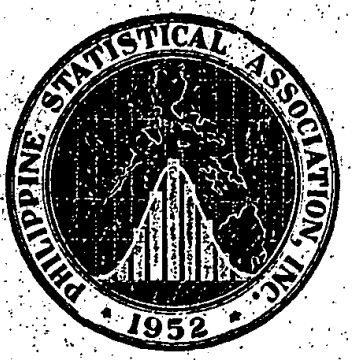
The Philippine Statistician



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THE ASSOCIATION

SOME NOTES ON INCOME DISTRIBUTION IN THE PHILIPPINES

by

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The recent completion of a survey of family in come and expenditures in the Philippines has made it feasible to undertake some analysis of the country's income distribution.[1] In this note I shall compare the income distribution in the Philippines with that of other countries, assess the degree of income inequality in different sectors of the economy, analyze the sources of income at different income levels, evaluate the change that has occurred in the income distribution over the past decade and consider a few factors that contribute to the inequality of income distribution in the Philippines.

The data in Table 1 compare the distribution of family income in the Philippines with the distribution in the United States and India. In comparison with the United States we find that incomes in the Philippines are much more unequally distributed. Thus, the top 5 percent of all income earners received **27.6 percent of total** family income here in 1956 compared with only 20.4 percent for the Unitted States in 1950. Similarly, the top quintile received 55.1 percent of family income in the Philippines but only 45.7 percent in the United States. On the other hand, the shares received by the lowest quintile are similar in both countries, 4.4 percent in

[1] The Philippine Statistical Survey of Households Bulletin, Series No. 4, **Family Income and Expenditure.** The author is grateful to the director of the survey, Mr. Perfecto Franche, for making available additional unpublished data obtained in this survey.

the Philippines and 4.8 percent the United States. However, the share of total income received by the second, third and fourth quintiles, families at intermediate income levels, is in each case higher in the United States than it is in Philippines.

Compared with India income distribution in the Philippines shows about the same degree of concentration at the top end of the income scale but a slightly larger share goes to the middle income groups. Thus, in both countries the top quintile receive about 55 percent of total family income but in the third and fourth quintile the shares received in the Philippines, 12 and 10 percent, are appreciably larger than the corresponding shares for India, 11 and 16 percent (see Table 1). On the other hand the lowest quintile in India receive a larger share, 8 percent, than they do in the Philippines where their share is only 4.4 percent.

Thus far comparisons have been based on income before payment of personal income tax. The use of after-tax data would give an even more unequal income distribution for the Philippines as compared with the United States. Thus, on an after-tax basis the top quintile received 54.1 percent of total family income in the Philippines compared with 43.5 percent in the United States.[2] No data is available on the distribution of family income after taxes for India.

Further analysis of data for the Philippines indicates that family income is more equally distributed in rural areas than it is in urban areas or in Metropolitan Manila (see Table 2). The top ten percent of all families received some 30 percent of total family income for the rural areas compared with 35.6 percent for the top decile in urban areas outside Manila and

[2] A comparison of the income tax rates in effect in Canada and the Philippines in given in Table 5. Personal income tax rates in the United States are roughly comparable to those in effect in Canada.

TABLE 1
DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INCOME
THE PHILIPPINES, THE UNITED STATES AND INDIA

Quintile	Philippines Total (Million Pesos)	Philippines Percent	United States Percent	India Percent
First	259	4.4	4.8	8
Second	477	8.2	11.0	9
Third	722	12.4	16.2	11
Fourth	1,156	19.9	22.3	16
Fifth	3,209	55.1	45.7	55
Total	5,824	100.0	100.0	100
Top 5%	1,610	27.6	20.4	n.a.

Data for the Philippines are for 1956-57. Data for the United States are for 1950. Data for India are for 1949-50.

Source: Data for the Philippines were estimated from income data given in the Philippine Statistical Survey of Households Bulletin Series No. 4, **Family Income and Expenditure.**

Data for the United States are taken from **Income Distribution in the United States** U.S. Department of Commerce, 1953.

Data for India are as given by S. Kuznet in "Economic Growth and Income Inequality," **American Economic Review**, March, 1955.

TABLE 2
DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INCOME BY DECILES
IN THE PHILIPPINES, 1956-57

Decile	Philippines		Metropolitan Manila		Urban excl. Manila		Rural Philippines	
	Total Income (millions)	Percent	Total Income (millions)	Percent	Total Income (millions)	Percent	Total Income (millions)	Percent
First	₱ 99	1.7	₱ 20	1.6	₱ 33	1.7	₱ 61	2.3
Second	160	2.7	37	2.9	57	2.9	95	3.7
Third	214	3.7	47	3.7	78	4.0	124	4.7
Fourth	263	4.5	57	4.6	98	5.0	148	5.7
Fifth	323	5.6	70	5.6	121	6.2	177	6.8
Sixth	399	6.9	85	6.8	147	7.5	211	8.1
Seventh	503	8.6	105	8.3	178	9.1	254	9.8
Eigth	653	11.2	)		225	11.4	318	12.2
Ninth	917	15.7	) 838	66.5	327	16.7	429	16.5
Tenth	2,292	39.4	)		698	35.6	785	30.2
Total	5,824	100.0	1,261	100.0	1,961	100.0	2,602	100.0
Top 5%	1,610	27.6	n.a.		n.a.		495	19.0

Source: Calculated from data supplied by the Philippine Statistical Survey of Households.

39.4 percent in the country as a whole. For all deciles below the top two, the share received in rural areas was larger than that received in either Metropolitan Manila or in urban areas outside of Manila.

Because of the greater degree of equality in income distribution in agriculture, Simon Kuznets has argued that the shift towards industry and urbanization that normally accompanies economic growth is likely to lead to a more unequal income distribution.[3] Available data for the Philippines, though not conclusive, tend to confirm this view. The distribution of family income for 1956-57 is more unequal than the distribution of personal income for 1948 as published by Abraham in his report on national income.[4] The top 10 percent of all income earners received only 30.9 percent of total income in 1948 compared with the 39.4 percent of all family income recipients in 1956-57. Since personal income is normally more unequally distributed than family income the difference would presumably be even larger if data on family income were available for 1948.[5]

However, for a number of reasons this result should be treated with considerable caution. Copies of the Census schedule used in 1948 and the instructions to enumerators indicate that people were asked to report income from their usual occupation only. This was supplemented by a separate question asking for information on income from any additional oc-

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[3] "Economic Growth and Income Inequality," **American Economic Review**, March, 1955.

[4] **The National Income of the Philippines and its Distribution**, United Nations, New York, 1952, Table X.

[5] Some evidence on this point given in D. Cole and J.E.G Utting, "The Distribution of Households and Individual Income," **Income and Wealth** Series VI, Bowes, London, 1957.

TABLE 3
DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INCOME BY SIZE OF AND SOURCE OF INCOME THE PHILIPPINES, 1956-57

Size Class	Total All Types	Source of Income (Percent)						
		Wages and Salaries			Entrepreneurial Income			
		Total	Agric	Non-Agric	Total	Agric	Non-Agric	Own Use
Less than ₱250	100.0	11.0	7.3	3.7	64.8	50.8	9.7	4.3
₱ 250 — 499	100.0	15.0	10.0	5.0	66.8	48.6	13.1	5.1
500 — 624	100.0	20.2	12.2	7.9	65.4	48.4	13.9	3.0
625 — 749	100.0	21.2	11.6	9.7	63.7	47.7	12.9	3.1
750 — 874	100.0	24.6	12.4	12.2	61.8	45.8	12.5	3.4
875 — 999	100.0	25.5	11.6	13.9	61.6	45.3	13.1	3.2
1,000 — 1,249	100.0	31.7	14.8	17.0	55.6	40.6	11.0	4.0
1,250 — 1,499	100.0	37.4	15.8	21.6	48.9	36.0	10.0	2.9
1,500 — 1,749	100.0	40.4	12.7	27.6	46.9	33.9	7.7	5.4
1,750 — 1,999	100.0	51.5	16.6	34.9	35.5	24.2	7.0	4.3
2,000 — 2,499	100.0	52.7	15.1	37.8	33.5	23.5	6.6	3.3
2,500 — 2,999	100.0	53.8	15.1	38.7	32.4	20.3	6.9	5.2
3,000 — 3,999	100.0	57.3	18.5	38.8	26.1	13.6	4.6	7.9
4,000 — 4,999	100.0	65.8	18.0	47.8	16.3	8.9	1.7	5.8
5,000 and over	100.0	63.8	23.0	40.8	14.0	6.2	.6	7.2

TABLE 3 (CONTINUED)

Size Class	Income from Sources other than Work (Percent)					
	Total	Farm Landlord	Rentals Non-Farm	Owner-Occ. Homes Rental Value	Interest & Dividens	All Other
Less than ₱250	24.2	2.7	.3	8.3	0.0	12.8
₱ 250 — 499	18.1	2.5	.3	7.1	.1	8.1
500 — 624	14.4	2.3	.3	6.0	.1	5.7
625 — 749	15.0	2.3	.3	5.3	.2	6.9
750 — 874	13.6	1.9	.4	4.9	.1	6.3
875 — 999	12.9	1.8	.3	4.9	.4	5.4
1.000 — 1,249	12.7	1.5	.6	4.5	.5	5.6
1,250 — 1,500	13.8	1.2	.7	4.5	.6	6.8
1,500 — 1,749	12.7	1.1	.4	4.6	.4	6.2
1,750 — 1,999	13.0	1.1	.9	3.7	4.	6.9
2,000 — 2,499	13.8	.9	.7	4.4	.2	7.7
2,500 — 2,999	13.8	.6	.6	3.9	.2	8.4
3,000 — 3,999	16.6	.6	1.9	4.1	.2	9.7
4,000 — 4,999	17.8	.5	1.5	5.6	.7	9.5
5,000 & over	22.2	.2	2.9	7.3	1.4	10.5

Source: Calculated from data supplied by the Philippine Statistical Survey of Households, Bureau of Census and Statistics.

cupation. Individuals were not asked to report their total income including from investments. Since investment income is usually more important at higher income levels it is likely that Mr. Abraham's understate the degree of inequality that existed in 1948. Further, on a somewhat arbitrary basis incomes were apparently assigned to unpaid family workers. However, it is difficult to determine what effect this latter addition may have had on the overall distribution.

Data for 1956-57 also make possible analysis of the relative importance of different sources of income at various income levels (see Table 3). These data indicate that for all incomes below 5,000 pesos, salaries and wages become an increasingly important source of income as the income level rises, increasing from 11 percent of total income in the lowest income class, less than 250 pesos, up to 65.8 percent in the income class 4,000 to 4,999 pesos. Salaries and wages are slightly less important in the highest income class, 5,000 pesos and over, but still account for 63.8 percent of total family income in this class.

These data also show that the share of entrepreneurial income in total family income declines in importance as the income level rises. This is true over most income range for both agricultural and non-agricultural income. Thus the share of agricultural entrepereneurial income declines from 48.4 percent of total income in the class 500 to 624 pesos to 6.2 percent for the income class of 5,000 pesos and over. For non-agricultural entrepreneurial income the corresponding decline is from 13.9 percent to .6 percent. This latter result is surprising for data in the United States indicate that entrepreneurial income is largest relative to total family income at fairly high income levels.

Another surprising result is the steady decline in farm landlord income as a percent of total family income as the income size class increases. Farm landlord income, which amounts to 2.7 percent of family income in the lowest income size, falls to .2 percent of the total for income in excess of 5,000 pesos.

A more expected result is shown by income from the rental of other properties and from interest and dividends on investments. For these two groups combined the share of total income accounted for rises from about .4 percent at the lowest income levels to 4.3 percent for those families with incomes in excess of 5,000 pesos

A commonly expressed view about the Philippines is that the income distribution is very unequal and that much of this inequality is due to the large proportion of agricultural land in the hands of old families, the possessors of landed estates. Because of this common view and in the light of our finding above that farm landlord income declined as a proportion of total family income as the income level rose, it will be useful to examine available data on the concentration of ownership of agricultural land.

The 1948 Census of Population and Agriculture collected data on the land owned by households and published data on the ownership of agricultural land by size of holding. Analysis of this data yielded the results presented in Table 4. These data show that the 5 percent of all family holders of agricultural land with the largest holdings owned some 46 percent of the agricultural land in the Philippines. In contrast, the bottom 40 percent, the group with the smallest landholding, held only 6.0 percent of the total agricultural land area. Further analysis shows that even among the top 5 percent many of the landholdings are comparatively small. Thus, the top 1 percent of all landholders includes all landholdings above 47 hectares in size. The second, third, fourth and fifth percentiles all held land in the size range from 20.5 to 47 hectares.

On the following basis a rough estimate can be made of the income that might be derived from the ownership of this land if it were rented out to tenants. Assume that the land is planted to palay, that it yields an average of 28 cavans per hectare, that the landlord receives a third of the crop net of all operating costs and that the price of palay is 10 pesos per

cavan. The landlord would then receive as his share 8.4 cavans per hectare, less say .4 cavans for land taxes, or a net return of 80 pesos per hectare. For the top 1 percent of all landholders this would give a return of 144.6 million pesos. If we assume that all this goes to families with an annual income of 5,000 pesos or more per year (47 hectares would give an annual income of 3,760 pesos on this basis) then we can say that income from land amounts to just a little over 10 percent of total income for this group. In fact, of course, a substantial portion of this land will be owner-operated and the return to land will appear as part of farm entrepreneurial income.[6] Nonetheless, this analysis does suggest that the popular impression overestimates the importance of agricultural land as a source of income in the Philippines. It may well be that agricultural land is now much less important as a source of income for families in the highest income groups than urban real estate and commercial and industrial properties although it undoubtedly is still an important factor for those in the middle income groups. The above analysis must be qualified by recognition of the fact that some landowners may obtain a much higher net return than 80 pesos per hectare through higher productivity and the production of specialized crops. However, it seems unlikely that this group would be of sufficient importance to affect fundamentally the conclusions reached here.

Although it is easy to suggest other factors which help to explain the inequality of income distribution in the Philippines there are as yet little statistical data to evaluate their exact importance. An exception here is family size. Data from the P.S.S.H survey show that almost half of all families in the Philippines have 6 or more members and at least 60 percent of

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The total of agricultural entrepreneurial income plus farm landlord income reported for families with incomes in excess of 5,000 pesos was only about 90 million pesos. This suggests that there may been some under-reporting in these categories.

the families in this group have two or more income earners. Median family income rises steadily with size of family and families with 10 or more members earned a median income of 1,706 pesos in 1956-57 more than three times the median income of families with just 2 persons. The very marked importance of salaries and wages in non-agricultural activities as a source of income for families in the income class of 5,000 pesos and over suggests that education may be an important factor in explaining income differences, especially higher education including graduate study abroad. Because of the heavy concentration of the Philippines population in the younger age groups it could undoubtedly be shown that age and experience are other important factors contributing to the present pattern of income distribution. Again there can be little doubt that the large number of people who work for only a few months of the year are a major factor in accounting for the large number of families at relatively low income levels. When additional data becomes available it may be useful to make some analysis of the contribution each of these factors makes to the pattern of income distribution in the Philippines.

In concluding this discussion it may be useful to make some evaluation of the accuracy of the income distribution obtained in the P.S.S.H. survey of Family Income and Expenditure. Even if total income were understated in this survey the measure of the degree of inequality of distribution would not be affected provided all income levels were understated to an equal extent. However, there are some reasons for believing the amount of understatement may be larger for the higher income levels. The income class of 5,000 pesos annual income or higher which accounts for about 24 percent of total family income is based on a sample of only some 320 families so the sampling error for this class may be larger than at other income levels. We have already referred to some evidence which suggests that farm landlord income is understated. The amount reported as paid in direct taxes in the P.S.S.H survey, 33 million pesos, provides further evidence of understatement. The National Income Branch's estimate

of personal direct taxes for 1956 is 141 million pesos. Since the largest of these tax sources, personal income tax, is paid to a very large extent by families with in excess of 5,000 pesos, this also suggests a serious undestatement in income and taxes at the higher income levels. In addition, according to the P.S.S.H. survey, families with incomes of 5,000 pesos or higher, received only 9 million pesos in the form of non-agricultural entrepreneurial incomes.

This estimate is difficult to reconcile with the results of a Central Bank survey of professional incomes for 1956. On the basis of the latter survey it was estimated that some 37,000 professionals in private practice earned some 217 million pesos in 1956, and average of just under 6,000 pesos each. Again the estimate that total income received in the form of interest and dividends amounted to only 33 million pesos is difficult to reconcile with the estimate of the National Income Branch that 98 million pesos was paid in the form of dividends alone in 1956. Since dividends usually are received to a very large extent by people in the higher income groups this provides another reason for believing that incomes in the top income levels may be underestimated to an appreciable degree. To the extent that this is true the estimate contained in this paper understate the degree of inequality in income distribution in the Philippines.

TABLE 4
DISTRIBUTION OF THE OWNERSHIP OF AGRICULTURAL LAND IN THE PHILIPPINES, 1948

Class Size	Size of Holding (hectare)	Area Held (thousand hectares)	Percent of Total
Top .07%	300 and over	792	11.6
Top .3 %	100 and over	1,249	18.3
Top 1 %	47 and over	1,807	26.5
Top 5 %	20.5 and over	3,138	46.0
2nd 5 %	10.8 to 20.5	873	12.8
2nd Decile	5.8 to 10.8	929	13.6
2nd Quintile	2.7 to 5.8	956	14.0
3rd Quintile	1.6 to 2.7	512	7.5
4th Quintile	.8 to 1.6	288	4.2
5th Quintile	0 to .8	123	1.8

NOTE. No data were available in the census on the size of holdings in excess of 400 hectares. However, a recent study of landed estates based on data from municipal officials indicated that 1,000 hectares was a reasonable estimate for this group so this figure was used. See A.P Sorongon, **A Special Study of Landed Estates in the Philippines**, I.C.A, Manila, 1955.

Source: 1948 Census of Population and Agriculture, Vol. III, Table 27, pp. 2285-2297.

TABLE 5
A COMPARISON OF PERSONAL INCOME TAX RATES IN CANADA AND THE PHILIPPINES

CANADA			PHILIPPINES		
Income	Tax Payable	Tax as Percent of Income	Income	Tax Payable	Tax as Perc of Income
Dollars	Dollars	Percent	Pesos	Pesos	Percent
1,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
3,000	0	0	6,000	12	1.2
5,000	284	5.7	10,000	180	1.8
7,000	657	9.4	14,000	680	4.9
10,000	1,320	13.2	20,000	2.040	10.2
20,000	4,861	24.3	40,000	7,920	19.8
50,000	19,501	39.0	100,000	34,080	34.1
250,000	151,881	60.7	500,000	260,840	52.2
1,000,000	736,736	73.7	2,000,000	1,160,780	58.0

NOTE: Data are for a married man with two dependent children. Data for both countries are based on rates in effect for 1959.

URBAN-RURAL DIFFERENTIALS IN THE FERTILITY OF MARRIED WOMEN IN THE PHILIPPINES IN 1956*

by

KATHLEEN M. JUPP

In the countries which are experiencing high and rising rates of population increase, the course of the demographic transition in the West has appeared to hold out the hope of an eventual slackening of the rates of population growth. But the recent experience of a number of underdeveloped countries suggests the need for extreme caution in predicting future trends in population increase; for it now appears that, whereas declines in mortality may precede economic development, there is some minimum standard of economic development which must be reached before any substantial decline in fertility is likely to occur as a result of economic change. It also appears that the rapid growth rates consequent upon the reduction in mortality may make it difficult to accomplish the economic and social changes that led to the reduction of fertility in the West.[1]

Leaving aside the question of changes in the level of mortality and considering only the trend of fertility, the usual explanation of events in the West has been that economic change involves concentrations of population in urban areas, where the traditional social and cultural values which favour large familes are subject to modification, beginning amongst

[1] Coale, A.J. and Hoover, E.M.: **Population Growth and Economic Development in Low-Income Countries**, Princeton, 1958, Chapter II.

* Paper read before the Eighth Annual Conference of the Philippine Statistical Association, July 1960.

higher income groups and gradually spreading to lower income groups.

In view of the high estimated rate of population growth in the Philippines, and despite the warnings that the theory of the demographic transition has yet to be established as of general application, it may be of interest to consider whether there is any evidence of relatively low fertility in urban areas which might in time spread to other areas, eventually bringing about a substantial reduction in the rate of population growth.

For the first time in this country, in the May, 1956 round of the Philippine Statistical Survey of Households, demographic data were collected on a specifically urban-rural basis, and urban-rural differentials in marital fertility may be examined by the use of the data relating to the number of children borne by "ever married" women (that is, married, widowed and divorced or separated women) by the present age of the women and by their age at first marriage.[2]

There are two preliminary difficulties:

1. The Survey having been taken on a sample basis, the sampling errors associated with the estimates derived from the sample should be taken into account, but it was not possible with the information available at the time of writing to obtain the values.

2. Urban areas were distinguished from rural areas in the Survey on the following basis: the former included Metropolitan Manila (as a separate region), chartered cities,

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[2] I wish to thank the staff of the Philippine Statistical Survey of Households for making the data available, and also to acknowledge the very considerable amount of work done by Miss Erlinda Tiaoqui, a former student of the Statistical Center, on the tabulations of the data.

provincial capitals and poblaciones of municipalities, while the barrios not included in that definition constituted the rural areas. Non-household population was excluded from both categories. Considering the fact that in some municipalities the poblacion does not differ greatly from the barrio with respect to the degree of urbanization, there is probably some overlap between the urban and the rural categories which may affect the conclusions drawn.

To minimize the effects of both factors, I have dealt as far as possible only with differences between Metropolitan Manila and the rural areas because it was between those two areas that the differences were greatest and therefore the more likely to be statistically significant, and because the undoubtedly urban character of Metropolitan Manila will restrict the effects of the overlaps between urban and rural areas to the rural sector. In the tables in the Appendix, however, the data for all three areas are shown.

The reports given by women of the numbers of children borne to them were compiled from the statements regarding the number of children who were still living at the time of the Survey and the number who had been born alive but had since died. When the average numbers of children born alive to women in each five-year age group were examined, there were irregularities which suggested mis-statement of age, and from age 30 years I have combined the data into broader age groups. I have also omitted the very small number of women aged under 15 years in 1956 who were married.

In Metropolitan Manila, "ever married" women aged 15 years and over had borne an average of 4.50 children while in the rural areas, the average number of children was 5.32. As can be seen in Table 1, the relatively high fertility of married women in the rural areas is reflected not only in the figures for all married women but in each age group of married women, and was especially marked amongst women aged 45-59 years. As it is unlikely that these women would bear more children, the

average of 6.14 children per married woman in Metropolitan Manila as compared with the average of 7.64 in the rural areas may be regarded as an indication of the difference in the size of the completed family in the two areas.

Table 1 — Average Numbers of Live-Born Children per "Ever Married" Woman by Present Age of Women

Present Age	Metropolitan Manila	Rural Areas
15 and over	4.50	5.32
15—19	0.66	0.84
20—24	1.78	1.96
25—29	2.87	3.59
30—44	5.10	5.94
45—59	6.14	7.64
60 and over	6.32	7.34

The existence of the fertility differential in each age group indicates that such differences are not the product of recent influences and, unless serious errors of statement have affected the average family size reported by some age groups of women, married women in Metropolitan Manila have been less fertile than rural women since the early years of this century.

Clearly, such differences could be the effect of differences in the pattern of age at marriage in the two areas, or of a modification in Metropolitan Manila of the social and cultural attitudes which favour large families, or of a combination of both influences. In fact, in the Philippines as in many other countries, age of women at marriage has been lower in the rural areas, as appears from the following table of the proportions of women marrying at specified ages.

Table 2 — Proportions Per Cent of Women in each Age Group Marrying at Specified Ages

Present Age	Age at First Marriage				
	Under 20	20—24	25—29	30 & over	N.S.
Metropolitan Manila					
20—24	22.6	—	—	—	—
25—29	30.9	28.9	—	—	—
30—44	38.0	29.3	17.1	—	—
45—59	40.6	30.2	13.2	7.7	1.1
60 and over	34.1	27.8	16.5	11.4	—
Rural Areas					
20—24	42.3	—	—	—	1.9
25—29	44.6	30.3	—	—	1.2
30—44	48.1	25.0	10.6	—	2.2
45—59	48.7	27.0	7.6	6.1	1.6
60 and over	45.2	24.9	8.8	4.4	2.0

The principal points of interest are, first, the relatively very low proportion of women in Metropolitan Manila who married before 20 years of age, and the relatively high proportions who married at later ages, particularly at ages 25-29 years; and, secondly, the decline in both areas, but especially in the metropolis, in the proportion of women who in recent years married before 20 years of age. The difference in the pattern of age at marriage may be conveniently summarized in the difference between median age at marriage in the two areas: whereas in the rural areas, the median age at marriage was 19.11 years, in Metropolitan Manila the median was 20.47 years. Postpone-

ment of marriage is one of the most obvious of the factors which may account for relatively low fertility, and its effect in both Metropolitan Manila and the rural areas may be seen in the lower fertility of women who married at later ages in each area.

Table 3 — Average Numbers of Live-Born Children per "Ever Married" Woman, by Age of Women at First Marriage

Age at Marriage	Metropolitan Manila	Rural Areas
All ages	4.50	5.32
Under 15	6.55	7.05
15—19	4.96	5.62
20—24	4.47	5.01
25—29	3.30	4.32
30 and over	2.45	3.04

It is perhaps not so obvious that there should appear a consistent pattern of lower fertility in Metropolitan Manila than in the rural areas amongst women who were married at comparable ages: and, in order to allow for possible effects of differences in the distribution by present age of the women married at each specified age, it is necessary to consider present age in conjunction with age at marriage. This is, in effect, an attempt to compare the fertility of groups of women of the same present age and the same duration of marriage. The data for this comparison are shown in Table B of the Appendix for the rural areas, for both urban areas, and for the Philippines as a whole. In Table 4, they are shown in a slightly different form to facilitate comparison between Manila and the rural areas.

Table 4 — Average Numbers of Live-Born Children per "Ever Married" Woman by Present Age of Women and Age at First Marriage

Area	Present Age	Age at First Marriage				
		Under 15	15—19	20—24	25—29	30 & over
Met. Manila	15—19	—	0.65	—	—	—
Rural areas		1.82	0.76	—	—	—
Met. Manila	20—24	4.00	2.24	0.95	—	—
Rural areas		2.64	2.23	1.13	—	—
Met. Manila	25—29	6.00	3.76	2.60	0.67	—
Rural areas		5.24	4.25	2.70	2.00	—
Met. Manila	30—44	7.42	6.36	4.87	3.37	1.27
Rural areas		6.93	6.84	5.56	3.78	3.09
Met. Manila	45—59	7.22	6.38	7.25	4.25	3.07
Rural areas		9.77	8.52	7.49	5.19	2.77
Met. Manila	60 and	5.50	7.36	6.95	5.38	3.44
Rural areas	over	7.79	8.28	6.81	6.73	3.56

The results do not present a consistent pattern of differences in fertility in the two areas over all age groups of married women; but amongst women aged 25 years or more in 1956 who married at or above 15 years of age, marital fertility was generally lower in Metropolitan Manila than in the rural areas. The consistency of the fertility differences in these age groups suggests that differences in age at marriage are not a sufficient explanation of the relatively low fertility of married women in Manila. In addition to the higher age at marriage already remarked on, it appears that in Manila influences have been operating which favour a family size which (though by no means small in comparison with other countries) is smaller than that observed in the rural areas.

It should be noted, however, that the direction of the differences was not uniform in all age groups of marriage taken in conjunction with present age. In some instances, fertility was higher in Metropolitan Manila than in either the rural areas or the urban areas other than Manila (shown in Table B of the Appendix), and, in some instances, fertility was highest in the urban areas exclusive of Manila. If the errors in the data could be assessed with accuracy, the exceptions to the pattern of higher fertility in the rural areas might be regarded as of minor importance: for example, the relatively high fertility of some women in the urban areas outside Manila may reflect the inclusion of areas which are rural rather than urban in character. Again, the high fertility in Metropolitan Manila of women who married before 15 years of age might reasonably be disregarded because of the small numbers of women involved and because, whatever differences in attitudes to child-bearing might possibly be thought to exist, they would be least effective, one would think, amongst girls married at the very earliest ages, whether in urban or in rural areas. Moreover, errors of statement are fairly common in the collection of fertility data, and might distort the values obtained in some age groups. Of course, the correct assessment of errors, if it were possible to make such an assessment, might reduce rather than intensify the pattern of higher rural fertility observed in the Survey.

The following consideration may give some point to the importance of urban-rural fertility differentials, irrespective of whether these differences are accounted for by differences in age at marriage or differences in attitudes towards size of family: if the estimated 4.1 million married women in the Philippines in 1956 had borne the same average number of children as did married women in Metropolitan Manila (4.50), total births reported by married women would have been 18.5 millions instead of 21.3 millions. This difference of 2.8 millions can scarcely be regarded as negligible in relation to the

size of the total population, and is an indication of the effect which might be exerted on the rate of growth of the population if fertility levels were uniform over the country at the level observed in Metropolitan Manila. If, as the May 1956 round of the Survey suggests, there has already occurred in Manila some lessening of the traditional adherence to the large family pattern, the Philippines may be in the early stages of a transition which in the long run may reduce the general level of fertility. Even though the evidence cannot be regarded as conclusive, it is at least an indication of the need for careful consideration of other relevant material as it becomes available. Studies of the relationship between family size and income in each area would be especially useful in supporting or refuting the urban-rural fertility differential observed in 1956.

Table A — Females Aged 15 Years and Over by Present Age; "Ever Married" Women by Present Age and Age at First Marriage, May 1956 (In Thousands)

Present Age	Total No. of Women	Age at First Marriage						
		All Ages	Under 15	15—19	20—24	25—29	30 & over	NS
		Philippines						
15 & over	6,187	4,132	190	2,098	1,213	381	154	96
15—19	1,236	171	12	153	—	—	—	7
20—24	1,022	561	18	364	162	—	—	17
25—29	772	596	22	297	222	44	—	10
30—44	1,705	1,515	53	721	450	198	60	32
45—59	925	842	54	375	246	87	63	18
60 & over	528	447	32	188	133	52	31	11
		Metropolitan Manila						
15 & over	566	343	12	148	116	50	15	1
15—19	120	12	—	12	—	—	—	—
20—24	104	40	2	22	16	—	—	—
25—29	80	56	1	24	23	8	—	—
30—44	157	138	5	55	46	27	6	—
45—59	73	68	4	26	22	10	6	—
60 & over	32	28	1	10	9	5	4	1

Table A — Females Aged 15 Years and Over by Present Age; "Ever Married" Women by Present Age and Age at First Marriage, May 1956 (In Thousands)—Continued

Present Age	Total No. of Women	Age at First Marriage						
		All Ages	Under 15	15—19	20—24	25—29	30 & over	NS
				Other Urban				
15 & over	1,709	1,079	41	505	333	120	50	3
15—19	363	32	2	29	—	—	—	
20—24	283	144	4	86	51	—	—	
25—29	210	153	7	73	53	16	—	
30—44	454	401	13	176	131	56	18	
45—59	251	227	9	97	61	31	21	
60 & over	148	122	6	45	37	17	12	
				Rural				
15 & over	3,913	2,711	137	1,445	764	212	88	6
15—19	753	128	9	112	—	—	—	
20—24	635	376	12	257	95	—	—	1
25—29	482	387	14	201	146	20	—	
30—44	1,094	976	36	490	274	116	37	2
45—59	602	547	41	252	162	46	37	
60 & over	348	297	25	133	87	31	15	

NOTE. This table and the following table exclude married women for whom the number of children was not reported; there were 76,950 of these women (4,800 in Metropolitan Manila, 21,150 in other urban areas and 51,000 in rural areas).

Table B — Average Numbers of Live-born Children per "Ever Married" Woman by Present Age of Women and Age at First Marriage, May 1956

Present Age	All Ages	Age at First Marriage					
		Under 15	15—19	20—24	25—29	30 & over	NS
Philippines							
15 & Over	5.16	7.03	5.56	4.84	4.09	2.79	3.81
15—19	0.82	1.78	0.75	—	—	—	0.54
20—24	1.94	3.03	2.26	1.06	—	—	1.81
25—29	3.44	5.29	4.19	2.64	1.41	—	2.70
30—44	5.80	7.25	6.75	5.41	3.72	2.64	6.11
45—59	7.28	9.52	8.27	7.24	5.15	2.66	6.72
60 & over	7.00	7.69	8.04	6.75	6.00	3.30	5.54
Metropolitan Manila							
15 & over	4.50	6.55	4.96	4.47	3.30	2.45	4.67
15—19	0.66	—	0.65	—	—	—	—
20—24	1.78	4.00	2.24	0.95	—	—	—
25—29	2.87	6.00	3.76	2.60	0.67	—	—
30—44	5.10	7.42	6.36	4.87	3.37	1.27	—
45—59	6.14	7.22	6.38	7.25	4.25	3.07	7.00
60 & over	6.32	5.50	7.36	6.95	5.38	3.44	—

Table B — Average Number of Live-born Children per "Ever Married" Woman by Present Age of Women and Age at First Marriage, May 1956—(Continued)

Present Age	All Ages	Age at First Marriage					
		Under 15	15—19	20—24	25—29	30 & over	NS
				Other Urban			
15 & over	4.97	7.09	5.57	4.57	4.01	2.43	4.55
15—19	0.80	1.60	0.75	—	—	—	—
20—24	1.91	3.75	2.37	0.98	—	—	2.30
25—29	3.28	5.27	4.15	2.49	1.08	—	3.30
30—44	5.63	8.11	6.63	5.29	3.75	2.18	6.00
45—59	6.74	9.29	8.10	6.58	5.38	2.35	5.22
60 & over	6.33	7.57	7.46	6.58	5.16	2.93	4.56
				Rural			
15 & over	5.32	7.05	5.62	5.01	4.32	3.04	4.94
15—19	0.84	1.82	0.76	—	—	—	0.88
20—24	1.96	2.64	2.23	1.13	—	—	2.21
25—29	3.59	5.24	4.25	2.70	2.00	—	4.00
30—44	5.94	6.98	6.84	5.56	3.78	3.09	6.14
45—59	7.64	9.77	8.52	7.49	5.19	2.77	8.00
60 & over	7.34	7.79	8.28	6.81	6.73	3.56	6.13

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Recording Year of Admission

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