# Research Unit for Statistical and Empirical Analysis in Social Sciences (Hi-Stat) 

Labor Force of the Philippines, 1903-2010

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## Introduction

The analysis of the labor force in the Philippines spans approximately a century, from the early 20 th to the early 21 st century, using Philippine labor force statistics. In contemporary times, starting from the late 1980s the Philippines experienced a lower real GDP growth rate compared to other Asian nations such as Thailand, Indonesia, and South Korea. However, after 2000, economic development centered on the tertiary industry, including the outsourcing business, such as call centers, which accounts for a substantial proportion of the country's gross domestic product and drives the economic growth of the Philippines. Given this background, examining long-term employment trends becomes highly significant. In this paper, the statistics are broadly categorized into three groups: employment by industry, unemployment, and by-employment.

Section I, titled 'Genealogy and Overview of the Labor Force Statistics Survey,' provides an in-depth explanation of the survey's content, concept, and aggregation standards. Of particular significance are the classification standards of industries, the conceptual understanding of occupations, and the inclusion of byemployment and unemployment data. This article thoroughly explores these essential concepts, drawing on relevant literature from economic history.

Section II, titled 'Analysis of the Composition of Employed Workers by Industry,' delves into a comprehensive analysis of the labor force statistics following the conceptual organization. Initially, we examine the fluctuations in the number of unemployed and underemployed, tracing their patterns alongside the trajectory of industrialization. Subsequently, in the analysis of the main employment, the focus lies on scrutinizing the changes in the labor force participation rate and the composition of workers across various industries over the 100 years, starting from the early 20 th century.

While conducting the analysis of by-employment, we primarily rely on data from the 1939 Census due to limitations in the availability of surveys. Despite this constraint, the national complete survey on byemployment offers detailed information, allowing us to gain valuable insights into the transformation of the industrial structure from a distinctive perspective.

## I. Genealogy and Overview of the Labor Force Statistics Survey

Before World War II, the national census compiled data on the employed population by industry in the Philippines. After World War II, alongside the national census, the Integrated Survey of Households (the successor to the Statistical Survey of Households) became the primary method on collecting such data. In counting the employment population, a crucial distinction was made based on age. Before 1976, the employment population was considered to be individuals aged 10 years old or older. However, starting from 1977, this criterion was revised, and the employment population was defined as individuals aged 15 years old or older. This age threshold applied to both the national censuses and the Integrated Survey of Households.

## [1] Data on Employed and unemployed population

Statistics on the labor force have been included in the population censuses, which were conducted three times before World War II, specifically in 1903, 1918, and 1938 (1939 Census which was surveyed in January 1, 1939). In all instances, the labor force data for individuals aged 10 and over were presented in the statistics. For instance, the 1903 Census organized the employment population by occupation, categorizing them by sex and age. Similarly, the 1918 Census provided information on the employment population by sex and age as part of the population statistics, but it did not offer detailed industry-specific data like the 1903 Census. On the other hand, the 1939 Census included a notable feature in its labor force statistics by incorporating data on by-employment and unemployed individuals

The 1948 and 1960 Censuses also included a count of the employment population by industry in the demographic data. However, it is important to note that the national census used in this research employed different counting methods before 1948 and after 1960. Prior to 1948, all households were surveyed by visiting surveyors with 1975, whereas in 1960, 1970 and 1980, sample surveys were adopted.

Additionally, there were variations in the reference periods used as the standard for data collection. In the 1948 Census, the reference period was the year immediately preceding the date of the survey. In contrast, for the 1960 and 1970 Censuses, the reference period was the calendar week (Sunday to Saturday) immediately preceding the surveyor's household visit. These distinctions should be taken into account when interpreting and comparing data from different censuses in the research. (Philippines (Republic), National Economic and Development Authority 1975: 20-23)

Apart from the census, a series of sample surveys have been conducted on a household-by-household basis nationwide in the Philippines. These surveys include the Philippine Statistical Survey of Households (19561964) and its successor, the Bureau of the Census and Statistics Survey of Households (1965-1973), followed by the National Sample Survey of Households (1974-1976), and the Comprehensive Household Survey (1977-).

The first survey, the Philippine Statistical Survey of Households, commenced in 1956, and at that time,

6,500 households were sampled nationwide. All of these surveys encompass statistics on unemployment. However, it is important to note that the Household Census Survey and the National Household Sample Survey were conducted irregularly, whereas the Household Comprehensive Survey is estimated every quarter, ensuring more frequent data collection.

## [2] Concepts of labor force statistics

This part addresses several concepts related to labor force statistics, including occupation, main employment, by-employment, unemployment, underemployment, and the labor force participation rate. These concepts serve to illustrate the characteristics of the occupational structure, which can be linked to the development stage of the Philippine economy. To provide a comprehensive understanding, we will begin by referencing relevant studies and research in this area.
(1) Existing Scholarship

In the context of proto-industrialization theory, Saito [2010] explores the concept of by-employment in Europe and Asia, including Japan. By-employment is seen as not only a means of inter-industry labor mobility but also a form of labor input, which is crucial for understanding the realistic occupational structure of a country.

By-employment exists in two senses: at the household level and the individual level. However, Saito's research primarily focuses on the cross-departmental by-employment of individuals. This entails understanding the flow of labor supply by comparing scenarios where the primary industry serves as the main employment and the secondary or tertiary industry serves as the by-employment, with cases where the secondary or tertiary industry is the main employment and the primary industry is the by-employment.

In analyzing the labor supply flow and labor input within the context of industrialization to comprehend the occupational structure, Saito emphasizes the significance of considering by-employment alongside main employment.

The concept of unemployment can also have different interpretations, depending on the stage of industrialization. Odaka [2004] defines unemployment as a concept applicable to highly industrialized economies and societies. In the early stages of industrialization, the labor supply often exceeded the demand, going beyond the limit of full employment. As a result, excess labor did not necessarily manifest itself as unemployment; instead, it widely presented itself as disguised unemployment. This phenomenon occurred because the economic society during that stage lacked the earning power or savings to sustain actual unemployment.

This historical context sheds light on why the Philippines' unemployment statistics remained incomplete until some period after World War II. The nature of the Philippine economy, which was still in the early stages of industrialization, led to a prevalence of underemployment, so called "disguised unemployment" rather than conventional unemployment, making it more difficult to measure and capture accurate unemployment figures.

In the mid-1980s, even within the urban informal sector, there were signs of disguised employment characterized by inadequate wages and working hours, and a noticeable prevalence of multi-employment within households. However, multi-employment, which is linked to income growth, was not prominently observed (Nakanishi 1991: 110-161). Even if the labor market in the slum areas had imperfect competition, it might have been challenging to realize secondary employment opportunities when there was an excessive surplus of labor force available to work extended hours.

Conversely, monographs detailing specific cases in rural areas have shed light on the prevalence of multiemployment among both households and individuals. This phenomenon was underpinned by the division of labor that had been established since pre-war times and the enhanced land productivity resulting from the Green Revolution, starting in the late 1960s. Regardless of whether it pertained to primary or secondary employment, the expansion of the agricultural sector significantly contributed to employment in the secondary and tertiary industries.

## (2) Occupation, main employment, and by-employment

In the 1903 Census, the concept of occupation was broadly defined as "including all actual earners," although the definition may not have been explicitly clear (United States, Bureau of the Census 1905: 114). During data collection, surveyors (enumerators) made efforts to describe occupation names as precisely as possible. As the data reached the final stage of aggregation, the various occupation descriptions were narrowed down and classified into a total of 224 distinct occupations.

In the 1918 Census, detailed industry-specific data for the employed population was not provided. Additionally, "Men and women who do not have a job with a stable income and are engaged in domestic work belong to one of the six industrial classifications" (Philippine Islands, Census Office 1921: 75). This classification system resulted in the inclusion of unemployed individuals who did not work at all in the employment population count.

Consequently, the labor force participation rate during the 1918 Census was calculated at $100 \%$ for both men and women. This meant that the number of individuals in the employment population equaled the number of individuals in the corresponding age group (10 years old or older). To estimate the employment population in the table, the revised labor force participation rate was adjusted to the working-age population.

The employment population data for the year 1938 only accounts for individuals engaged in their usual
occupation or main employment. According to the population census statistics, the total number of workers in each industry is the combined count of workers from both the main employment and the by-employment categories. Accordingly, the number of persons engaged in by-employment is deduced from the sum of workers. However, the census does not provide a clear definition of what constitutes by-employment. Furthermore, the employment population count in the census included individuals who were not employed at the time of the survey if they had prior work experience. This approach led to the inclusion of many cases of disguised unemployment, highlighting the challenges in accurately distinguishing between those who were genuinely employed and those who were unemployed.

In the 1939 Census, housekeepers or housewives who did not have any actual earned income were initially included in the employment population by industry. However, they were later subtracted from the employment population count (Philippines (Commonwealth), Commission of the Census 1943: xi-xvii). Despite this adjustment, the domestic worker population data still represents the number of individuals engaged in byemployment by industry and gender. Due to this classification, the by-employment data for domestic workers is recorded as their main employment in Table 1. (Philippines (Commonwealth), Commission of the Census 1943: 778).

In the population statistics of the 1948 Census, the employment population by industry encompasses not only individuals currently employed but also those who were previously employed and are currently unemployed. Therefore, both the 1939 and 1948 Censuses count as part of the employment population by industry those who had previous work experience, regardless of their current employment status. The only segment excluded from the employment population in both censuses is the group of unemployed individuals who had no prior work experience.

In a series of sample surveys from the Household Census Survey in 1956 on, for example, the Household Comprehensive Survey in the third quarter of 1977 extracted data on 31,258 households from 4,705 surveyed villages. For those who have multiple jobs, the number of those who work more hours is counted as their main employment. When dealing with individuals who hold multiple jobs, the survey methodology counts them based on the number of hours they work in their main employment. This approach ensures that the main employment, in terms of hours worked, is considered for those who engage in multiple forms of employment. (Integrated Survey of Households Bulletin 1877: ix-xvii).
(3) Unemployment and Underemployment

Data on the unemployed has been available since the 1939 Census. As of the 1948 Census, too, only individuals without any previous work experience were counted as unemployed. However, during the 1948 Census, unemployed individuals actively seeking work but lacking prior work experience were categorized
separately as "new workers" (Philippines (Republic), Bureau of the Census and Statistics 1954: 397-398). Despite this classification, they are still considered as part of the unemployed population in this paper.

In all statistics since 1960, finally, the unemployed population refers to individuals who are not employed at the time of the survey but are willing to work. After April 2005, a new condition was introduced, allowing employment within two weeks of the survey, which narrowed the scope. Furthermore, the definition of unemployment has varied between different statistical surveys, particularly regarding the length of time individuals have been out of work. Starting from 1956, the Philippine Statistical Survey of Households, the Bureau of the Census and Statistics Survey of Households, and the National Sample Survey of Households used the week preceding the survey as the period to measure unemployment and underemployment. In contrast, the Comprehensive Household Survey conducted in 1977 adopted the International Labor Organization (ILO) standard, targeting the three months prior to the survey as the reference period for measuring unemployment. As of 1988, the definition reverted to using the week before the survey as the period of unemployment. In addition, underemployment referred to individuals working less than 40 hours in the week prior to the survey, but when adopting the ILO criteria, it referred to those working less than 65 or 70 days in the reference period.

Based on the aforementioned definitions of occupation (the employment population), main employment, by-employment, and unemployment, this paper's analysis of the employment population by industry focuses solely on main employment. However, it is essential to note that historical statistics before the 1960s often considered the unemployed as part of the employment population. For instance, the employed population figures from the 1939 and 1948 Censuses included individuals who were unemployed at the time of the census but had prior work experience. In both the 1939 and 1948 Censuses, a person's industry was attributed to both their current employment and the industry in which they had previously worked.

Therefore, while the current analysis concentrates on main employment, historical data may have a broader definition of the employment population that includes the unemployed individuals with prior work experience.

## (4) Labor Force and Labor Force Participation Rate

The labor force population is defined as the combined total of the employed and the unemployed population. However, the way it is calculated has varied over time. In 1903 and 1918, the employed population was considered equivalent to the labor force population since there was no recorded data for the unemployed population during those years. In contrast, in 1938 and 1948, the employment population was calculated as the sum of the employed population and the unemployed population without work experience. Notably, individuals who were unemployed but had prior work experience were still included in the employment population, as mentioned earlier.

The definition and composition of the employment population have evolved over time, reflecting the available data and changing methodologies in data collection. As mentioned earlier, before the Philippine Statistical Survey of Households began defining the unemployed population in 1956 as "those who were willing to work but were not working at the time of the survey," there was a lack of clear distinction between the employed and unemployed populations. This ambiguity arose due to the prevalence of disguised unemployment in the socio-economic context during the early stages of industrialization.

Therefore, the unemployment statistics up to the 1960 s can be viewed as reflective of the developmental stage of the country during the early phases of industrialization, where disguised unemployment was prevalent, and precise measurements of unemployment were difficult to obtain.

Last, the labor force participation rate will be discussed. The labor force participation rate is calculated as the ratio of the labor force to the working-age population. However, in 1918, due to the possible allocation of the entire working-age population to various industries within the employment population data, the actual labor force participation rate cannot be accurately determined. As a result, if we were to use the original data, the labor force participation rate for both men and women would appear close to $100 \%$.

To address this issue and provide a more realistic estimation, the labor force participation rate for 1918 was derived by applying the annual average rate of change in the labor force participation rate from 1903 to 1938. This estimation method allows for a more reliable approximation of the labor force participation rate during 1918, compensating for the lack of precise data and potential misallocation of working-age population figures in that period.

## [3] Industry classification

Throughout the compilation of statistics on the employment population by industry from the early 20 th to the early 21 st century, the adoption of a standardized industrial classification system became essential. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that the criteria for industrial classification of the employment population varied in the original data sources, including the national censuses and the National Sample Survey of Households. Researchers need to be aware of the variations in industrial classification methods while interpreting the data.

Table 1 presents data that has been organized according to the industrial classification standard of the Comprehensive Household Survey, which has been the source of employment population statistics since 1977. However, a limitation of using the Household Comprehensive Survey's industry classification is the absence of detailed information on the specific content of each industry, particularly due to the lack of medium and small classifications. Especially, the primary industry poses a specific challenge as it fails to provide a breakdown of the employment population engaged in agriculture, fishery, and forestry. In contrast, the population census often offers more detailed industry information, which could have been useful for a
comprehensive analysis of the employment population in these sectors.
The industrial classification of the employment population by industry in the 1903 and 1939 Censuses involves categorizing detailed industry information into specific sectors. Constructing an industry classification from these details offers several advantages. One significant benefit is how it addresses the treatment of unpaid domestic workers, such as housekeepers or housewives. In the original census data for 1918 and 1938, domestic workers, including "housewives," were included in the employment population. However, the number of "housewives" was subtracted from the employment population only in 1938, as this data was not explicitly identified in the 1918 Census.

Additionally, in the 1939 national census' industry classification, "construction of roads and bridges" was initially included within the "transportation, warehousing, and communication" industries. However, for the sake of maintaining consistency in the chronological order of the industry classification, Table 1 reorganizes the details and assigns them to the "construction" industry, which falls under the secondary industry category.

However, in the original 1918 report, certain industries such as "Mining and Quarrying," "Electricity, Gas and Water," "Construction," "Financing, Insurance, Real Estate, and Business Services," and "Transport, Storage, and Communication" had blanks for the employment population data.

It is important to highlight that the Censuses of 1918 and 1939, along with other surveys, included a category called "Activities not Adequately Defined." These categories comprised workers whose specific roles or industries were not clearly defined. The treatment of these workers in the data varied over time, depending on the prevailing economic conditions and understanding of labor patterns.

Before the onset of full-scale industrialization in 1964, it was assumed that many of these workers engaged in "Activities not Adequately Defined" were likely involved in agricultural labor in rural farming communities. Therefore, they were added to the primary industry category to represent their probable engagement in agricultural work. However, starting from 1965, it was observed that a significant portion of these workers were involved in miscellaneous and diverse roles, such as being self-employed in small businesses within urban areas. Consequently, they were added to the category of "Community, Social, and Personal Services" to better account for their work activities.

Furthermore, in the 1939 Census, there were figures classified as "Laborers" without specifying the type of industry they were associated with. For similar reasons as stated above, these "Laborers" were also included in the agricultural workers category to reflect the likelihood of their involvement in agricultural labor.

By undertaking these adjustments and constructing the industry classification in a meticulous manner, Table 1 seeks to provide accurate and consistent data representation, allowing for more reliable analyses and comparisons across different time periods and sectors of the economy.

## II. Analysis of the Composition of Employed Workers by Industry

## [1] Unemployment and Underemployment

First, this study confirms the trends of unemployment in the Philippines of recent years. Between 1980 and 2000, the country experienced a lower real GDP growth rate compared to other Asian nations such as Thailand, Indonesia, and South Korea. Additionally, the Philippines had a higher population growth rate during this period, contributing to the expansion of the labor force, along with an increase in the female labor force participation rate. Simultaneously, the nation faced challenges in the form of higher levels of unemployment and disguised unemployment, primarily due to limited employment opportunities. Notably, unemployment rates were more pronounced among women, and a wage differential between men and women also existed. Furthermore, the relatively elevated unemployment rates for both genders fostered overseas labor migration as a coping strategy (Herrin 2006: 283-310). However, after 2000, economic development centered on the tertial industry tended to improve the GDP growth rate and unemployment rate.

The trends in unemployment after the World War II can be observed in Table 2. The number of unemployed people increased from 577,000 in 1960 to 942,000 in 1970, 874,000 in 1980, 1,993,000 in 1990, and 3,133,000 in 2000. Notably, the period from 1980 to 1990 witnessed a particularly rapid and remarkable increase in the unemployed population.

When considering the combined unemployment rate for both genders, it remained at levels of 5-8\% during the 1960s. However, it experienced fluctuations in the 1970 s, ranging from $4-9 \%$ in the 1980 s, and settling at levels of $7-9 \%$ in the 1990 s. In the 2000 s, there was a declining trend, dropping from $10 \%$ to $7 \%$. In the 1960 s, it's possible that the relatively high rural population might not have adequately captured all unemployed individuals. Differences in aggregation criteria influenced the subsequent unemployment rates. In other words, the adoption of the ILO criteria, which had a longer reference period, tended to slightly higher the unemployment rate. Furthermore, the decrease in the unemployment rate during the 2000 s can be attributed to what the definition of unemployment was narrowed from 2005 on and the reflected increase in economic growth rates. Regarding gender balance, the unemployment rate in the Philippines exhibited a noteworthy trend of increasing women's unemployment after World War II. This rise in female unemployment was observed in parallel with the upward trajectory of the female labor force participation rate.

When looking at the underemployment rate, it was in the $10 \%$ range from the late 1950 s to the 1960 s. Then, in the early 1970s, the underemployment rate decreased, and the economic reason for this is unclear. However, in 1977, when the ILO criteria were adopted, it sharply increased to $28.7 \%$. During the late 1970 s and the early 1980 s, gender-specific data on the underemployment rate were not available, but the rate surged to
around $30 \%$ for both men and women combined. Toward the end of the Marcos regime and amidst the financial crisis, many Filipinos endured challenging living conditions. From the late 1980s to 2010, except for the years when the ILO criteria were applied, the underemployment rate remained in the late $20 \%$ range. From the late 1980s to 2010, except for the years when the ILO criteria were applied, it tends to remain in the late $20 \%$ range.

Since the 2000s, there has been a trend of improvement in the unemployment rate, but it can be said that, despite changes in industrialization policies, roughly $30-40 \%$ of the labor force has been in a state of unemployment or underemployment since the late 1970s, when the accuracy of unemployment statistics is believed to have improved.
[2] Main employment: labor force participation rate and employment composition by industry

This section provides an overview of the labor force participation rate and the employment population categorized by main occupation and industry. Previous studies (Balisacan 2006: 11-15; Herrin 2006: 283310) have examined the employment population by industry from 1970 to 2000 , revealing a significant decline in the share of agriculture after the 1980s. Surprisingly, it was the service industry, not the manufacturing industry, that absorbed a substantial portion of the labor force. In contrast, the percentage of the manufacturing industry slightly continued to decline, falling from $12 \%$ in 1970 to $11 \%$ in 1980 , and further down to $10 \%$ in 2000, reaching the lowest level among East Asian countries by the year 2000 .

Taking a long-term perspective on the composition of employment by industry, we begin by examining labor force participation rates before World War II. At the outset of the 20th century, labor force participation rates were generally high, irrespective of gender. In the 1903 Census, comparative analysis with the United States, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and others highlighted the Philippines' distinctive feature of a significant percentage of women actively engaged in the workforce (United States, Bureau of the Census 1905: 92-97). However, over time, the labor force participation rate experienced a decline for both men and women.

Several factors contributed to this decline. The expansion of secondary and higher education institutions provided alternative paths for individuals, leading some to opt out of the labor force. Additionally, the decline of spinning and textile production, industries where women were prominently involved, contributed to the reduction in labor force participation. Furthermore, the impact of the Great Depression resulted in a withdrawal from the labor market for both men and women. The overall tendency for the labor force participation rate to be lower might be attributed, in part, to the inability to adequately capture seasonal and irregular temporary employment.

Post-World War II, a notable shift occurred as the labor force participation rate (combined for men and
women) started to rise, forming a U-shaped curve. Between 1960 and 1975, the rate remained in the upper $40 \%$ range but surged beyond $55 \%$ in 1980 and surpassed $70 \%$ after 1990 . One contributing factor could be the narrowing of the target population for the working-age population from 10 years and above to 15 years and above, starting in 1977. Furthermore, remarkable was the sharp increase in the labor force participation rate of women, crossing the $50 \%$ mark since 1990 .

Examining the changes in the employment population by industry and main occupation, we observe a significant increase in the composition ratio of the primary industry, rising from $45 \%$ to $70 \%$ between 1903 and 1938. Although the ratio of the primary industry gradually declined after 1938, it was only after 1983 that it fell below $50 \%$. Through the pre-World War II and post-war, the sustained high level of the primary industry's composition can be attributed to the potential existence of cultivatable land and agricultural production, including non-corporate agriculture.

Until the late 1960s, GDP expansion in agriculture relied on increased inputs of both land and labor. Moreover, the Green Revolution, which commenced in the late 1960s, led to enhanced land productivity and labor efficiency in agriculture, enabling it to absorb a substantial labor force. Concurrently, the pace of industrialization, which could have absorbed employment, did not progress as desired. Consequently, significant population migration persisted from rural to rural areas within the Philippines during the latter half of the 20th century (Nagano 2001: 49-69). Adding to this context, from the 1970s onwards, international labor migration gained momentum, tolerating the low growth of the domestic secondary and tertiary industries. The progression of international labor migration played a role in restraining the increase in the number of workers in these sectors.

Regarding the secondary industry, its composition of employment in 1903 accounted for over $30 \%$ of both men and women. It particularly contains a substantial number of women engaged in the manufacturing sector. The commercialization of rural economies and the development of handicraft production in densely populated rural societies were propelled by agricultural exports since the 19th century. However, in the first half of the 20th century, the share of the secondary industry, including both men and women, experienced a decline. During the transition from the latter half of the 19th century to the first half of the 20th century, the import of light industrial products from Europe, the United States, India, and China triggered a shift of the labor force towards primary industries. As a result, manufacturing was largely limited to specific products like embroidery, hats, mats, etc., primarily meant for export.

In 1948, immediately after World War II, the composition ratio of the secondary industry saw a rise to $11.6 \%$, and by 1970 , it reached $16.5 \%$. However, after that period, the composition ratio of the secondary industry did not experience any further growth.

The significance of rural industries in the secondary employment sector cannot be underestimated. Following World War II, the merchant classes transitioned into entrepreneurs and took the initiative in
organizing rural industries. In 1962, the establishment of the National Cottage Industries Development Authority aimed to provide financial and distribution assistance for the growth of small cottage industries. Even during the 1970s, as export-oriented industrialization gained momentum, around two-thirds (approximately one million people) of manufacturing workers were rural handicraftsmen, and their contributions were highly valued as a means of earning foreign currency (Rutten 1990).

In both domestic and factory-based handicrafts, labor-intensive techniques continue to be embraced by rural industries in their respective societies. Moreover, women assume crucial roles as both entrepreneurs and workers in these rural industries. Their involvement has played an essential role in sustaining these industries and contributing to the overall economy (Hayami 2000: 207-214).

Last, the employment population in the tertiary industry has consistently remained above $20 \%$ since 1903 . In 1918, there was a particularly high number of women employed in the tertiary industry, and it is highly likely that this figure included domestic workers. Over the years, the population employed in the tertiary industry has shown a tendency to rise, with the trend continuing even after the Second World War, eventually reaching over $55 \%$ in 2000 . This consistent upward trajectory is evident throughout the 20th century.

In the 2000s, among the tertiary industries, the composition ratio of workers in the "Wholesale and Retail Trade and Restaurants and Hotels" and "Transport, Storage, and Communication" sectors has notably increased. These sectors have witnessed significant growth and have played a vital role in the overall expansion of the tertiary industry during that period.

Regarding the total employment composition by industry in the 20th century, the primary industry remained at a high level even after World War II but eventually leveled off by the 1980s. One of the contributing factors for this phenomenon is that the employment composition of the manufacturing industry did not experience substantial growth after World War II. In contrast, it can be clearly observed that the tertiary industry has witnessed continuous expansion over the past 100 years, making it a significant driver of employment growth during this period.

## [3] By-employment

## (1) Analysis of 1939 Census

The available information on by-employment in the Philippine labor force statistics is limited. As a result, the analysis primarily centers around the statistics of by-employment in 1938. Due to the scarcity of data on this aspect, in-depth examination and insights are primarily drawn from the available records of the byemployment statistics from that specific year.

The 1903 Census highlighted the rarity of Filipinos, both male and female, being engaged in a single
occupation full-time. The census report pointed out that many individuals pursued multiple occupations, and the choice of which occupation to apply for depended on various contingencies, particularly among individuals in the lower socioeconomic strata (United States, Bureau of the Census 1905: 112). However, it is important to note that the employment population data in the 1903 Census did not provide specific figures for by-employment.

The 1939 Census does provide detailed data on by-employment. According to Table 3, 24.5\% of the total number of workers, which includes both workers engaged solely in their main employment and those involved in by-employment, had by-employment. For men, the percentage of those engaged in by-employment was notably higher, standing at $26.4 \%$. The census data from 1938 sheds light on the prevalence of by-employment among the workforce during that period, especially for male workers.

Indeed, in the context of proto-industrialization theory, the distinction between main employment and byemployment and their movement between different industries holds significant importance. Understanding the dynamics of labor supply flows between industries is a central aspect of this analysis (Saito 2010).

The flow of labor supply from the primary industry (main employment) to the secondary and tertiary industries (by-employment) is a crucial factor in proto-industrialization studies. It helps to grasp the shift of labor from agrarian-based activities to emerging industrial and service sectors. Conversely, studying the movement of labor from the secondary and tertiary industries (main employment) back to the primary industry (by-employment) provides valuable insights into the interactions between various sectors in the economy.

By comprehensively examining the patterns of main employment and by-employment between different industries, researchers can gain a deeper understanding of the complexities and transitions associated with proto-industrialization and its impact on the labor market and economic development.

In 1938, approximately one-fourth of the employment population (male and female) in the Philippines had by-employment. When examining the industrial composition of this by-employment, the primary industry accounted for a relatively high proportion at $22.6 \%$, followed by the secondary industry at $9.1 \%$, and the tertiary industry at $6.6 \%$.

Breaking down the data by gender, a higher percentage of males engaged in by-employment compared to females, with the primary industry being particularly prominent for male workers. Regarding the ratio of individuals engaged in by-employment of the secondary and tertiary industries, more men were involved in the tertiary industry as by-employment, while the secondary industry had a larger representation among women in terms of by-employment.

It's worth noting that although by-employment in analysis of Table 3 was presumably limited to one additional job per worker, the actual number of individuals holding more than two by-employment positions may not have been insignificant. This suggests that some workers could have taken on multiple secondary jobs, possibly to supplement their income or due to specific labor market conditions.

According to the data, $2.9 \%$ of all workers had primary industry as their main employment and secondary industry as by-employment, and $4.1 \%$ had primary industry main employment and tertiary industry byemployment, totaling $7.0 \%$ for both cases combined. On the contrary, there were only $1.9 \%$ of workers who worked in the secondary industry as their main employment and engaged in the primary industry as byemployment. And it was $1.2 \%$ that the tertiary industry workers as their main employment engaged in the primary industry as by-employment.

Overall, the data indicates that there was a notable flow of labor supply from the primary industry (main employment) to the secondary and tertiary industries (by-employment), which accounted for a substantial portion of the workforce. However, in contrast, the flow from the secondary and tertiary industries (main employment) to the primary industry (by-employment) was relatively limited.

In rural areas, especially rural industries, did not expand sufficiently to facilitate the development of industrialization after World War II. However, manufacturing activities continued to be widespread in rural areas even after the war, and the development of agriculture through the Green Revolution, from the late 1960s, supported this trend. While the training of this labor force was aimed at preparing for export-oriented industrialization in the 1970s and beyond, the weakness in job creation within the manufacturing sector and high unemployment rates encouraged overseas employment.

## (2) By-employment in rural societies

The observed limited flow of labor supply from the secondary and tertiary industries (main employment) to the primary industry (by-employment) could be attributed to the relatively underdeveloped manufacturing industry in many farming villages in the Philippines. As a result, in rural areas, there may have been a larger proportion of individuals primarily engaged in agriculture but also participating in manufacturing and service industries to supplement their household incomes. In these rural areas, the beginnings of various economic activities could be traced back to rural industries.

Despite the overall trend, it is worth noting that some densely populated areas in the Philippines witnessed the development of rural industries even before World War II. In such regions, craftsmen often took on entrepreneurial roles, leading to the growth of these industries. Moreover, after the war, a notable transformation occurred as more merchants ventured into becoming manufacturing entrepreneurs. This shift was facilitated by the government's supportive policies and initiatives. Interestingly, a significant number of those who became entrepreneurs in the post-war period were women (Rutten 1990).

Indeed, before the war, the declining labor force participation rate of women in the workforce was indicative of a significant number of women transitioning to full-time housewives, taking on the role of homemakers rather than participating in formal employment. According to the 1939 Census, there were
$2,444,780$ people counted as "housekeepers" (housewives) who did not have any by-employment, representing $57.5 \%$ of the total workforce.

On the other hand, many men did not solely devote themselves to their main jobs, indicating that they often engaged in by-employment to support both themselves and their households. This suggests that many men pursued additional sources of income through by-employment to supplement their earnings from their main occupations. The practice of by-employment might have been a common strategy among men to cope with economic challenges and support their families during that period.

After World War II, the female labor force participation rate in the Philippines began to rise, reflecting an increasing number of women entering the workforce. During this period, both households and household heads became more involved in multi-employment, particularly in rural areas where seasonal employment was prevalent.

A survey conducted in rice-growing villages in Nueva Ecija Province of the Central Luzon Plain, where the population density is relatively low, indicated an increase in non-farm households between 1970 and 1992. Interestingly, a significant proportion of households with heads engaged in by-employment were farm households. This highlights the practice of individuals having additional sources of income alongside their primary agricultural activities.

Among the cases of by-employment reported in the survey, individuals engaged in roles such as civil servants or construction workers, demonstrating the diversification of employment opportunities beyond traditional agricultural activities. Overall, out of the 398 members belonging to the 228 households surveyed in the village, a substantial $81 \%$ were found to have some form of employment. This suggests a high level of labor force participation and the prevalence of multi-employment strategies within the community, reflecting the dynamic and multifaceted nature of economic activities in rural areas during the post-World War II period in the Philippines (Umehara 1995: 79-110).

The survey conducted in 2002 in a village in Bulacan Province, Central Luzon, which is densely populated, revealed a notable shift in employment patterns. It was found that the number of household heads engaged in secondary and tertiary industries had surpassed the number of farmers in that community. Out of the 39 households with working household heads, 12 were involved in by-employment, indicating a growing trend of diversification in employment options beyond traditional agricultural activities (Chiba 2003: 60-73).

This shift away from agriculture in rural communities signifies a changing industrial structure. While there are cases in which individuals have no choice but to rely on low-income employment with low land productivity, by-employment positions serve as a means to stabilize household income, similar to the situation in urban poor households. Additionally, it can be observed that by-employment also offers opportunities for farmers to move up the hierarchy, potentially allowing them to explore alternative and potentially more lucrative income sources.

The data indicates that the industrial structure in rural communities is gradually transitioning towards secondary and tertiary industries. This shift highlights the changing dynamics of economic activities in rural areas, where traditional agricultural practices are increasingly complemented by a more diversified range of employment opportunities in non-agricultural sectors.

In the early twentieth century, by-employment played an inadequate role in preparing for capital formation in the government-led industrialization that followed World War II. Nevertheless, it could serve as a foundation for the development of manufacturing through the training of the labor force. Additionally, for households experiencing disguised unemployment, it provided a supplementary source of income; for those who were economically well-off and had access to higher educational opportunities, by-employment, such as government employment, offered opportunities for upward social mobility.

## Conclusion

Even after World War II, the employment composition of the primary industry remained at a high level, while the manufacturing industry's composition did not experience substantial growth. The tertiary industry has expanded continuously over the past 100 years, reflecting the employment growth during this period.

At the same time, the unemployment rate in the Philippines exhibited a trend of increasing women's unemployment. This rise in female unemployment was observed in parallel with the upward trajectory of the female labor force participation rate. However, the combined unemployment rate for both men and women has remained within the $6-10 \%$ range since the 1990s.

Analysis of by-employment highlights the diverse and complex nature of economic activities in the Philippines during different periods. The data from 1939 Census provides valuable insights into the prevalence of by-employment across different industries and gender groups during that time period, shedding light on the intricacies of the labor market and employment patterns in the Philippines in the mid-twentieth century.

These findings suggest that during the period under analysis (1938), there was a trend of workers diversifying their employment and taking on additional jobs in the secondary and tertiary industries alongside their main employment in the primary industry. On the other hand, there was relatively less movement of workers from the secondary and tertiary industries back to the primary industry for additional by-employment. This pattern may indicate the emergence of a more diversified labor market, with increased opportunities for multiple job engagements in various industries, driven mainly by the growth and expansion of the secondary and tertiary sectors during that time.

Disguised unemployment, often referred to as such, was more conspicuous in the urban informal sector. In
a mid-1980s survey conducted in Manila, numerous individuals expressed a desire for additional employment due to insufficient income, but this aspiration wasn't always feasible. In essence, for individuals in povertystricken households, the prerequisites for engaging in by-employment were not always readily available; specific conditions were necessary. Instead, individual by-employment was more prevalent in rural areas, where it was based on high agricultural productivity and the emergence of new job opportunities.

Consequently, in the Philippines post-independence, characterized by a weak job-absorption capacity in the secondary sector and high unemployment rates, numerous households and individuals found themselves compelled to pursue multiple employments. Nonetheless, while certain regions witnessed the growth of rural industries and entrepreneurial opportunities, others faced constraints in the development of the manufacturing sector. This divergence gave rise to distinct labor engagement patterns across different industries and genders. By-employment assumed significant importance not only for stabilizing household income but also for creating avenues for upward social mobility.

## Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Prof. Jan Carlo B. Punongbayan (School of Economics, University of the Philippines) for useful comments.

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${ }^{(4)}$＇Community，Social and Personal Services＇of 1998 adds up the numbers of＇Personal Services＇and of＇Professional Services＇in the original souce．



Table 2 The Number and Rate of Unemployment and Underemployment (thousands, \%)


(1) In 1938 and 1948, the unemployment is defined to the persons who had not experienced the employment. Consequently, the unemployed population that had the experience of employment is added to the employed.
(2) The reference period is defined as the week preceding the survey in 1956-76, 1988-2010; three months prior to the survey based on the ILO criteria in 1977-87.
(3) underemployment referred to individuals working less than 40 hours in the week prior to the survey, but when adopting the ILO criteria, it referred to those working less than 65 or 70 days in the reference period.
(Sources) Philippines (Commonwealth), Commission of the Census [1943] Census of the Philippines, vol.2, pt.1, p.821/ Philippines (Republic),
Bureau of the Census and Statistics [1954] Summary and General Report on the 1948 Census of Population and Agriculture, vol.3, pt.1, pp.398-
9/ Philippines (Republic), Bureau of the Census and Statistics [1965-83] 1960-80 Census of Population/ Philippine Statistical Survey of
Households [1956-1964] Nos.3-17/ Bureau of the Census and Statistics Survey of Households [1965-73] Nos.18-40/ National Sample Survey of Households [1974-76] Nos.44-47/ Integrated Survey of Households Bulletin, Labor Force [1977-2010] Nos.48-146.
Table 3 By-employment Population by Main Employment (Male and Female, 1938): the Number (thousands) and Share per All Employed Persons(\%)

| Main Employment | Subtotal <br> (Primary Industry) |  | Farm labor | Primary <br> Farmers, <br> Farm | Fishing | Gathering forest | Subtotal (Secondary Industry) |  | Secondary IndustryWeavingRoad and <br> street <br> construction |  | Subtotal <br> (Tertiary <br> Industry) |  |  | tiary Indus <br> Skilled labor, clerical and | Others | Specialized in Main Employment |  | Persons En <br> By-Emplo | aged in ment | All <br> Employment |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | (\%) |  | owners |  | products |  | (\%) |  |  | No. | (\%) | and cooks | work |  | No. | (\%) | No. | (\%) | No. |
| Primary Industry | 777 | 14.6\% | 526 | 9 | 178 | 64 | 156 | 2.9\% | 80 | 76 | 216 | 4.1\% | 56 | 87 | 73 | 2,566 | 48.2\% | 1,149 | 21.6\% | 3715 |
| Agriculture |  | 14.1\% | 507 | 6 | 177 | 62 | 150 | 2.8\% | 77 | 73 | 205 | 3.9\% | 52 | 84 | 69 | 2,349 | 44.2\% | 1,107 | 20.8\% | 3456 |
| Fishing | 20 | 0.4\% | 16 | 2 |  | 1 | 6 | 0.1\% | 3 | 2 | 10 | 0.2\% | 3 | 3 | 3 | 146 | 2.7\% | 35 | 0.7\% | 181 |
| Forestry and hunting | 6 | 0.1\% | 3 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 1 | 19 | 0.4\% | 7 | 0.1\% | 27 |
| Secondary Industry | 102 | 1.9\% | 78 | 6 | 16 | 2 | 16 | 0.3\% | 13 | 3 | 27 | 0.5\% | 13 | 7 | 7 | 573 | 10.8\% | 90 | 1.7\% | 663 |
| Mining and Quarrying | 2 | 0.0\% | 1. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 44 | 0.8\% | 3 | 0.1\% | 47 |
| Manufacturing | 41 | 0.8\% | 34 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 8 | 0.2\% | 7 | 1 | 12 | 0.2\% | 7 | 3 | 3 | 382 | 7.2\% | 61 | 1.1\% | 442 |
| Embroidery and dressmaking | 8 | 0.1\% | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.0\% | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0.0\% | 1 | 0 | 0 | 103 | 1.9\% | 10 | 0.2\% | 114 |
| Native textile manufacture | 11 | 0.2\% | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0.0\% | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0.0\% | 1 | 0 | 0 | 41 | 0.8\% | 15 | 0.3\% | 56 |
| Mat manufacture | 3 | 0.1\% | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.0\% | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0.0\% | 1 | 0 | 0 | 22 | 0.4\% | 5 | 0.1\% | 27 |
| Electricity, Gas and Water | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0.2\% | 0 | 0.0\% | 9 |
| Construction | 19 | 0.4\% | 11 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 0.0\% | 1. | 1 | 5 | 0.1\% | 2 | 2 | 2 | 139 | 2.6\% | 25 | 0.5\% | 165 |
| Road, bridge, and street construction and repai | 9 | 0.2\% | 6 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0.0\% | 1 | 1 | 1 | 70 | 1.3\% | 12 | 0.2\% | 82 |
| Carpenters | 9 | 0.2\% | 5 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0.0\% | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0.0\% | 1 | 1 | 1 | 63 | 1.2\% | 13 | 0.2\% | 76 |
| Tertiary Industry | 65 | 1.2\% | 45 | 8 | 11. | 1 | 20 | 0.4\% | 17 | 3 | 30 | 0.6\% | 13 | 9 | 8 | 876 | 16.5\% | 66 | 1.2\% | 941 |
| Wholesale and Retail Trade and Restaurants and Hotels | 13 | 0.3\% | 9 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 0.1\% | 4 | 1 | 7 | 0.1\% | 3 | 2 | 2 | 270 | 5.1\% | 25 | 0.5\% | 295 |
| Retail dealers | 11 | 0.2\% | 7 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0.1\% | 3 | 1 | 5 | 0.1\% | 2 | 1 | 2 | 157 | 2.9\% | 20 | 0.4\% | 176 |
| Sales employees, clerks in stores | 1 | 0.0\% | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.0\% | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 66 | 1.2\% | 3 | 0.1\% | 69 |
| Cooks | 1 | 0.0\% | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 25 | 0.5\% | 2 | 0.0\% | 26 |
| Transport, Storage and Communication | 7 | 0.1\% | 4 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0.1\% | 1 | 1 | 1 | 133 | 2.5\% | 11 | 0.2\% | 144 |
| Water transportation | 3 | 0.0\% | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 31 | 0.6\% | 4 | 0.1\% | 35 |
| Calesa, carretela, and carreton transportation | 2 | 0.0\% | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 26 | 0.5\% | 3 | 0.1\% | 29 |
| Chauffeurs | 1 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 27 | 0.5\% | 1 | 0.0\% | 28 |
| Financing, Insurance, Real Estate and Business Services | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.0\% | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 23 | 0.4\% | 1 | 0.0\% | 24 |
| Community, Social and Personal Services | 15 | 0.3\% | 12 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 0.1\% | 5 | 1 | 8 | 0.1\% | 3 | 3 | 2 | 450 | 8.5\% | 28 | 0.5\% | 478 |
| Servants(kind of work not stated) | 1 | 0.0\% | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 138 | 2.6\% | 2 | 0.0\% | 140 |
| Lavanderas | 7 | 0.1\% | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0.1\% | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0.0\% | 1 | 0 | 0 | 54 | 1.0\% | 11 | 0.2\% | 65 |
| Houseboys, maids, housegirs | 2 | 0.0\% | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.0\% | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 44 | 0.8\% | 3 | 0.1\% | 47 |
| Teachers | 1 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 46 | 0.9\% | 1 | 0.0\% | 47 |
| Clerks except in stores |  | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 30 | 0.6\% | 1 | 0.0\% | 31 |
| Total | 1203 | 22.6\% | 881 | 26 | 198 | 98 | 484 | 9.1\% | 404 | 80 | 349 | 6.6\% | 147 | 100 | 102 | 4,015 ${ }^{\circ}$ | 75.5\% | 1,305 ${ }^{\circ}$ | 24.5\% | 5319 |

Table 4 By－employment Population by Main Employment（Male，1938）：the Number（thousands）and Share per All Employed Persons（\％）

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（2）Unpaid workers such as housewives were excluded from this table．
（2）Unpaid workers such as housewives were excluded from this table．
（Source）Philippines（Commonwealth），Commission of the Census［1943］Census
Table 5 By-employment Population by Main Employment (Female, 1938): the Number (thousands) and Share per All Employed Persons(\%)

| Main Employment | Subtotal <br> (Primary Industry) |  | Farm | Primary 1 <br> Farmers, <br> Farm | Fidustry | Gathering forest | Subtotal (Secondary Industry) |  | Secondary | y Industry <br> Road and street | Subtotal <br> (Tertiary Industry) |  | Terti <br> Dealers, barbers, | tiary Indus <br> Skilled <br> labor, <br> clerical and | ry | Specialized in Main Employment |  | Persons Engaged in <br> By-Employment |  | All Employment <br> No. |
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|  | No. | (\%) |  | owners |  | products | No. | (\%) |  |  | No. | (\%) | and cooks | professional <br> work |  | No. | (\%) | No. | (\%) |  |
| Primary Industry | 73 | 6.7\% | 70 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 35 | 3.2\% | 35 | 0 | 13 | 1.2\% | 9 | 0 | 4 | 362 | 32.9\% | 123 | 11.1\% | 485 |
| Agriculture | 73 | 6.6\% | 69 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 34 | 3.1\% | 35 | 0 | 13 | 1.2\% | 9 | 0 | 4 | 353 | 32.1\% | 121 | 11.0\% | 475 |
| Fishing | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 |  | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0.4\% | 1 | 0.1\% | 5 |
| Forestry and hunting | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.1\% | 1 | 0.0\% | 2 |
| Secondary Industry | 49 | 4.5\% | 47 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 11 | 1.0\% | 11 | 0 | 10 | 0.9\% | 8 | 0 | 2 | 194 | 17.6\% | 71 | 6.4\% | 265 |
| Mining and Quarrying | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 |
| Manufacturing | 28 | 2.5\% | 27 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 0.5\% | 6 | 0 | 6 | 0.5\% | 4 | 0 | 1 | 224 | 20.3\% | 40 | 3.7\% | 264 |
| Embroidery and dressmaking | 7 | 0.7\% | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.1\% | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0.2\% | 1 | 0 | 0 | 104 | 9.4\% | 10 | 0.9\% | 114 |
| Native textile manufacture | 11 | 1.0\% | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0.2\% | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0.2\% | 1 | 0 | 0 | 41 | 3.7\% | 15 | 1.3\% | 56 |
| Mat manufacture | 3 | 0.3\% | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.1\% | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0.1\% | 1 | 0 | 0 | 22 | 2.0\% | 5 | 0.5\% | 27 |
| Electricity, Gas and Water | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 |
| Construction | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 |
| Road, bridge, and street construction and repair | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 |
| Carpenters | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 |
| Tertiary Industry |  | 2.5\% | 25 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 1.3\% | 14 | 0 | 27 | 2.5\% | 6 | 0 | 21 | 301 | 27.3\% | 51 | 4.6\% | 352 |
| Wholesale and Retail Trade and Restaurants and Hotels | 5 | 0.5\% | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0.3\% | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0.2\% | 2 | 0 | 0 | 103 | 9.3\% | 10 | 0.9\% | 113 |
| Retail dealers | 4 | 0.4\% | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0.2\% | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0.1\% | 1 | 0 | 0 | 69 | 6.3\% | 8 | 0.7\% | 77 |
| Sales employees, clerks in stores | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.1\% | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 19 | 1.8\% | 1 | 0.1\% | 21 |
| Cooks | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 0.9\% | 1 | 0.1\% | 11 |
| Transport, Storage and Communication | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0.2\% | 0 | 0.0\% | 3 |
| Water transportation | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 |
| Calesa, carretela, and carre ton transportation | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 |
| Chauffeurs | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 |
| Financing, Insurance, Real Estate and Business Services | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0.2\% | 0 | 0.0\% | 3 |
| Community, Social and Personal Services | 9 | 0.8\% | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0.4\% | 4 | 0 | 22 | 2.0\% | 2 | 0 | 20 | 218 | 19.8\% | 16 | 1.4\% | 234 |
| Servants(kind of work not stated) | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 85 | 7.7\% | 1 | 0.1\% | 86 |
| Lavanderas | 7 | 0.6\% | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0.3\% | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0.1\% | 1 | 0 | 0 | 50 | 4.5\% | 10 | 0.9\% | 61 |
| Houseboys, maids, housegirls | 1 | 0.1\% | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.1\% | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0.1\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 37,680 | 3420.3\% | 3 | 0.3\% | 37683 |
| Teachers | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 26 | 2.4\% | 0 | 0.0\% | 26 |
| Clerks except in stores |  |  | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0.1\% | 0 | 0.0\% | 2 |
| Total | 150 | 13.6\% | 142 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 60 | 5.4\% | 60 | 0 | $50^{\circ}$ | 4.6\% | 23 | 1 | 27 | 857 | 77.8\% | $244^{*}$ | 22.2\% | 1102 |

(1) In sub-classification of main employment, the industries which employed more than 25,000 are listed. (2) Unpaid workers such as housewives were excluded from this table.
(Source) Philippines (Commonwealth), Commission of the Census [1943] Census of the Philippines, vol.2, pt.1, pp.776-811.


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