

ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC ADJUSTMENTS TO ECONOMIC STRESS: THE CASE OF THE URBAN POOR

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ABSTRACT

Household survey data from selected urban poor communities suggest several interesting hypotheses regarding the mechanisms poor households adopted to cope with increased unemployment and reduced incomes following the economic crisis of 1983. These mechanisms include increased labor force participation of spouses and other adult members, reduced schooling participation of children, reduced consumption expenditures notably on food, and limitation of additional children. The desire to limit fertility, however, has not been totally matched by contraceptive use. It is hypothesized that this discrepancy is largely due to the lack of access to family planning services.

Introduction

Much of what has been written about the impact of the 1983 economic crisis refer to changes in macroeconomic indicators such as output, employment, income and prices. Very little effort has been made to examine the impact of the crisis at the household level, particularly in terms of the various adjustments households adopted to cope with economic stress and the implications of these adjustments for the welfare of the household members affected.

In 1985, a household survey in selected urban poor communities in Davao and Cebu was conducted as part of the monitoring evaluation activity of a pilot project to strengthen the provision of maternal and child health care and family planning (MCH/FP) being implemented by the Population Center Foundation for the Commission on Population since 1983. The survey was principally designed to inquire about MCH/FP concerns and the extent to which specific project services were reaching the target population. However, it was felt by the project evaluators that contemporaneous events, namely aspects related to the economic crisis, are bound to confound the influence of project activities on potential improvements in MCH/FP. More practically, there was a need for information to help the project staff fine-tune project activities in response to possible changes in the magnitude and urgency of MCH/FP needs arising from the effects of the economic crisis. As a result, a limited set of questions were added to the survey to provide such information. More particularly, the survey additionally inquired into (a) the employment of adult household members and household income; (b) perceived changes in household incomes and changes in consumption patterns during the past two years;

(c) school participation of children of various ages; and (d) fertility plans, current contraceptive use, and perceived access to family planning services.

Preliminary analysis of these additional data suggests several interesting hypotheses regarding the impact of the economic crisis on the poor which could provide bases for detailed and more focused investigations using more representative samples in the future. The hypotheses may be briefly described as follows: Worker terminations due to shutdowns and retrenchment of industrial establishments as well as to the general slowdown in business activity following the 1983 economic crisis have adversely affected the urban poor in general more than the rest of the urban work force and, among the urban poor, the poorest of the poor. Adjustments to the loss of employment of household heads and to the consequent reduction in incomes took several forms. These included increased labor force participation of spouses and other adult household members; reduced schooling participation of children; reduced consumption expenditures, notably on food; and fertility limitation. Current fertility plans, however, could not be effectively realized due to the lack of access to family planning services.

The next section briefly describes the socio-economic characteristics of the urban poor in selected areas in Davao and Cebu. Although the poor have many things in common, they are also a heterogeneous group. To capture this heterogeneity, we examine the characteristics of different types of households as identified by the occupation of household head. The third section presents data and inferences regarding various adjustments households adopted to cope with difficult times. The major hypotheses are summarized in the final section.

Socio-Economic Characteristics of Urban Poor Households

Identifying social groups

Social groups are identified by occupation of the household head (Table 1) and subsequent data are analyzed with attention to these different groups of households. The urban poor households in Cebu generally belong to the following major categories: sales, services, transport and craftsmen. In Davao the major categories are sales, transport, craftsmen and fishermen/farm workers.

Income profile

Table 2 shows the income profile of households by occupation of the household head. Household income was computed by summing up (a) the wage income of the household head, the wife and all other adult members of the household (i.e. 15 years old and over) during the month prior to the survey; and (b) all other income from various non-wage sources over the past year divided by 12. The total household income from all sources is, therefore, reckoned in terms of monthly income, with last month's wage income taken as an average for the year.

The mean monthly household income in both areas is ₱1,308: ₱906 in Cebu and ₱1,607 in Davao. Taking into account household size, the mean per capita

Table 1. Distribution of households by major occupation of the household head, selected urban poor communities in Cebu and Davao cities, 1985 (In Percent)

<i>Occupation of Household Head</i>	<i>All Areas</i>	<i>Cebu</i>	<i>Davao</i>
1. Professional, technical & administrative workers	3.9	3.6	4.2
2. Clerical workers	3.4	4.2	2.7
3. Sales & related workers	21.0	23.3	19.2
4. Service & related workers	9.2	10.3	8.3
5. Transport & communication workers	15.4	18.5	13.1
6. Craftsmen & production workers	27.9	27.9	27.9
7. Fishermen & farm workers	16.8	8.6	22.8
8. No jobs	2.6	3.5	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Total Number of Households)	(1,551)	(660)	(891)

household income in both areas is ₱202: ₱133 in Cebu and ₱256 in Davao. Household incomes vary not only between areas but also between different categories of households. In both areas, the highest mean household, and mean per capita household, incomes are found among the "professional" and "clerical" categories, while the lowest are among the "fishermen" and "occupation not reported" categories. In Cebu, the highest mean household income is 3.2 times the lowest figure, while in Davao, the corresponding factor is 2.3. Thus between areas and between households within each area, there are wide variations in income among poor households. (Using a poverty line of ₱600 per capita monthly income derived by transforming Abrera's (1974) annual poverty threshold estimate for a 6-member household in "Other Urban Areas," practically all of the households in both areas fall below the poverty line.)

Employment profile

Table 3 shows the employment profile (past week prior to the survey) of adult household members by category of households. In both areas the overall employment ratio, i.e. the proportion of all household members age 15 years and over who were reportedly employed during the week prior to the survey, is 47 percent. In contrast, the employment ratio for the national urban population in 1985 based on the Integrated Survey of Households (3rd quarter) is 58 percent.* The employment ratio in the sample urban poor areas is thus lower than the national urban average by 11 percentage points. Part of the difference may be due

*This is obtained by multiplying the labor force participation rate of 59.4 percent and the employment rate of the labor force of 98.3 percent.

Table 2. Income by occupation of household head, selected urban poor communities of Davao and Cebu, 1985

Indicator	Type of Household By Occupation of Household Head								All households
	Prof/Tech/ Adm.	Clerical	Sales	Services	Transport	Craftsmen/ production	Fishermen/ farmers	No occupation reported	
Mean Monthly Household Income									
All Areas	2,255	1,767	1,452	1,202	1,145	1,365	1,006	810	1,308
Cebu	1,875	1,587	814	881	599	1,111	563	582	906
Davao	2,502	1,977	2,026	1,497	1,714	1,554	1,130	1,117	1,607
Mean Monthly Per Capita Household Income									
All Areas	324	278	215	203	173	217	154	114	202
Cebu	241	214	114	140	89	171	81	85	133
Davao	391	386	314	269	263	254	176	151	256
Poverty Incidence (Percent)*									
All Areas	95.1	96.2	97.5	97.9	97.9	96.5	98.1	100.0	97.4
Cebu	91.7	100.0	99.4	98.5	100.0	97.3	98.2	100.0	99.7
Davao	97.3	91.7	95.9	97.3	95.7	96.0	98.0	100.0	96.5

*P600 per capita poverty threshold.

Table 3. Employment profile of adult household members, selected urban poor communities of Davao and Cebu, 1983

Indicator	Type of Household By Occupation of Household Head								All households
	Prof/Tech/ Adm.	Clerical	Sales	Services	Transport	Craftsmen/ production	Fishermen/ farmers	No occupation reported	
A. Percent of Household Members 15 Years Old and Over Who Worked During Past Week									
1. All Areas									
Household head	82.0	96.2	83.1	92.3	87.4	78.7	67.7	0.0	79.0
Spouse	19.7	30.8	36.9	31.7	30.1	31.2	30.8	60.0	32.5
Other adults	28.4	21.1	33.3	20.3	29.4	36.9	34.0	41.1	32.0
Total	40.3	46.3	49.4	47.7	49.2	49.0	44.8	34.6	47.4
2. Cebu									
Household head	75.0	96.4	82.5	92.6	88.5	83.2	77.2	0.0	81.8
Spouse	16.7	28.6	35.7	27.9	29.5	31.0	38.6	65.2	32.7
Other adults	32.2	15.4	32.4	16.7	24.2	36.3	43.3	32.1	30.5
Total	38.3	39.8	48.0	44.4	49.3	49.9	52.9	32.4	47.3
3. Davao									
Household head	86.5	95.8	83.6	91.9	86.3	75.4	65.0	0.0	77.0
Spouse	21.6	33.3	38.0	35.1	30.8	31.5	28.6	52.9	32.3
Other adults	24.0	36.8	34.1	24.3	33.1	37.4	30.3	50.0	33.4
Total	41.9	56.7	50.7	50.9	37.4	48.3	42.2	37.1	47.5
B. Number of Working Members per Household (past survey week)									
All Areas	1.52	1.56	1.64	1.45	1.46	1.46	1.27	1.17	1.46
Cebu	1.71	1.54	1.64	1.40	1.37	1.52	1.61	1.04	1.51
Davao	1.41	1.58	1.63	1.50	1.56	1.42	1.17	1.35	1.43

to the difference in the reference period used by each survey. The urban poor survey used the "past week" while the national survey used the "past quarter". The use of the latter reference period tends to produce higher employment rates than the former. However, it is possible that the lower employment ratio among the urban poor could be due either to lower labor force participation rate of the working age population or to lower employment rate of the labor force. Since we expect a higher labor force participation rate among the poor, i.e. more household members will be seeking work to supplement their low household incomes, it is reasonable to infer that the urban poor did in fact experience lower employment rates than the rest of the national urban work force. If this inference proves to be correct, this means that the worker terminations due to shutdowns and retrenchment of industrial establishments as well as to the general slowdown in business activity following the 1983 economic crisis adversely affected the urban poor more than the rest of the urban work force.

Between household heads in different occupational categories, lower employment ratios (lower than the overall average for the sample of 79 percent) are exhibited by the professional/technical administrative workers (mainly managers and working proprietors) in Cebu, craftsmen and production workers in Davao, and fishermen/farm tenants or workers in both areas. Those whose occupations were not reported were all without jobs during the survey period. In contrast, higher employment ratios are exhibited by clerical and service workers in both areas.

Other household characteristics

Table 4 shows data on selected household characteristics which have implication for current welfare. Lower income households generally tend to have a larger dependency burden, i.e. percent of household members less than 15 years of age. Moreover, lower income households generally exhibit lower educational levels of both household heads and their spouses than higher income households. One implication of this is that the former's capacity to find more secure employment at higher wages are lesser than the latter.

Economic Stress and Household Adjustment

Table 5 shows data on reported income change during the past two years (1983-1985). Of the total households in both areas, 47 percent reported that their incomes have declined while another 36 percent reported no improvement in incomes. The data also reveal a higher percentage of lower income households reporting income declines than higher income households. This average pattern might simply mean that those with lower current incomes are precisely in such a situation because of declines in incomes. On the other hand, it could also mean that households with lower current incomes have characteristics, i.e. low level of

Table 4. Household characteristics, selected urban poor communities in Davao and Cebu, 1985

Indicator	Type of Household by Occupation of Household Head								All households
	Prof/Tech/ Adm.	Clerical	Sales	Services	Transport	Craftsmen/ production	Fishermen/ farmers	No occupation reported	
Mean Household Size									
All Areas	6.95	6.37	6.76	5.92	6.6	6.28	6.53	7.08	6.49
Cebu	7.79	7.43	7.12	6.29	6.70	6.51	6.75	6.83	6.80
Davao	6.41	5.12	6.44	5.57	6.51	6.12	6.41	7.41	6.26
Percent of Household Members Age 0-14 Years									
All Areas	45.5	47.1	51.0	58.6	55.1	52.6	57.3	51.9	52.5
Cebu	42.8	48.1	51.9	50.0	58.6	53.2	56.1	52.9	53.1
Davao	47.7	45.5	50.1	50.7	51.4	52.1	56.9	50.8	52.0
Mean Age of Household Head									
All Areas	36.6	35.5	34.1	33.7	35.1	33.8	33.7	38.4	34.4
Cebu	34.5	36.8	34.4	34.0	34.2	33.2	33.7	38.4	34.2
Davao	37.9	34.0	33.8	33.5	36.1	34.3	33.7	38.4	34.5
Mean Age of Spouse									
All Areas	32.8	31.7	31.3	30.2	31.9	31.0	30.6	33.5	31.3
Cebu	32.7	32.9	32.0	30.8	31.7	30.9	31.5	33.7	31.6
Davao	32.9	30.4	30.7	29.6	32.2	31.1	30.3	33.3	31.0

Herin, Adjustments to Economic Stress

Table 4 (Continued)

Indicator	Type of Household by Occupation of Household Head								All households
	Prof/Tech/ Adm.	Clerical	Sales	Services	Transport	Craftsmen/ production	Fishermen/ farmers	No occupation reported	
Mean Years of Education Completed of Household Head									
All Areas	10.9	11.0	7.6	8.8	7.2	7.9	6.0	7.3	7.7
Cebu	9.4	10.4	6.9	7.9	6.1	7.2	4.7	6.7	7.0
Davao	11.9	11.7	8.3	9.7	8.4	8.5	6.4	8.0	8.3
Mean Years of Education Completed of Spouse									
All Areas	9.5	9.2	7.4	8.3	7.0	7.6	6.6	6.7	7.5
Cebu	8.5	7.6	6.5	7.6	5.7	6.4	6.4	6.4	6.5
Davao	10.2	11.1	8.2	8.9	8.3	8.5	6.7	7.1	8.2

Table 5. Indicators of economic stress and household adjustments, selected urban poor communities of Davao and Cebu, 1985

Indicator	Type of Households by Occupation of Household Head								All households
	Prof/Tech/ Adm.	Clerical	Sales	Services	Transport	Craftsmen/ production	Fishermen/ farmers	No occupation reported	
A. Current Income Situation Compared to Past Two Years									
1. Higher									
All Areas	29.5	28.8	11.7	23.9	20.5	18.3	10.4	10.0	17.0
Cebu	16.7	17.9	9.1	14.7	18.0	14.7	7.0	8.7	13.3
Davao	37.8	41.7	14.0	32.4	23.1	21.0	11.3	11.8	19.8
2. Same									
All Areas	27.9	40.4	33.8	38.0	38.1	35.9	37.7	25.0	35.8
Cebu	33.3	46.4	31.8	41.2	38.5	39.1	36.8	26.1	37.0
Davao	24.3	33.3	35.7	35.1	37.6	33.5	37.9	23.5	35.0
3. Lower									
All Areas	42.6	30.8	54.5	38.0	41.4	45.8	51.9	65.0	47.1
Cebu	50.0	35.7	59.1	44.1	43.4	46.2	56.1	65.2	49.7
Davao	37.8	25.0	50.3	32.4	39.3	45.6	50.7	64.7	45.2
B. Spending Patterns of Households Whose Income Declined Over Past Two Years									
1. Maintain food, reduce others									
All Areas	34.6	50.0	40.7	31.5	27.3	36.9	31.1	23.1	34.7
Cebu	33.3	50.0	24.2	20.0	15.1	24.7	6.3	6.7	21.0
Davao	35.7	50.0	58.1	45.8	41.3	46.0	38.8	45.5	45.9

Table 5 (Continued)

Indicator	Type of Household by Occupation of Household Head								All households
	Prof/Tech/ Adm.	Clerical	Sales	Services	Transport	Craftsmen/ production	Fishermen/ farmers	No occupation reported	
2. Reduce food, maintain others									
All Areas	11.5	0.0	11.3	11.1	15.2	16.2	4.4	3.8	11.4
Cebu	25.0	0.0	19.8	16.7	28.3	32.9	15.6	6.7	22.9
Davao	0.0	0.0	2.3	4.2	0.0	3.5	0.4	0.0	2.0
3. Reduce food and others									
All Areas	53.8	50.0	48.0	57.4	57.6	47.0	64.4	73.1	53.9
Cebu	41.7	50.0	56.0	63.3	56.6	42.4	78.1	86.7	56.1
Davao	64.3	50.0	39.5	50.0	58.7	50.4	60.2	54.5	52.1
C. Percent of Children Out of School									
1. Age 6-12 years									
All Areas	14.3	16.7	17.7	20.1	20.5	19.8	29.9	26.8	22.1
Cebu	19.0	17.1	18.5	27.2	29.4	27.8	48.1	29.6	29.0
Davao	11.4	15.8	16.0	9.7	10.3	13.7	24.9	1.4	16.6
2. Age 13-16 years									
All Areas	16.7	11.8	31.6	41.5	43.5	37.6	58.3	50.0	41.9
Cebu	27.3	11.8	37.5	46.2	67.4	46.8	80.0	46.2	50.0
Davao	7.7	—	0.0	33.3	22.4	28.2	51.3	57.1	34.2
3. Age 17-21 years									
All Areas	66.7	77.8	76.9	50.0	72.4	65.7	78.9	83.3	70.3
Cebu	85.7	87.5	75.0	72.7	95.7	64.7	90.9	100.0	80.7
Davao	40.0	0.0	80.0	22.2	57.1	66.7	74.1	60.0	60.8

education of household members, that make them more vulnerable to adverse changes in the urban economic environment.

The declines in income appear to be related to the greater unemployment rates of household heads. This is particularly true among the households in the fishing/farming, no occupation, and sales categories in both areas, craftsmen/production workers category in Davao, and professional/technical/administrative workers category in Cebu. These households had the lowest employment ratios of household heads (from 0 to 84 percent) and the highest percentages reporting income declines (from 50 to 65 percent). Of further interest is that these same households, with the exception of the professional/technical/administrative workers category in Cebu, exhibit generally higher employment ratios for spouses and other adult household members than the other households. This employment pattern suggests that an adjustment mechanism is being adopted, namely, when household heads become unemployed, their spouses and other adult members attempt to compensate for the loss of income of the unemployed household head by increasing their own labor force participation and taking on whatever jobs that are available. However, because the jobs that are available are most likely to be low paying jobs, their contributions to total household income are not high enough to fully compensate for the loss of income due to the unemployment of the household head, hence total household income declines.

As a result of declining incomes, further household adjustments are made. One such adjustment is to modify expenditure patterns as suggested in Table 5 which shows data on household spending patterns among those who reported income declines during the past two years. In general, reduced income meant reduced total consumption expenditures. Given initially low levels of income and a higher proportion of income spent for food, a reduction in income is bound to affect food consumption. In fact, the data show that 65 percent of all households who reported income declines also reported they had to reduce expenditures for food. The percentage is higher in Cebu than in Davao: 79 vs. 54 percent. Overall, a higher percentage of the relatively lower income households reported reduction in food expenditures than the higher income groups. This is much more evident in Cebu than in Davao.

Another adjustment to economic stress that can be inferred from the data shown in Table 5 relates to the schooling of children. The data reveal that the percentage of children of specific schooling ages who are out of school is much higher in Cebu than in Davao. For children ages 6-12 years, the percentages of children out-of-school are 29 in Cebu and 17 in Davao; for children ages 13-16 years, the percentages are 50 and 34, respectively. The data also reveal higher percentages of children of specific ages who are out of school among lower income groups than among higher income groups in each area.

For the entire sample, of the out-of-school children ages 6-12, 25 percent are reported to be out of school either because of financial constraint or because the children were needed in work. The corresponding percentages of children ages

13-16 and 17-21 years who were out of school due to the above reasons are 59 and 73, respectively. In view of the close correlation between income levels, income declines, and percentages of out-of-school children, one could infer that one adjustment households adopt to cope with economic stress is to take children out of school both to reduce schooling expenditures and to encourage older children to work to supplement household incomes. The latter response is consistent with the data which showed higher employment rates of other household members age 15 years and over among lower income households than among higher income households, or among households with higher proportion reporting income declines.

Table 6 shows data on fertility plans. Overall, 75 percent of all household respondents reported they plan to stop childbearing completely. Another 14 percent reported they plan to postpone childbearing. Thus altogether about 90 percent of all households plan either to postpone or to stop childbearing completely.

Variations in fertility plans between areas are noteworthy. The percentage of households reporting they plan to stop childbearing completely is higher in Cebu than in Davao: 81 and 72, respectively. Correspondingly, only 10 percent of households in Cebu and 18 percent in Davao plan to postpone childbearing. This pattern in fertility plans between Cebu and Davao households is interesting when one takes into account the fact that, in general, Cebu households compared to those in Davao have lower current incomes and greater proportion indicating income declines during the past two years. Thus it would appear that, at least at the area level, current economic stress are associated with greater desire for more drastic fertility limitation. Between households, these relationships are more readily apparent in Davao than in Cebu.

Are fertility plans matched by contraceptive use? Table 7 reveals that only 53 percent of couples are practicing any method of contraception, and only 30 percent are using modern program methods (i.e. pill, IUD, and sterilization) while, as we have mentioned earlier, 90 percent of households plan either to postpone or to stop childbearing completely. In Cebu where the percentage of households indicating they plan to postpone or to stop childbearing completely is 91, the percentage of households where couples practice any method of contraception is only 47. In Davao, the percentages are 88 and 58, respectively. The use of modern contraceptive methods, however, is higher in Cebu than in Davao: 34 vs. 28 percent.

Is the discrepancy between fertility plans and current contraceptive practice due to response bias (i.e. untruthful reporting among households regarding either fertility plans or contraceptive use) or to factors related to declining fecundity, or is the discrepancy an indication of unmet needs? There appears to be no readily apparent reason why respondent households would provide untruthful answers to questions regarding fertility plans or contraceptive practice. If they had a reason and did provide untruthful responses as a result of such motivation, their answers to both questions while biased would nevertheless tend to be highly consistent. But this in fact is not the case. It is also possible that a certain number of women

Table 6. Fertility plans, selected urban poor households of Davao and Cebu, 1985

Indicator	Type of Households by Occupation of Household Head								All households
	Prof/Tech/ Adm.	Clerical	Sales	Services	Transport	Craftsmen/ production	Fishermen/ farmers	No occupation reported	
1. <i>Stop completely</i>									
All Areas	73.8	73.1	75.1	72.5	80.3	72.7	76.5	85.0	75.4
Cebu	83.3	85.7	86.4	76.5	82.8	77.7	71.9	87.0	80.9
Davao	67.6	58.3	64.9	68.9	77.8	69.0	77.8	82.4	71.6
2. <i>Postpone</i>									
All Areas	18.0	17.3	14.5	16.9	9.6	16.0	15.5	10.0	14.4
Cebu	12.5	0.0	6.5	11.8	9.0	13.6	12.2	8.7	10.0
Davao	21.6	37.5	21.6	21.6	10.3	17.7	14.8	11.8	17.7
3. <i>Bear less than planned</i>									
All Areas	4.9	7.7	4.6	6.3	5.9	5.6	3.8	5.0	5.2
Cebu	4.2	10.7	3.2	7.4	5.7	5.4	8.8	4.3	5.6
Davao	5.4	4.2	5.8	5.4	6.0	5.6	2.0	5.9	4.8
4. <i>Not plan/Others</i>									
All Areas	3.3	1.9	5.8	4.2	4.2	5.6	5.0	7.5	5.0
Cebu	0.0	3.6	3.9	4.4	2.5	3.3	7.0	0.0	3.5
Davao	5.4	0.0	7.6	4.1	6.0	7.7	3.9	0.0	5.8

Table 7. Family planning practice and access, selected urban poor communities in Davao and Cebu, 1985

Indicator	Type of Household by Occupation of Household Head								All households
	Prof/Tech/ Adm.	Clerical	Sales	Services	Transport	Craftsmen/ production	Fishermen/ farmers	No occupation reported	
Percent of Currently Married Women Age 20-44 Currently Using Any Family Planning Method									
All Areas	72.1	59.6	51.4	50.0	55.6	54.6	50.4	35.0	53.0
Cebu	54.2	60.7	52.6	44.1	51.6	46.2	31.6	26.1	47.4
Davao	83.8	58.3	50.3	55.4	59.8	60.9	55.7	47.1	57.7
Percent of Currently Married Women Age 20-44 Years Using Family Planning Methods									
1. Modern Program Methods									
All Areas	32.8	36.5	33.2	25.4	34.7	28.7	27.7	25.0	30.4
Cebu	29.2	42.9	42.9	22.1	40.2	32.6	22.8	21.7	34.4
Davao	35.1	29.2	24.6	28.4	29.1	25.8	29.1	29.4	27.5
2. Other Program Methods									
All Areas	27.9	21.2	15.1	19.0	15.5	17.6	15.8	7.5	16.8
Cebu	20.8	17.9	9.1	20.6	9.8	11.4	8.8	4.3	11.7
Davao	32.4	25.0	20.5	17.6	21.4	22.2	17.7	11.8	20.7
3. Non-Program Methods									
All Areas	11.5	1.9	3.1	5.6	5.4	8.3	6.9	2.5	6.1
Cebu	4.2	0.0	0.6	1.5	1.6	2.2	0.0	0.0	1.4
Davao	16.2	4.2	5.3	9.5	9.4	12.9	8.9	5.9	9.5

Table 7 (Continued)

Indicator	Type of Household by Occupation of Household Head								All households
	Prof/Tech/ Adm.	Clerical	Sales	Services	Transport	Craftsmen/ production	Fishermen/ farmers	No occupation reported	
Percent of Currently Married Women Age 20-44 Years By Access to Family Planning Services									
1. Easy access, can afford									
All Areas	57.4	50.0	34.5	32.4	25.1	32.4	36.5	12.5	33.5
Cebu	37.3	39.3	26.0	23.5	18.9	26.1	28.1	8.7	25.0
Davao	70.3	62.5	42.1	40.5	31.6	37.1	38.9	17.6	39.7
2. Can't afford, have access									
All Areas	34.4	44.2	51.4	54.9	57.3	49.8	48.8	52.5	50.9
Cebu	50.0	50.0	55.2	54.4	56.6	46.2	49.1	56.5	52.0
Davao	24.3	37.5	48.0	55.4	58.1	52.4	48.8	47.1	50.1
3. Can't afford, have no access									
All Areas	8.2	5.8	14.2	12.7	17.6	17.8	14.6	35.0	15.7
Cebu	12.5	10.7	18.8	22.1	24.6	27.7	22.8	34.8	23.0
Davao	5.4	0.0	9.9	4.1	10.3	10.4	12.3	35.3	10.2

perceive themselves to be no longer fecund and, hence, would feel that they no longer need to practice contraceptive. If this is the case, their numbers are bound to be very small. The women in the sample are within the ages 20-44 years, their average age is only 31 years, and their past fertility have been quite high. The number of children ever born per woman in Cebu is 4.7 while in Davao is 4.1. During the past two years, Cebu women bore 0.568 child per woman, while Davao women bore 0.502 child per woman. Thus perceived declining fecundity associated with age or past fertility is less likely to be a factor responsible for the less than expected contraceptive use among couples on the basis of their fertility plans. Thus if neither of the two factors just mentioned appear important in explaining the apparent discrepancy between fertility plans and current contraceptive use, then the discrepancy might indeed be due to unmet needs and related factors.

Data on household's access to family planning services shown in Table 7 reveal that only 34 percent of households in both areas reported that they can easily afford, and have easy access to, family planning services. The percentage is higher in Davao than in Cebu: 40 vs. 25. Affordability and easy access to family planning services are clearly related with income whether one looks at the relationship between areas (Cebu vs. Davao), or between households in all areas, or between households within each area.

Among those who reported they can not afford the cost of family planning services, 24 percent claimed "no access" as well, i.e. no ready access to free or low cost services from government programs. In Cebu this percentage is higher than in Davao: 31 vs. 17. Altogether, 16 percent of all households claimed "can't afford and no access"; the percentages in Cebu and Davao are 23 and 10, respectively. Differences between households within each area can also be noted. Thus it would appear at this point that the apparent discrepancy between fertility plans and contraceptive use could in fact be partly due to the lack of effective access to family planning services at least as perceived by the households themselves.

Summary

The information just described provides interesting insights into the various adjustments households adopt to cope with adverse economic situation. The major insights are taken here as hypotheses to be tested using larger and more representative households. These may be summarized as follows:

First, households in the urban poor communities are indeed poor: practically all of them have incomes falling below the poverty line. However, even among the poor there are wide disparities in income by occupation of the household head. Worker terminations due to shutdowns and retrenchment of industrial establishments as well as to the general slowdown in business activity following the 1983 economic crisis have adversely affected the urban poor more than the rest of the urban work force.

Adjustments to declines in income took several forms: increased labor force participation and employment of spouses and other adult members; reduction in

consumption expenditures, notably on food; lower schooling participation of children; and fertility limitation. Current fertility plans, i.e. to postpone or to stop childbearing completely, however, are not matched by contraceptive use. The discrepancy is related to lack of access to family planning information or to services that are in accord with couples' preferences.

