from outmigration is essential productivity and income¹¹. But Berry and Soligo¹² theorize that a transfer of labor from agriculture to the urban sector does not lead to a rise in agricultural productivity, unless the remaining workers prefer work to leisure activities. They may not perceive the reduction in labor as an opportunity to augment their earnings by working longer hours and increasing their work productivity, in which case, output might even drop.

3.3. Migrants' Remittances to the Villages

One other positive effect of migrants' going to, and working in, the urban center is the flowback of some portions of their incomes to their families back home; this practice is widely pervasive among migrant Filipinos and their families in the rural areas. No specific figures can be obtained on the percentages of migrants' incomes that are remitted to their towns of origin. But one of the significant findings in studies made pertaining to internal migration in developing in South Asia, Africa and Latin America, is that migrants do make significant remittances to their home villages. This finding is buttressed by this author's observation that the sending of money by those working in Manila to their kinsfolk in the provinces is a common practice among Filipinos. Gathered in his random visits and interactions with rural folks who have family members living in Manila or working in the Middle East*, said observation, though without empirical data to base on, may be correlated with that typical Filipino tradition and value—the filial duty and responsibility of sons and daughters to support their parents—which may be demonstrated in the practice of urban in—migrants to give some financial help to

their families and relatives in the provinces.

Studies would show that remittances from migrants constitute a substantial contribution to rural household incomes. The flow of money back to rural families is indeed a good outcome of outmigration as it may represent a very modest return on the expenditure in the acquisition of higher and vocational education and working skills by the outmigrating young people, but the total remittances, no matter how fairly large they may amount to, could never be a means to recover agricultural productivity losses—if there are any—and losses in the projected earnings of the working sector. Besides, the remittances, as shown in the few studies made, are mainly used for basic household items, school—children's allowances and/or miscellaneous daily expenses and are hardly utilized —because of the minimal amount—for projects and activities that would help promote community development.

3.4. Retarded Regional and Balanced Development

One of the problems that the Philippines, as a developing country, is persistently faced is the wide disparity among the regions and provinces in the endowment of natural resources and in the level of financial and administrative capability. Some regions and province are endowed with vast tracts of fertile agricultural land, rich fishing grounds and abundant natural resources, while others, aside from their deprivation of nature's bounty, suffer from natural calamities and are frequented almost every year by heavy typhoon. Wholesome local areas are considerably rich, financially, others can hardly afford to finance the basic services that they need. Partly due to this uneven distribution of natural endowments and disparate levels of financial capacity a balanced and regional development is difficult to achieve in the regions affected.

As mentioned earlier, it is the relatively poorer areas which the greater number of exiting migrants come from. And it is in these provinces, consequently depopulated, that development should be accelerated. Contributing to the regional development imbalance would be the outmigration of the people, especially those belonging to the productive labor force, whose skills and abilities, efforts and potentials could be mobilized towards regional development.

* In his traveling to various provinces and municipalities of the country to organize and supervises the conduct of local administration seminars, this author took the opportunity of visiting and interviewing families with migrant members in Manila.

These places being referred to are usually not given priority when it comes to the selection of beneficiary localities under a central government program policy of granting financial aids on the basis of the development potentials of recipient local

units and their prospective capacity to utilize fully and effectively the assistance given. The Philippine Government may be perceived to advocate and apply what regional planning experts term as the high-in-put investment pay-off strategy in rural development, the essence of which is the channeling of greater technical and financial aid to a rural district that would ensure full and effective utilization of the assistance, rather than to a very poor or undeveloped area that would be completely at the receiving end, with no prospect of productive utilization of such aid.

4. Philippine Local Administration and Some Relevant Aspects

Following the presentation of the salient effects and impact of outmigration and consequent depopulation, the logical issue to be examined is how the government, particularly the local government, can and should respond to the problems of the depopulated areas, for, indeed, the role of the local government in the development of said areas is vital, its participation, imperative.

In order to have a clearer perception of that role and participation, it may be relevant at this juncture to analyze briefly some of the significant features of local administration in the Philippines that have relevance to the subject focus of this paper.

As political subdivisions of the state, Philippine local governments are vested with power and authority to administer certain public services. Limited, though, is the devolution of powers to the local governments in that the major public service and programs, are undertaken jointly by the central and local governments, if fully and solely by the former. In fact, the present clamor of local authorities is for a more substantive and meaningful decentralization of powers and functions, for it is only the inherent local and relatively minor services, e.g., refuse collection and disposal, beautification of the town plaza, construction of public markets, that the local governments have the complete authority and responsibility to manage and supervise. Most of the public services and governmental functions are administered by central and local governments on a partnership and shared-responsibility basis. The lopsided distribution of powers and functions between the central and local governments, with the center getting, of course, the heavier scale would have some implications on the capacity of the local units to participate in an endeavor to address the issue at hand—the development of the depopulated rural areas.

The national government's assuming the greater responsibility for major services like education, health, agriculture, industrialization, public works, commerce and trade, population control, labor and employment, includes the appointment, salary payment and supervision of personnel and directing and monitoring the related projects and activities therewith. Under this intergovernmental relationship, local authorities tend to rely upon the initiative and effort of the national government in

pursuing development in the rural areas, which reliance, however, may be counteracted by the tendency of the central government, as stated earlier, to remain indifferent to the depopulated exit areas and rather be more concerned with the overpopulated entry areas.

The other handicap of local governments is that, with their very limited financial resources. Most local units depend heavily upon national government financial aids. About 60—65% of their total income is derived from internal revenue allotment shares (shares from the collection of national taxes), budgetary aids, grants and loans from the national government; only about 35—40% is generated from local revenue sources and local earnings. It would be difficult for example, to expect the local governments, in general, to finance local public enterprises to provide jobs that would induce the urban migrants to return to their places of origin. The local governments cannot either afford to establish vocational schools or sponsor skills training for the jobless, in order to keep the inhabitants from outmigrating.

This central—local relationship, notwithstanding, should not hinder, either the central or local governments from adopting policies, undertaking programs and initiating activities, designed to enhance the development of the depopulated areas.

5. Policies and Programs in Response to the Problems of Outmigration and Depopulation

Considering the strategic position of local authorities in the governmental hierarchy, which facilitates the delivery of services to the people and, too, considering their solid awareness of the problems of the local areas, they are expected and bound to be actively involved in responding to the problems of outmigration and depopulation. But in this formidable task, the participation of local governments is seriously constrained, as explained above, by their limited powers and meager financial resources.

The laws, policies, and programs geared towards the development of the depopulated rural areas may be initiated both at the center and at the local levels, in which necessarily both the exit and entry local units are involved.

The Government should by all means continue directing its efforts to arresting the conditions in the urban areas and meeting the problems of urbanization. But it should be equally and simultaneously concerned with program strategies to make rural living more attractive, "keep the people in the farm", induce them to stay in their hometowns or home provinces, and at the same time discourage their movement to the Metropolitan Region, and in turn encourage those who migrated to the urban centers to return to their places of origin.

5.1. Improvement of Conditions in the Rural Areas

First and basic of government policies and programs geared towards enhancing the development of the depopulated regions would be on the improvement of living conditions in the rural areas. The Government has enunciated a number of policies, formulated a number of various programs, which include: increasing agricultural production through the introduction of new crop varieties, dissemination of improved farm technology, extension of agricultural services, etc; upgrading the delivery of rural health services, through the deployment of more health workers in the villages, promotion of rural sanitation, maternal—child health care and family planning; establishment of rural cooperatives; construction of farm—to—market roads; and building of pre—fabricated schoolhouses. One significant attempt of the Government to improve conditions in the agricultural sector is the undertaking of the comprehensive agrarian reform program, the obvious objective of which is to provide “land for the landless” to enable the farmers to own the lands that they till and release them from tenancy bondage.

Noteworthy are the efforts of the government to improve community life in the rural areas which are manifested in the formulation and implementation of national and local government policies on mobilizing people’s participation in local administration and development, involving the inhabitants in barangay affairs, developing community leadership, and encouraging the formation of village associations, with the end in view to molding their village consciousness and attachment to rural life. No figures would show whether or not these policies and programs of the government have contributed at all to controlling the outmigration in and depopulation of certain areas of the country; one thing is certain, though: the operationalization of the above—mentioned policies and programs is extensive only in selected regions of the country, is hardly taking place in other regions.

The correlation of data and information with actual conditions may be drawn in the case of the areas—such as the Eastern Visayas and the Bicol Region—that are least developed and have comparatively high rates of outmigration and depopulation. Observations point out that in these areas, the above—mentioned governmental policies and programs to improve rural conditions are not actively pursued.

By all means, therefore, the government both at the national and local level should not relent, but rather exert even much more intensive and extensive effort, in the pursuit of such policies and programs.

5.2. Creation of Jobs

One of the most effective strategies for inducing people to remain in their hometowns would be to provide employment opportunities, search for which is one of the reasons for their migration to the urban centers.

The establishment in the countryside of the branch plants of some industrial

companies and manufacturing concerns has generated jobs for a considerable number of the rural population.

The dispersal of industries, which would create jobs for the rural sector, has been taking place in certain areas of the country. A number of transnational corporations have decentralized their operations by establishing their branch plants in the countryside. Some of the industries that have been put up in Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao are cement factories, steel manufacturing corporations, flour mills, food products manufacturing companies, etc. Definitely, the establishment of these industries, outside the Metropolitan center has helped in controlling outmigration, with the provision of employment for a large sector of the populace. But it cannot be said that the dispersal of these industries would be a direct result of the industrialof the government.

What may be considered a distinct accomplishment of the government on the matter of employment generation outside urban centers is the authorization and licensing of corporations to operate in designated areas of the country, without the burden of paying any tax of whatever form. The granting of tax exemption privileges is intended to serve as an incentive mechanism for the corporation to locate itself, put up its operations at certain designated places in the country, and help accelerate development in those areas. Operating under this arrangement with the government are the Semirara Coal Corporation in Western Visayas and the Geothermal Plant in the Bicol Region, to cite just one or two examples.

This corporate policy of attraction of the national government has created both positive and negative implications for the local governments. While a number of the people in the areas are benefiting from the corporations in terms of the jobs being provided, the local governments concerned are being deprived of sizable amounts of revenues—especially from realty taxation—that they are supposed to realize, had the corporations not been granted the tax exemption privileges.

Another noteworthy program of the Government to generate job opportunities outside Metro Manila is the "export—processing zone" enterprise introduced in the province of Bataan. The program is also projected to encourage people to move to smaller urban areas.

A large portion of Mariveles, Bataan has been declared by law, a free port zone where private developers, industrialists, and export—businessmen, are encouraged to locate their factories and industrial and business operations, with the assistance of the Government via tax—exemption, road construction and provision of infrastructure facilities. Foreign firms have also been invited to put up their businesses in the free port zone, where the goods produced are of export quality. Another form of attraction to the zone is the government regulation discouraging land speculation to control the escalation of real estate prices in the area.

That the program has generated jobs for many, may be asserted as a fact, but

that it will succeed as a "counter-magnet" to divert the migration flow to Metropolitan Manila and other urban centers cannot be assuredly anticipated, considering that Mariveles is only a few hours away from Manila. With the convenient transportation network, the free port zone may even reinforce the metropolitan expansion of Manila.¹³

In the government endeavor to create jobs in the rural areas, local governments for their part, have put up or assisted family entrepreneurs in putting up handicraft and small-scale business enterprises in certain localities. Cottage industry is common and very lucrative in certain parts of the country. The local governments can help in various ways to promote and make viable handicraft business and the cottage industry. The local governments can take lead in the organization of cooperatives that would pool the financial resources of the shareholders to raise the necessary capital and insure their capacity for obtaining loans, if needed. In some provinces, e.g., Pangasinan and Bulacan, the local governments assist in the distribution and marketing of the products, promotion of the handicraft business, and holding of trade fairs, where the products are displayed to attract prospective buyers.

In the provinces of Bulacan, Pangasinan and La Union where the cottage industry and handicraft business (e.g., blanket and basket weaving, woodcraft, and making of handbags) are thriving, the municipalities visited disclosed low and minimal rate of outmigration.

5.3. Livelihood Projects

In line with the government's program to create one million new jobs this year, the Department of Labor has recently launched a number of livelihood projects in Region I (Ilocos Region in the North) and Region V (Bicol Region). One of the projects being undertaken in La Union deals with the growing of mushrooms and is expected to benefit the members of the Mushroom Growers Association in that province.

The livelihood projects launched in Albay and Camarines Sur of Region VI involve handicraft making and palay trading, the latter having sugar plantation workers as its object beneficiaries. Managing the projects is the Rural Workers (BRW) of the Department of Labor.

5.4. Creation of Countryside Business Enterprises

A significant milestone towards a nation-wide generation of job opportunities in the countryside is expected to take place with the final enactment of the bill "Kalakalan 20," (Business 20) currently being deliberated on in Congress which, from many indicators, will most likely get the approval of both the Senate and House of Representatives. The proposed legislation, "Kalakalan 20"—so called for its provision of involving not more than 20 workers — which provides for the granting of

incentives to countryside business enterprises (CBE) addresses the urgent concerns of promoting investment, generating employment opportunities and increasing the productivity and income of the people in the rural areas.¹⁴ Related to the theme of this paper, the bill also aims to disperse over-concentrated industries from urban areas to the countryside, by enhancing the growth of the CBE's through incentives and minimal regulations by the Government.¹⁵

According to the proposed act, "any business enterprise which is not engaged solely in the business of retailing, wholesaling, or trading of commodities, products or merchandise and whose assets at the time of its initial registration do not exceed ₱500,000. whose number of workers does not exceed twenty (20) but not less than five (5) at any time and whose location of business operations is in the countryside" is entitled to exemption from certain taxes and government regulations specifically provided in the Act.¹⁶

In the implementation of the Act, the local governments will play a very significant role in that the Provincial Boards and City Councils, so the Bill provides, shall set minimum wage rates and other labor standards for the CBE's. If the wage levels set by the local councils would be high enough, the skilled workers in the community may be attracted to work for the CBE and opt to remain in their hometowns rather than look for jobs in the city. Thus, indirectly the local government will be helping to control outmigration and depopulation and contributing to accelerated countryside development.

The empowerment of local governments to determine the wage levels and set forth other labor standards and the complementary support and cooperation that may have to be extended by local authorities to small-scale business entrepreneurs will strengthen the reciprocal relationship of the two sectors, which in turn will stimulate the creation of more and more countryside business enterprises.

5.5. Dispersal of State Educational Institutions

A significant program of the Government in the field of education, that has some relevance to the theme of this paper is the dispersal of educational institutions throughout the country. The last twenty years, the Government has pursued the policy of dispersing state institutions offering tertiary and technical or vocational education, locating them in regional centers, transforming the technical institutes into colleges, and the colleges into universities.

Leading the state colleges and universities is the University of the Philippines System, which has four autonomous branches: U.P. in Diliman, Quezon City (main campus); UP in Manila; U.P. in Los Banos (Region VI—Southern Tagalog) and U.P. in the Visayas (Region VI—Western Visayas.) There are also U.P. extension units—which are not autonomous—located in Baguio, Pangasinana, Cebu and Leyte.

Excluding the University of the Philippines, there are 61 state colleges and 17 state universities located in the different regions of the country.

<u>State Educational Institutions</u>		
	<u>Colleges</u>	<u>Universities</u>
National Capital Region (Metropolitan Manila)	4	2 (plus U.P. Quezon City and U.P. Manila)
Region I	3 (plus U.P. Extension in Baguio and U.P. Extension in Clark Field, Pampanga)	5
Region II	3	2
Region III	7	1
Region IV	10	(U.P. in Los Baños)
Region V	3	1
Region VI	6	1 (plus U.P. Visayas)
Region VII	3	
Region VIII	8 (plus U.P. Extensions in Cebu & Leyte)	
Region IX	5	1
Region X	4	1
Region XI	1	1
Region XII	4	1
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Total	61	17

The establishment of state colleges and universities in the various regions throughout the country could be another government strategy to keep the people, especially the young ones, from leaving their home provinces or hometowns and going to other urban towns to get college education or study vocational courses. But this hypothetical assumption does not seem to be buttressed by the simple figures presented in the table. Eastern Visayas (Region VIII) which appears to have a relatively high rate of outmigration or depopulation has the second biggest number (9)

of state institutes and colleges. (A parenthetical note in the case of Eastern Visayas: The proliferation of state colleges in the region took place during the time the Marcoses were in power—the former First Lady Imelda Marcos comes from Leyte a province of the Eastern Visayas Region.) Western Visayas (Region VI) has also a relatively high of outmigration and there is quite a number of colleges (6), plus two universities in the Region. On the other hand, the Mindanao Regions (Regions I, II, and III) have relatively high rates of immigration and yet have less number of colleges and universities, five each in Regions X and X II and two in Region XI

These trends in particular regions may be explained by the tendency of some people to leave their hometowns after completing their studies and try to look for employment in Manila or in other cities. The Mindanao Regions present another kind of migration phenomenon: The influx of a sizable number of migrants in Mindanao is caused by the desire of families from the Luzon Region to pioneer in land acquisition and possibly obtain concessions to cultivate idle public lands in the Region. It is not urban attractions, like employment opportunities, educational institutions, modern style of living, that invite the heavy in—flow of migrants, so that the educational—institutions factor cannot be interrelated with internal migration, as far as Mindanao is concerned.

6. Reinforcing the Counteracting Efforts of the "Receiving" Local Units

The efforts of the national and local governments to keep the rural folk from outmigrating to the urban centers should be complemented with government efforts to enjoin the urban migrants to return to the provinces and towns they came from. This problem of outmigration and depopulation, may have to be tackled from the perspectives of both the "sending" local area (place of origin) and the "receiving" local unit (area of destination)

Pointed out in the introductory section is the emphasis being given on coping with the problems of population congestion, slum and squatter settlements, unemployment, etc. resulting from the heavy inflow of migrants. What logically follows in the subsequent portions of the paper is a discussion of the policies and programs for the depopulation of the areas that migrants exit from. We may have to look into some other possible methods of reinforcing the counteracting efforts of the receiving local unit.

6.1. Enjoying Urban Migrants to Return to Their Places of Origin

The strategy adopted by one of the municipalities of Metropolitan Manila, Makati, to help in enjoining hundred—thousands of migrants in the Metropolis to return to their places of origin is worth presenting. Called Balik Probinsya (Return

to the Province), the program has been designed by the Municipal Government of Makati to assist "unsuccessful" migrants (those who did not make good or did not realize their expectations in the city) who would like to return to their native provinces, but could not because they have no transportation money.

Makati is one of the local units (4 cities and 13 municipalities) constituting the National Capital Region, Metropolitan Manila, with a land area of about 30 square kilometers and an estimated population of 438,547 (according to latest census). The municipality has a population density of about 14,687 persons per square kilometer and in terms of population density ranks fourth among the 1,513 municipalities and first in the National Capital Region which, indicates that the municipality is one of the leading migrants destination centers.

Makati is the richest municipality in the country, with its income far exceeding the income criterion prescribed in the Local Government Code for the conversion of a municipality into a highly urbanized city.* It is one of the country's biggest trading centers, the leading financial and business district in the Metropolitan Region and the site of the residential enclaves of the Filipino elite.

This socio-economic and financial profile of the municipality gives the general impression that most of the Makati residents belong to the wealthy class and that unemployment problem is minimal because job opportunities abound, which impression, attracts a heavy inflow of migrants from the provinces. But the factual situation is that the majority of the Makati families belong to the lower-middle and lowest-income groups—about 70 percent of the employed Makati residents are holders of blue-collar jobs most of whom are service workers, rank-and-file employees of business firms, transport and machine operators and laborers. According to a 1986 report of the Municipal Department of Social Services there are about 2,882 families living in improvised dwellings and about 1,834 households in squatter settlement areas.

These actual social and economic conditions in Makati may be correlated with the relatively high rate of immigration in the municipality which the local government has to deal with.

The Balik Probinsya program aims to lessen overcrowding, minimize vagrancy and reduce pauperism in Makati by encouraging or enjoining migrants to return to their places of origin with financial assistance from the municipal government. The beneficiaries who are mostly the indigents, vagrants and beggars, are given money to pay for their transportation, either by land or sea, to the places they are going back to, and for their meals on the way.

As it forms part of the municipal government's social services program, the Balik Probinsya program is implemented by the social services department which is directly under the office of the local chief executive and is financed out of the municipal government's income. Those who would like to avail of the assistance

must apply for it with the Social Services Department whose senior social workers staff would carefully screen the applicants and recommend those deserving to the municipal mayor.

The program has its variations in similar programs of the national government, other urban local governments and non-governmental organizations, which are all aimed with one objective—enjoining urban migrants to return to their places of origin.

6.2. Discouraging the Entry of Migrants
to the City

Some measures have been tried by the city governments of Jakarta (Indonesia) and Manila, to limit the entry of migrants to the city, the success of which could not be fully ascertained in view of the extreme difficulty, if not impossibility, of implementing them and enforcing the regulations relative to such measures. The implementation became replete with attempts of violation, circumvention and bribery.

There was this decree passed in the 1970's by the Governor of Jakarta, Ali Sadikin, attempting to limit the entry of more migrants by requiring a migrant to register with the city government and deposit an amount double the equivalent of his/her transportation fare to Jakarta. The migrant is allowed to remain in Jakarta, if he succeeds in getting a job and has some place to stay in. If after six months from the time of registration, he cannot prove to the authorities that he has a job and a home, he is given a one-way ticket, and compelled to go back, to his place of origin.¹⁷

What the city government of Manila did some years ago was an indirect method of discouraging the entry of migrants to the city. It introduced a program to provide free secondary education to city residents—but only to bona-fide residents of Manila. Migrants and transients were not entitled to the free education privilege and had to pay a neat amount of matriculation for getting admission into any of the city schools of Manila. As expected, the city government was flooded with hundreds of applications, thick with required supporting documents and there was a tremendous rise in enrollment in the city schools. The negative result was that many of the applicants had to resort to dishonest and irregular means, in order to have their applications approved and the city school authorities had extreme difficulty in verifying the authenticity of applicants' claim that they were residents of Manila.

* The Local Government Code provides income and population criteria for the creation of provinces, cities, highly urbanized cities, and municipalities and the transformation of any of these political subdivisions to a higher class. A

municipality to become a city or a city to become a highly urbanized must conform with the levels population and income prescribed in the Code. With its population and income, the Municipality of Makati is more than eligible for cityhood, but its conversion to a city or a city or a highly urbanized city must be effected through the process of legislation.¹⁸

7. Conclusion and Recommendation

It can be gleaned from the preceding discussions that most of the policies and programs in response to outmigration and depopulation are initiated and/or administered the national government. The participation of local governments in the implementation of these policies and programs is minimal, if the delineation of powers and functions and formal authority relationship are observed. Local governments, however, could strengthen their participation by taking the initiative of identifying some aspects of a development program, for which they may provide additional manpower and material resources as well as counterpart funding. But not many local authorities would go beyond what is specifically provided in the law or policy governing the administration of certain public services. Their tendency is —to use a cliché —to follow the path of least resistance.

What is needed is an official and written policy or direction specifying the functions they are to perform. The other serious problem of local governments is their lack of financial resources to support the delivery of rural development services and to put up local public enterprises and under take projects that would create jobs and generate employment opportunities. Local authorities are also handicapped with their limited technical and administrative capacity for planning and implementing local development programs.

To expand and intensify the role and participation of local governments in the development of the depopulated areas, some general recommendations may be considered.

7.1. Devolution of Powers and Decentralization of Certain Services

Local governments should be granted more substantive powers to exercise in the delivery of public services at the local level and in the implementation of programs such as those above —identified to cope with the problems of outmigration and depopulation in certain areas of the country. Corollary to the granting of more powers is the decentralization of selected major governmental functions. Research studies of the Local Government Center have identified some aspects of major governmental services like agriculture, health, public works, community development, trade and commerce that may be devolved to local governments. The devolution and decentralization process could serve as a stimulus to the active and energetic participation of local authorities in the given endeavor to

develop the depopulated areas.

7.2. Increasing the Financial and Administrative
Capacity of Local Governments

Reinforcing the decentralization of services would be the corresponding transfer of reasonably substantial national government funds and technical manpower to the local governments. In addition, the local units should take energetic effort to generate more financial resources, thus increase their financial capacity, by fully utilizing their taxing powers, intensifying their revenue collection, and exploiting other potential sources of income.

7.3. Balanced Regional Development

It is generally observed that the regions (Eastern Visayas and Bicol) with the highest rates of depopulation are the areas where the least developed provinces are located, which to a certain extent suffer from neglect by the national government in terms of the magnitude of technical assistance and volume of financial and material aids being provided for the development of said areas.

The neglect of the depopulated and least developed areas may partly be the result of the consideration of two regional development policy objectives: one is to direct development assistance to the depressed areas, which are in dire need of the aid, or to direct the development to the not-so depressed areas, which have the potentials for maximizing the benefits that may derive from the assistance. The general observation is the seeming trend towards the adoption and pursuit of the second development assistance policy which, for administrative efficiency reasons, may yield more fruitful results.

While the central government may continue to channel a great deal of assistance to the areas which have demonstrated their capacity to maximize the technical and grants-in-aid, the most heavily depressed —the depopulated areas—should not be neglected, but rather should be given equal priority concern. On their part, the local governments in these areas, should develop the technical and administrative capacity to utilize judiciously and profitably the financial aids and commodity assistance granted.

ENDNOTES

¹Simmons Alas et. al., Social Change and Internal Migration: Review of Research Findings from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 1977, p.32.

²National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA), Philippine Statistical Yearbook 1987. Manila: NEDA, 1987.

³Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Situation of Children and Women in the Philippines. Manila: GRP-UNICEF, 1987, P.6.

⁴The Philippines is divided into 13 administrative regions (National Capital Region (NCR), Region I —Ilocos, Region II —Cagayan Valley & Cordillera, Region III —Central Luzon, Region IV—Southern Tagalog, Region V —Bicol, Region VI—West Visayas, Region VII—Central Visayas, Region VIII—Eastern Visayas, Region IX—Western Mindanao, Region X—Northern Mindanao, Region XI—Southern Mindanao, and Region XII—Central Mindanao.)

⁵UNICEF, op. cit., p.78.

⁶Medium—Term Philippine Development Plan 1987—1992, NEDA, p.33.

⁷UNICEF, Situation of Children and Women in the Philippines, Manila: GRP—UNICEF, 1982, p.78.

⁸Similar outmigration situation exists in Latin America, according to Simmons, op. cit., p.97.

⁹This theoretical hypothesis on outmigration labor surplus is clearly expounded on in Simmons, et al, ibid., p. 33.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 96.

¹¹Sally Findlay, Planning for Internal Migration: A Review of Issues and Policies in Developing Countries, U.S. Government Printing Office: Washington D.C., 1977, p. 49.

¹²Ibid.

¹³This view is expressed in a working paper for the final conference on "Rural—Urban Migrants and Metropolitan Development," held in Turkey, 1973, under the sponsorship of Intermet and IDRC of Canada.

¹⁴House Bill No. 17848, "An Act Granting Incentives to Countryside Business Enterprises," Congress of the Philippines, January, 1989.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷This case in Jakarta was cited in a working paper for the final conference on "Rural—Urban Migrants and Metropolitan Development," op.cit.

¹⁸This was also cited in the working paper for the final conference on "Rural—Urban Migrants and Metropolitan Development," ibid.

philippines

The Administrative Regions of the Government

LUZON ISLANDS

Region I - Ilocos

Abra
Benguet
Ilocos Norte
Ilocos Sur
La Union
Mt. Province
Pangasinan

Region II - Cagayan

Batanes
Cagayan
Ifugao
Isabela
Kalinga-Apayao
Nueva Viscaya
Quirino

Region III - Central Luzon

Bataan
Bulacan
Nueva Ecija
Pampanga
Tarlac
Zambales

Region IV - Southern Tagalog

Aurora
Batangas
Cavite
Laguna
Marikinaque
Occidental Mindoro
Palawan
Quezon
Rizal
Romblon

Region V - Bicol

Albay
Camarines Norte
Camarines Sur
Catanduanes
Masbate
Sorsogon

Region VI - Western Visayas

Aklan
Antique
Negros Occidental
Capiz
Iloilo



Region VII - Central Visayas

Bohol
Cebu
Negros Oriental
Siquijor

Region VIII - Eastern Visayas

Eastern Samar
Leyte
Northern Samar
Southern Samar

Region IX - Western Mindanao

Basilan
Sulu
Zamboanga del Norte
Zamboanga del Sur
Tawi-Tawi

Region X - Northern Mindanao

Agusan del Norte
Agusan del Sur
Bukidnon
Cagayan
Misamis Occ.
Misamis Or.
Surigao del Norte

Region XI - Southern Mindanao

Davao del Norte
Davao del Sur
Davao Oriental
South Cotabato
Surigao del Sur

Region XII - Central Mindanao

Lanao del Norte
Lanao del Sur
Maguindanao
North Cotabato
Sultan Kudarat