

Raison d' Etre of the Exclusive Habitation System - a Comparative Case Analysis

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ABSTRACT

A unique residential subdivision style, the Exclusive Habitation System (EHS) can be considered as a result of some unique features of the Philippines. This research is based on a global survey about the existence of similar system of EHS in other parts of the world. It aims to pursue the reasons why they use this system. This research revealed an interesting aspect that the culture, history and the economic conditions have an influence on the existence of EHS.

1. INTRODUCTION

Background/Rationale

EHS is a unique residential system in the world. It is widely seen in Metro Manila (MM). Its development was started by the Ayala Corporation with Forbes Park in 1948 after World War II, and has progressed and continued to spread at a very fast pace to suburban areas.

At the last annual conference of the TSSP in 1993, the study team consisted of Mr. Nishioka, Ms. Manahan and Mr. Garcia presented a paper on this system. It explained the present status of residential subdivisions in MM according to the HLURB (Housing and Land Use Regulatory Board) inventory, and considered the reasons for the existence of this system in the Philippines from legal, historical and political viewpoints. It also mentioned the features of road network and examined the merits and demerits of this system from transportation perspective.¹⁾

Objectives

This paper presents the progress of this study and aims to establish the reasons for the existence of EHS in the Philippines according to two additional surveys: global survey and local government survey conducted by the NCTS from late 1993 to early 1994.

Outline of This Paper

This paper consists of five chapters including the introduction. Chapter 2 contains the updated present status of residential subdivision using the Housing and Land Use Regulatory Board

(HLURB) and Municipality/City data.

Chapter 3 presents the two phases of global surveys on similar systems as EHS in the Philippines. This was conducted by the NCTS.

Chapter 4 discusses the reasons why such a unique residential system exists in the Philippines according to the analysis of information gathered from the global survey.

Chapter 5 contains the conclusion of this report.

2. Present status of EHS in the Philippines

The paper presented last year shows the basic data on residential subdivisions in MM such as the number and average lot size for each of the seventeen Municipalities and Cities from HLURB registration data. Since the HLURB was established in 1975, most of the information available were on subdivisions planned and developed after 1976. NCTS gathered this information to subdivisions developed before 1975 by contacting development planning offices of local government.

Compared with the number of subdivisions in the previous paper, there are 356 additional subdivision data this year. These planning offices not only added the number of subdivisions but also checked the accuracy of the original database and added other information like exclusiveness, transportation conditions, etc. Table-1 shows the partial results of the survey.

Surprisingly, about half of existing residential subdivisions in MM are exclusive or have controlled access, and the inner roads are managed privately.

Table-1 Residential Subdivision Data by Municipalities/Cities in Metro Manila

	Number of Subdivisions	Percentage of EHS	Ave. Lot Size (m ²)
Caloocan	229	37.6%	284
Las Pinas	219	46.1%	279
Makati	9	88.9%	1,153
Malabon	25	76.0%	386
Mandaluyong	23	73.9%	135
Manila	39	15.4%	107
Marikina	151	1.3%	354
Muntinlupa	86	94.2%	394
Novotas	2	0.0%	-
Paranaque	210	79.0%	316
Pasay	6	16.7%	97
Pasig	131	27.5%	362
Pateros	2	100.0%	201
Quezon	489	41.5%	475
San Juan	11	100.0%	209
Taguig	26	60.7%	442
Valenzuela	126	69.0%	238
Total	1784	48.9%	367

Note: The average lot size given in this table was calculated by simple averaging computation of total land areas in subdivisions and total number of lots.

In terms of the distribution of EHS, it can be noticed that the share of EHS in Makati and in municipalities which are connected to Makati by major trunk roads (Muntinlupa, Paranaque,

3. Global Survey on EHS

To study the reasons for the existence of EHS in the Philippines, the NCTS conducted two types of international surveys on similar residential systems in other countries as defined previously.

Survey phase 1

The first survey involved Japanese MOC (Ministry of Construction) and MOC-related organization officers working abroad as JICA experts or embassy staff, asking about the existence of similar system as EHS in their countries of assignment or their neighboring countries. Forty (40) questionnaires were sent to thirty (30) countries in November 1993, and twenty-three (23) were sent them back to the NCTS within two (2) months. The result is shown in Table-2.

Table-2 Global Survey for EHS in 1994 (Phase 1)

COUNTRY	Existence	Note
Australia	No	
Brazil	No	Guarded individually
Columbia	Yes	Worsening security cause using small size exclusive residential area recently.
France	No	
Honduras	Yes	"Case Bola" in Tegucigalpa. There are also in the Republic of Dominicans.
Indonesia	Yes	Some were developed recently, but without barriers.
Iran	Yes	Some foreigners' settlement
Kenya	No	Some racial residential areas, but not exclusive
Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	Yes	
Malaysia	No	Exclusive townhouses only
Myanmar	No	
Nepal	No	
Panama	Yes	Remarkably after the US invasion in 1988
Republic of Korea	No	Exclusive apartments area only
Singapore	No	Exclusive apartments area only
Tanzania	No	
Thailand	Yes	They developed MJD method recently.
Turkey	No	Good security.
USA(Washington DC.)	No	Generally they mind to avoid passing through traffic.
USA(California)	Yes	They call it "Gated Community". Gates are managed by security guards or residents.
Venezuela	Yes	Company owned house for its employees.

This survey brought us two interesting conclusion as follows;

- 1) Many Muslim and Latin countries have a similar system as EHS.
- 2) There are few countries in Asia and Africa with EHS. It is expanding to Asia recently.

As an example of the first conclusion, there are many Gated Communities in the west coast of the USA which was historically a part of Spanish colony, though there are few in the east coast.

Survey phase 2

To confirm these ideas, it was necessary to survey other countries to increase samples. The second survey was conducted from February to April 1994. This was by telephone interview with foreign officers of embassies located in Metro Manila. Respondents were asked about existence in their countries of the same system as EHS, the age of the system and the residents social class. There are seventy-four (74) embassies in Metro Manila and approximately fifty (50) responses were received from them.

After merging this additional information with the former one, there is a total of sixty (60) countries as source of information about EHS. Table-3 shows the final results with other reference information for analysis.

Table-3 Global Survey on EHS in 1994 (Phases 1+2)

Continent	Country	Existence	Old/new	Murder rate (1/100,000)	GNP/cap. (\$1,000)	Major Religion
1 Asia	Bangladesh	No		-	0.20	Muslim
2	China	No		1.9	0.73	-
3	India	Yes	10-20 y.	3.5	0.35	Hindu
4	Indonesia	Yes	-10- y.	0.9	0.56	Muslim
5	Japan	No		1.0	25.43	Buddhism
6	Korea	No		1.5	5.40	-
7	Malaysia	No		1.9	2.34	Muslim
8	Myanmar	No		4.9	-	Buddhism
9	Nepal	No		2.2	0.17	Hindu
10	Philippines	Yes	50 y.	30.9	0.73	Catholic
11	Pakistan	Yes	New	5.6	0.38	Muslim
12	Singapore	No		1.5	12.31	Buddhism
13	Sri Lanka	No		11.6	0.47	Buddhism
14	Thailand	Yes	10-20 y.	9.5	2.34	Buddhism
15	Vietnam	No		-	0.21	Buddhism
16 America	USA	Yes	Old	9.4	21.70	Protestant
17	Brazil	No		-	2.68	Catholic
18	Canada	Yes	Old	5.7	20.45	Catholic
19	Columbia	Yes	Old	40.5	1.24	Catholic
20	Cuba	No		3.2	2.97	Catholic
21	Dominican Republic	Yes	-	11.9	1.94	Catholic
22	Honduras	Yes	Old	9.4	0.59	Catholic
23	Mexico	Yes	Old	7.3	2.49	Catholic
24	Panama	Yes	Old	6.1	1.83	Catholic
25	Venezuela	Yes	Old	9.1	2.56	Catholic
26 Africa	Egypt	No		1.6	0.60	Muslim
27	Kenya	No		4.2	0.37	Catholic
28	Libya	No		2.9	0.45	Muslim
29	Nigeria	No		0.2	0.27	-
30	Tanzania	No		6.4	0.12	-
31 Oceania	Australia	No		4.5	17.08	-
32	New Zealand	No		4.1	12.68	-
33	Papua New Guinea	No		-7.9	0.86	Protestant
34	Republic of Nauru	No		25.0	9.09	Congressional
35	Tonga	No		-	1.01	Free Wesleyan
36 Europe	Austria	No		2.3	19.24	Catholic
37	Belgium	No		2.2	15.44	Catholic
38	Czechoslovakia	No		2.0	3.14	Catholic
39	Denmark	No		4.6	22.09	Protestant
40	Finland	No		0.6	26.07	Protestant
41	France	No		4.4	19.48	Catholic
42	Germany	No		3.9	22.73	Protestant
43	Greece	Yes	Old	2.0	6.00	Greek Orthodox
44	Italy	No		6.4	16.85	Catholic
45	Hungary	Yes	Old	3.1	2.78	Catholic
46	Netherlands	No		14.8	17.33	Catholic
47	Spain	Yes	Old	2.4	10.92	Catholic
48	Sweden	No		7.0	23.68	Protestant
49	Switzerland	No		3.2	32.79	Christian
50	United Kingdom	No		2.2	16.07	Catholic
51	Yugoslavia	Yes	Old	5.4	3.06	Siberian Orthodox
52 Middle East	Lebanon	No		13.2	1.65	Muslim
53	Iran	Yes	Old	0.5	2.45	Muslim
54	Iraq	No		1.7	3.02	Muslim
55	Israel	No		2.2	10.97	Muslim
56	Palestine	No		5.6	-	Muslim
57	Saudi Arabia	Yes	Old	0.6	6.02	Muslim
58	Turkey	No		1.7	1.63	Muslim
59	United Arab Emirates	Yes	Old	1.5	19.86	Muslim
60	Yemen	Yes	Old	-	-	Muslim

Source: Murder rate, Major religion; 1993 Britanica Book of the Year¹⁾,
GNP/cap.; 1993 Chiezo²⁾

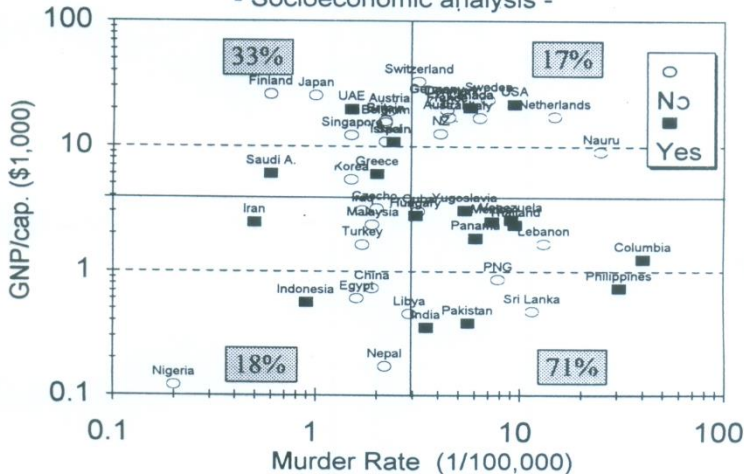
Note: Major religion would be indicated when the share of the religion is more than 50%.

This table confirms the two above mentioned ideas, and also proves that the existence of EHS has some relation with socioeconomic conditions which can be measured by murder rate and GNP per capita. In the next chapter, these relations will be discussed.

4 REASONS FOR THE EXISTENCE OF EHS

According to the respondents in the survey, all of these exclusive residential villages are used only by a limited number of privileged people. But in the Philippines, middle class people also reside in EHS communities. Within the countries which are covered in these survey, it can be said that the Philippines is the only country where EHS is for both upper and middle classes. It means that the Philippines is an extreme case in a certain aspect.

Figure-2 Existence of EHS
- Socioeconomic analysis -



Socioeconomic analysis

We now look for the manifest indicators to explain the uniqueness of the Philippines. Murder rate and GNP per capita are the indicators selected in this sense. When we plotted these countries with the axes which indicate murder rate and GNP per capita, the Philippines is plotted on the right-bottom corner of the chart (Figure-2). It shows that much is to be desired in terms of security and economics in the Philippines.

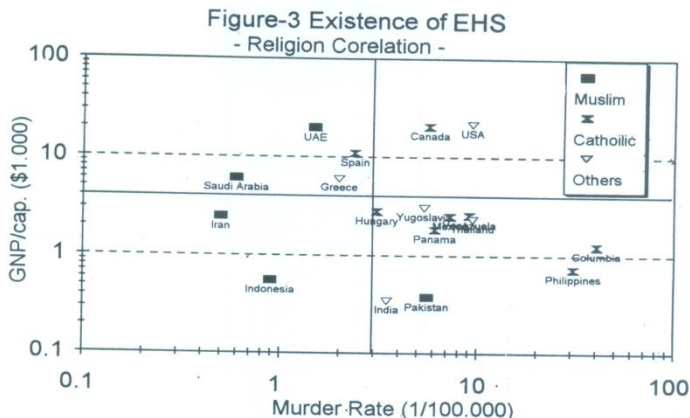
At the same time, these two factors explain well some of the reasons for the existence of the similar system as EHS in other countries. Figure-2 is divided into four portions, murder rate is more than 2.0 in 100,000 people or less, GNP per capita is more than 30,000 US \$ or less. The right bottom portion which contains the Philippines has the highest percentage of the existence of similar system as EHS.

Religion Correlation

Although crime rate and economic indicators gave us effective information on the reason for

the existence of similar system as EHS, there still many exceptions in other portions in Figure-2 like United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia etc. Since most of them are Muslim countries, consideration of religion was considered necessary.

Figure-3 only shows the major religions of countries which have EHS. From this figure, all of the Muslim countries have better security conditions compared with other nations with similar system as EHS.



Regression Analysis

To confirm the relationship between the existence of similar system as EHS and these above mentioned indicators (murder rate, GNP/cap., major religions) regression analysis is one of the best tools. Adopting it to the information from these two phase of global surveys, we can obtain an result as follows;

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{EHS} = & 0.0826 + 0.0109 * \text{MurderRate} - 0.00357 * \text{GNP/cap.} \\
 & (0.63) \qquad \qquad \qquad (1.36) \qquad \qquad \qquad (-0.53) \\
 & + 0.262 * \text{Muslim} + 0.386 * \text{Latin} \\
 & (1.60) \qquad \qquad \qquad (2.91)
 \end{aligned}$$

$$R^2 = 0.230, \quad t \text{ Statistics are shown in } ().$$

Dependent variable:

- EHS = 1 (if EHS exists in the country for about 50 years or more)
- = 0.5 (if EHS exists in the country for 10 to 20 years)
- = 0 (if EHS does not exist)

Independent variables:

- MurderRate (1/100,000)
- GNP/cap. (US \$ 1,000)
- Muslim = 1 (The country whose major religion is Muslim)
- = 0 (The country whose major religion is not Muslim)
- Latin = 1 (The country whose major religion is Catholic or Orthodox)
- = 0 (The country whose major religion is not Catholic or Orthodox)

Though the R Squared does not show enough strength of the model, each coefficient shows logical meanings. It means that higher murder rate, lower GNP/cap., Muslim religion, and Latin culture cause more usage of similar system as EHS.

Consideration

From the analysis of the global survey, we can conclude that the existence of EHS reflects socioeconomic and cultural conditions.

Murder rate is used as the measurable indicator for social condition. It is very clear why murder rate can be the independent variable for the regression analysis because if it is high, people will instinctively want to protect themselves and seek refuge in a secure place such as EHS.

For economic condition, GNP/cap. is selected as the measurable indicator. The Philippines has a low one at this moment compared with other nations in the world. Low GNP/cap. indicate not only the difficulties of the macro economy but also the gap between high and low classes. That is the reason why GNP/cap. can explain the existence of similar system as EHS, because the limited number of the rich people can afford to employ a large number of workers for their security easily.

Culturally, there are two trends of exclusive residential area, one is Muslim, and the other is Latin. Both of these are originally from the Middle East which started about 1,300 years and 2,000 years ago. It is also said that the origin of the walled city is in Jericho, Israel also in the Middle East, about 9,000 years ago.⁴⁾

When people stopped hunting and gathering for food and started settled lives, they built walls surrounding their settlement as protection from aggressors. With the expansion of human settlement and organization from village to city to nation and to international alliance, people have enlarged their defense line and changed their protection method from putting up walls to using military power.⁴⁾⁵⁾

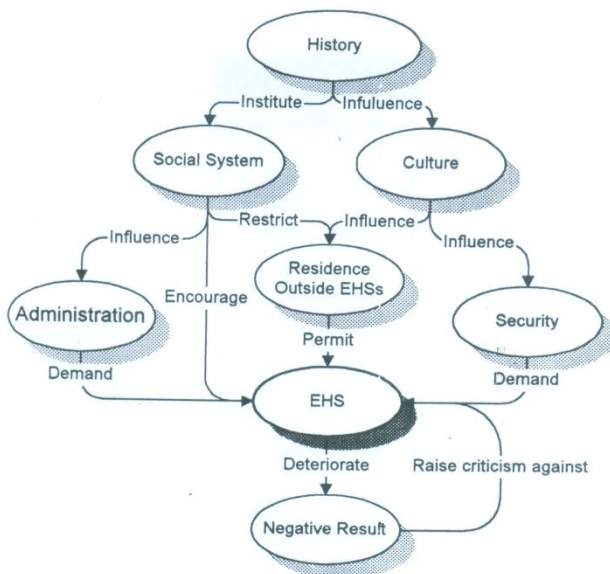
If the original protection method, using walls, had been used until today, it would have meant that the size of the basic human organization is small enough to use it as in the ancient time. One of the features of Catholic and Muslim is the strong relationship between the people and the church or mosque which is typical factor found in the Latin culture. It may be noted that there is stronger relationship among people within a small level of organization like barangay or village level than at a wider level such as city or national level. In other words, feeling for nationalism is not as strong as feeling for the barangay or village to which people belong to. This is demonstrated by the presence of walls even in ordinary communities in the Philippines and in some Muslim and Latin countries.

Hypothesis

After studying the above corroboration analysis, a hypothesis is made as follows:
"The latifundium system and Catholicism introduced to the Philippines by the Spanish colonial occupation created a gap between rich and poor, disturbed peace and order of the society and weakened administrative ability of the government. All of these factors made EHS necessary and legitimate. Through its tradition, the people of the Philippines became familiar with this kind of exclusive space, and negative results which EHS creates such as traffic congestion are not so severe as to make people feel that drastic measures should be taken for improvement."

This Logic can be shown in Figure-4. Further analytic study and historical survey is needed to prove this hypothesis.

Figure-4 Hypothesis of the Reason 'dEtre of EHS



5. Conclusions - Points to Open EHS -

There are both advantages and disadvantages of the exclusiveness of the village as presented in the last conference¹⁾. This year and in this paper, it has become clear that the existence of EHS is caused by some socioeconomic conditions and cultural factors.

It is frequently discussed whether or not EHS roads should be opened to public traffic in the Philippines to ease traffic congestion. It is necessary to consider the following matters when we open EHS in Metro Manila.

- * Security of residents

As shown by murder statistics, there is a problem of security in Metro Manila and other places. If it necessary to open some roads in EHS, the countermeasures for the security of residents in EHS should be considered.

- * Maintaining the strong relationship within the community

If it is correct that the existence of EHS is proof of strong relationships among the residents, it is necessary to consider the preservation of these relationships within the community when we open the roads in EHS.

- * Employment opportunities for the people

Security companies compose a big industry in the Philippines and serve as major livelihood for many people. Economic dislocation of people in the security industry should be seriously considered if it is decided that EHS roads be opened.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

EHS study is a comprehensive research project consisting of the following topics; (1) History of EHS, (2) Present status survey and analysis of EHS in Metro Manila, (3) Network Analysis of the merits and demerits of EHS and (4) Global Survey on similar system as EHS. This report mainly discusses topic (4) and slightly touches on topic(1). They are under the guidance of Dr. Shigeru Morichi, Professor of Tokyo Institute of Technology, former visiting professor at UP Diliman, and Dr. Hitoshi Ieda, former visiting professor at the NCTS, UP Diliman.

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