

## Marriage and Fertility Patterns in the Philippines

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### Introduction

Marriage and birth in a sense is not like a "bee and honey" affair where you cannot have one without the other. Whereas marriage can exist between a couple without their having descendants, so can a woman give birth to a child without being married. However, we will not discuss here the possibility or impossibility of this imbroglio; we will assume instead that just like bees produce honey, every birth is a result of a marriage. Therefore, we will focus the major portion of this study on the particular role played by the ever-married women to affect a varying trend in the marriage and fertility pattern of the Philippines.

It is known fact that the alarmingly high rate of growth in the country is entirely due to the balance of births to deaths, for migration as a factor has only a very slight effect, if anything at all, on our population change. As of now, there is a consensus of opinion that this rate will continue and within the span of three decades, more or less the country's population (that of 1960) will double itself. The available land space, therefore, in the near future will be teeming with people. Will this truly mean a crisis? There are those who regard the idea of an expanding population as healthy and desirable, one that will ultimately

give rise to greater national security and power, but there are others who see only the undesirable consequences of overcrowding.

But how was this rate brought about? Consider our birth rate of 51.1 and our death rate of 20.2 per 1,000 population in 1960. We can readily see that our country has controlled mortality to a high degree while leaving fertility unchanged. This condition was attained immediately after the last world war; since then the government has stressed health programmes through the availability of cheap and effective drugs for combating various indigenous diseases. Likewise, improved sanitation, drainage, water supply, increased stress on education and literacy, and raising the level of living of the people through better job opportunities, were influential factors curtailing, to an efficient degree, the death rate. It would have been closer to the ideal, if we could have had the Western world's experience of a fall in our birth rate after attaining a fairly low death rate. However, we are still in a stationary position.

In this paper, we will try to examine and analyze the two variables, marriage and birth, as they relate to one another. A number of factors affecting a change in their trend and other relevant information that may help us to deduce whether the high rate of growth in the Philippines has any bearing on the changes in the

fertility and marriage habit of the Filipinos will be considered. However, cautious inference has to be made for the available data we have on hand represent the activities of ever-married women for a short period of time only.

### Marriage and Fertility Statistics

#### A. *Definition:*

1. **Marriage**—The Statistical Commission of the United Nations has proposed the following definition for purely statistical purposes: "Marriage is the legal union of persons of opposite sex. The legality of the union may be established by civil, religious or other means as recognized by the laws of each country and irrespective of the type of marriage."

2. **Fertility**—is the actual birth performance as evidenced by the number of offspring. This should be distinguished from fecundity which is interpreted as the potential physical capacity to produce offspring.

#### B. *Concept of Marriage:*

The term marriage in the Philippines has two distinct concepts. In one sense it is limited to the procedure by which a man and a woman become husband and wife. In this concept, marriage is defined as "that act by which a man and a woman unite for life, with intent to discharge towards society and one another those duties which results from the relation of husband and wife."

In the second sense, it is the status involving duties and responsibilities. In this concept, marriage is defined as "the civil status of one man and one woman, legally united for life, with rights and duties which, for establishment of families and the multiplication of the species, are or from time to time may hereafter be assigned by law to matrimony."

#### C. *Importance:*

Population factors such as population density, differential rates of growth and

age composition, are among the determinants of the extent and rate of economic and social development. An increase in life expectancy, or a change in the birth rate may produce shifts in the age structure of the population, which will have a bearing on the extent and age of the labor force; and/or the ratio of dependents (children and non-productive older persons) to the economically active segments. If we further analyze these same factors by marital status, it will probably reveal the consumption patterns of goods and services which are conditioned by the proportions of the population that are single, married, widowed or separated. Detection of changes in these proportions may have a decisive effect on many areas of economic development. For example, housing requirements may be estimated on the basis of the number and size of family units in the population. Community services, such as provision of water supply, medical care, hospitals, sanitation facilities and health services, may also be determined on the "family" basis. Private as well as public industries are interested in the population's marital status as a factor in labor supply and market analysis. Distribution of population by age, sex and marital status can fulfill a number of these needs.

Measures of fertility, like marriage, are used in the study of family building and of population growth and rates of reproduction. Birth statistics and various measures of fertility are also essential to a community in planning its program of infant and maternal care, child care and school development.

### Factors Affecting Marriage and Fertility

In the study of marriage and fertility trends several factors should be taken into consideration. Variations in their trend may be attributed to religion, differences

in wealth and social position, the levelling of income, the influence of social legislation and fiscal policy on changes in the economic structure and on the trade cycle, the importance of general cultural conditions, the differences in intelligence and education, the consequences of the emancipation of women and their changed position in the home and society. We can also mention the important roles played by the biological and medical factors.

These different factors interact in such intricate ways that it is hard to isolate those which wield primary influence on marriage and fertility and to measure their effects fully. However, from an array of important factors, we will choose a few and discuss their applicability to the Philippine situation.

#### A. Religion

Religious beliefs and practices exist in every known society, from the most simple and isolated to the most complex and urban.

In the Philippines, where probably the greatest contribution of Spain to its civilization was the spread of Christianity, the majority of the people are Roman Catholic, 83.8 per cent. On the other hand, another sectarian group, the Muslims, represent only 4.9 per cent of the population.

Let us now consider the position of these two groups, the Catholic and the Muslim.

The Catholic church is aware that a case of overpopulation is detrimental to the country's development but the use of contraceptives or any other artificial means to suppress natural growth, through birth, is frowned upon.

Pope Pius XII in his *Christian Marriage* pointed out that "since the conjugal act is destined primarily by nature for the begetting of children, those who

in exercising it deliberately frustrate its natural power and purpose, sin against nature and commit a deed which is shameful and intrinsically vicious." Pope John XXIII, successor of Pope Pius XII, added that the problem of hunger is still very serious for humanity, but to remedy this situation "one cannot in any way resort to erroneous doctrines and to pernicious and fatal methods to limit offspring."

However, Catholic teaching has had different effects on the population, depending on the level of education, social and economic standing and religious experience. Among a group of intelligent, healthy, and firm believers in the Church's teaching, responsible parenthood is a primary consideration. Sexual behavior is also controlled to a high degree by cultural values. But where poverty exists and where the population receives only minimal education, and laxity in marital relations is common, Catholic teaching produces a different result.

Within the Catholic scheme of values, chastity holds a high place and marriage is held in high esteem.

Islam is a religion which is not confined to the personal interest of individuals. It aims at regulating the life of a whole community and even that of mankind as a whole.

Muslim social structure universally supports and strongly advocates high fertility. However, the Muslims do not sanction unlimited polygamy. A specific text of the Koran as follows: "and if you fear that you cannot act equitably towards orphans, then marry such women as seem good to you, two and three and four; but if you fear that you will not do justice [to them] then [marry] only one." Another passage from the Koran also states: "...and do not slay your children for fear of poverty. We give them sustenance and yourselves too."

These two groups, though upholding opposing principles (e.g. Muslims approve of polygamous marriages and Catholics do not), will no doubt fear to do things that would artificially control births. Both believe that human life is not influenced by the actions of individuals alone but also by the will of God. It would be impious for them to attempt to interfere in any way with the cause of nature.

### B. *Literacy*

Schools and colleges transmit a common fund of culture to the young, which protects and perpetuates knowledge, beliefs, customs, and skills. Thus, they determine the life changes of the next generation.

Literacy rates (for all ages) in the Philippines, both sexes, has been on the increase. In 1939, it was 48.8 per cent. In 1948 and 1960 it rose to 59.8 and 72.0 per cent respectively. When literacy rate was computed by age groups it was lowest for persons 65 years and over with 31.2 per cent reported and highest for 15 to 19 years old with 85.3 per cent.

It follows that in the present generation, the individuals entering into marriage are more literate and more exposed to life in the society in which he or she lives. Consequently, literacy is an asset for the introduction of a family planning program for responsible parenthood, in which Catholics as well as those of other faiths could be encouraged to limit the number of their children through proper education.

### C. *Customs and Practices*

All societies have their own cultural attitudes, customs and practices, rules or norms, specifying what is appropriate and inappropriate behaviour. Such norms would encourage or restrict such practices as polygamy, polyandry, and trial marriage. These practices vary from one re-

gion to another; something readily acceptable in one community may be despised in another.

In the Philippines, where a collection of marriage rites can be found, practices, rites and customs vary. For instance:

The payment of "bigay-kaya" (dowry) in one form or another is found among all groups—Igorots, Moros, Muslims and even among Christians. The dowry is determined by the parents of the bride according to their social position and or sometimes selfish motivation. At times, no dowry means no marriage.

A number of minority groups insists on the deferment of the marriage consummation. For instance, the Benguet and Tiagañ Igorots defer consummation during the time (usually 3 days) that the newlyweds are locked in the house. During this period their family and friends make offerings to their Gods with food, songs, and dances. Among the Bogobos and the Kulamans, the bride and groom sleep on the same mat but a child, usually a boy, sleeps between them for a certain length of time. The Roman Catholic Tagals attend church for nine mornings before they can consummate their marriage. The extent to which these practices are still observed cannot be exactly determined.

On the other hand, Apayao customs allow lovers to share the same bed long before marriage is contemplated or even when marriage is not in view. Promiscuity, therefore, is not uncommon.

Divorce and polygamy are common among the Apayaos and other non-Christian tribes. A man may divorce his wife on grounds of infidelity, habitual laziness, inhospitality, illness and even sterility. A wife rarely divorces her husband because if she does, she is required to pay a heavy penalty which may exceed the dowry received by her parents.

The Badjaos of the South, who live on barges or makeshift boats, have a custom that as soon as the wife has given birth and the cord of the child severed and dried up, the baby is dropped into the sea as a sort of christening and at the same time as a symbol of acceptance by the tribe. The father is, of course, on guard, and as soon as the baby is thrown into the sea, he dives after it. If during the process the child dies, it is believed that Allah does not want the parents to have the child.

Time has altered some of these practices, but not to the point of their being totally disregarded. Now a large number of babies are being delivered in hospitals and maternity institutions, safeguarding both the health of the baby and mother. In remote areas, the rural health facilities are of great aid to the people, freely dispensing the services of its doctors, nurses and midwives. The workers too of the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement are doing their best to insure the people living in these areas of better living conditions.

#### D. *Laws Governing Marriage*

Marriage is not a mere contract but an inviolable social institution. Its nature and consequences are governed by law and not subject to stipulation, except that the marriage settlement may, to a certain extent, fix the property relations during the marriage.

Philippine laws declare marriages under the following instances void from the beginning.

1. Those contracted by males under sixteen and females under fourteen years of age, even with parental consent.

2. Bigamous and polygamous marriages. Marriages, however between Mohammedans or Pagans who live in non-

christian provinces may be performed in accordance with their accepted customs, rites and practices.

3. Incestuous marriages. (Whether the relationship between the parties be legitimate or illegitimate.)

The above factors have in one way or another influenced marriage and fertility trends in the Philippines. However, the nature and magnitude of their effects are not constant so that they may change with time. To predict future trends will be rather difficult even if we know the factors influencing them at present and those that have done so in the past.

#### Source and Some Previous Studies Made

Demographic information for this kind of study may be obtained from three major sources, namely, population censuses, vital event registers, and surveys.

Since 1887, we have had at least seven censuses undertaken for the country. However, it was only in the 1939 census that uniform information for all inhabitants was obtained. Likewise, for the first time, fertility performance of ever-married women, christian and non-christian, was known. Information similar to that attained in 1939 was also gathered for 1948. In the 1960 round, the fertility questionnaire was elaborated to include age at first marriage of women, number of live-born children, number of children now living, and place of birth.

The vital statistics register in the country is still far from perfect. Although the Office of the Registrar General is striving its best to get improved reports, under-registration still prevails. Without extra compensation, the work of a local civil registrar is an added burden to the task already being performed by the municipal treasurer and health officer. However, from the time the country first began its compilation of vital events

through church records up to the present, there has been marked improvement in vital registration work. For the year 1960, 88 per cent of the total local civil registrars sent in their reports.

The 1956, 1958 surveys of the Philippine Statistical Survey of Households of the Census Bureau included some questionnaires on fertility during the regular survey of the labor force. The 1963 series has included a more elaborate set of schedules on the subject and a more refined study on fertility performance of Filipino women was achieved. A preliminary result of this study was presented by Messrs. Nazaret and Chaves in their paper "Fertility Survey of 1963 in the Philippines" published in the *Philippine Sociological Review*, Vol. XII (January-April 1964). For this year's (1965) May series, we have again incorporated another set of questions on fertility and family limitation which we hope will provide us with descriptive information about current demographic and fertility status of the women among the different socio-economic groups in the urban and rural areas in the Philippines; data for measuring changes in fertility behavior among the population, which in turn, will lead to more refined studies of population in general, and of fertility in particular; and data on the attitude towards family size and family limitation so that informed action programmes can be formulated.

### Previous Studies Made Up to Year 1960

Various aspects of the marriage and fertility performance of the Filipinos have been studied in the past, either through a sample survey or through censuses.

Some of the findings of the different authors are as follows:

(a) *Kathleen Jupp*—in "Pattern of Population Change 1939-57."

1. Regional differences in the married proportions presumably reflect differences in attitudes towards marriage. The greater competitiveness and economic insecurity in the urban (as compared to rural) communities may account for this.

2. There is an inverse relationship between density of settlement and fertility; fertility was low where the pressure of population was greatest.

3. Some form of fertility control has been exerted, perhaps the Malthusian control of deferment of marriage, but this control has been somewhat reduced in recent years.

(b) *Irene Taeuber*—in "Bases of Population Problem, the Philippines—1939."

Her initial assumption with reference to differential fertility among the Philippine provinces was that it was associated with the development and modernization of the country. In this assumption, the average age of marriage would be lowest and the fertility highest among women who lived in provinces where agriculture was most predominant, where illiteracy is greatest and school attendance least.

1. Few of those who married remained childless, the percentage was only 4 for those aged 45 to 54. There was frequent and continuing childbearing among those who married, 53 per cent of the women aged 45 to 54 who reported on children ever born reported 7 or more.

2. There was a varying degree of postponement of marriage among women. Most of them eventually married but some 5 per cent of those aged 45 to 54 have not done so.

3. The relationship between the fertility of woman and social and economic conditions suggest that the extent and the type of differentials in fertility were changing over time. Those among older

women were associated more with cultural and historic factors than with such measures of modernization as non-agricultural occupations or education; while those among younger women reflected the influence of the developing national economy, the expanding educational system and the growing aspirations for life outside the barrios or a more abundant life within.

(c) *Amos Hawley*—in "Fertility of an Urban Population."

His write-up was based on a field survey conducted in September 1953. Completed interviews were secured from 90 per cent of the households in the sample yielding a population of 301 married women.

1. One of the effects of war as well as of other events that create insecurity of family life is a disturbance of the normal rate of marriage. Young couples delay marriage and wait for more favourable circumstances. Part of the decline of fertility therefore may have resulted from marriage postponement.

2. Interval between marriage and first birth (a maximum of three years) occurring in 1930-34 declined rapidly to a minimum of one year in most recent marriages.

3. Fertility varies directly with income and inversely with wife's education.

4. The average number of months between the date of marriage and the date of first birth when tabulated by years of school completed reveals a longer postponement in starting a family with each higher level of educational attainment.

: in "Rural Fertility in Central Luzon"

This paper analyzed certain fertility data gathered incidentally by the Philippine Rural Survey of 1952; this survey was concerned primarily with problems of land tenure and land use.

The survey undertook a complete enumeration of all the households in nine barrios located in the rice producing provinces of the central Luzon plains. Households numbered 2,700; married women, 2,380.

Summarizing his findings, Hawley stated that in the population under study, it appeared that rural fertility had declined within the past decade and in 1952 it tended to approximate urban fertility. (His findings on urban fertility was based on his previous study. It should be noted though, that the barrios in Central Luzon plains under study are adjacent to Manila and Quezon City, hence not much difference exists between these areas by way of livelihood.) But in ages above 35 there is no evidence of fertility decline. In all age groups fertility, as measured by the ratio of live births ever had per married woman, varies inversely with occupation of husband, education of husband and wife, and directly with size of farm operated.

*Summary of Various Findings:*

The previous studies cited, whether involved with the whole country or just some sector of it, reached almost similar conclusions.

1. That was a general consensus that Filipino males and females tend to postpone marriage or marry at an older age.

2. The fertility performance of Filipino women is quite high as characterized by the number of children they have had. This characteristic is particularly notable when we consider women of the older age group or women with complete fertility.

3. There seems to be no indication at all of a desire to limit offspring.

4. Getting married and giving birth depend to some extent on economic and social capabilities of individuals.

5. Education, occupation, urbanization, etc. has influenced fertility and marriage performance of woman.

### The Trend

#### *The Marital Trend:*

The analysis of marriage statistics is more difficult than that of fertility and mortality statistics, for while births and deaths are non-repeatable events in the life of an individual, the possibilities for marriage, divorce, separation, widowhood are multiple.

One of the most important aspects of population, which, together with age and sex influence to a large extent the vital, social and economic conditions of the community, is civil or marital status. Shown in Table 1 is the marital composition of the Philippine population 10 years old and over by year and sex.

portion married for both sexes for the same period is very much lower. However, these figures are somewhat lacking as a true reflection of the differential; the 1903 and 1918 censuses were designed for the christian population only, whereas the last three were for all the inhabitants of the country. For the two earlier periods there was under-estimation of marriages though early marital unions were common among the primitive or non-christian tribes. If only such unions had been included in the 1903 and 1918 census enumeration, then possibly the proportion of married individuals will be greater.

Considering any of the years 1939, 1948 and 1960, it may be noted that the proportion of the single was a little higher for males than it was for females. With regard to the married proportion, year

Table 1. Percentage Distribution of the Population Aged 10 Years and Over by Marital Status 1903-1960

Sex and Year	Total Population 10 years old and over	Percentage Distribution				
		Total	Single	Married	Widowed	N.R. Others or
<i>Males:</i>						
1960	9,054,285	100.0	48.0	49.0	2.7	0.3
1948	6,957,269	100.0	48.0	47.0	3.7	1.3
1939	5,457,365	100.0	45.1	50.7	4.1	0.1
1918*	3,224,569	100.0	60.7	35.6	3.7	—
1903*	2,473,777	100.0	58.6	36.6	4.8	—
<i>Females:</i>						
1960	9,091,607	100.0	43.7	49.3	6.4	0.6
1948	6,703,692	100.0	42.8	46.6	8.4	2.1
1939	5,446,514	100.0	39.0	51.5	9.3	0.2
1918*	3,216,554	100.0	57.0	35.8	7.2	—
1903*	2,499,749	100.0	54.1	36.4	9.5	—

\* Christian Population only.

Source: *Censuses of Philippine Population 1903 to 1960* (Manila: Bureau of the Census and Statistics).

The censuses of 1903 and 1918 showed a tremendous proportion of unmarried males and females as compared to that of 1939, 1948 and 1960; while the pro-

portion married for both sexes for the same period is very much lower. This may be due to the advent of the Second World War which may have hastened marriage, not to mention the fact that



there are reasons to believe that this census was more efficiently undertaken than that of 1948. An upsurge was noted for both sexes from 1948 to 1960. The greater proportion of married women over men for all the census years may be attributed to the fact that women tend to say they are married, though not legally so, as long as they have given birth. Polygamous marriages in some parts of the country also add to the figure married.

Fluctuations in the proportion widowed may be seen but there is more of a declining trend. At the same time it must be considered that the greater percentage widowed in 1903 may be due to the fact that the period was not normal. The Philippines at that time had barely recovered

The great difference of the percentage widowed among males and females for 1960 is presumable due to the greater number of remarriages among men.

As far as the others are concerned, the divorced or separated groups, there are no significant figures, possibly because divorce is not yet popular in the Philippines. This lack of popularity may be due to the Catholic church's influence. Also our divorce laws are not as liberal as those of other countries in that the only valid grounds for securing it are adultery on the part of the wife and concubinage on the part of the husband. Besides, strong family attachments are Filipino traits which may have helped to keep down the divorce and separation figures:

Table 2. Percentage Distribution of the Population Ever-Married and Single, Classified by Age, Males and Females 1948 and 1960

Group Age	Single				Ever-Married*			
	1948		1960		1948		1960	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
10-14	99.9	99.9	99.7	99.7	.1	.1	.3	.3
15-19	97.0	85.1	97.0	87.3	3.0	14.9	3.0	12.7
20-24	64.8	40.7	65.5	44.3	35.2	59.3	34.5	55.7
25-29	27.0	18.8	27.1	19.6	73.0	81.2	72.9	80.4
30-34	12.2	12.6	11.4	11.6	87.8	87.4	88.6	88.4
35-39	7.3	9.5	6.1	8.1	92.7	90.5	93.9	91.9
40-44	5.4	8.8	4.1	7.6	94.6	91.2	95.9	92.4
45-49	3.5	6.9	3.2	7.1	96.5	93.1	96.8	92.9
50-54	3.5	6.7	3.0	7.7	96.5	93.3	97.0	92.3
55-59	2.7	5.8	2.7	6.9	97.3	94.2	97.3	93.1
60-64	2.8	6.0	2.4	6.8	97.2	94.0	97.6	93.2
65+	2.6	6.0	2.4	6.1	97.4	94.0	97.6	93.9

\* Data on status not reported is not included.

Source: *Census Population Report* 1948 and 1960 (Manila: Bureau of the Census and Statistics).

from the chaos and disorder of the Filipino American War which had closely followed the Spanish-American War. Today, the improved hygienic condition of the country plays a vital role in decreasing the proportion of the widowed, by drastically reducing the rate of mortality.

If we compare the percentage distribution of the single male (Table 2) for 1948 and 1960, it is seen that age group 10-14 decreased by .2 percentage points, remained constant for age group 15-19, increased in age groups 20-24, and 25-29

and then from age groups 30-34 and above decreased.

Female distribution pattern features a decrease in age group 10-14 by .2 percentage points from 1948 to 1960, an increase in age groups 15-19 to 20-29, then a decrease from age groups 30-34 to 40-44, and then again an increase in the older age groups. This results from the fact that in the past, the woman's place was almost always at home, but at present her opportunities for a career other than marriage has broadened to include wider fields. She has ventured into almost all kinds of professions and occupations. She has found employment outside the home, in the office, she participates in the civic, social, educational and even political activities of the community. When marriage was pre-arranged by the parents, the female had less of a chance to stay single. Today she has more freedom to choose when to marry as well as whether to marry at all. Ultimately almost 7% of the females in 1960 settled for a quiet life of spinsterhood.

There is a lot of variation in the proportion of ever-married males and females, in every age group for the two periods 1948 and 1960. We cannot expect it to be the same for, generally, women marry at a younger age. In a particular age group males do not take their wives from among identically the same age group; in fact most men marry women younger than themselves. Another reason that may be given would refer to the differences in the sex ratio in each relevant age group.

If we compare further the male and female proportion ever-married for the two periods, we will find out that females marry at a younger age. Once we reach age group 30-34, however, we will notice that the proportion of men ever married has increased at a faster rate

than that of women. Ultimately, the males have a greater proportion ever-married than do females. This may be because widowers have a far greater possibility of remarriage. Not that the widowed do not remarry at all but it can be said that the period of their mourning is longer than that of the men.

Table 3. Median Age at Marriage, Females 1960 (In Years)

Years of birth	All women	Ever married
1936--1940	22.38	18.59
1931--1935	20.58	19.68
1926--1930	20.63	20.22
1921--1925	20.33	20.24
1916--1920	21.02	20.98
1911--1915	21.39	21.36
1906--1910	21.68	21.63
1901--1905	21.42	21.43
1896--1900	21.45	21.47

Source: *Summary Census of Population, Philippines 1960* (Manila: Bureau of the Census and Statistics).

*Median age at first marriage—the age at which one half of the members of the cohort married.*

The Median as here defined represents the whole cohort and not only those married at the time of the census. The assumption is that the median so calculated will be nearly the same as the median age at first marriage for all those members of the cohort who eventually marry.

For our purpose, the "birth cohort" method of rebuilding the previous trends in age at marriage from figures obtained in the 1960 census was utilized. The data was classified on age at marriage by the present ages of the persons enumerated and the figures for each present age group was taken to represent the marriage age of the "cohort" or generation born a corresponding number of years earlier. Thus

the marriage age reported by persons who were 60-64 during the census (that is in 1960) was taken to represent the ages at which the cohort born in the years 1896-1900 had married. The same procedure was followed for all ages. The youngest cohort of females considered was that born in 1936-1940, 20 to 24 years old at the time of the census, who were married in the middle 1950's.

Computation of median age follows, allowing in each age group a 7 per cent proportion for women who will not marry for life.

There was a sudden increase of the median age at marriage for all women born 1936-40. However, before proceeding further, it should be considered that the median age at marriage for all women born 1936-40 as given, is a little bit underestimated. It should still be slightly higher due to the fact that the proportion marrying at each single year between 20-24 will be increasing with age.

By and large, the general tendency was for a decreasing trend in the marriages of women born in 1895 or earlier to 1931-1935. The fall in the age at marriage for cohorts born 1921-25 and 1931-35 may be attributed to the unstable political and economic situation in the country during the war years, where a large number of women born in 1921-25 got married. The general tendency for these women were to marry at a younger age in order to protect themselves from being molested by the oppressors. The bachelors too looked for brides to escape from being recruited for enemy labor camps. The tendency of women marrying earlier than they did before continued up to the end of the war, then, when the Allied Forces liberated the country, a sudden prosperity was experienced by the people. Aid to start reconstruction projects came pouring from foreign lands; commodities of all sorts could be purchased at a low price

(import controls not being enforced at the time) and demand for labor at a high wage rate was great.

Table 4. Comparative Singulate Mean at Marriage for Selected Countries by Census Year, by Sex

Country	Male (In Years)	Female (In Years)
Philippines (1948)	24.62	21.06
(1960)	24.82	22.26
Japan (1960)	27.38	24.82
Korea (1960)	26.36	22.76
Taiwan (1956)	24.45	21.13
Thailand (1960)	24.17	21.98
U.S.A. (1960)	23.30	20.50

Source: Estimated from the reports of the various population censuses of the countries involved.

Figures from table 4 were calculated through the Hajnal Method. Similarly, this method determined the age at which a cohort eventually get married.

When considering both sexes, Japan, the most industrialized country in the ECAFE region leads with Korea trailing after, and the Philippines coming in third. The United States, however, considered as the most developed country in the world, showed a low figure. Although Japan is an exception, it may be said that economic and social stability of the society play a vital role in accelerating marriage and thus lowering age at marriage. Where there are abundant employment opportunities, a more secure and stable way of life, the marriage of people is advanced.

Whether we make our analysis by median age at first marriage "birth cohort" method (for all women) or by the Hajnal Singulate Mean at marriage, the fact that readily came out is that women now marry a little bit later than they did before; however, the difference is slight.

Table 5. Probability of Single Men and Women to Marry in 1960 to 1965

Age Group	Proportion Single %	Difference Married %	Probability of Marrying as they move from one age group to another	Number Enumerated as of Census 1960 Single	Estimated Number Marrying 1960-1965
<i>Males:</i>					
10-14	100.0			1,761,351	
15-19	97.0	3.0	.0300	1,343,195	52,841
20-24	65.5	31.5	.3247	782,347	436,135
25-29	27.1	38.4	.5862	258,364	458,612
30-34	11.4	15.7	.5793	87,012	149,670
35-39	6.1	5.3	.4649	43,104	40,452
40-44	4.1	2.0	.3279	22,496	14,134
45-49	3.2	.9	.2195	16,938	4,938
					<u>1,156,782</u> = 231,356
					5      29,749,000
					= 7.78%
					= approximate marriage rate, males 1965
<i>Females:</i>					
10-14	100.0			1,664,921	
15-19	87.3	12.7	.1270	1,248,070	211,445
20-24	44.3	43.0	.4926	560,283	614,799
25-29	19.6	24.7	.5576	195,679	312,414
30-34	11.6	8.0	.4082	91,894	79,876
35-39	8.1	3.5	.3017	59,004	27,724
40-44	7.6	0.5	.0617	41,911	3,641
45-49	7.1	0.5	.0658	35,858	2,758
					<u>1,252,657</u> = 250,531
					5      29,749,000
					= 8.42%
					= approximate marriage rate, females, 1965

Source: *Summary Census of Population 1960* (Manila: Bureau of the Census and Statistics).

Table 5 shows that the 1965 estimated number of women age 15 to 49 marrying exceeded that of men by 95,875. The marriage rate expected for the same period showed a difference of .64 per cent in favor of females.

This may be expected not because men want to enjoy their bachelor's life a little longer but because some regional differences played a part in the picture. For instance, in some parts of the Islands, particularly in Mindanao or the areas

where most of the non-christian tribes reside, the practice of marrying or having more than one wife is allowed as long as the man can support them. Eventually, when it comes to census enumeration these wives will naturally list themselves as married.

There is also a reluctance among persons, especially women, to admit the existence of an illicit relationship in their life. Therefore, even if a man and a woman are not joined in lawful wedlock, the ten-

dency for the woman (when asked about her marital status) is to answer "married."

The effect of mortality can also be cited; it is an accepted fact that female expectation of life is greater than that of the male. If a woman became widowed, for instance, at an earlier age, her chances of marrying again will also be great. However, the probability of men marrying again or just marrying at an older age group say 40-44 or 45-49 is far, far, greater than that of the women.

While interpreting the marriage rates the following points should be taken into account:

1. These rates relate to first marriage only, hence the actual marriage rate is expected to be slightly higher because of remarriages.

2. In calculating the estimated number of women and men marrying in 1965, the effect of mortality is not taken into consideration. The deaths occurring in both sexes before marriage may probably bring in a slight decline in the marriage rate.

aged 15-44 years having risen from 1085 to 1108 to 1215 for 1939, 1948, and 1960 respectively.

If we consider the trend of regional marital fertility, we should bear in mind always that each of the regions has its own characteristics and its people have their own way of life. If we take Ilocos-Mountain Province and Cagayan Valley-Batanes, we will find that the terrain here is very rugged and mountainous and therefore the means of transportation and communication very poor. The people are a mixture of christian and non-christian groups. A preponderance of non-christian tribes is found in the Mountain Province and Batanes. The tobacco industry is the only leading source of income for the people. Although others derived their income from rice and vegetable fields they can barely sustain the needs of their families. Not a handful, therefore, have moved to other places to seek a better livelihood.

Central Luzon, Manila, Southern Luzon, Bicol, and the Visayas are more or less on plains although large areas of wa-

Table 6. Marital Replacement Ratios 1939, 1948, and 1960, by Region

Region	1939	1948	1960
Total	1,085	1,108	1,215
Ilocos-Mt. Province	934	1,040	957
Cagayan Valley-Batanes	991	994	1,169
Central Luzon	1,098	1,073	1,278
Metropolitan Manila			
Southern Luzon & Islands	931	868	1,169
Bicol	1,134	1,271	1,330
Western Visayas	1,137	1,248	1,323
Eastern Visayas	1,213	1,209	1,236
South-West Mindanao	1,181	1,074	1,214
North-East Mindanao	1,126	1,107	1,168

Source: For 1939 and 1948: Jupp's, "Patterns of Population Change," *Philippine Statistician*, Vol. IX.

For 1960: *Summary of Population Census*, (Manila: Bureau of the Census and Statistics).

It is clearly shown in Table 6 that the pattern of marital replacement is on an increasing trend; the ratio of children aged 5-9 years to "ever married" women

separate one island from another. Transportation and communication, however, are far better here than in the rest of the regions. It is only in Palawan and

in some parts of Mindoro in Southern Luzon where a small portion of non-christian groups predominate; the rest have a christian majority.

Mindanao is the land of the Muslims and the Badjaos and theirs is a way of life far different from the others. Although in other parts of the country such as the Mt. Province and Palawan polygamous marriages are allowed, the extent of this practice is greater in Mindanao.

Central Luzon is the rice granary of the Philippines. Not only is it characterized by an agrarian society but the area covered by its industry is so vast as to include sugar mills, fish canning factories, textile and embroidery mills, drug companies, etc. People from nearby provinces have converged on this region primarily because of better job opportunities.

South-West Mindanao witnessed in the 1950's an "invasion"; a group of persons (formerly rebellious) was transferred through government support to Cotabato. There, the individual and his family were given homesteads and basic aid needed to start a new life.

Manila and most of Southern Luzon, being centres of urbanization, literacy and industrialization, have attracted migrants from as far north as Ilocos and the Mountain Province and as far south as North-East Mindanao.

Marital differentials therefore vary from one region to another, depending on the socio-economic condition of the area. In addition, the extent of medical services in each and every region has a hand in the differentials too, such services being a direct variable to marital replacement.

#### *The Fertility Trend:*

Table 7. Estimated Birth Rates: 1903-1960

Census Year	Intrinsic birth rate	Sex-Age Adjusted Birth Rate
1903	46.7	—
1918	50.2	53.3
1939	49.0	52.2
1948	56.2	56.4
1960	51.1	53.9

Source: Calculated from Census data.

Birth rates using the vital registration give a wrong picture of the Philippine fertility situation. Its incompleteness deters further utilization of the data, which, if such were not the case, would result in a far better analysis for this study. Thus, vital rates calculated indirectly have to be resorted to for a more realistic figure.

Comparing results of the two methods, it would seem as if birth rates have not deviated so much from 1903 to 1960. Although a 5.1 per cent and 2.5 per cent decrease were had from 1948-1960, still there were no real indications at all of a declining trend in fertility. It is still at

TABLE 8. Average Number of Children Born to Ever-Married Women: 1960

Present Age	All Age Group	Age At First Marriage						
		10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40+
All age group	4.3	5.6	4.7	4.1	3.6	2.8	2.2	1.3
10 - 14	0.7	0.7	—	—	—	—	—	—
15 - 19	0.7	1.5	0.7	—	—	—	—	—
20 - 24	1.8	3.2	2.1	0.9	—	—	—	—
25 - 29	3.1	4.7	3.9	2.5	1.1	—	—	—
30 - 34	4.4	6.0	5.3	4.1	2.5	1.1	—	—
35 - 39	5.5	6.9	6.4	5.2	4.0	2.2	1.3	—
40 - 44	6.0	7.8	7.0	5.8	4.6	5.3	2.1	1.0
45 +	5.4	7.1	6.4	5.2	4.4	3.2	2.4	1.4

SOURCE: *Report on Fertility, Census of the Philippines, 1960* (Manila: Bureau of the Census and Statistics).

the high level of the 1950's. In addition, caution must be exercised because, as previously stated, the 1948 figures have a somewhat larger percentage of error than does the enumeration of 1939. The 60 year period seems to indicate a quasi-stable population.

Table 8 shows that women who have passed their completed fertility period (say 40-44); and who were married when they were at ages 10-14, have on the average 7.8 children. This rather large number of children born to them may be attributed to the fact that this group has, on the whole, a consistent and continuous child-bearing history. Even young women of ages 15-19 and married at 10-14 did not delay giving birth to their first baby. On the average they have 1.5 children. However, as the marriage age is prolonged the number of children diminished proportionately. Although the fertility performance of the women in the older age group is rather high, we cannot expect that the younger generation will follow suit. Their attitude and motivation with regard to childbearing and family building may change as time passes.

TABLE 9. Average Number of Children Born to Women Ever Married by Age Group 1948, 1958 and 1960

Age Group	Census 1948	Survey 1958	Census 1960
Total	4.7	5.2	4.3
10-14	0.6	—	0.7
15-19	1.1	0.9	0.7
20-24	2.1	2.0	1.8
25-34	3.9	4.2	3.7
35-44	5.9	6.3	5.7
45+	6.3	7.1	5.4
Age Not Reported	—	5.6	—

SOURCE: *Census of 1948*; Statistical Survey of Households (Manila: Bureau of the Census and Statistics); *1960 Fertility Census* (Manila: Bureau of the Census and Statistics).

As indicated in Table 9, on the whole, a reduction, in the average number of children born to women ever married for the periods 1948 to 1960 was experienced. For 1960, women of completed fertility averaged 5.4 children as compared to the 1948 figure of 6.3. The reduction, however, was too slight (only .9) for us to infer that fertility tends to swing downward. We must bear in mind that the situations of the two periods are not exactly comparable. In 1948 we had barely gained our independence. Conditions were not as settled as they were in 1960. During the earlier period, dissidents were active, terrorism was rampant in some parts of the country. In addition, that was the very first time a census was undertaken by an all-Filipino staff.

It should be noted that in the May 1958 Survey, age referred to age as of the date of the survey for those who were then married; but for those widowed, divorced, or separated, it referred to the age when last widowed, divorced, or separated. In the 1948 and 1960 censuses, the reference is to age as of the census date for all women ever married.

TABLE 10. Child-Woman Ratios 1939, 1948 and 1960, by Region

Region	Census Year		
	Census Year		
	1939	1948	Year
Total	713	684	752
Ilocos-Mt. Province	566	632	654
Cagayan Valley-			
Batanes	685	652	804
Central Luzon	690	665	789
Metropolitan Manila,			
Southern Luzon & Is.	602	499	770
Bicol	783	815	848
Western Visayas	737	756	796
Eastern Visayas	775	743	782
Southwest Mindanao	837	812	818
Northeast Mindanao	816	717	792

SOURCE: 1939, 1948: Jupp's "Patterns of Population Change," *Philippine*

*Statistician*, Vol. IX, 1960: *Summary of Population Census* (Manila: Bureau of the Census and Statistics).

The previous discussions on the regional differences affecting marital replacement ratios should also be considered here.

The replacement ratio of the whole country as shown in Table 10 exhibits a fluctuating trend for children 5-to-9 to women aged 15-to-44, from 713 to 684 to 752 for the periods 1939, 1948, 1960. For the period 1939-48 only three regions in the island, namely Ilocos-Mt. Province, Bicol and Western Visayas, showed an increase in its replacement ratios. One of the factors for this increase, particularly for the Mountain Province area, is the practice of trial marriage and polygamy. The movement of people to the Western Visayas in order to work (especially in the sugar plantations) also leads to a possible increase. For the Bicol women, all we can say is that once they get married they tend to have frequent and continuing childbearing.

For 1948, Manila and Southern Luzon Islands displayed the lowest replacement ratio, even lower than that of the entire country. In these areas you will find the greatest proportion of unmarried females. The women here have a tendency to marry at an older age or not at all. They seem to be intent only on their respective tasks, in the office, at school, at social functions or elsewhere. This proportion of females may also have resulted from the arrival of women from the South in order to study, to look for work, or just to stay for leisure.

Considering the figures of 1960, we will find that among the regions, unlike in 1948, only the Ilocos-Mountain Province area experienced a decrease in replacement ratio. Differential mortality, especially among infants, may be a probable cause. The "pull" factors such as

the greater demand for labor in the nearby regions, Central Luzon and Southern Luzon Islands particularly, also affect the decrease.

The factors to which the increase of replacement ratios for the whole country is attributable may be due to the changed economic and social conditions in the land; higher literacy, better health services, and higher standard of living.

### Summary

In the earlier chapters of this study, we have seen the roles played by the ethnic, religious and other cultural factors, not to forget economic variables, in influencing marriage and fertility.

The past years exhibited a decreasing trend for age at marriage of women, but the period after the war up to the present showed that the level of 20 years has been altered to a higher one. Not only do women postpone marriage to a later age, but men practice this too. However, the desire of men to get married over a time is not at all curtailed as much as that of women. In 1960 almost 7 per cent of the population were recorded as single; bachelors comprised only 3 per cent of the population. More remarriages on the part of widowers were also noted. Widows probably observed a longer period of mourning for their deceased husbands before remarrying. The decreasing proportion of the widower population may also be attributed to changed expectation of life brought about by the accelerated and improved mortality condition in the country. The greater proportion of married women in comparison to men is probably a result of consensual marriage or polygamy among the non-Christian tribes. In consensual union, 2 single women involved in an illicit love affair (especially when she begets a child) will say, for all we know, that she is married—even though "wedded" without the benefit of any rite.



It seems that the Philippine birth rate has been constant over time and is still expected to be on that high level for more years to come. Although the average number of children for women of completed fertility decreased from 6.3 to 5.4 during 1948 to 1960, the drop was too slight to effect a change in the fertility pattern. From 1948 to 1960, however, the child-woman ratio increased quite a lot. This proportion of children will in turn be responsible for bringing up the future generation.

The changing age at marriage can have some effects on childbearing in the years to come. For when a woman gets married at an older age her capacity to bear children is decreased. However, in the Philippines although the woman may marry at an older age, once she is married, she will not first consider when it would be opportune to have her first baby nor will she delay having it, unlike her counterpart in the West. Ultimately, therefore, when she reaches her completed fertility period, the number of children she has borne will be great.

Birth control through artificial method has still a long way to go before it can affect the lives of our people. The government, I believe, has not done and will not do anything to bring down this high level of fertility through means unacceptable to the Catholics. In any case it is up to the couples themselves to decide whether they want the responsibility of rearing a large number of children. It is for them to work out and find suitable and accepted means of suppressing the number of their children to the ideal or desired level.

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