

PN-ABE 117

Social Mobility and Fertility Control in a Squatter...
RP
301.32 Colorado Univ.
H118 Social Mobility and Fertility Control in
a Squatter Barrio of Davao City. Beverly
Heckart Hackenberg. July 1972(?).
28 p.
Bibliography: p. 27-28.
Presented at a SEADAG Population Seminar,
San Francisco, July 6-8, 1972.
1.Social mobility - RP.2.Socio-economic conditions -
RP.3.Rural-urban migration - RP.4.Squatters - RP.5.
Family planning - RP.I.Hackenberg, Beverly Heckart.
II.Title.

RP
301.32
#116

ISBN 71857
PNA 117

.1'

**SOCIAL MOBILITY AND FERTILITY CONTROL IN A
SQUATTER BARRIO OF DAVAO CITY ***

**Beverly Heckart Hackenberg
University of Colorado**

Introduction

It is the hypothesis of this study that the squatter settlements of the world, both past and present, have functioned as the institutional agents of change transforming peasant immigrants into urbanites with all of the accompanying changes in attitude and behavior.

"Thus the ancient city was transformed by degrees. In the beginning it was an association of some hundred chiefs of families. Later the number of citizens increased, because the younger branches obtained a position of equality. Later still, the freed clients, the plebs, all that multitude which, during the centuries, had remained outside the political and religious association, sometimes even outside the sacred enclosure of the city, broke down the barriers which were opposed to them and penetrated into the city, where they immediately became the masters," (de Coulanges 1956). "The entry of this inferior class into the city was a revolution, which, from the seventh to the fifth century, filled the history of Greece and Italy." (de Coulanges 1956; p. 274-275)

Throughout history wherever towns ceased to be the domain of a few, the less privileged intruded and among them the more able wrested property, privilege and franchise from the reluctant citizens. Their presence and power transformed essentially feudal manors into the cities of the world. The processes by which

* Presented at SEADAG Population Seminar at San Francisco, July 6-8, 1972.

A.I.D.
Reference Center
Room 1656 NS

people moved from peasant status to become legitimate citizens of the city have been discussed by many from Aristotle and Livy through Thomas and Znaniecki to Redfield and Oscar Lewis. Most writers have tended to view the situation of the immigrant from their own middle or upper class background. Thus we have the social disorganization and degradation of the slums and the wretched squalor of the squatter areas. For a long time there was little effort to compare the present situation of the inhabitants of these places with their former lives and understand the shrewd calculations of the individuals as they worked to maximize the advantages of their positions.

The great disorganization of the Polish peasant immigrant could better be interpreted as a temporarily unorganized state during which he quickly substituted fraternal organizations for those familial institutions from which he came (Wood 1955) in much the same way the inhabitants of the *barriadas* of Lima have established their associations (Doughty 1970). Many of Lewis's attributes of the culture of poverty are not significantly different from conditions in the peasant village, "the constant struggle for survival, unemployment and underemployment, low wageschild labor, the absence of food reserves in the home.... living in crowded quarters, a lack of privacy, gregariousness, a high incidence of alcoholism..." (Lewis 1961: xxvi-xxviii). Perhaps the migrant does not regard all these negative factors with the same loathing displayed by the authors, and rather concentrates on the positive characteristics of the city such as a wider variety of employment, educational possibilities, and the excitement of city life.

The present movement of peasants into slums and beyond them into squatter settlements is obviously a 20th Century survival of the ancient process of city building and urbanization which is only now being blocked in the western countries by rigid enforcement of property laws. Squatter settlements are a phenomena

of any rapidly growing city and are especially associated with industrialization. Western world cities passed through this phase at a time when there was not as much difference in the amenities of life; all streets were mud filled, there were no sewers, everyone had diseases; and no one really cared how others suffered. Sjoberg (1960: 97-98) has described the squatter settlements of medieval Europe,

The disadvantaged members of the city fan out toward the periphery, with the very poorest and the outcasts living in the suburbs the farthest removed from the center. Houses toward the city's fringes are small, flimsily constructed, often one-room hovels into which whole families crowd.

Following the rapid industrialization and expansion of western world cities there was a change in attitude toward the working and living conditions of the urban poor. Great reforms were instituted and people became sensitive to situations which had gone unnoticed for centuries. Housing standards were set and enforced and labor laws passed prohibiting unhealthy and dangerous working conditions. Since the major rural-urban migration had passed, these new laws did not discriminate severely against the western poor in following the upward mobility channels of former migrants. The 20th Century wars with accompanying labor shortages forced a temporary relaxation of regulations which assisted the war-time and immediate post war migrants to move through the system and into the suburbs. It is only recently, with the added burden of racial discrimination, that the process has broken down, especially in our American cities.

At the end of World War II the industrialization of the Third World began accompanied by the explosive growth of cities

whose inevitable slums and squatter districts were thought to contain enough terrors to bring shivers of righteous horror from the world wide community of social scientists, city planners, police, government officials and United Nations experts. Their critical opinion formed from viewing the problem at a discreet and safe distance was that these lawless and desperate people had created a crisis and had made the city, " a poor habitat, not only for man but for industry and trade. Chaotic in form and destructive socially," (Weissman 1966), and something had to be done to remove the sufferers to a more suitable place. Perhaps it did not occur to this coalition of bleeding hearts and politicians that the squatter settlements had prevented a crisis and that no chaos existed except in their perception. The movement of people without capital into industrializing cities cannot effectively be controlled except in extreme police states. These people only display the revolutionary lawless tendencies so often ascribed to them when they are unable to utilize their newly acquired modest wealth to satisfy basic needs for security and living space. The "riots of Watts" will not take place where slum leaders plot their next barriada invasion.

More recent writers have attempted to interpret the life styles of the slum dwellers and squatters from a less ethnocentric middle class position and have begun to provide more valid insights into the manner in which the immigrant manipulates his environment given his capabilities and perceptions of his situation. The first descriptions of the slum-squatter situation as an orderly process were made by Mangin and Turner in papers resulting from their ten year study of the barriadas of Lima, Peru.

The Turner Model of Urban Settlement

Turner has presented a model of urban settlement in terms of the priorities of the immigrant as they relate to the functions of the transitional city. Housing is defined environmentally

rather than structurally, " in terms of performance or functional relationships between habitat and the inhabitant....there are three basic functions of the dwelling environment: location, tenure, and amenity. For any place to function as a dwelling it must have accessible location, it must provide secure, continued residence for a minimum period, and it must provide a minimum of shelter from hostile elements...whether climatic or social." (Turner 1968: 356) Each of these three functions of a dwelling are variables related to the social situations of the inhabitant through time. These social situations are those of the bridgeheader, the consolidator, and the status seeker.

A migrant begins as a bridgeheader when he enters the city. His priorities are a location immediately adjacent to the central city where casual jobs are plentiful and a cheap rented room which can be given up quickly if the occupant wishes to move. He has very little interest in the overcrowding, discomfort and lack of security usually associated with this area.

As the ambitious bridgeheader acquires capital, his priorities change. Frequently, by this stage he has begun a family, increasing his need for space and therefore his rental costs, and his slowly acquired material possessions are endangered by thievery. His job security, as well as income, has improved sufficiently to enable his wife and children to leave their casual employment. Thus, as a consolidator, he is looking for housing he can afford in an area away from the high crime rate and crowding of the slum, but within cheap transportation distance of his work. At this time he becomes interested in more space, congenial neighbors, and in the availability of social services such as schools, clinics, and religious facilities. The consolidator has two courses open to him. He may move into an established squatter settlement as a renter, hoping to obtain a site for a house at a later date. Or he can join a group in planning and invading a new squatter area.

Turner's highest level is termed the "status seeker". Among the status seekers you will find the highest priorities are involved with amenities. A rented apartment in a socially acceptable location is preferable to a squatter house in the wrong location. These people will frequently rent or allow a relative to live in their house in the squatter village.

This model documents the spatial movement of the peasant from entry into the city until he has become an established urbanite. As he struggles through the years to achieve a secure foothold in the city, the peasant is also acquiring an urban set of attitudes and values.

One index of modernization universally recognized is fertility behavior. The country whose population exhibits a low death and birth rate is accepted as having completed the demographic transition to become a modern Western nation. The Third World countries are still in the transition with a falling death rate but a birth rate which remains high. If it would be possible to document a change in fertility behavior as the urban immigrant achieves his status changes these would be reason to postulate a favorable future of controlled growth for these countries rather than the crisis and chaos now envisioned.

Turner proposes, and preliminary evidence supports, the notion that a change in life style occurs for those immigrants who negotiate the change from the first to the second stage of urban residence. With Macisco, Bouvier and Weller (1970), Hendershot (1971) and older writers, we submit that this change in life style embodies a change in attitudes toward fertility.

If the new arrival in the central city sees a child as an income producer, and pregnancy exerts minimum interference with a wife's earning capacity, then there is little motivation for family planning. In the squatter barrio, the position of the child changes from producer to consumer, in whom savings must

be invested for education if the family is to secure further upward mobility.

This study is a preliminary report on the testing of the hypothesis that the squatter settlement provides an institutional context favorable to fertility control, and would encompass a clientele more receptive than the central city slums where the majority of family planning programs are located.

Empirical Background

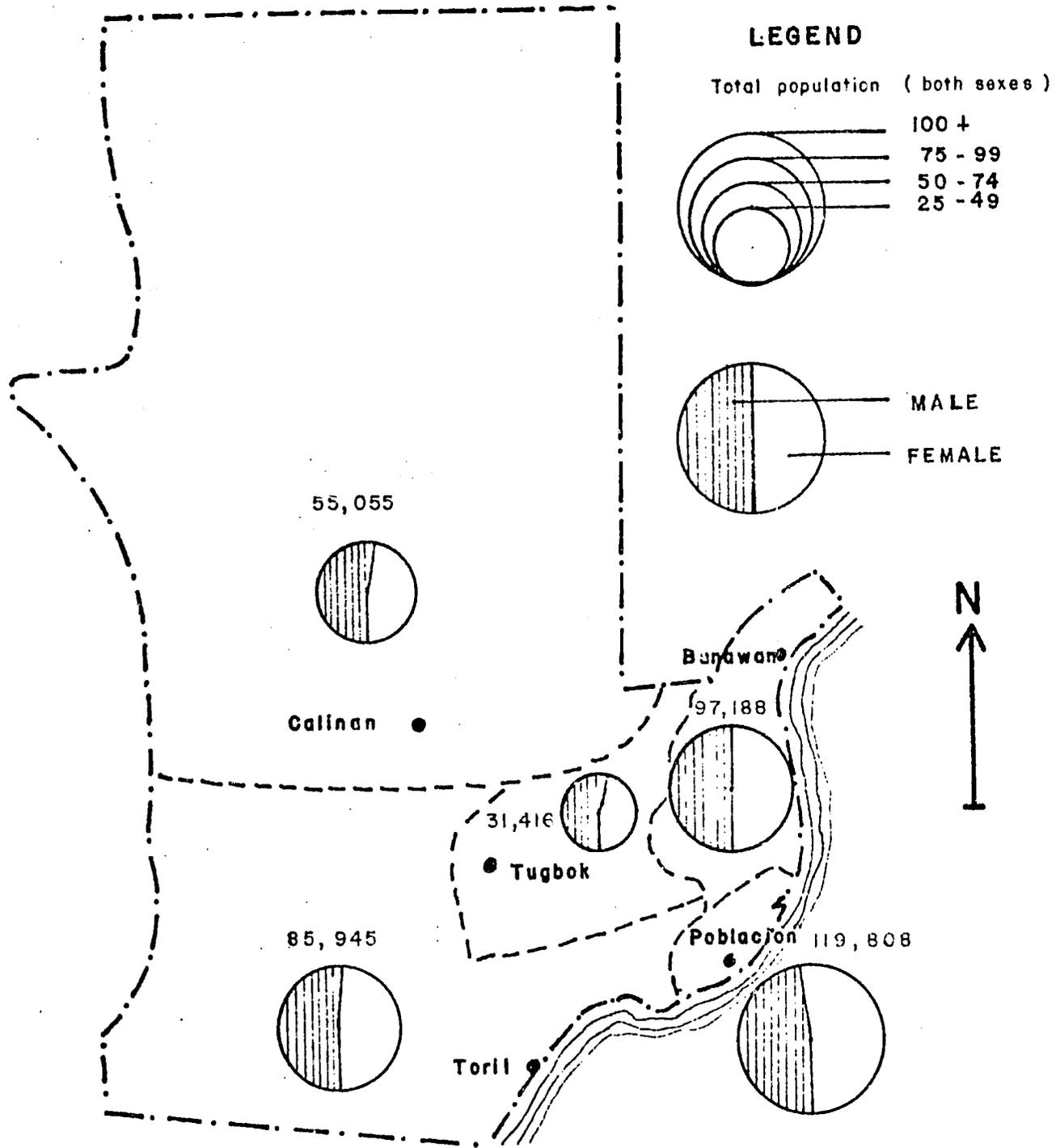
The city of Davao, Republic of the Philippines, was chosen for the study because of its extremely high in-migration and large slum and squatter populations. Davao was the third largest metropolitan area in the Philippines in 1960, with a population of 225,712. Over the intercensal decade 1960-1970, an annual rate of increase in excess of 5.5% was recorded, reaching 389,312 in the terminal year. The rate of growth for Davao has been remarkably constant. For the intercensal interval of 1948-1960, the city displayed an annual increase of 5.75%. At the present rate (5.5%), the city population will reach 758,000 by 1980, and will pass the one million mark by 1988.

1. Sectoral Growth of Davao City.

The city consists of a poblacion (City Proper), and four adjacent districts containing residential and industrial concentrations (Bunawan and Toril) and primarily agricultural communities (Tugbok and Calinan). Inner city slums (Piapi, Bolton, Agdao, Bucana) are confined to the poblacion, while squatter barrios (Buhangin, Lanang, Talomo, Garcia Heights) are located in Toril (older squatter settlements) and Bunawan (newer squatter barrios). The intercensal growth pattern for each district was as follows:

1A

DISTRIBUTION of POPULATION - Davao City by administrative unit & sex - 1970

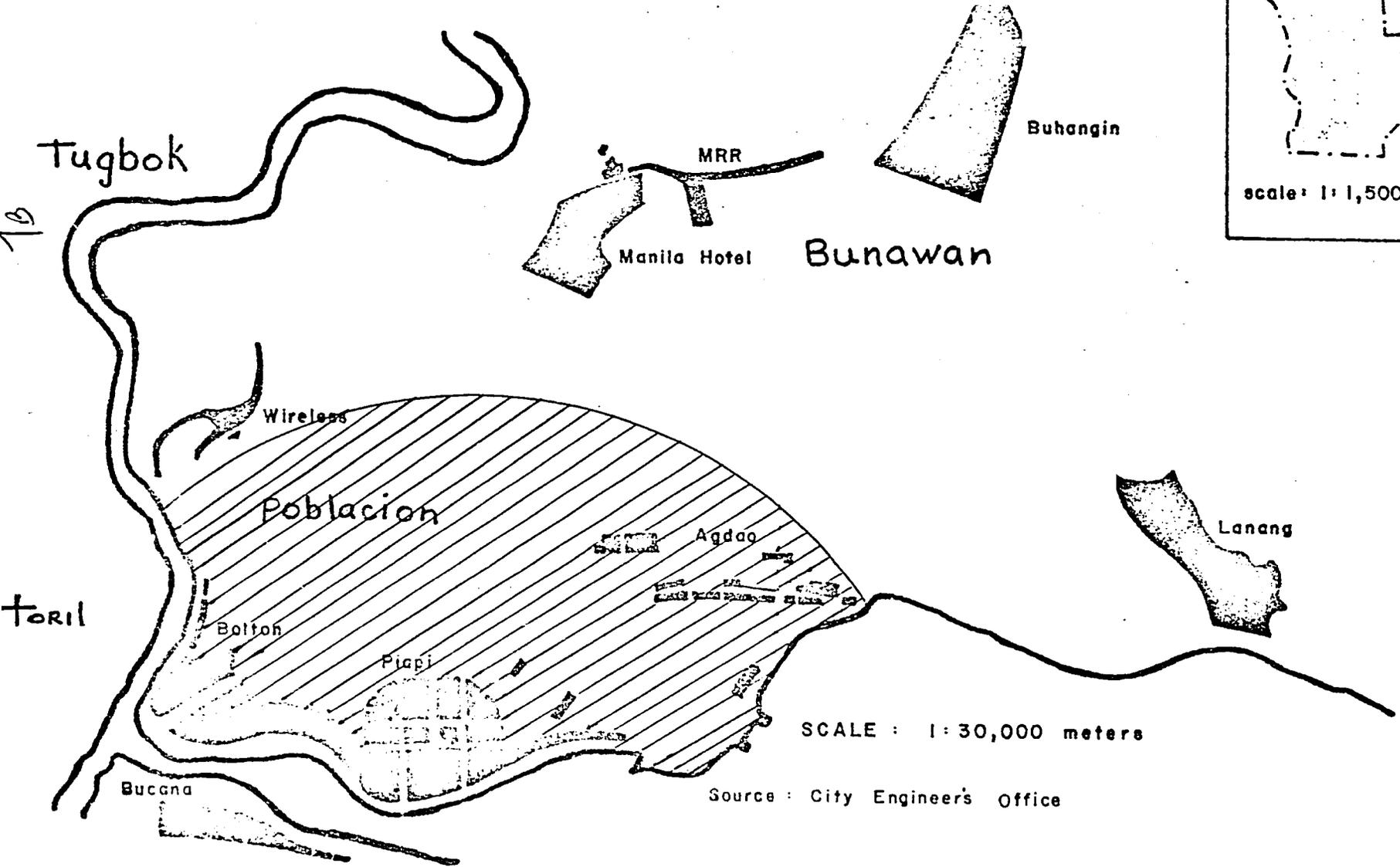
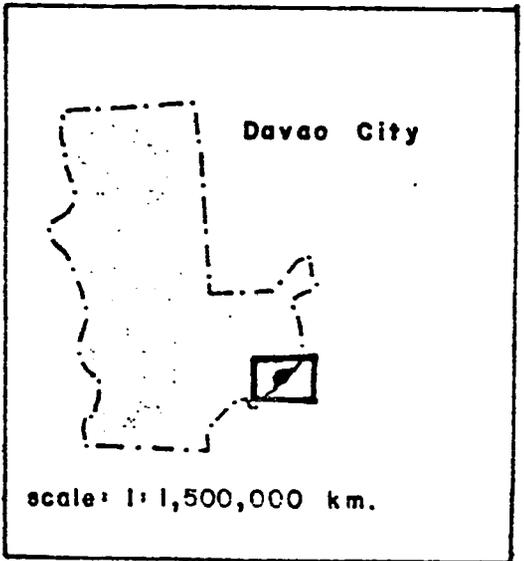


SCALE : 1 : 375,000 n.

Source : Bureau of the Census and Statistics , Davao City

SQUATTER COLONIES

Davao City
(Poblacion)



Source : City Engineer's Office

Table 1.
DAVAO CITY INTERCENSAL COMPARISON: 1960-1970

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>
Poblacion (City Proper)	82,720	119,808
Tugbok	29,462	31,416
Calinan	36,617	55,055
Toril	47,301	85,845
Bunawan	29,612	97,188
DAVAO CITY	225,712	389,312

To illuminate the sectoral pattern, the proportionate growth of each of the five districts is presented below:

1960-1970 INCREASE AS PERCENTAGE OF 1960 BASE

	<u>Net Increase</u>	<u>% of 1960 Base</u>
Poblacion (City Proper)	37,808	31.5%
Tugbok	1,954	6.6
Calinan	18,438	50.3
Toril	38,544	81.4
Bunawan	67,576	228.2
DAVAO CITY	163,600	72.4%

It is immediately apparent that Toril and Bunawan, the two districts containing squatter settlements, outdistanced the growth of the city as a whole, while the Poblacion fell far behind. It is obvious that the locus of urban growth in Davao is represented by the newer squatter colonies extending northward.

2. The Squatter Settlement of Lapu Lapu Village.

The first squatter settlements in Davao City were occupied during the immediate postwar years, but they have been extended continuously to the present time. The most recent invasion of Wireless took place in June, 1970. The squatter settlements of Lanang in the northeast sector of the city's coastal zone were first invaded in the 1950's by people working in the coconut

haciendas there. They were later joined by the families of workers from the timber processing and exporting firms of Alcantara and Sons and South Bay Lumber Company which bound the squatter settlement on the north and east sides. In 1963, these squatters were getting so numerous that the hacenderos and lumber firms on whose land they had settled began a process of eviction. With this impetus a group of 288 banded together and successfully invaded some adjacent government land and built Lupa Lupa Village.

The site of the Village is a marshy area surrounded by coconut groves. The residential tract occupied by the squatters consists of two hectares which had been leased before the war by a Captain Rivera for fish ponds for raising bangos. The leaders of the group were able to choose land on the edges of the coconut groves but the rest of the settlers had to contend with house lots which were frequently under water. Their ingenuous solution to the problem, considering their lack of capital to purchase dirt fill and have it transported to the site, was to approach the South Bay Lumber Company and to have them dump truck loads of sawdust into the marsh. It was on this insubstantial base that many of the homes have been built.

Following the invasion and the rapid erection of wooden houses built from scrap lumber, collected from the nearby sawmills, the legal battles for legitimate possession of the land began. Captain Rivera, now residing in the United States, and his relatives attempted to evict the squatters. The squatters claimed they had a legitimate right to the area,

"The squatter's area in Lanang was leased by Captain Rivera... but his lease has expired and he did not renew it. Captain Rivera had titled land in Calinan and people there squatted on his land. Instead of driving them away he helped them to get land titles... If he generously gave his titled land in Calinan to the squatters it would follow that he would be willing to give this area away to us."

The squatters further alleged that their occupation of the area is being disputed by an overseer who claims to represent Captain Rivera's interests but in reality is merely seeking to grab the land for his own use; therefore, as residents, they have a claim superior to his.

Regardless of the merit of these assertions, the Lanang Homeless Association was formed for the purpose of contesting the ownership of the tract occupied by the squatters. It was initiated at least eight years ago and its president was the most important leader in the area. Through its attorneys, it filed a protest to force the release of the land for private titles. Embodied in this petition, prepared in January, 1964, is a survey of the settlement giving locations and sizes of lots, and streets dividing them.

Attached to this petition was a list of 288 claimants, who were supposedly inhabitants of Lapu Lapu. In reality almost a third of them only put up frames of houses to establish their rights while they acquired more capital for building. This led to disaster in the courts. When the case was brought before the judge in 1970 he made an inspection of the Village and ruled against the squatters because too many of the people named in the petition did not reside in Lapu Lapu. This led to an overthrow of the old leadership and a new leader was elected. The by-laws were amended to require the owner to complete his house or sell his rights to someone who would.

Visual impressions of Lapu Lapu Village are somewhat mixed. The usual plants and trees surrounding Filipino houses are missing since nothing will grow in saw dust. The heat from the sun on saw dust is intense and on a rainy day it is almost impossible to enter even with a jeep. There are the usual small front-room Sari-Sari Stores but there is no market place in the area. The appearance of the Village is constantly changing as the residents complete new houses or improve their old ones. Several families

have built new homes on their lots and then torn down their old shacks. As reported in squatter areas all over the world there is a continual upgrading of the Village,

There was no school when we began our surveys in early 1970, but an efficient committee was formed, materials were collected, and the squatters built their own three room school which opened for grades 1-3 in July 1970. It now has six grades and eight rooms. The first teachers were volunteers from among the educated squatters since the city would not provide teachers to a school built on private land. However a sufficient amount of cajoling and pressure in an election year forced the mayor to attend the dedication of the school and city teachers were soon assigned to it. One of the squatters is the principal teacher and several of the teachers are residents.

The other most needed facility according to responses on our survey was electricity. Again there was a reluctance on the part of the privately owned Davao Light Company to place their poles on private land. This too was overcome with numerous meetings and petitions, and in July, 1970, electricity was brought into the Village. The majority of the homes now have electric lights and some even have TV.

The present concern of the inhabitants, now that they have acquired a school and electricity, is to get adequate drainage to keep from floating away in the rain. There are no sewers and there probably never will be any. Rain water is caught in tanks as it drains from the roof for domestic use. This is the customary drinking water source for all of Davao. Transportation by jeepney is readily available to all points of Davao and many of the men work in the lumber companies nearby. Obviously, Lapu Lapu Village is a success and its occupants, many of whom arrived there from the slums of Davao, take great pride in the peace and quiet of their new "suburban residence".

Descriptive data on Lapu Lapu Village were obtained through identical surveys repeated at two different points in time; the first survey was conducted in March, 1970, and the second in December, 1971, approximately 21 months later. Both surveys were conducted under the sponsorship of the Davao Research and Planning Foundation, and with the participation of our office staff at the Mindanao Development Center.

Lapu Lapu Village is a component of the evolving urban social organization of Southeast Asia. It illustrates the position of the organized squatter community in the process of urban growth, upward social mobility and incipient fertility control. To indicate these aspects of life in the village for the purposes of this paper, the following data will be presented from a preliminary tabulation of the December, 1971, survey data on 236 households.

Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics

The information to be presented here concerns the rate of growth, size and composition of Lapu Lapu Village, together with enough household data to permit a socioeconomic classification of the community. Against this classification, some preliminary data on fertility and family planning practises will be presented and examined.

1. The Origin and Growth of Lapu Lapu Community. The village is almost entirely a product of the last decade. From arrival year data presented in Table 2, we can assert that only 42 households, 18.5% of the present number, were established before 1965. By 1969, the community had expanded to 127 households, or 55.7% of present resident strength. The remaining 44.3% of the community...101 households... represent new arrivals during the past two years, 1970-1971.

The mushroom growth of Lapu Lapu Village during the latter half of the decade just completed is part of the general trend toward expansion in the Bunawan sector of Davao City of which it is a part (see table 1, p. 8). Since 1964, however, the annual growth rate of the village has been 27.5% per year, or approximately five times

the 5.5% annual growth rate registered in Davao City between 1960-1970!

Table 2. Household Arrival Year in Lapu Lapu Village:
All Households Present in December, 1971.

<u>Arrival Year</u>	<u>Households</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
1960	2	1.0
1963	9	3.9
1964	31	13.6
1965	18	7.9
1966	18	7.9
1967	14	6.1
1968	11	4.8
1969	24	10.5
1970	53	23.2
1971	48	21.1
TOTAL	228	100.0

Should this rate continue, and it obviously cannot continue for very long before available lots are exhausted, the population of Lapu Lapu would exceed 1,000 households in 1977, and would reach the 2,000 mark in 1980. The obvious inference is that other target areas will be chosen by the unaccommodated hordes of homeseekers, and new squatter associations and duplicate villages will soon be appearing elsewhere in Bunawan.

The growth rate of Lapu Lapu Village in recent years, then, serves as an indicator of the growing demand for the life style which it represents rather than as a projection of the anticipated population of the village itself.

The growth of Lapu Lapu Village is not some sort of inexorable response to demographic imperatives, however. It has been conditioned and shaped by historical circumstances; an initial growth spurt accompanied the filing of a petition for release of the land in 1964, and the more recent avalanche of new households was immediately preceded by the establishment of the elementary school within the community and the arrival of electricity.

We may conclude that population growth and movement provides a more than ample supply of new city-dwellers to Davao, but that features of a particular destination operate to select the portion finding its way to Lapu Lapu Village. We will seek these selective factors in our review of the characteristics of the community residents.

First of all, the ultimate origin of household heads and spouses is overwhelmingly rural; where 188 (85%) households originate in rural areas, 33 (15%) have spent their entire lives in urban surroundings. Heads and spouses of only 17 households claim Davao City as their home community.

Table 3. Intervening Destinations of Households Residing in Lapu Lapu Village, December, 1971.

No Intervening Destination			33
Intervening Destination by Type:			
	<u>Households</u>		<u>%</u>
A. Rural Residence Only	17		9.0
B. Central Slum Only	63		33.5
C. Central Slum & Squatter Village	32		17.0
D. Other Squatter Village Only	<u>76</u>		<u>40.5</u>
	188		100.0
Subtotal			188
TOTAL			221

Secondly, for 188 (85%) of the 221 households responding to this item, paths of migration have taken them to intervening destinations prior to their arrival in Lapu Lapu Village. Examination of these intervening destinations (see Table 3) permits us to offer an observation with direct bearing upon the Turner hypothesis: 91% of the Lapu Lapu Village dwellers with intervening destinations resided previously in a slum or other squatter area, and 51% of them were definitely central city slum dwellers at some stage in their pattern of movement. We may conclude that Lapu Lapu Village, as a final destination, represents the achievement of upward socioeconomic mobility for a substantial proportion of the present residents.

2. Age-Sex and Household Composition of Lapu Lapu Village. The demographic composition of the community as of December, 1971, is given in Table 4 below. Adequate comparative data are not available, but when the distribution is matched with that of Davao City for 1960 (as published in the Census of the Philippines for that year) some minor differences are apparent. The largest of these is a 3.6% excess of pre-school children, and a 3.1% deficiency in the population 20-29, in the squatter barrio.

Inspection of table 4 discloses an interesting feature of the sex ratio which may explain these deviations. There is an excess of females 15 through 34 over males, and an excess of males 35 through 54 over females. The data disclose a marked tendency for older males to marry younger females who are in their peak reproductive years. This tendency is compatible with the excess of pre-school children and the deficiency of young male adults in the Village population.

Table 4. Age-Sex Composition of Lapu Lapu Village.
Population of December, 1971.

	Males		Females		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
0-4	165	11.7	137	9.7	302	21.4
5-9	120	8.5	117	8.3	237	16.8
10-14	92	6.5	77	5.5	169	12.0
15-19	63	4.4	81	5.7	144	10.1
20-24	40	2.8	54	3.8	94	6.6
25-29	47	3.5	61	4.3	108	7.8
30-34	64	4.5	49	3.5	113	8.0
35-39	46	3.3	44	3.1	90	6.4
40-44	29	2.1	20	1.4	49	3.5
45-54	36	2.5	30	2.2	66	4.7
55-64	15	1.1	9	.6	24	1.7
65+	6	.4	8	.6	14	1.0
TOTAL	723	51.3	687	48.7	1,410	100.0

Household composition of the Lapu Lapu Village population in 1971 is illustrated in Table 5 below. The mean number of persons per household was 6.12....slightly below the 6.4 persons per household disclosed in the 1970 Davao City Census. In short, examination of age-sex and household data disclose that the Lapu Lapu Village population is only slightly different from the larger universe from which it is drawn.

Table 5. Household Composition of Lapu Lapu Village. Population of Residents in December, 1971.

<u>Members in Each Household</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
1	1	.4
2	11	4.6
3	23	9.8
4	33	13.9
5	27	11.4
6	44	18.6
7	29	12.3
8	27	11.4
9	20	8.5
10	13	5.5
11	4	1.8
12	4	1.8
TOTAL	236	100.0

3. Socioeconomic Characteristics of Lapu Lapu Village. The illusion of sameness is destroyed when we examine the education, employment and income data for the occupants of this squatter barrio, however. The average educational attainment for household heads and spouses is one and one-half years of high school (7.5 years of education). There is an expected sex differential. Males have completed two years of high school while the female average falls in the sixth year level (completion of elementary school).

Table 6. Education of Parents in Lapu Lapu Village.

	Male		Female	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Attended College	41	18.1	28	12.2
Attended High School	87	38.3	68	29.7
Attended Elementary	96	42.3	129	56.3
No Education	3	1.3	4	1.8
Totals	227	100.0	229	100.0

Precise interpretation of these data are difficult because of the absence of contemporary data for the remainder of Davao City. However, this level of educational attainment among an adult population of primarily rural origin must be considered exceptional. In the adult population of Davao Province (made up of those 25 years of age and over in 1960), over one-half had never attended school.

If one expects to find the occupants of a squatter barrio consisting of the dregs of rural society cast out into an inhospitable and unreceptive urban setting, the educational data from Lapu Lapu Village tend to disconfirm that image. The impression of better-than-average socioeconomic status will be further confirmed by a glance at the occupational distribution provided in Table 7 below.

To those familiar with the economic structure of Southeast Asia, one of the striking features of this occupational distribution is the absence of reliance upon low-status, low-paying positions such as driver, laborer, household helper, agricultural worker, security guard or tailor-dressmaker. These categories combined contain only 29.6% of the labor force. Other indications of relative affluence are the low rate of unemployment and the very small number of women in the labor force (less than 30% of all housewives making their homes in Lapu Lapu Village).

Table 7. Employment Patterns in Lapu Lapu Village

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
Artisans and Craftsmen ¹	55	1	56	16.7
Commercial ²	19	41	60	17.9
Clerical	16	1	17	5.0
Laborer	37	0	37	11.1
Industrial ³	57	3	60	17.9
Farm. and Stock	10	0	10	3.0
Driver	31	0	31	9.3
Professional-Managerial	16	11	27	8.1
Tailor-Dressmaker	2	6	8	2.5
Business	2	2	4	1.2
Personal Service	2	2	4	1.2
Security Guard	8	0	8	2.5
Retired	4	0	4	1.5
Government Service	3	0	3	.9
Unemployed	5	0	5	1.5
TOTALS	267	67	334	100.0

1. This category includes predominantly auto mechanics, carpenters, and factory-employed carpenters, i.e., highly skilled workers.
2. Males in this category are primarily salesmen paid a basic monthly wage. Women are sari-sari store operators, earning much lower income.
3. No distinction is made here between skilled machine operators and unskilled workers, however, the highly skilled are in the majority. All are paid substantial wages and employment is permanent.

The primary criterion for assessment of socioeconomic status in occupational terms, however, is the large proportion of better-

paying jobs held by male household heads in the community. The highly remunerated categories of employment in Table 7 include artisans and craftsmen, industrial wage workers, professional-managerial and government workers. These positions, taken together, comprise 50% of the male labor force.

The test of inferences made from educational and employment data concerning the relatively acceptable circumstances of life in Lapu Lapu Village will be found in the income distribution provided below in Table 8.

Table 8. Household Income in Lapu Lapu Village.
Resident Population of December, 1971.

<u>Monthly Income</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
₱ 0- 99	6	2.7
100-199	34	15.4
200-299	96	43.4
300-399	40	18.1
400-499	14	6.3
500-599	16	7.2
600-699	9	4.1
700-799	4	1.8
800-899	2	1.0
TOTAL	221	100.0

The income distribution reveals that the average monthly household income in the Village is ₱ 312.44, with one-fifth of the households earning monthly incomes of ₱ 400 or more. Looked at from the other side, less than one-fifth of the households in the community earned less than the minimum wage of ₱ 240 per month.

A final index of both social stability and socioeconomic status related to the Turner hypothesis may be gleaned from (1) the

proportion of homeowners among the residents of Lapu Lapu Village, and (2) the estimated cash value of the residential property owned and occupied by them. Of the 233 households for which data were secured, 160 or 68.7% were owner-occupants of residences in the community while another 55 households or 23.6% were renting. A final 18 households or 7.7% consisted of occupants who were administering the property for others. Such "administrators" may best be defined as caretakers or watchmen who occupy property for the owner while he is absent.

Table 9. Estimated Sale Value of Houses and Lots in Lapu Lapu Village: December, 1971.

<u>Valuation</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
0- 500	44
501- 1,000	31
1,001- 1,500	12
1,501- 2,000	12
2,001- 2,500	16
2,501- 3,000	9
3,001- 3,500	21
3,501- 4,000	11
4,001- 5,000	7
5,001- 6,000	7
6,001- 7,000	4
7,001- 8,000	9
8,001- 9,000	7
9,001-10,000	3
10,001+	16
No Estimate	24
Total	233

The financial substance represented by the owner-occupants making up two-thirds of the households in Lapu Lapu Village may be further supported by data regarding the cash value of their residences in Table 9 above. While values of individual dwellings

ranged from below ₱ 500 to above ₱ 25,000, the average dwelling was valued at ₱ 3,100. Since the cheapest low-cost commercial housing available in Davao City costs about three times that figure, the dwellings are not sumptuous.

However, the high proportion of owner-occupants, and the substantial valuation of homes occupied, correlates well with other indices of prosperity described above. More importantly, the significant cash value attached to homes and homesites in the Village may operate as a discriminating variable. The cash value of homes and homesites, like real estate prices in American suburbs, serves a selector function, insuring that only households which meet income prerequisites may secure admission.

It is, perhaps, unconventional to impute the traditional functions of property values to lots in a squatter community. The fact remains, however, that the area is subdivided and lots are surveyed and sold by the Lanang Homeless Association. If not occupied, they may be repossessed and sold again by the Association. An improved lot remains in the possession of the owner, however, and he may sell it, together with its improvements, to a subsequent occupant.

These simple considerations are apparently enough to create a market in Lapu Lapu Village real estate. And, once established, the market continues to function under circumstances where demand exceeds supply. The consequence, apparently, is to drive prices up and to discriminate against low income persons who may seek entry into the community. A partial explanation of the unusually high levels of education, employment, occupational status and income found in the community may be provided by these considerations.

To summarize at this point, we may maintain that the Turner hypothesis concerning upward social mobility associated with the

formation of squatter associations and the seizure and occupation of new residential areas is applicable to Lapu Lapu Village. The rural origins and intervening destinations of the present residents define the steps up the ladder leading to eventual entry into Lapu Lapu Village or some other equivalent squatter barrio.

The capital requirements for admission to the community insure that only persons who are securely employed at better-than-average salaries are accepted. These, in turn, once they become occupants, tend to invest a portion of their earnings into community development and home improvement. A consequence of this is that property values tend to increase and entrance requirements for the next group of applicants should become even more rigorous.

4. Implications for Fertility Control. For many families of agricultural background who manage to negotiate the transition to urban life, success and security are accompanied by seizure of a place in a squatter community such as Lapu Lapu Village. The conventional wisdom surrounding demographic transition theory would suggest that an upwardly mobile cluster of households of this sort should provide an ideal clientele for fertility control.

Empirical support for this notion is forthcoming from survey items dealing with favorable attitudes toward, and present employment of, family planning services included in the Lapu Lapu Village interview schedule. Of 192 married women between the ages of 17 and 44, 35 or 18% were using a contraceptive method at the time of the survey, and another 71 women, or 37% of the population at risk, expressed definite interest in learning about a family planning method. Contraceptors and those interested in family planning constituted 55% of the married women in the fertile age range.

Limitations of space and time prevent full examination of all the implications of Lapu Lapu Village as a favorable environment for

fertility control. However, the age composition of married women, their reproductive experience, and their socioeconomic status within the community may be examined from the vantage point of their interest in fertility control.

Table 10. Age Composition of Married Women in Lapu Lapu Village by Attitude Toward Fertility Control.

	Acceptors	Interested	Not Interested	Total
Age 17-19	1	3	1	5
20-24	7	12	9	28
25-29	8	21	26	55
30-34	12	15	16	43
35-39	6	16	21	43
40-44	1	4	13	18
TOTAL	35	71	86	192

It is clear from Table 10 above that interest in family planning is strongest in the age groups from 17 through 34, and weakest in those above age 35. Since the target population for family planning programs corresponds with the group of women in Lapu Lapu who seem to be most favorably disposed, we gain the initial impression that substantial population reduction might be achieved by providing adequate services to the village.

This impression is heightened when we turn our attention to the socioeconomic characteristics of the married women, classified by their attitude toward family planning, presented in Table 11 below.

Clearly, women included as acceptors have the highest level of education and the households to which they belong have the highest concentration of incomes in the ₱ 300-600 range. Heads of the households to which they belong, moreover, have the highest proportion of permanent employment with major factories and corporations in Davao City.

Table 11. Socioeconomic Characteristics of Married Women in Lapu Lapu Village by Family Planning Attitude.

	<u>Acceptors</u>	<u>Interested</u>	<u>Not Interested</u>
1. <u>Education:</u>			
A. Elementary	37.0%	54.0%	62.0%
B. High School and Collage	63.0%	46.0%	38.0%
2. <u>Income:</u>			
A. Below ₱300/mo.	45.7%	64.8%	61.6%
B. Above ₱300/mo. (to ₱600/mo.)	45.7%	28.2%	27.9%
3. <u>Employment:</u>			
A. Permanent	83.4%	79.4%	70.5%
B. Impermanent	16.6%	20.5%	29.5%

Favorable attitudes and strategic socioeconomic position with regard to family planning must be translated into effective behavior if the upward social mobility of Lapu Lapu families is to be used as a predictor of fertility control. The fertility performance of the married women of the community is examined in Table 12 below. The measure of fertility performance is average number of children ever born to women in each five-year age class from 15 through 44.

Table 12. Children Ever Born to Married Women in Lapu Lapu Village by Age Group and Family Planning Attitude.

Age	<u>Acceptors</u>	<u>Interested</u>	<u>Not Interested</u>	<u>All Women</u>
17-19	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.4
20-24	2.7	1.8	1.7	2.3
25-29	3.3	2.6	2.6	2.8
30-34	4.3	4.3	3.3	4.0
35-39	6.5	6.8	5.2	5.7
40-44	3.0	6.5	6.8	6.6

The obvious conclusion from Table 12 is that those women using contraception are also those whose fertility has already proven to be excessive by community standards at every age level! For them, interest in contraception might be characterized as "too little and too late". Interest in family planning, like acceptance of a contraceptive method, appears to be directly related to fertility performance. Those uninterested in family planning are the married women with the fewest children.

Despite these less than encouraging conclusions regarding the reproductive performance of the women of Lapu Lapu, only one-half the present acceptors have reached the age of 30. If they become effective users of contraceptive methods, a substantial number of births may still be averted among them. This conclusion is even more applicable to those who have expressed only a favorable attitude up to the present.

Conclusions

The history and socioeconomic composition of Lapu Lapu Village offers affirmative evidence in support of the Turner hypothesis. This hypothesis seeks to find a place for the squatter community in a new definition of urban social organization for the developing world. It attributes to squatters the achievement motives and desire for improved socioeconomic status which have proven to be an essential part of self-managed social evolution throughout the world.

One of the consequences of this process, when successfully negotiated, is the transformation of traditional rural folk into effective urban residents. In Lapu Lapu Village, that goal appears to have been achieved. A corollary is the expectation that, as social status of the urban migrant improves, his interest and practise of fertility control will likewise increase. On this score the evidence from Lapu Lapu Village is inconclusive. It is perhaps not too much to expect that the reservoir of favorable attitudes toward family planning, which are obviously compatible with interests in community improvement, will soon be acted upon.

REFERENCES

- Bonilla, Frank
1961 Rio's Favelas. AUFS Reports, East Coast South America Series, Vol. VII No. 3, American Universities Field Staff, Inc.
- Carino, Benjamin V.
1970 "Hope or Despair: A Comparative Study of Slum and Squatter Communities in Five Philippine Cities," in Philippine Planning Journal, Vol. III, No. 1, 8-14.
- de Coulanges, Fustel.
1956 The Ancient City. Doubleday and Company, Inc., Garden City, New York
- Doughty, Paul L.
1970 "Behind the Back of the City: 'Provincial' Life in Lima, Peru" In William Mangin, ed., Peasants in Cities, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.
- Hackenberg, Robert A. and Beverly H. Hackenberg
1971 Suburban Growth in Southeast Asia: A Squatter Barrio in Davao City. Journal of Human Ecology. In press.
- Hendershot, Gerry E.
1971 Cityward Migration and Urban Fertility in the Philippines. Paper prepared for presentation, Population Association of America, Washington, D. C.
- Laing, John E.
1970 Family Planning in Greater Manila, 1970. Characteristics of Acceptors. Reprint of Family Planning Evaluation Office, University of Philippines Population Institute.
- Macisco, John J. Jr., Leon F. Bouvier and Robert H. Weller
1970 The Effect of Labor Force Participation on the Relation Between Migration Status and Fertility in San Juan, Puerto Rico, Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, 48: 51-70
- Mangin, William
1967 Squatter Settlements, Scientific American, October, 217: 21-29.
1970 Peasants in Cities. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston.
- Sjoberg, Gideon
1960 The Preindustrial City Past and Present. The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.

21

Turner, John C.

- 1967 Barriers and Channels for Housing Development in Modernizing Countries. Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 33
- 1968a Housing Priorities, Settlement Patterns, and Urban Development in Modernizing Countries. Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 34: 254-363.
- 1968b (with Rolf Goetze) Developing Incentives to Guide Urban Autonomous Growth. SEADAG Papers on Problems of Development in Southeast Asia, No. 46. The Asia Society. New York.

Weissmann, Ernest

- 1966 Statement made at 403rd meeting, April 25, United Nations Economic and Social Council, Social Commission, U. N. Bulletin No. E/CN 5/L, 313.

Wood, Arthur Evans

- 1955 Hamtramck. College and University Press, New Haven, Connecticut