

# philippine studies

Ateneo de Manila University • Loyola Heights, Quezon City • 1108 Philippines

---

## The Japanese Way of Life in Prewar Davao

Cecil E. Cody

*Philippine Studies* vol. 7, no. 2 (1959): 172–186

Copyright © Ateneo de Manila University

---

Philippine Studies is published by the Ateneo de Manila University. Contents may not be copied or sent via email or other means to multiple sites and posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's written permission. Users may download and print articles for individual, noncommercial use only. However, unless prior permission has been obtained, you may not download an entire issue of a journal, or download multiple copies of articles.

Please contact the publisher for any further use of this work at [philstudies@admu.edu.ph](mailto:philstudies@admu.edu.ph).

<http://www.philippinestudies.net>  
Fri June 30 13:30:20 2008

# The Japanese Way of Life In Prewar Davao

---

CECIL E. CODY

## I

**F**ROM 1903 onwards, during the period of consolidation and later growth, the Japanese community in Davao matured and became distinctive. This article will deal with three phases of the way of life of these colonists, particularly as seen by Filipinos in the 1930's.<sup>1</sup> First, there existed by this time a prototype of an orderly, industrious community of families that appeared to its Filipino and American neighbors to be law-abiding, civic-minded, diverse in occupational pursuits and marked by the fullest cooperation among fellow Japanese. Second, the Japanese remained strongly conscious of their na-

---

<sup>1</sup> This is the second of two articles on the Japanese in Davao, the first, entitled "The Consolidation of the Japanese in Davao," having been published elsewhere. Unless otherwise stated, the sources are interviews of Davao's senior citizens conducted during a stay of five months beginning July 1958. Although specific citations are not given for fear of possible embarrassment, the assistance of the following attorneys and other professional men and women is gratefully acknowledged. Esteban Addy, A. L. Babista, Linda Bolcan, Rachid Borgaily, Eliseo Braganza, Manuel G. Cabaguio, Antonio S. Castillo, Tomas Duluan, Pascual V. Garcia, Antonio Habana Jr., Antonio Hernandez, Teodorico T. Labtic, Ruperto Lizada, Elias Lopez, Amado Munda, Rosa Santos Munda, Cesar R. Nuñez, Jesus V. Occena, Diosdado Perez Sr., Mr. Quiaoit, Emerita A. Rodriguez, Nicholas S. Soriano, Atty. Suazo, Romeo Torres, Teodosio Trinidad.

tional identity despite years of living and working with non-Japanese neighbors in a foreign country. In many respects the Japanese had transplanted a community from their homeland to Davao. Third, the Japanese sought proper, though not cordial, economic and social relations with Filipinos.

The model for the Japanese practice of long hours of hard work had been set by K. S. Ohta, the strong-willed pioneer who had died in 1917. Japanese and Filipinos alike recalled his labors. Even after he had gained wealth, he had continued to rise before dawn to make the rounds of his holdings. When abaca was being unloaded from the trucks, he had frequently helped carry bales. A Filipino oldtimer today recalls having seen him, stripped to the waist, struggling together with a group of laborers to set piles for a dock at Talomo Beach to replace one torn out by a typhoon.

From the beginning, comparison between the industry of the Japanese and Filipino laborers became the fashion and the practice has persisted despite bitter Philippine resentment for wartime maltreatment. Illustrative of the comparisons was an editorial in the *Manila Times* of 31 October 1917 entitled "A Lesson from Davao" which read as follows:

It is said to be a sight to make a friend of the Filipino people weep, to cross from a plantation where Filipino labor is employed, to a neighboring one where Japanese labor is relied upon. Particularly is the contrast a striking one where land is rented to tenants. The Filipino holder of land has a plot of hemp or some other product in which weeds play almost as big a role as the product upon which the profits of the farmer depend. The Japanese has a piece of land kept scrupulously clean, devoted only to one purpose, agricultural efficiency. On the Japanese property, the siesta hour is unknown. Labor begins with the dawn and ends only with nightfall. On the Filipino property, work begins an hour or two later and ends just that much earlier. There is a let-up in the middle of the day, to enable the laborer to rest . . . We have heard from Davao, for example, of the contrast between the Filipino and Japanese laborer, the former profiting by good wages, to rest as often as he can, the latter using the same era of prosperity to lay aside something for the future.

A confidential report penned by Teodosio Trinidad, Bureau of Lands Inspector, on 24 June 1935, although highly critical of practices in regard to public lands, described the Jap-

anese as "very diligent and industrious, working from ten to twelve hours a day without any need of supervision, for which reason they can clean and cultivate bigger areas of land than the average Filipino laborer."<sup>2</sup>

And these two examples of praise for the industry of Japanese workers were truly representative of the many. Moreover, husbands and wives often worked together in the fields thereby increasing a family's production. A fight or otherwise observable conflict among Japanese workers occurred rarely.

Their thrift became legendary and brought benefits to the mother country. During the boom of 1917, for example, the Davao Japanese were reported to be sending home each week postal money orders totalling ₱75,000.<sup>3</sup>

One feature of the Japanese community stood out clearly to their Filipino neighbors: there were two kinds of Japanese in Davao—the non-Okinawans and the Okinawans. They dressed and spoke differently and discrimination existed between them.

The non-Okinawans or those from the four principal islands tended to be the professionals, company executives, clerks and technicians although there were laborers among them. Skilled in the social graces, the refinement and courteous phrasing of their speech were obvious even to Filipinos who knew little or no Japanese. These Japanese considered themselves superior to the Okinawans, and in the words of a Filipino pioneer in Davao "discriminated against them as many of us discriminate against the Bagobos and other so-called non-Christian Filipinos."

The Okinawans tended to be more sturdy in physique, bearded and hairy of body, brave and resourceful, and excellent laborers. They were uneducated and coarser in language and behavior. Exceptional Okinawans did progress from common labor to own their own farms, some large; a few, such as Oshiro Kozo, long-time manager of the Ohta Development Company, became prominent in other pursuits.

<sup>2</sup> Page 14 of report addressed to the Director of Lands.

<sup>3</sup> *Manila Times*, 29 Oct. 1917.

The Japanese revealed a profound respect for the letter of the law. Even the most illiterate Japanese laborer consistently registered the contracts spelling out his relations with his Filipino and American employers. Almost certainly these frequent visits to the notaries came as a result of injunctions impressed upon the entire Japanese community by its leaders to observe the laws. By and large, Philippine officials were accorded most respectful treatment by the Japanese.

An official in the city assessor's office recalls that the Japanese did not challenge their property assessments and paid taxes promptly. But then, the Japanese had come to be considered extremely capable and scrupulous in their financial dealings.

Japanese behavior impressed their neighbors. Court officials recall that rarely were Japanese brought before them for the petty crimes common to most communities. One reason lay in the customs and temperament of the Japanese. Moreover, Filipinos in Davao generally believe that indirect social pressure exerted by the entire community was the strongest deterrent; the Japanese were conscious of being in a foreign country in which the national leaders after World War I were growing more concerned about their presence.

But probably of greater importance than indirect social pressure was the simple fact that the Japanese policed their own community. Many disputes were settled by Ohta during the period of consolidation and by other officials of the company later. An illustrative case reported in 1919 concerned the proverbial triangle involving an employee (we shall call him A), an official of a Japanese company (we shall call him B), and A's Japanese wife (or mistress). B "took a liking to this woman and finally succeeded in winning her away from [A] and taking her unto himself. [A] appealed to the company's officers and these latter intervened and restored the woman to [A], who soon after left with her to Japan. They deposed

[B] as manager, took over the store and plantation and placed one of their own officers in charge."<sup>4</sup>

A Filipino employed by the Ohta company in the interwar period as timekeeper and traveling representative recalls instances of a company treasurer being bundled off to Japan under suspicious circumstances following an audit of his books. A manager of a company received similar treatment at another time. In these instances, as in others, the Japanese were not brought before the local courts. The Japanese consulate and association leaders cooperated fully. The Japanese community, in other words, policed their community and when possible kept from the courts and the newspapers knowledge of errant members.

Another manner in which the Japanese policed their community was in the protection sought for themselves. American and Filipino observers showed lack of understanding in their reading of all-out stoicism into Japanese reactions to the killing of their members by Bagobos. Orie L. Walkup, a Bureau of Lands Inspector, was one of many guilty of this misreading when he wrote in 1919 as follows:

One of the curious features of it, and not easily understood at first, is the manner in which these happenings are accepted by the Japanese. They make no fuss or outcry when some member of their colony has been killed, are not talkative on the subject and apparently take slight notice of it. They are not deterred thereby from going right on as if nothing had happened. Some other Jap takes up the dead man's work like a soldier filling a gap in the ranks. This feature has not only been noted by the undersigned but is corroborated by older observers on the spot. If they should raise a clamor and become angry or frightened at these occurrences one could understand their attitude.<sup>5</sup>

Far from stoical, the Japanese were keeping their own counsel. On the occasion Walkup referred to, the Davao Japanese Association, realizing clearly that the future of their peo-

---

<sup>4</sup> Orie L. Walkup "The Bagobo-Japanese Land Troubles in Davao Province" (Confidential reports written to the Director of Lands in 1919-20) Paper 61 p. 63 in H. Otley Beyer *Beyer's Philippine Ethnographic Series VI, Pagan Mindanao*, typed ms. (B's transfer was actually a demotion rather than a dismissal.)

<sup>5</sup> Walkup, Paper 60, 7-8.

ple in Davao would be nil if violence were not curbed, gave the problem precedence over all others. They named a committee on 2 March 1919 to seek the provincial government's help in demanding that the Bagobos turn in their weapons. On April 7 they sent Furukawa Yoshizo and two others to present their case to local authorities. The collection of weapons, however, would be difficult, moderately so for pistols and rifles and virtually impossible for bolos. On April 13 Furukawa and his committee initiated three rules aimed to secure cooperation among the Japanese in an attempt to ensure their safety. First of all, every landowner from the largest to the smallest independent farmer was cautioned that no fewer than three small lodgings should be grouped together. Doors must have secure locks. No man was to work alone or be unarmed. Second, Bagobos bearing arms were to be reported to the governmental authorities. Finally, presumably in order to elicit popular support in Japan, each landowner was urged to write a report on those injured, from the first victim to the most recent, and despatch it to the *Tokyo Jiji* and the *Osaka Asahi* newspapers with a request that the account be published. At this time a detailed report was submitted to the Japanese consul in Manila.<sup>6</sup> This concern for the protection of their interests continued as long as the Japanese remained in Davao.

The civic-mindedness of the non-Okinawans was highly regarded in the community at large. They contributed to the drives sponsored by Filipinos for school construction and other projects. They were generous in their purchase of tickets for performances of all sorts, even—as one interviewee phrased it—when they were not going to attend. When the Davao Rotary Club was chartered in 1938, Japanese professionals were well represented. The Okinawans, living for the most part some distance from the developed city, were rarely approached for such matters.

Only during the boom years during and after World War I did the Japanese have a problem of gambling by their members. As early as August 1920 the Davao Japanese Associa-

---

<sup>6</sup> Kamabara Hiroji *Dabao Hojin kaitakushi* [History of the Japanese colonization of Davao] (Davao 1938) 120-25.

tion issued a strongly worded warning to all Japanese that unless gambling was stopped, appropriate methods would be devised for dealing with the "criminals."<sup>7</sup> Thereafter, few Japanese took part in the gambling popular among Filipinos. Two prominent Japanese were exceptions who were frequently seen at cockfights. Another, it was rumored, sat in on some games for high stakes from time to time with local and national leaders.

The handling of the prostitution issue offered an example of the intensity of the Japanese desire to avoid friction with Filipinos. In 1917 thirteen licensed houses operated with Japanese girls. No moral question was raised. A problem confronted Japanese leaders only when it became apparent that the houses were bringing disrepute to the Japanese community at large. Errant males were accosting respectable Japanese ladies and girls on the streets. Following considerable concern and agitation among worried leaders, the Japanese consulate in Davao forced the houses to close, reportedly upon orders issued by the Foreign Office in Tokyo. By 1923 four or five of the houses had registered ostensibly under Filipino operators, but with Japanese involved in ownership. Agitation by the Davao Japanese Association revived whenever they knew Japanese to be involved. Following several petitions to Philippine local and national authorities in 1925, the houses were again closed.<sup>8</sup>

Particularly significant to the success of the Japanese in Davao was their cooperation, a fact recognized by Filipinos who often believed that their own difficulties could be alleviated were a similar degree of cooperation possible. Modesto Farolan, then a journalist, wrote in 1935 that "a Japanese will lend his Japanese neighbor, provided he is known to be of good character, funds without any guarantee or even as much as a paper receipt. The big Japanese corporation helps the smaller one and the smaller one helps the individual. . . ."<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> Kamabara, 110-11.

<sup>8</sup> Kamabara, 134-39.

<sup>9</sup> *The Davao Problem* (Manila 1935) 40-41.



Admittedly, the foregoing virtues sometimes lapsed when they came in conflict with the near fanatical devotion of the Davao Japanese for land. Thrift was often forgotten. As Walkup observed, the Japanese "drives a hard bargain in all matters except land and when he is purchasing this he will pay almost fabulous prices. In this one particular he has no regard for money and also seems to have an unlimited supply of the same."<sup>10</sup> Moreover, observance of the law, so scrupulously followed in other respects, often lapsed when land laws conflicted with the desire of the Japanese to control more land.

The diversity of Japanese interests by the mid-thirties was extensive. Although four out of five of the Japanese worked in the raising and processing of agricultural products, by the beginning of the Commonwealth era Japanese followed virtually all the crafts and professions. Their shops and bazaars dominated the retail field.

When the Japanese published a volume in 1938 commemorating their achievements in Davao, the contribution of their women was accorded full praise. Although precise statistics are lacking, more than one-third of the laborers who came to the Philippines during the early years of the century were Amazons. Many came on to Davao and could be seen working with other laborers in the fields. They often married or entered into liaisons with other Japanese laborers, sometimes setting up a household as independent farmers on new land. The sacrifices and contribution of these pioneer women to the development of Davao were recognized by Japanese and Filipino alike.<sup>11</sup>

As the social composition changed in the 1920's and the Japanese community increasingly became one of settled families involved in diverse pursuits, the daughters began to be seen in the conventional jobs as clerical assistants in the Ohta and other offices where they outnumbered the Filipino employees. But through the 1930's Japanese girls rarely clerked in the bazaars.

---

<sup>10</sup> Walkup, Paper 60, 11.

<sup>11</sup> Kamabara, 132-33.

## II

The success with which the Japanese established an orderly, industrious and civic-minded community by no means compromised their nationalistic sentiments. In their homes, customs, schools, newspapers, and in spirit the retention of national identity remained firm.

The Japanese who renounced his citizenship was exceptionally rare. Walkup had written in 1919 that because of the Japanese "intense national conceit or patriotism they will never become wholehearted citizens of the country which received them."<sup>12</sup> A knowledgeable Filipino lawyer wrote from Davao in 1935: "As a people, the Japanese are very nationalistic, and as such they can never become Filipinos. Their traditions, religion, history and training make them so homogenous and compact. They are and will remain loyal to their Emperor and they will never renounce their nationality as Japanese subjects."<sup>13</sup> It is generally believed that the Chinese in Davao assimilate far more easily and quickly. Filipinos recall only two with parents both Japanese who applied for Philippine citizenship. Mestizos also tended to claim the citizenship of their Japanese fathers. By the beginning of 1927 only some ten-odd mestizos were reported by the Davao Japanese Association to have followed the citizenship of their Filipino mothers.<sup>14</sup>

In homes and customs the traditional ways were maintained. By the end of the 1930's the Japanese owned most of Davao's fine homes, faithful copies of those in the motherland. Entering guests removed their shoes. In view of the comments above on the cooperation observed among Japanese residents, their preference for Japanese food, drink and clothing can be understood. Joseph R. Hayden, an American scholar-official with long experience in the Philippines, concluded that "probably much of the appeal of Davao for the Japanese is that there

---

<sup>12</sup> Walkup, Paper 61, p. 67.

<sup>13</sup> Trinidad Report, 7.

<sup>14</sup> Nakajima Soichi *Hirippin* [The Philippines] (Tokyo 1942) 182-83.

they are able to reproduce in a delightful and healthy climate many of the characteristics of their native life."<sup>15</sup>

Beginning in World War I during the first period of prosperity, the Japanese took up seriously the problem of educating their children. The Davao Japanese Association played a prominent role in soliciting contributions from its members for the construction of buildings and their maintenance. Their schools were rated excellent by Filipinos and Americans in Davao.

Although the school in Mintal contained the elementary through high school grades, the pattern was for the Japanese to attend only elementary school in Davao, then—boys and girls alike—to return to Japan for further education. All administrators and instructors, except teachers of English, were recruited in Japan. Pay was considered quite good by the Filipinos hired to teach English. Together with Japanese teachers they received bonuses for long service, the bonus for ten years' service being especially generous. Japanese professional men often attended the English classes. Some prominent Filipinos attended the classes in Japanese.

An account from a 1938 guidebook illustrates accurately the seriousness with which the Japanese had approached the problem of education and at the same time the carryover in methods from the homeland.

. . . Your guide takes you to the Japanese elementary school across from the Japanese consulate. Built on a large tract of land, the edifice is a two-story affair. Here the children of the Japanese community are taught Japanese and English. A tour of the classrooms will give you the impression that you are seeing a sort of military academy, the way those children keep discipline. Attired in their white and blue uniform, you will certainly be amused to see them study and at play.<sup>16</sup>

A substantial number of the Davao Japanese should probably be viewed as having been caught up in the resurgence of

---

<sup>15</sup> *The Philippines: A Study in National Development* (New York 1947) 719.

<sup>16</sup> *Visitors' Guide, City of Davao, Queen City of Mindanao* (1938) 29.

the militarists at home. At any rate, Filipinos working for Japanese in 1932 recall hearing their employers decry the assassinations of political leaders and the rise of the military.

As the argument for further advances to the south gained increased currency in Japan, the Japanese at home devoted more and more attention to Davao. A corresponding awareness was imparted to the Davao colonists of their significance in the larger plans of their nation's leaders. "In national policy we are the brave ones of the first line," and "In accordance with national policy, we must advance one step further" were slogans often repeated in Davao during the decade.<sup>17</sup> In fairness, we may presume that these slogans represented to most of the Japanese civilians in Davao a peaceful continuation of the penetration begun three decades earlier. With the depth of their nationalistic sentiments, however, they were strongly bound to the meanings the expansionists saw in these and similar slogans. Significantly, a commemorative volume published by the Davao Japanese in 1938 contained as a frontispiece the portrait of the revered Toyama Mitsuru, the patriarch of the chauvinists.<sup>18</sup>

### III

The economic and social relations of the Japanese with other residents were permeated with the same insistence upon propriety seen in their self-policing. By the 1930's the era of friction with the Bagobos had given way to an atmosphere of unstrained relations. Filipinos and Japanese mingled in the streets and places of business. Davao was often called Little Tokyo, nearby Mintal with its Japanese-owned industry—Little Nagasaki. Filipinos in Davao consider the prewar Japanese to have been admirably free of racial prejudice in their relationships with Filipinos.

In economic dealings Japanese plantation owners, administrators and merchants showed no hesitation in hiring Filipinos. Agricultural labor was most common; other jobs in-

<sup>17</sup> Kamabara, 193.

<sup>18</sup> Kamabara.

cluded supervisory positions in various enterprises and work as salesgirls in the bazaars. During the decade before the invasion of the Philippines, the Japanese earned a reputation as fair and considerate employers. The performance of Japanese who worked for Filipinos on the land and the small number otherwise employed, for example, as salesmen to serve Japanese customers, was rated high.

Social relations were also marked by correctness and propriety. The aforementioned Rotarians were active. The *Visitors' Guide* of 1938 drew attention to the ability of the Japanese executives on the links. "We are proud of our golf 'champions.' On the golf course at Ohta you may match strength with the officials of the Furukawa Plantation or the Ohta Development, truly some of our best golf club enthusiasts."<sup>19</sup>

Japanese matrons tended to follow their traditional customs. They were gracious in receiving guests in their homes and as hostesses for the consulate and the Davao Japanese Association when important receptions or other affairs were held. Only a few participated in the general social life of the city, however, among them wives with their husbands attending Rotary's monthly Ladies' Night. The wives of shopkeepers and of both small and more prosperous farmers were rarely seen socially.

One recollection by a school administrator illustrates neatly the seriousness with which the Japanese sought proper relationships which could not offend the sensibilities of the Filipinos. In conjunction with preparations for the first city carnival held in Davao in 1935, a Japanese girl was chosen queen. Japanese leaders visited the brother of the runner-up, a Filipina; they insisted that it would not be proper for a Japanese to be crowned queen and the first and second choices should be reversed. The Japanese leaders yielded only after the persistent refusal of the brother, who insisted that fair-play dictated the crowning of the Japanese girl chosen most beautiful.

The practice of sending girls to Japan for high school and college limited their availability for dating and marriage in

---

<sup>19</sup> Page 31.

Davao. Remaining single girls and the young wives, however, were reserved in manner and segregated in their activities. Dating them was difficult for the Filipino, mostly—it was thought by the supplicants—because of custom rather than prejudice or distrust of motives.

If the strength of parental authority and the Japanese custom of parentally arranged marriages are recalled, it becomes clear that the reason why virtually no Japanese girl married Filipinos was that the Japanese elders did not wish it. Sending girls to Japan for higher education made it easy for them to return to Davao with husbands. Further, the case of a young Filipino physician is illustrative. After courting the mestizo daughter of a wealthy planter, he learned from his go-between that the girl had been favorably inclined, so too, the mother, but the Japanese father—averring that he had no objection to his daughter's marrying the physician—stated that he had earlier spoken with friends at home concerning a groom for his daughter. Soon after, she went to Japan and later returned to Davao married.

It was the Okinawans who tended to live most intimately with their neighbors, especially in the areas of Bagobo settlement. Marriage and common-law arrangements between Japanese farmers and Bagobo girls became fairly common.

As a result of Japanese activities, a dialect peculiar to Davao developed which was popularly referred to as "Abaca Spanish." Its development was spontaneous. Unable to make their Spanish understood by Filipinos, the Japanese came to use a mixture of Spanish, Tagalog and Visayan words in a pattern similar to that of "pidgin" English. The Bagobos and Japanese spoke this dialect in their dealings; so too did Japanese employers and Filipino laborers. It could still be heard in use between Filipino and Chinese shopkeepers in the postwar period, but had almost vanished a decade after V-J Day.

On their part, the attitude held by Filipinos toward their Japanese neighbors appears to have been marked by the same ambivalence apparent on the national scene towards modern Japan—admiration countered by fear. The Philippine ambi-

valence had grown sharper in delineation as the Japanese progressed in their goal of creating a strong, independent and highly nationalistic state, a dream of many Filipinos for their country. And Philippine leaders sometimes exhorted their people by citing the example of Japan and her people. Fear, aroused by the often expressed interest of Japanese leaders in Southeast Asia, mounted in the face of greater might and increasing evidence of expansionist policies. By some point in the mid-1930's, prior to the actual beginning of the Commonwealth decade, it would be correct to say that among the national leadership of the Philippines, fear of Japan's intentions outweighed admiration for past achievements.

Although Filipinos in Davao apparently shared this ambivalence as stated in national terms, it appears that their admiration—supplemented as it were by the local scene—was stronger than in the nation as a whole. To speculate on the causes, first of all, Filipinos in Davao could observe a Japanese community of individuals possessing universally admired qualities of industriousness, thrift, civic-mindedness, obedience and mutual cooperation; moreover, the prosperity of the Japanese was admired and sometimes envied by Filipinos; and further, most Filipinos in Davao benefited, directly or indirectly, by the economic activities of the Japanese and their thinking was almost certainly influenced thereby.

There were inevitably misunderstandings between the Japanese and Filipinos arising from differences in customs. Often they were not serious. Filipinos noted, for example, that in parades at school and elsewhere, the Japanese placed the tallest members in front and their smallest to the rear, the reverse of the Philippine custom. A source of friction lay in the difference in legal customs. For example, the Japanese found it difficult to understand the acquittal of a man accused of theft even though he had not proved his innocence. Under Philippine law the government was compelled to prove the guilt of the accused.

Nevertheless, few incidents of importance arose during the prewar decade because of this experiment in national groups

living in proximity. The issues focusing the attention of the nation upon Davao originated to a much greater extent in international conditions, and the resultant fear among Philippine leaders that Japanese holdings might facilitate an eventual alienation of the province.

In retrospect, speaking of their entire way of life on the eve of World War II in the Philippines, the Japanese had evolved a pattern of relationships with their neighbors which was proving compatible for all concerned. It is common knowledge that war itself wrought tragic changes in the Davao community; the defeat of Japan's armies meant liquidation of Japanese holdings and the return home of some 14,000 remaining colonists. The success of the prewar experiment notwithstanding, Davao residents today agree that the prewar pattern could not and should not ever be repeated.