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**The living space, and local and regional economy:
An examination of human mobility and human living**

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Abstract

The paper examines human mobility and human living, and how human beings relate with space. The paper's objective is to reevaluate and advance the theory on locality, and local and regional economy.

The paper initially gives a brief and broad overview on the existing theoretical frameworks to position its arguments. It then examines the formation of the Philippine territory and the Filipino people to look at the different forms in how human beings relate with space and the natural environment. After that, it uses an anthropo-historical perspective to look at the major lifestyles and human relationships with the natural environment from the dawn of human history to the present time. The objective is to ferret-out the spatial requirements and lifestyle stereotypes of human existence.

It asserts that human existence has two forms: existence as individuals and existence as members of the human species. Furthermore, it asserts that human existence is sustained through a material exchange with the natural environment, and therefore spatiality is a necessity for human existence. From these perspectives, the paper argues that human living understood as the process of human existence has three modes: economic production (acquisition of the means to satisfy material and psychological needs), individual reproduction (recovery of the life force of the individual), and species reproduction (reproduction of the human species). The paper then pointed-out four major stereotypes of human lifestyle according to human mobility and spatiality for human existence. A. Nomadic lifestyle stereotype. B. Sedentary agricultural lifestyle stereotype. C. Lifestyle stereotype under simple reproduction. D. Lifestyle stereotype under expanded reproduction.

Finally, the paper reconstitutes and redefines locality, and local and regional economy to give focus on human beings and human living. Locality is the entity that holistically unites the different processes of individual reproduction, species reproduction, and economic production at a defined space. Local and regional economy is the unfolding at a defined space of individual reproduction, species reproduction, economic production, and their interactions.

Keywords: Locality; Local Economy; Regional Economy; Living Space; Human Mobility

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The living space, and local and regional economy: An examination of human mobility and human living

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Introduction

The paper examines human mobility and human living. It looks at the how human beings relate with space, and at the spatial specificities of human living with the objective of reexamining and advancing the theory on locality, and local and regional economy.

The paper adopts the methodological stance in which there is a refinement of previous theories based on the examination and reflection of reality. Here, the paper mainly utilizes the ideas of Okada (2005) on locality, and local and regional economy as a platform to develop a theory that clarifies human living and incorporates human mobility. The paper examines the history and the current situation of human mobility in the Philippines, and then looks at a longer timeline and generalized case of human relationships with space.

Under the direction of neoclassical economics, local and regional policies have been dominated by issues involving growth, income, and employment (Armstrong and Taylor, 2000). Local and regional wellbeing is understood as sustained increases in employment, income and productivity (Storper 1997), and generalizes that the quality of life is enhanced through increased activities of production or consumption (Lambino 2015d). Consequently, within this viewpoint, there is a tendency to overlook the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system in which these activities mostly operate.

It is true that initial capitalist processes were devised as a mechanism to coordination activities for the human beings' well-being. However, these processes have developed its own autonomous mechanism in which human living and human interests do not always get prioritized (Okada 2005). Many environmental disasters and human suffering have been reported that were outcomes of these processes in which capitalist entities had pursued their narrow interests as they were driven by the rationale of profit-maximization.

In this system under which capital accumulation proceeds, new profitable channels have to be discovered and developed. New machineries and new technologies are devised, and more products are produced and invented as their product cycles shrink towards an instant (Lambino 2015d). Human living is being created as experiences of production and consumption, and its

fullness of living is being promoted to be understood as the amount of these experiences (Lambino 2015d). In these processes, human living is being transformed increasingly as an instrument to satisfy production and consumption requirements of the system.

In this social milieu, regional economics treats and promotes space in an abstract manner in which spatiality is understood in terms of economic differences (Van der Veen and Otter 2001). For instance, in Krugman's (Krugman 1991a, 1991b) core-periphery model, the dynamics of spatial differentiation is explained as the outcome of centripetal and centrifugal forces of economic production (Lambino 2010). In these models, since space is conceived mostly as formless and abstract, it becomes a requirement for spatial entities to be treated as pre-given bounded areas (Lambino 2010) such as towns and villages, and ignore that these geographical entities are as much as outcomes of social relationships and anthropo-environmental interactions.

Given these problematic issues, Okada (2005) developed an analytical framework on locality and region that incorporates spatial specificities and is centered on people. He points out that a locality or a region is a spatial expanse of the human society, and that it is the place that hosts human activities. Locality's most basic unit is the neighborhood or the village in which people live. For Okada (2005), the most essential definition of locality is the living place of human beings, i.e. the territory for living.

In this manner, Okada's framework solves the problematic issues on capitalist instrumentalism of human beings in the society as well as spatial abstraction that have become the second nature of local and regional economic research. If locality is the place in which human beings live, then it becomes important to know the nature of human beings in how they live, and the forms of human existence. Since Okada (2005) was not explicit on these, this makes his ideas as a fertile ground to grow new ideas to advance a theoretical framework on locality and region, and local and regional economy.

The paper has simple questions. 1) What is locality and region? 2) What are human beings? 3) What is human living? 4) How do human beings live in and interact with space?

To probe into and get insights about these questions, the paper examines human mobility. In 2013, 232 million or 3% of the world's population are living outside their countries of birth (United Nations Population Fund website). Furthermore, according to the Gallup poll conducted between 2011 and 2012, 8% of the respondents corresponding to about 381 million moved from one area to another in the past five years (Esipova, Pugiese, and Ray 2013). Accordingly, these data suggest that human beings move a lot more in recent years. However, it would be erroneous to understand that human mobility is a recent phenomenon. This is simply because human beings by nature have the ability to move, and mobility happened throughout human existence albeit its forms changed during the course of history.

The fact that people move from one locality to another suggests that there is a need or

motivation to move, i.e. there is something being looked for in the other locality. For this reason one can surmise that different aspects of living would exist in each locality, and examine these aspect by looking at human mobility. Based on the analytical findings on human mobility, the paper reconstitutes and reformulates Okada's ideas to advance a theoretical framework on locality and local economy.

The first section examines the formation of the Philippine territory and the Filipino people to look at the different forms in how human beings relate with space and the natural environment. The reason is that the Philippines has a long history of human mobility and migration, and it currently remains a major labor exporting country (Lambino 2015a, 2015b). This section provides insights to be used as a platform to reexamine the spatiality of human existence and living.

The second section then uses an anthropo-historical perspective to look at the major lifestyles and human relationships with the natural environment from the dawn of human history to the present time. The objective is to ferret-out the spatial requirements and lifestyle stereotypes of human existence. In this section, the paper initially examines the forms and requirements of human existence, and asserts that human existence has two forms: existence as individuals and existence as members of the human species. Furthermore, the paper asserts that human existence is sustained through a material exchange with the natural environment, and therefore spatiality is a necessity for human existence. From these perspectives, the paper points-out that human living understood as the process of human existence has three modes: economic production, individual reproduction, and species reproduction; and that these modes can happen in separate and distinct places. After the paper examines the implication of spatial separateness on politics and locality creation, the paper ends with the concluding remarks to summarize the paper's arguments.

I. Formation of the Philippine State, and the mobility of the Filipino people

This section examines the formation of the Philippine state, the assignment and creation of the Filipino people. It focuses on looking at how pre-Filipinos and Filipinos relate with space and specifically with their immediate natural environment. This section then looks at the different types of mobility of pre-Filipinos and Filipinos at the various stages of their history. The next section then uses the insights developed in this section as a platform in reexamining human living and human relationships with the natural environment to develop a theoretical framework on locality and local economy that incorporates human mobility.

The Philippine territory and the multiplicity of indigenous languages

The Philippines is a tapestry of different ethnolinguistic groups. The territory has numerous separate

indigenous languages. It is estimated that there are 172 ethnolinguistic groups, and that in the island of Luzon alone, there are already 72 ethnolinguistic groups. This complex ethnolinguistic make-up would be an indicator of the extensive movement of peoples that happened before and throughout the formation of the Philippine state.

Similar to the experience of numerous countries that came under foreign colonialization, the formation and definition of the Philippine territory came with the eventual assignment of the peoples, i.e. different ethnolinguistic groups, living in the territory, as Filipinos. While the Philippine state that succeeded the American administration continues to work in unifying the different peoples in the Philippine territory and forming a single Filipino nation, nevertheless, numerous ethnolinguistic groups and national identities continue to exist in the territory.

In the Philippines, ethnolinguistic groups do not have to agglomerate in a single integrated area. For instance, while the Ilocanos mostly occupy northern part of Luzon Island, they also live in San Marcelino town in Zambales Province in west-central part of the island, and in Kabacan and Midsayap towns in Cotabato province among other places in Mindanao Island. Another example is the Hiligaynons who occupy central Philippines in the Visayas and southwestern part of Mindanao Island. There are more examples. What this means is that the movement happened as ethnolinguistic groups.

This reveals that human beings not only move as individuals, they move as members of their ethnolinguistic group. In other words, human mobility happens at the individual level and also at the ethnolinguistic level.

Pre-Filipinos and the Sea

Before the advent of sedentary agriculture, similar to how human beings roamed the land and moved continuously in search for food, Pre-Filipinos—i.e., understood here as the peoples living in Philippine territory and their ancestors before the creation of the Filipino people—wandered the seas in search of subsistence. The basic government administrative unit called the barangay traces its roots to this intimacy of the Pre-Filipinos to the sea.

De Plasencia (1589 trans. Blair 2004) observed in the 16th century that the name “barangay” came from “balangay” or sailboat from the fact that Pre-Filipinos as a group travelled by boat to and from different places. These barangays at the dawn of Spanish conquest were coastal or riverine, and the inhabitants lived in scattered settlements.

While the present meaning of barangay assumes a territorial delimitation, the pre-colonial barangay was without clear territorial boundaries. They were more a tribal community composed of family, relations, and slaves (De Plasencia 1589 trans. Blair 2004) than a territorial community. The members of the tribe were loyal and subject to a particular head, viz. the datu. As the political

unit being tribal and not territorial, it was not unusual for people living beside each other to actually belong to different barangays (Scott 1994). These overlapping pre-colonial barangays were at the same time politically independent units and not subject to one another (De Plansencia 1589 trans. Blair 2004).

With this intimacy with the sea, many Pre-Filipinos did not even build their houses on land. Antonio Pigafetta, (trans. Robertson 1906, p.53) the chronicler of the Magellan's voyage described what he saw near Zamboanga Peninsula in 1521 "The people of that island make their dwellings in boats and do not live otherwise." This lifestyle has survived in the Badjaos who are living in boats or on stilt houses in the middle of the sea within or proximate to the Philippine territory. Like their ancestors, the Badjaos are committed to the sea and built on mobility and spatial unboundedness (Macalandag 2009). Many of them have not even stepped on land, and for those who have they have spent more time at sea than at land (Morgan 2014). As the nation-state regime is based on fixed territoriality, their lives anchored with their mobility on the sea have led to what has been argued as the Badjaos' social exclusion (Macalandag 2009).

What has been discussed demonstrates that the unity of the people and the territory, and the territorial boundedness of the nation-state are social and historical artefacts. Under the artefact of the nation-state, human mobility is allowed and restrained within the territorial boundaries of the nation-state to harmonize mobility of people and the fixity of land (Lambino 2015a, 2015b).

Agriculture and its Expansion

As mentioned earlier, the establishment of the Philippine territory, and the subsequent assignment of and attempt in forming the Filipino people had been interwoven with foreign colonialization and occupation. The peoples in the Philippine archipelago under colonial administration continued to move. However, the nature of their mobility during this period was qualitatively different as it was closely connected with agricultural production and settlement on land.

Similar to in other colonized countries, the Spanish colonial administration after their conquest reorganized the societal structures to control the territory and the inhabitants, and in the Philippines's case through a land system based on sedentary agriculture. This was to support its colonial projects by extracting labor and resources from their colonies.

At the start of the colonization of *Las Islas Filipinas* (i.e., the Philippine Islands) in the 16th century, two major policies were adopted to establish the geopolitical administrative structure under the Spanish empire. One was the *reducción* policy. It reduced the number of settlements through forcible resettlement, and consolidated the population into large settlements. This reordering of the settlements would allow for territorial configuration for the administration and control of the peoples. In addition to the *reducción* policy, the Spanish colonial administration established the *encomienda*

system in which it entrusted authority to *encomenderos* to govern the inhabitants of a given territory. The *encomienda* system established the political ordering and hierarchy in the territory. Under this new land system, inhabitants were prohibited to leave a particular territory (Abinales and Amoroso 2005).

The introduction of new agricultural technology such as the use of new crops and draft animals, led the population in the Philippine Islands to increase at a faster rate especially after 1650 (Phelan 1959). As the population increased, new lands had to be cleared for agricultural production, and new settlements were created. For instance, the Ilocanos in the northern Philippines were one of the groups that moved substantially to clear and settle in newly-cleared lands. To illustrate, as the population of Ilocos province in northern Philippines rapidly increased from 48,950 in 1735 to 170,000 in 1793 (Keesing 1962), the population who were Ilocanos moved southward to Pangasinan which had available land for agriculture and new settlements. Trager (1988) estimates that up to 1830, 500 to 1,000 Ilocanos a year moved to Pangasinan and 4,000 to 5,000 moved in the 1880s.

The movement of individuals and different ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines to create new settlements continued throughout the American occupation during the first half of the 20th century. To release the population pressure and address the lack of available land in northern and central Philippines (Pelzer 1983, Wernstedt and Simkins 1965), the American colonial government started a systematic colonization of Mindanao Island by settlers from Luzon and Visayas regions (Tigno 2006) through the homestead concept under Public Land Act of 1903. After World War II, large-scale and government-administered migration to Mindanao continued. Government agencies involved in the settlement and agricultural development of Mindanao were continued and reorganized to make the program effective. The National Land Settlement Administration (NLSA) that was created before the war continued up to 1950 when it was reorganized with other agencies to form the Land Settlement and Development Corporation (LASEDECO). This agency was then superseded by the National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Administration (NARRA) in 1954.

The systematic and voluntary migration to Mindanao Island transformed the ethnolinguistic and cultural makeup of the island. The migration was very fast such that in 1960, one out of four inhabitants of Mindanao had a birthplace other than Mindanao (Wernstedt and Simkins 1965).

The nature of this mobility was the creation of new settlements and the expansion of agricultural production. In the new settlements, their residences were embedded in the place of their agricultural production. In other words, the objective of mobility is territorial fixity in the new settlements.

The governments administered and encouraged settlements to consolidate their control as well as to expand economic production through sedentary agriculture. This was part of the long process of uniting the people and the territory in the formation of the Philippine jurisdiction over a

Table 1: Gross Domestic Product (GDP) Share by Economic Sector

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2013
Agricultural Sector	36%	28%	28%	23%	22%	15%	12%	11%
Industrial Sector	22%	24%	30%	37%	34%	38%	33%	30%
Service Sector	43%	48%	43%	40%	44%	57%	55%	56%
GDP (million pesos)	6,266	13,833	42,448	264,650	1,077,237	3,244,197	9,003,480	11,850,893

Source: Philippine Statistical Yearbook (various editions).

defined territory.

Urbanization and Industrialization

Another form of mobility happened during the Spanish colonial administration besides the creation of new settlements to expand agricultural production.

As the colonial capital of Manila officially opened to European and American ships in the 1790s, people came to the capital to work (Doeppers 1972). Urbanization came with the concentration of the manufacturing industry in Manila that proceeded during the American occupation in the first half of the 20th century.

After World War II, the Philippine government actively pursued industrialization. This was a reaction to the severe balance-of-payment crises right after the war caused by the Philippine Trade Act of 1946 that allowed American-made products to enter the Philippines free of duty, quotas and price ceilings (Lambino 2009, 2015c). As a policy response, the government adopted an import substitution policy beginning in the 1950s to lessen its dependence on American imports.

As the economic policies became focused on industrialization, the economic weight of the agricultural sector decreased. The GDP share of the agricultural sector decreased from 36% in 1950 to 28% in 1970, and this continued to decrease. In 2000, it fell to 15% and further to 11% in 2013 (Table 1). Furthermore, the economic importance in terms of employment of the agricultural sector also decreased. While the employment share of the agricultural sector increased from 42% to 52% between 1956 and 1978 as the society adopted the Green Revolution, the employment share in the agricultural sector decreased to 37% in 2000 and to 31% in 2013 (Table 2) as people became more detached from the land.

On the other hand, the GDP share of the industrial sector increased from 22% in 1950, to 30% in 1970 and 38% in 2000. From there, it decreased to 33% in 2010 and then 20% in 2013 (Table 1). However, the employment share of the sector decreased from 23% in 1956 which was

Table 2 Sectoral Worker Share

	1956	1978	1990	2000	2010	2013
Total Worker (Thousand Workers)	2,756	16,668	22,532	27,775	36,035	38,118
Agricultural Sector	42%	52%	45%	37%	34%	31%
Industrial Sector	23%	15%	15%	16%	15%	16%
Service Sector	35%	33%	40%	47%	51%	53%

Source: Philippine Statistical Yearbook (various editions).

Table 3 Economic Production of the Core Luzon Area

	1980	1990	2000	2013
Philippine GDP (billion pesos)	244	1,066	3,308	11,548
Metro Manila	29%	32%	35%	37%
Region 4A*	14%	14%	14%	16%
Region 3*	9%	9%	8%	9%

Note: The data for Region 4A until 2000 includes Region 4B and the province of Aurora that is now a part of Region 3. Similarly, the data for Region 3 includes Aurora in 2013 in the table, but does not include it in the other years.

Source: Philippine Statistical Yearbook (various editions).

during the time in which industrialization was being actively pursued to 15% in 1990. From this time, the inflow of foreign direct investments beginning in the latter half of the 1980s placed a break to the relative decline of this sector in terms of employment, and the sector maintained an employment share of 16% in 2000 and 2013 (Table 2). In terms of absolute number, the number of workers in the industrial sector increased 9 times from 625 thousand in 1956 to 6 million in 2013.

In addition, the GDP share of the service sector experienced a small increase from 43% to 44% between 1950 and 1990, but afterwards it increased substantially to 56% in 2013 (Table 1). While the employment share of both the agricultural and industrial sectors decreased between 1956 and 2013, the service sector's employment share experienced a general tendency towards increase from 35% in 1956 to 53% in 2013 (Table 2).

Along with the transformation of the country's economic structure, wealth and production concentrated in Metro Manila and the surrounding areas of Region 3 and Region 4A (Lambino 2010). With the conversion of agricultural plantations of American installation sites into industrial production sites beginning in the latter half of the 1980s, these regions experienced extensive industrialization (Lambino 2010). Between 1980 and 2013, the GDP share of Metro Manila grew

Table 4: Population of the Core Luzon Area

	1980	1990	2000	2010
Philippine Population (1,000)	48,098	60,703	76,507	92,338
Metro Manila	12%	13%	13%	13%
Region 4A*	10%	10%	12%	14%
Region 4B*	10%	10%	11%	11%

Note: Refer to the note in Table 3.

Source: Philippine Statistical Yearbook (various editions).

from 29% to 37%, that of Region 4A from 14% to 16%, and that of Region 3 remained around 9% (Table 3). In other words, the GDP share of the region encompassing Metro Manila, Region 3 and Region 4A grew from 52% to 62%.

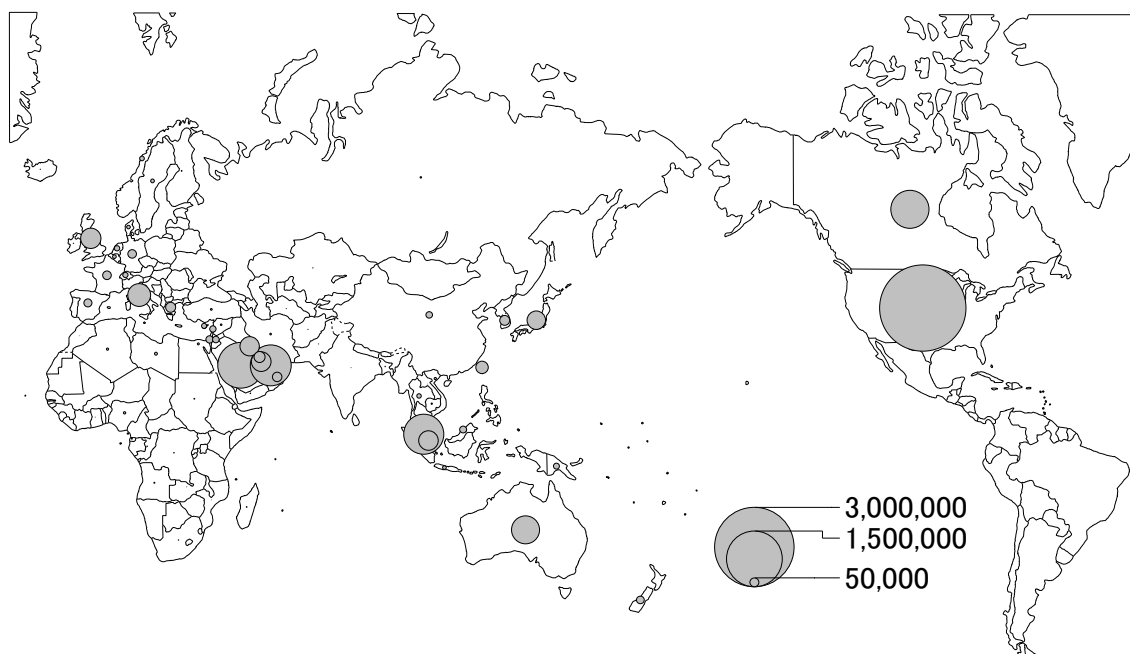
As the wealth concentrated in Metro Manila, the wholesale and retail sector became the largest employer and the weight of the service sector in the economic structure continued to increase (Lambino 2010, 2012). During the same period, internal migrants came to and settled in Metro Manila and the industrializing areas of Region 3 and Region 4A (Sanders and Brown 2012, Lambino 2012). As an outcome, the population concentrated in this region from 1.5 million (or 32% of the total population in 1980) to 3.5 million or 37% in 2010 (Refer to Table 4).

While the expansion of agricultural production based on the creation of new settlements involved the conversion of forest lands into farmlands, we could see the conversion of farmlands into industrial production sites under industrialization and the conversion of industrial production sites into service sector sites (Lambino 2010), and along with these spatial transformations, people moved and settled to new places (Lambino 2012). Urbanization and industrialization in the Philippines came with mobility that was similar with that in the expansion of agricultural production in the sense that these processes resulted in the settlement of people in a new territory. However, there was a major difference. While in agriculture, all aspects of life from birth to death could happen in the same rural village, in the urban and industrial centers, the workers had to spend their lives in two different areas, i.e. their workplace and their place of residence, and commute between these two areas.

Migrant Work

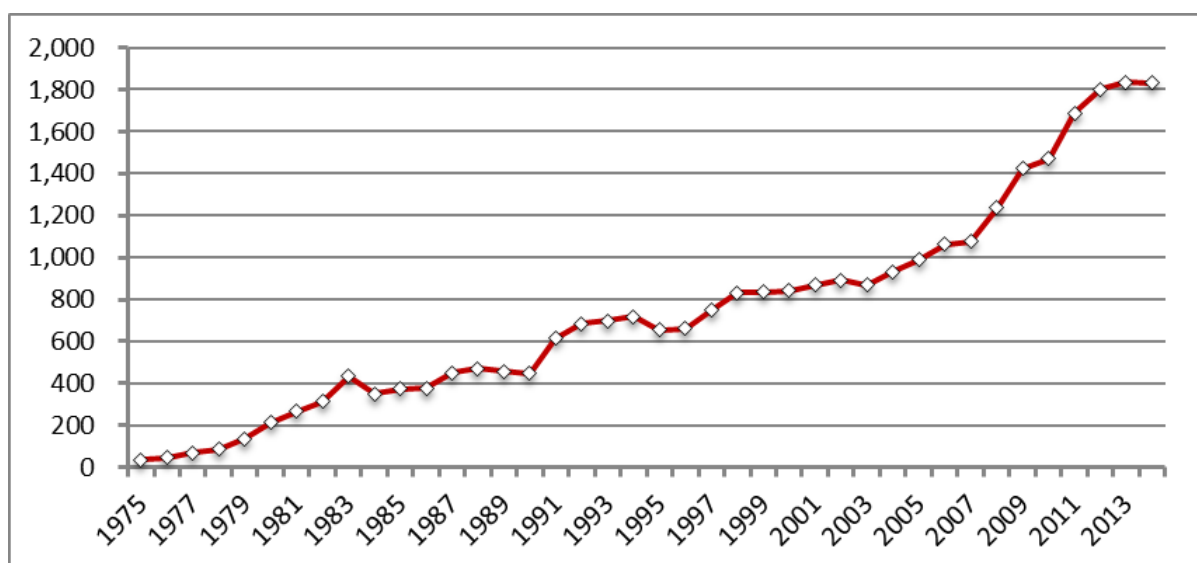
Next we look at overseas Filipino in order to examine migrant work. According to the Commission on Filipino Overseas website, the number of overseas Filipinos in 2013 was 10 million. This is slightly more than 10% of the Philippine population. Out of the 10 million overseas Filipinos, 42% are in America, 24% are in West Asia, 16% are in South and East Asia, 8% are in Europe, 5% in

Figure 1: Overseas Filipinos (Stock as of December 2013)



Note: Figure created by author based on the data from Commission on Filipino Overseas website.

Figure 2: POEA deployment of Overseas Filipino Workers (in thousands)



Source: Ito (1992) for the data between 1975 and 1983, and Philippine Overseas and Employment Administration website for the data 1984 and onwards.

Oceania, 4% are sea-based, and 1% in Africa. The dispersal of Filipinos around the world led the Philippine government to allow dual citizenship through the enactment of Republic Act No. 9225 (Citizenship and Re-acquisition Act) in 2003, and overseas absentee voting through the enactment

Table 5: Overseas Filipinos (Stock as of December 2013)

Continent	Total	Migrant or Permanent Resident	Contract Workers	Illegal Residents
Total	10,238,614	4,869,766	4,207,018	1,161,830
%	100.0	47.6	41.1	11.3
America	4,313,476	3,782,483	250,733	280,260
%	100.0	87.7	5.8	6.5
West Asia	2,489,430	7,748	2,308,087	173,595
%	100.0	0.3	92.7	7.0
South and East Asia	1,668,827	288,894	841,228	538,705
%	100.0	17.3	50.4	32.3
Europe	866,187	421,891	286,371	157,925
%	100.0	48.7	33.1	18.2
Oceania	474,492	364,552	104,430	5,510
%	100.0	76.8	22.0	1.2
Sea-based Workers	367,166	-	367,166	-
%	100.0	-	100.0	-
Africa	59,036	4,198	49,003	5,835
%	100.0	7.1	83.0	9.9

Source: Commission on Filipino Overseas website.

of Republic Act No. 9189 (Overseas Absentee Voting Act) also in 2003.

The global character of Filipino migration (Figure 1) came about due to the adoption of a labor export policy by the Philippine government in the 1970s that established a system to move overseas (Lambino 2009). The labor export policy was part of the government's measure to acquire foreign currency and response to the chronic trade deficit and to the expanding external debt especially short-term debt in the 1960s. Prior to the adoption of the labor export policy, the actualization of overseas work mostly depended on either private recruitment agencies or personal connections—e.g. family members, friends and people from the same community (Lambino 2009).

In line with its labor export policy, the Philippine government instituted various agencies that started in the 1970s to facilitate the movement of Filipinos overseas. At the present time, important government agencies involved in this are the Philippine Overseas Employment Agency (POEA), the Philippine Overseas Labor Office (POLO), and the Commission on Filipino Overseas (CFO). The POEA is tasked in developing and promoting overseas work for Filipinos. The number of Filipino workers deployed under POEA increased from 36 thousand in 1975 to 1.8 million in 2013 (Figure 2). Meanwhile, the POLO provides support overseas Filipinos in securing their rights and wellbeing such as through the legal assistance and counseling. Lastly, the CFO is tasked in

enabling the permanent overseas migration of Filipinos as well as the networking of overseas Filipinos and their organizations.

We now look at the legal status of overseas Filipinos. Out of 10 million Filipinos overseas in 2013, 41% have temporary legal residency status as contract workers and another 11% do not have legal status in their host countries (Table 5). This is especially true in West Asia such as in Saudi Arabia and in United Arab Emirates (UAE). In Saudi Arabia, 92% do not have permanent legal residency status. On the other hand, in UAE 95% does not have one (Philippine Overseas Employment Administration website).

For overseas Filipinos without permanent residency, their stay in their host countries is temporary, and they are expected to leave at some time in the future. They are obliged to look for another job overseas, or return to their families and communities located in the Philippines or other parts of the world.

The mobility of the Filipinos due to migrant work is qualitatively different from the mobility due to the industrialization and urbanization as previously discussed. In the case of mobility within the national territory, it is easier for the worker to move with his or her family for them to live together. Accordingly, it is easier for the worker to commute to and from the place of family residence to the workplace. This is not always the case for overseas work. In many cases, while the worker moves overseas, his or her family stays behind in the origin country.

For these reasons, this is another type of mobility in addition to the three types previously discussed (i.e. peripatetic mobility such as seen in the Badjaos, mobility towards agricultural settlement, and mobility towards urban settlement). In the case of mobility of migrant workers, the worker commutes to and from his or her personal residence to the workplace in the country where he works, and from this country, the worker travels to and from the family residence or community in the Philippines.

A more systematic analysis of the different types of mobility and human relationships with place will be made in the second section. The analysis will be made based on the insights from the discussions that have been so far.

Overseas Filipino organizations and local development in the Philippines

As discussed above, migrant overseas Filipinos work in a country that is different from that of residence of their families or communities. The existence of millions of Filipinos overseas has created transnational communities and families. One can even say that the workers have concurrent lives in different countries. To illustrate, a Filipino might be living as a construction worker in Saudi Arabia but at the same time he lives as a father in the Philippines. This spatial separation connects different places around the world.

At this point, the paper looks at how overseas Filipinos and communities affect the development of local communities in the Philippines.

A quick search in the Internet would reveal countless number of Filipino communities outside the Philippines. In Southern California alone, the Philippine Consulate General in Los Angeles (website) lists 141 Filipino organizations. These organizations have different bases for membership. Some are ethnolinguistic based; some are Philippine hometown based; some are alma mater based; some are occupation-based organizations.

It has been pointed out that overseas Filipino organizations become focal points for development support in the Philippines (Garchitorena 2007). These organizations fund scholarships, hospitals and repair of schools and churches; they organize medical and dental missions; and they send supplies and equipment for schools and hospitals such as medicines and computers (Garchitorena 2007).

Furthermore, the Filipino diaspora remit substantial amount to their families and communities (McKay and Brady 2005). In 2013, they remitted US\$27 billion to the Philippines equivalent to around 10% of the country's GDP (World Bank website). In the same year, the country was the third largest recipient of remittance after India and China (World Bank website).

The foreign remittances have changed the landscape all over the country. It has driven real estate development in the city such as in Metro Manila (Lambino 2010), and it has changed the landscape of the rural area (McKay and Brady 2005). In the rural area, remittances from overseas Filipinos are spent on the construction and renovation of houses, and so it is not unusual to see large concrete houses in the middle of remote rural areas in the country. They are also used to start small businesses in their villages, and purchase agricultural implements for farming (McKay and Brady 2005).

From the discussions above, it is clear that the different places around the world are connected due to the movement of people in between different places.

II. Locality and Human Mobility

This section aims to incorporate human mobility into Okada's (2005) ideas to reconstitute and advance the understanding of locality, and local and regional development. To do so, this section systematizes the insights on human mobility and human existence acquired in the previous section by using an anthropo-historical perspective to develop a theoretical framework on how human beings relate with the immediate natural environment, as well as, how they relate with each other in the natural environment.

The section makes use of five fundamental insights to develop its arguments.

One: Human beings get their sustenance from the natural environment. Two: Human beings

are mobile. Three: Human beings exist as physically separate individuals. Four: An individual needs another individual for species reproduction. Five: Human beings as individuals or as couples are weak against the natural environment, and need to cooperate with one another to sustain themselves as individuals and reproduce themselves as human species. Four and five require the necessity of social institutions for human existence and survival, and hence human beings are understood as social animals.

Clarifying Locality and Region, and Human Existence

To clarify the essence of local or regional economy, one must first examine the essence of the region or locality.

The term locality was adopted from the French *localité* that was formed from and rooted on *locus*=place (The Oxford English Dictionary 1989). The Oxford English Dictionary (1989) defined it as “[T]he fact or quality of having a place, that is having position in space” or “[T]he fact of being local, in the sense of belonging to a particular spot”. As early as in the 15th century, the same dictionary defined local as “Belonging to a particular place on the earth’s surface.” In other words, the concept of locality comes with particularity.

On the other hand, the “region” is an adaptation of Latin *regiōnem* meaning direction, line, boundary, quarter, district, etc., and is based or formed on *regēre* meaning to rule according to the Oxford English Dictionary (1989). If we try to trace its meaning, it is close to the Latin word for king or *rēx*. In the 14th century, the word “region” was used to mean “A realm or kingdom”. At the time, the serfs and the land were united under the authority of the lord, and the lords were organized under the authority of the king.

The people and the land are fundamentally contradictory in the sense that one is mobile and the other is not (Lambino 2015a, 2015b). The social order uniting the people and the land such that the people were given limited mobility over the territory under the king’s or feudal lord’s authority harmonized this contradiction. This geopolitical unity was in line with and based upon the dominant economic production at the time, i.e. sedentary agriculture. As villagers’ mobility was limited within the village and domain of the feudal lord, these villages and domains developed distinct social and cultural features. This reflected to the fact that the word “region” as early as the 16th century acquired the meaning of “[a] place ... having a certain character or subject to certain influences; the sphere or realm of something” (The Oxford English Dictionary 1989). As Europe marched towards the modern era, the socioeconomic unity between the people and the land progressed into the establishment of the nation-state as the basis for the geographical arrangement of political power (Lambino 2015a, 2015b). Under the international order based on the nation-state, the people and the territory were united under the authority of the sovereign such that each sovereign has the freedom

in governing its territory and the people within the territory (Lambino 2015a, 2015b).

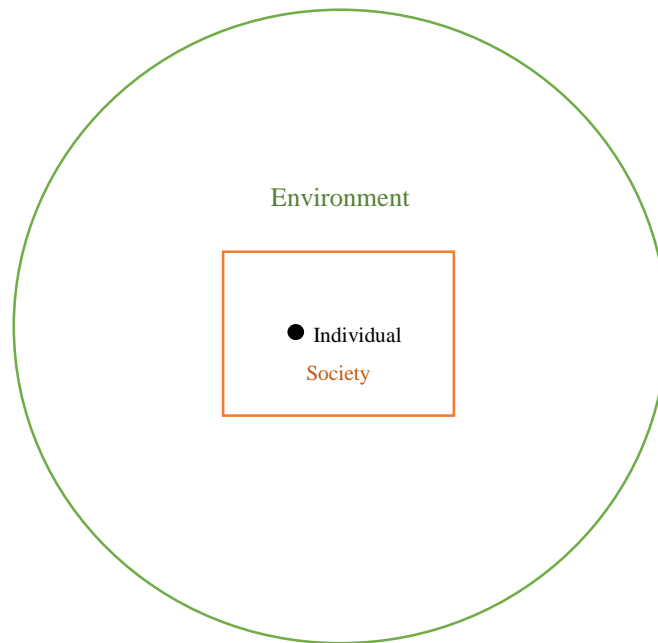
Okada (2005) aligns with the unity of the people and territory, and points-out that a region is a spatial expanse of the human society, and it is the place for human activities. He further articulates that a region can be understood as the place for social activities and action. Its most basic unit is the neighborhood or the village in which people live and spend their time. Hence, according to Okada (2005) the most essential definition of region is the living place of human beings, in other words, it is the territory for living. Okada's ideas are fertile ground to grow new ideas. If the region is the place in which human beings live, then it becomes important to know the form of existence of human beings, to understand essential processes of living, and the spatiality of living.

Unlike plants, human beings are mobile relative to their natural environment. From the perspective of mobility, human beings have separate bodies, and exist and move as individuals. Looking at its etymology, the word *individual* is from Medieval Latin word *indivīduālis* that is formed on *indivīduus* meaning indivisible and inseparable. One of the earliest printed usage of the word *individual* in English was in 1425 that meant “[o]ne in substance or essence; forming an indivisible entity; indivisible” (The Oxford English Dictionary 1989). Accordingly, the individual can be understood as the most basic unit of human existence. According to Locke in *Two Treatises of Government* (1688), the individual has the right and duty to preserve himself as it is in the nature of life. Through his restoration and renewal of his life force or vital energy, the individual sustains and maintains his existence. This paper will refer to this as “individual reproduction.”

In modern thought, the individual mind is paramount (Lambino 2015d). Descartes's proposition of *cogito ergo sum* in 1637 would connote that individual thought is a sufficient condition to prove one's existence (Lambino 2015d), and hence the individual determines his existence, and can theoretically decide to accept or reject the existence of others. However, the existence of human species cannot continue solely through the individual. Unlike other organisms, the human species can only reproduce itself through sexual reproduction, i.e. an individual has to share his or her genetic information with another individual for this to happen. In this paper, the continuation of the human species will be referred to as “species reproduction.”

In other words, human beings exist as individuals, but at the same time, they exist as members of the human species. Accordingly, human reproduction both involves individual reproduction and species reproduction. Human beings act upon and transform their natural environment for them to acquire the necessary conditions to maintain human reproduction, i.e. their existence as individuals and as members of the human species. During this process, their brains and muscles develop and transform as they have material exchange with the natural environment. Based on this material exchange, they work to acquire means that would satisfy their physical and psychological needs. The paper calls this as “economic production.” Hence, this is essential to maintain human existence. Living is defined as “the fact of being alive” (The Oxford English

Figure 3: The Individual, the Society, and the Natural Environment

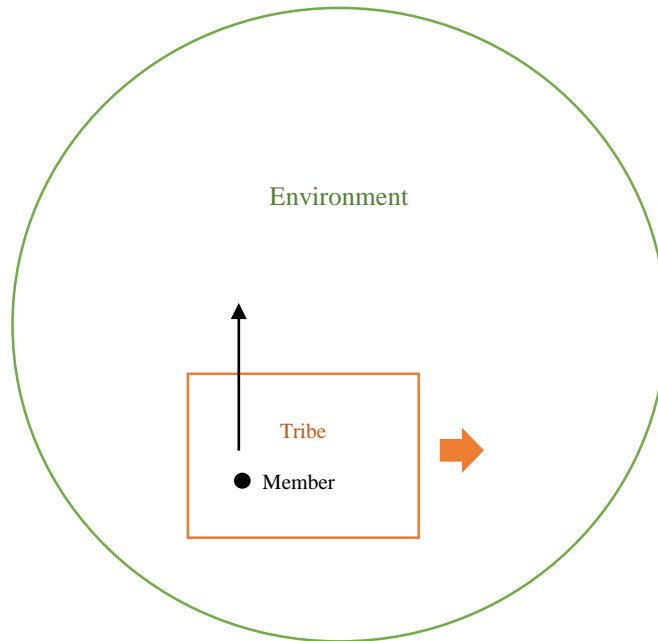


Dictionary 1989). After reconsidering these definitions, the paper sees living as the process for existence. Therefore, the paper sees that living as composed of three major aspects: individual reproduction, species reproduction, and economic production. Individual reproduction is the process of restoring and renewing the life force and vital energy of the individual. On the other hand, species reproduction is the process of reproducing and renewing the human species. Lastly, economic production is the process of acquiring the means to satisfy material and psychological needs for human reproduction.

Human beings exist and live in the natural environment. Accordingly, the three aspects of human living happen in the natural environment. At the base of economic production, human beings act upon the natural environment to acquire their material needs for human reproduction, i.e. for them to sustain their reproduction as individuals and as a species. Since they are weak as individuals or as couples in facing their natural environment, they cooperate with one another and create social institutions for their cooperation to be coordinated. In addition to the weakness of the individual to overcome environmental challenges, the individual is incomplete and must share genetic material with another individual to reproduce the human species. For these, social institutions such as the market and the marriage have to be organized for individuals to cooperate and collaborate. Hence, individuals are, by requirement, members of society.

The human species and societies are embedded in the natural environment, and, individuals are in turn embedded in society (Figure 3). While human beings are mobile, the speed in which they move is limited, and hence human mobility is also limited on space. They do not move throughout all the space, but they move within particular sections of the space. It follows that human existence

Figure 4: Nomadic Lifestyle Stereotype



Note: The tribe (i.e. camp) can move its position in the environment, and the individual and other members can move relative to the tribe.

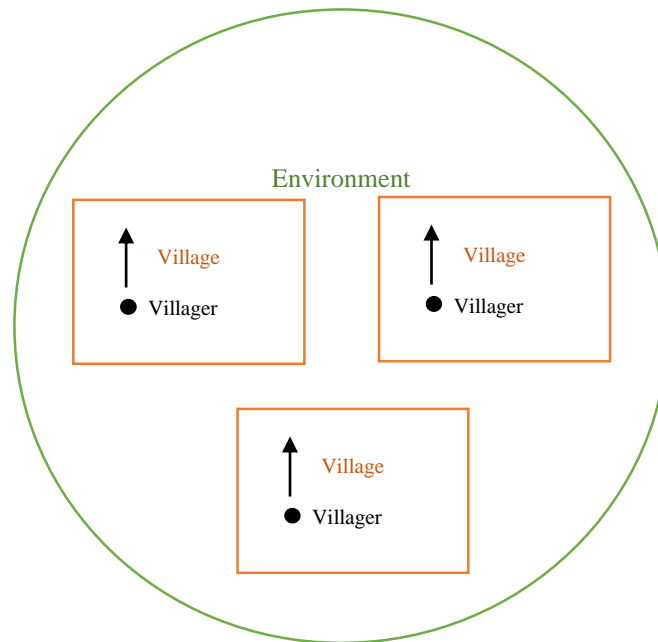
have locality or localities, and human living happens in a particular place or places. With regards to the three aspects of human living, there is a place for individual reproduction, a place for species reproduction, and a place for economic production.

Using this analytical framework, the paper examines the transformation of the living pattern, i.e. lifestyle, of human beings in relation to their natural environment from an anthropo-historical point of view.

Places for Human Living

Through the invention of agriculture, all or most aspects of living could happen in a delimited area. In sedentary agriculture, the place for acquiring subsistence could be fixed in space emanating from the human settlements. Inside the village, the human settlements and the farmlands were extensions of each other inside the village. Looking at how the farmhouse, farming shed, barn, animal stalls, garden, and paddy fields were spatially arranged, the residence and the workplace were not clearly separated. Different aspects of living were seamless in the village; work, rest, eating, child rearing, and community-building happen in the same place. For instance, one could work and take a rest in the farmland, one could work on a craft such as in weaving a bamboo basket while children would be sitting beside watching and learning, or playing around. Under this living pattern, villagers did

Figure 5: Sedentary Agricultural Lifestyle Stereotype



Note: The village is fixed in a particular place and the individual moves within the village. The village is the place for both economic production and human reproduction.

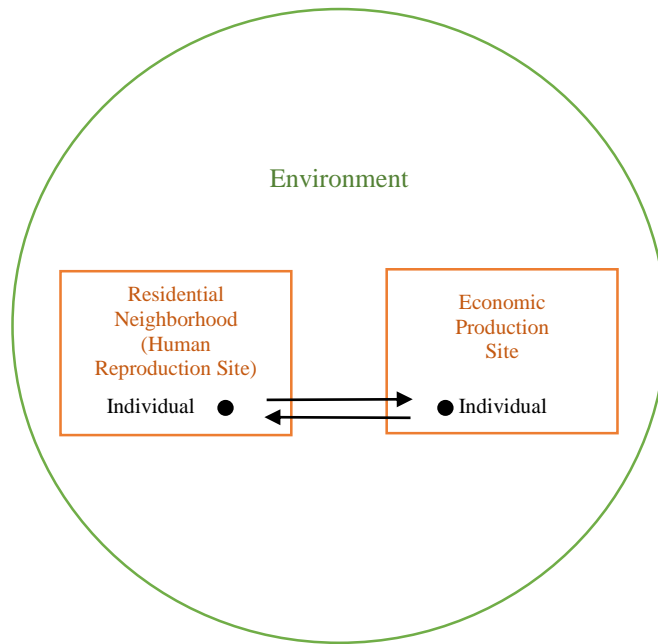
not have to leave the village as all aspects of living could happen within.

However, before the agricultural revolution started 12,000 years ago, human beings all lived as hunter-gatherers (Lee and Daly 1999), and had a very mobile lifestyle. As hunter-gatherers, they had camps that were permanent or semi-permanent for recuperation and reproduction of their energies. Childbearing and childrearing happened at the camps or in their proximities. The members of the tribe would set-out from their camps to forage for their subsistence. While reproduction was centered in the camps, provisioning for subsistence emanated out from the camps. Living came with provisioning for subsistence, and with the reproduction of the member's life force and of the tribe's members.

Mobility was deeply embedded in this lifestyle. The tribe would move its camp depending on the environmental availability of provision, and members would set-out from the camp to forage for provision (Figure 4). The tribe moved relative to their natural environment, and members moved relative to the camp (i.e. the tribe).

The paper calls this as nomadic lifestyle stereotype. In this stereotype, the places for individual reproduction and species reproduction are one and the same in or near the camp, and the place for economic production is the place extending from the camp. The place for species reproduction moves relative to the natural environment, and the individual members move relative to the place for species reproduction. For the Badjaos discussed in the previous section, their boats

Figure 6: Lifestyle Stereotype under Simple Reproduction



Note: Individuals from different residential neighborhoods work in the same production site.

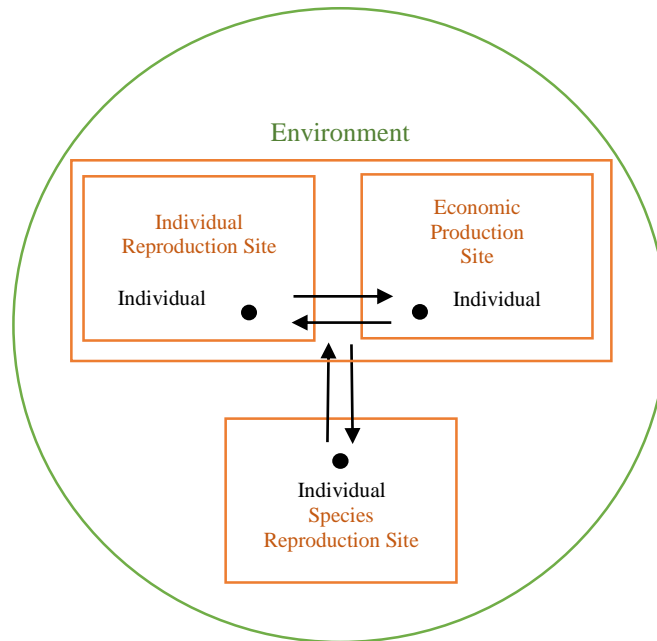
continue to flow with the sea, and individual members leave the boat to look for substances for their and their families' provisions.

Compared to the camps in nomadic lifestyle, the village in sedentary agriculture is fixed in space. In sedentary agricultural lifestyle stereotype (Figure 5), the place for provisioning and the place for recuperation and family raising happen in one and the same village. There is a spatial unity of economic production and human reproduction, and all the three aspects of human living happen in the same place.

The spatial unity of economic production and human reproduction that was realized in sedentary agriculture was degraded by the rise of capitalism, and new forms of spatial relationships were created for human beings. As the peasants became alienated from the land and the means of production, they were transformed into free and mobile workers. They left their farmlands, settled in industrial districts, and worked in factories. In England, this happened for instance through land enclosure that became widespread in the 16th century.

Under this regime, workers work under the direction of the capitalists, i.e. the owners of the means of production, to generate profit for them. In exchange, they receive wage for them to acquire their means of subsistence. They work in production sites built solely for the generation of surplus value to be realized as profit. To maximize profit, these production sites are homogenized places focused on production. Workers are not encouraged or even discouraged to take part in socialization with other workers not linked to production (e.g. improving efficiency and productivity). As these places are homogenized, they do not support the diversity of human activities.

Figure 7: Lifestyle Stereotype under Expanded Reproduction



Worker residence is separated from the workplace, and the workers commute between these two places. While the workers commute and are mobile, this lifestyle is different from the nomadic lifestyle since the workplace and residence are fixed on space, and therefore maintains the sedentary aspect of a village lifestyle. In this set-up, the residence and the community village is the place for both recuperation of the worker’s life-force and the procreation of children and raising of family (Figure 6).

In hunter-gatherer tribes or in agricultural villages, the tribal members or villagers cooperate with others in both economic production and human reproduction. In contrast to these, the spatial separation of economic production and human reproduction comes with two major and different human organizations: one for economic production mediated by capital and another for human reproduction based on reciprocity and redistribution.

The paper calls this “lifestyle stereotype under simple reproduction.” In this stereotype, human reproduction, i.e. individual reproduction and species reproduction, happens at a place that is separated from the place of economic production. Both places are fixed on space, and the workers move between the places regularly.

Under simple capital reproduction—which is the recurrence of production on the same scale—the workers moving between the places of human reproduction and economic reproduction do not increase or decrease.

However, under expanded reproduction—in which a part of the surplus value is transformed into capital—additional labor-power must be made available in the production site. New workers

are brought and incorporated into the production process. Under this process, new workers end up leaving their families or communities, and move near to the production sites in industrial and/or urban areas. The workers would commute daily to and from their workplace and their place of residence, and regularly to their families or communities (Figure 7). In this lifestyle, the workers exist in three different places. They work in the workplace, recuperate and recover their life force in their place of residence, and exist in the place of their families or communities. This paper calls this “lifestyle stereotype under expanded reproduction.” In this stereotype, the human reproduction is spatially separated from economic production, as well as, the human reproduction is spatially fragmented into individual reproduction (i.e. worker’s recuperation and recovery of life force) and species reproduction (e.g. childbearing, childrearing, family raising, and others). And the individual lives and has to regularly move between these three different places. Incidentally, some of the workers would be able to bring or have their families and unite the places of individual reproduction and species reproduction. On the other hand, the others would go back to their families or communities or would move to other places for work.

To summarize what has been discussed here on human relation to space, there are four major lifestyle stereotypes concerning the process of human existence. One: Nomadic lifestyle stereotype in which the place for individual reproduction and species reproduction are one and the same and spreading outside it is the place for economic production. In this lifestyle, tribal members move relative to the tribe and the tribe as a whole moves relative to the natural environment. Two: Sedentary agricultural lifestyle stereotype in which the place for human reproduction and the place for economic production are united. In this lifestyle, the villagers move within the confines of the village. Three: Lifestyle stereotype under simple reproduction in which the place for individual reproduction and the place for species reproduction are one and the same but this place is separated from the place for economic production. In this lifestyle, the worker commutes between these two places. Four: Lifestyle stereotype under expanded reproduction in which the places for individual reproduction, species reproduction, and economic production are all spatially separated. In this lifestyle, the migrant worker moves between these three places regularly.

This is not to say that the only one lifestyle stereotype exists in one era. Even after the agricultural revolution, nomadic peoples continued to exist; after the industrial revolution, nomadic peoples and peasants continued to exist. At the present time, we see nomadic peoples, peasants, settled workers, and migrant workers living and working in the same world.

Locality and local economy

Here, we reconstitute the concept of locality and examine the concept of local and regional economy.

In the capitalist era, the main economic actor forming and shaping the society’s local space

such as through infrastructure is more than anything else capital (Okada 2005). Harvey (1985) argues that what forms the urban is capital. Against this, Okada (2005) argues that this is also applicable in all areas both urban and rural. Originally, capital was hatched as an outcome of human beings' economic activities in the territory for human living (Okada 2005). Once it is hatched, it starts to have its autonomous movement. Soon, it breaks down the local limits through technological innovations on transportation and communications and strongly influences the manner of locality formation (Okada 2005).

Furthermore, capital fragments living spaces into the place for economic production and human reproduction under simple reproduction, and place for individual reproduction, and place for species reproduction under expanded reproduction. Workers would move between their workplace, their individual residence, and their family residence. On the other hand, the fragmentation of the living space means that a locality usually contains the three places of living. Factories, houses, hospitals, schools, parks, community centers, and churches, shrines, temples or mosques are found in the same locality. Accordingly, workers, individual residents, and families share the same locality. That is to say, human beings in economic production, human beings in individual reproduction, and human beings in species reproduction share the same locality.

The paper revisits Okada's (2005) definition on locality as the "territory for living," i.e. "the entity that holistically unites the human relationships and human-environment relationships at a defined space (translation by the author)." To incorporate the fragmentation of the living space, the definition of locality has to be reconstituted. Locality is hence the entity that holistically unites the individual reproduction, species reproduction, and economic production at a defined space.

In the capitalist era, there is a strong tendency to see the locality as a "territory for capitalist activity" (Okada 2005) and to appreciate local economy in terms of increase or decrease of regional product, local productivity, and other similar indices. As policies tend to value these indices and to pursue increase in production and profit, many cases have been observed in which human existence is ignored and human living is sacrificed. The problem of slums in the Philippines and the Minamata disaster in Japan are just a few examples of these cases.

The term "economy" comes from the ancient Greek word *oikonomia* (οἰκονομία) derived from the words of *oikos* (οἶκος) meaning household and *nomos* (νόμος) meaning law. In Ancient Greece, economy is concerned with the management and running of the estate. Using this original meaning and understanding locality as the territory for living, local economy can be understood as the unfolding of individual reproduction, species reproduction, economic production and their interactions in a definite space. From this definition, local economic policy is to manage and harmonize the dynamics of the economy for the betterment of human living.

The state and local government bodies always face the question which to prioritize: whether to prioritize the realization of profit for capital on the one hand, or the quality of human living on

the other (Okada 2005). In the middle of this, the state and local government bodies do not always necessarily work for capital accumulation (Okada 2005). They have to function for their sovereign which is the people. In democratic countries including the Philippines and Japan, residents are supposed to direct policy through the officials they elect including the village and municipal heads and village and municipal council members. From the perspective of locality being the territory for human living, human beings existing in a particular locality are not only residents. People under different aspects of living are existing in the same locality as the residents. For instance, in order for human living to be improved in the locality, not only the living of the residents has to be improved, the living of the workers (i.e. work conditions) has to be improved as well. It therefore becomes important how to incorporate people existing in the same locality under different aspects of living into the process of shaping the local economic policies.

Lastly, the WTO regime has been established as a response to capital mobility (Okada 2005). Likewise, there is a need to establish a regime to respond to contemporary human mobility and the spatial separation of living places with the end that this regime would uplift people's lives.

Concluding Remarks

The paper put forward a theory on locality and local economy. It has the following points.

One: The paper argues that human beings exist as individuals and as members of the human species. It further argues that living is the process for existence.

Two: The paper argues that living consists of three major aspects. These are economic production (acquisition of the means to satisfy material and psychological needs), individual reproduction (recovery of the life force of the individual), and species reproduction (reproduction of the human species).

Three: The paper points-out four major categories of human lifestyle. A. Nomadic lifestyle stereotype, B. Sedentary agricultural lifestyle stereotype, C. Lifestyle stereotype under simple reproduction, D. Lifestyle stereotype under expanded reproduction.

In nomadic lifestyle stereotype, the place of individual reproduction is the same as the place of species reproduction. This place is not fixed on the natural environment. Outside of this place is the place of economic production. Human beings move between these two places. In sedentary agricultural lifestyle stereotype, the three major aspects of living happen in the same place, and human beings move within the place. In lifestyle stereotype under simple reproduction, the place of individual reproduction is the same as the place of species reproduction. The unity of the two is human reproduction. The place of human reproduction is separate from the place of economic production. These places are fixed on space, and human beings move between these two places. In lifestyle stereotype under expanded reproduction, the place of individual reproduction, the place of

species reproduction, and the place of economic production are separate and distinct. Human beings move between these three places.

Four: The paper reconstitutes and redefines locality, local economy, and local economic policy to give focus on human beings. Locality is the entity that holistically unites the different processes of individual reproduction, species reproduction, and economic production at a defined space. Local economy is the unfolding at a defined space of individual reproduction, species reproduction, economic production, and their interactions. Local economic policy is the management and harmonization of individual reproduction, species reproduction, and economic production happening in a defined space for the betterment of human living.

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