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A BROAD VIEW OF THE PHILIPPINE EMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

by

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Mahar Mangahas

This paper is an attempt to assemble, in a few pages, one man's view of the features of the Philippine employment problem that an empirically-minded economist might find most pertinent. Here and there trends and policies are given an explanatory note, but in many cases are left as they are, due to some uncertainty as to how ends of the puzzle fit. Many new ends were discovered at the recent Workshop on Manpower and Human Resources (Los Baños, Laguna, October 1972), to the participants of which, as will be obvious, the writer owes a large debt.

Employment and underemployment

The Population Census of 1970 reveals that the annual population growth rate was 3.0% over the preceding decade, extremely high by any country standards, yet less than the rate estimated from sample surveys during the intercensal period. The labor force participation rate, with the population aged ten and above as base, has dropped considerably, from 57% in 1956 to 50% in 1971. The main change has been in the 10-24 age group, the participation rate having been 45% in 1956, but only 33% in 1971. Increased schooling,** of which more will be said later, is the clear source of the decline.

The annual compound growth rate of the labor force has been 3.0% on the average, and that of employment has been 3.3%.*** One is on firmer ground with such averages than

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**The literacy rate of the population aged ten or more rose from 72% in 1960 to 83% in 1970.

***The Bureau of the Census and Statistics is the only source of time series data on labor force and employment. Over 1956-1969, these were drawn from sample surveys taken almost every May and October. A sample design change, based on 1969 Census data, was made in 1965. In 1970, the Population Census in May was used. A new series of quarterly labor force surveys has been undertaken since 1971, with an improved sample design based on the 1970 Census. The figures cited in this section as averages refer to the period 1956-1971 unless otherwise stated.

with absolute figures. The statistics allege, for instance, that the national labor force actually fell in 1963 and 1968, and in 1966 rose by about one million persons (a 9.2% increase). Another example is that the figure on total unemployed has on three occasions risen or fallen by 25% over a year. Such large movements are not explained by the published sampling coefficients of variation for the population aged ten and above, the employed, and the unemployed.

In the past 15 years, the average unemployment rate in May has been 7.7%, while that in October has been 6.8%.* If two standard errors are applied, the May unemployment rate has a range from 6.7% to 8.8%, and the October unemployment rate has a range from 5.6% to 8.1%. These ranges are not insubstantial, since at this time one percentage point refers to over 130,000 persons.

Turning to more recent figures, we have first the May 1970 census estimate of a 7.7% national unemployment rate. For 1971, the first three quarterly surveys would indicate an apparent improvement, with unemployment averaging only 5.2%, the urban rate being 8.4% and the rural rate 3.7% (Table 2). These rates may prove accurate, but even so, if the labor force continues to grow at 3.0% and employment at only 3.3%, per annum, then it will still take over 11 years to reduce a 5.2% unemployment rate to an acceptable 2.0%. If the 1970 Census unemployment rate is still accurate for the present, then it will take over 22 years to reduce it to 2.0%. In broad absolute terms: there are presently 400,000 new entrants to the labor force each year, and, if unemployment is to be meaningfully reduced, the economy needs to generate each year upwards of 450,000 new jobs, or at least 30,000 more than the trend expectation.

Who are the Filipino unemployed? The May 1971 survey reports a total of 636,000 unemployed, or 4.8% of the labor force. Only a little over half are males, and since the male labor force is fully two-thirds of the total, there is a much larger unemployment rate among women: 6.4% among women vs. 4.0% among men. Since fertility rates are lower among employed women (Concepcion, 1972), and furthermore decline with the women's income (Encarnacion, 1972), measures promoting female employment would be expected in the short run to somewhat reduce population pressure and in the

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*Since schools are out in May, but not in October, labor force participation rates, powered by the 10-24 age group, are a few points higher in May (Table 1). Most

long run to lessen labor force pressure.

Although over half of the unemployed are reportedly in urban areas, the term "urban" can be rather misleading. Only 25% of non-agricultural employment is found in national urban areas, and only 5% in regional urban centers; fully 30% are found in local urban centers and 40% are in rural towns of below 2500 population (Gibb, 1971).* Thus the bulk of those employed in non-agricultural jobs, and in all probability the bulk of those seeking such jobs, is geographically in the countryside. **

In so many matters these days, the emphasis is on youth. Unfortunately this is true also with respect to the unemployed. Over half of the unemployed are inexperienced, first-job seekers, and two-thirds of these are in "urban" areas. On the other hand, the experienced unemployed (the unemployment rate in this group is only 2.2%) are evenly divided between "urban" and "rural" areas. Differentials by marital status are particularly striking: among never-married males in the labor force, the unemployment rate in urban areas is a fantastic 24%, but in rural areas it is only 5%; among never-married females in the labor force, the unemployment rate is 14% in urban areas, and 10% in rural areas.

Fifteen percent of the employed feel they want more work (May 1971), even though well over half of these already work 40 or more hours per week. Ruprecht's finding (1966) of a stationary ratio, at about 20%, of the "pool of surplus labor" (fully unemployed + fully unemployed equivalent of underemployed agricultural workers) to the non-agricultural labor force has remained relevant.

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analysts cite this as a justification for concentrating on the October series. However, October is close to the seasonal peak demand for labor (harvesting) in agriculture, and hence for both supply and demand reasons the unemployment rate is about one point lower in October. This practice thus tends to understate the problem. Recent econometric work (Encarnacion et al., 1972) has had more success in the statistical sense with the May-October average than with either the May or the October series alone.

*Urban and rural are placed in quotes when it seems advisable to remind the reader of the countryside element to "urban".

**If sectoral employment were regularly classified geographically, so that national centers, regional centers

Education and unemployment

Classifying according to educational attainment, the unemployment rates in October 1965 were:

Attainment	Percent Unemployed*	Distribution of Unemployed in Percent
No grade completed	2.8	6.3
Grade 1 - Grade 5	4.0	26.8
Grade 6 - 3rd year H.S.	8.7	41.6
4th year H.S. - 3rd year college	12.3	20.7
4th year college and above	5.8	4.7
National mean	6.2	Total 100.0

*Computed from Mijares and Ordinario, 1972, Table 7.

The pattern is similar for males and females. Incongruously enough, the least-schooled have the least problem finding work, and the problem progressively worsens as years of completed schooling rise, and is relieved only at the college-degree level. Income differentials with respect to schooling would thus be reduced somewhat if corrected for differential likelihoods of finding employment. With such large numbers of unemployed, it is natural for employers to post high education requirements for the limited number of jobs available, giving rise in the process to a corps of "over-qualified" employed. Thus in 1965, for instance, 54% of Philippine clerical workers had at least some college education, and fully 28% had college degrees, whereas comparative proportions for the U.S. would be only 22% and 5% respectively (Tan, 1972). Given the present undesirable configuration of college enrollment according to field of study, unemployment even among degree-

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rural towns, etc. could be picked out, the data base would essentially have been formed for analysis of the non-agricultural labor-intensive sector (Oshima, 1971a).

holders is expected to worsen further (Alba and Magno, 1972). Each year, there are presently roughly 50,000 new places (counting deaths and retirements) for degree-holders, and about 60,000 new graduates in line (Tan, 1972).

In spite of the large surplus of labor at middle-school levels, there is felt to be at the same time a critical shortage of middle-level manpower for non-agricultural industries. In a 1970 survey of 116 firms the Presidential Commission to Survey Private Education found the average complement of scientists/engineers:technicians: skilled workers to be 1:1.8:11, which compared poorly to the 1969 UNDP yardstick for advanced countries, which was 1:5:25 (Alba and Magno, 1972). The middle-level shortage is likewise indicated by (a) a 1971 national survey of 2532 large industrial establishments, queried as to priorities they would attach to various degrees of skill and training (National Manpower and Youth Council, 1971), and (b) an evaluation by firms in preferred investment areas of their critical labor requirements (Abella, 1972). The implicit mismatching between the training received in the middle schools and that demanded in non-agricultural firms stands as the chief problem facing educational planners.

Although there would appear to be a surplus of high level manpower relative to lower categories, there seem to be specific shortages in manufacturing, transport and communications firms. Part of the problem lies in a severe brain drain although the measures taken thus far seem rather puny (cf. Cortez, 1972). Medical and allied personnel are an important category in themselves, for the Philippines has become such a large exporter of manpower that annual departures already exceed the number of new graduates, indicating that the stock not only is failing to keep up with population growth, but is being run down in absolute terms (Gupta, 1972).

Poverty

The annual increases in real per capita GNP of 2-3 percent per annum have not had a visible impact on the poorer half of the population. Four national family income surveys from 1956 to 1970 all indicate Gini ratios of .48 to .50, and mean family income half again as large as the median (Table 3). The real wage among unskilled Manila workers declined steadily over 1956-1964, rose nearly to 1956 levels by 1969, but then began to deteriorate again. The trends are roughly similar among wages in the value-added sectors, whether the own-price or a general price index is used as the deflator. In almost all sectors, the value-added per worker trend is practically horizontal from 1956 to 1971.

The extremely poor are not difficult to locate (UN, 1972); many of these "self-employed" are found in large urban squatter areas. In 1963/64 a joint U.N.-Philippine Homesite and Housing Corporation survey indicated that 10.0% of the Metropolitan Manila population lived in slum and squatter conditions; in the industrial points Davao and Iligan the proportions were 3.5% and 7.5% respectively; and in seven minor cities the range was from 11.0% to 50.0% (Abesamis, 1972).

A recent study (Hollnsteiner, 1972) of an extremely poor community in Tondo, a district of Manila, has disclosed important information concerning countryside-to-metropolis migrants. (In the first place, the migrants come from rural towns rather than from barrios, indicating that two levels of migration might be distinguished -- one from barrios to rural towns, and another from the towns to the metropolis.) The unemployment rate among spouses was 6%, or not dissimilar to the general urban unemployment rate. However, the regularly employed were only 68%, and the sporadically employed were a large 28%. (Work by children outside the home was commonplace, although the study could not quantify this.) Four out of ten found first jobs within a week, three out of ten needed up to a month, and one out of ten needed up to six months. Employment patterns were very similar throughout the range of poverty found, from squatters at one pole to row-apartment dwellers at the other.

Minimum Wages

Minimum wages have been of relevance only to minority but vocal sectors of the economy, viz., it has proved politically advisable to appease wage workers, particularly those unionized, and in the process raise labor costs for a small organized sector which cannot avoid compliance. In the first place, the proportion of employed persons who are wage and salary workers is small and growing slowly (Table 4). In the second place, the number of firms of sufficient visibility to wage inspectors is small. Manufacturing establishments of 20 or more workers employ only 5% or less of the total labor force. Cottage enterprises are specifically exempted. One estimate is that two-thirds of the labor force receive less than the minimum-wage-equivalent for a full year's employment (Sicat, 1972, p. 251). A glance at size distributions of family income suffices to confirm this estimate.

The shortening of working hours, another feature of the legal structure of labor policies, has likewise been of limited effect. As a national average, weekly hours worked

per person have risen from 39 hours in 1956 to 46 hours in 1971. But, unsurprisingly, surveys by the government's Wages and Positions Classifications Office of private firms in the Greater Manila area showed that among the respondents the six-day week was the norm for 28% in 1969, whereas it had been the norm for 48% in 1960 (Economic Development Foundation, 1971).

Sectoral and occupational shifts

Economists are by now fairly accustomed to analyses of the open, multi-sector economy. Agriculture is a key sector which in the course of development labor is supposed to leave, first in relative terms and then absolutely. In the Philippines, agriculture still absorbs more of the new entrants to the labor force than any other sector.* The proportion of male workers in agriculture has indeed decreased but the proportion of females who work in the sector has been stationary. The young, single male is the typical rural-to-urban migrant. He will have less trouble finding a job if he is relatively unschooled and willing to take the corresponding wages. The higher urban wage is clearly the attraction. There is some evidence, however, that the demand for agricultural goods responds directly to the urban wage, i.e., there still exists a substantial income elasticity of demand for food among urban wage earners. Since this demand requires more workers than otherwise to remain in the agricultural sector, the net wage-pull effect is somewhat less (Mangahas, Meyers and Barker, 1972).

It can be argued that, until say 1960, the Philippines was a land-surplus economy in the sense that area expansion sufficed to explain increases in agricultural production; labor, also in surplus, moved as much to the Cagayan and Mindanao frontiers as it did to the towns and cities (Hicks and McNicoll, 1971). Be that as it may, the frontier is gone now, and labor is the meaningful surplus. The marginal product (value-added) per person employed, as a stock, in agriculture is low enough (Mangahas and Encarnacion, 1972) that zero as a comparative point is of little interest.

Very recent work has served to point out that such broad sectoral groupings as agriculture/non-agriculture, A/M/S or primary/secondary/tertiary tend to obscure the sectoral and occupational movements which labor has made

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*For a model in which agriculture draws upon the surplus unable to find work in other sectors, see Mangahas, Meyers and Barker (1972).

(Rañoa, 1972).* Among males, the proportions in Manufacturing and in Government and related services have risen, but other industries have not experienced significant shifts. Among females, the proportion in Manufacturing has declined, whereas the proportions in Commerce and in Government and related services have risen. No significant shifts have been taking place in Mining and quarrying, Construction, Electricity, gas and related services, Transport, storage and communication, Domestic services, or in Personal services.

Among the experienced labor force, larger proportions of both males and females are now classified as Professional, technical and related workers and as Clerical, office and related workers. Relatively more females are now Proprietors, managers, administrators and officials, but relatively the same number of males are in this work category. Relatively fewer males are now Farmers, farm laborers, fishermen and related workers or Manual workers and laborers n.e.c., but relatively more are Workers in transport occupations; the proportions of total female experienced workers in these three categories have not changed significantly, however. Finally, there are now relatively more males but fewer females in the category Craftsmen, factory operatives and workers in related occupations.

The result of experimentation thus far on linear labor absorption functions per value-added sector from time series data is that value-added is statistically the prime determinant of sectoral employment. In some sectors wages and/or sectoral prices have a discernible effect. However, the (negative) effects of capital costs on employment (cf. Williamson, 1969) were not discernible from the meager time series data available. At the means, the elasticities of employment with respect to value-added are as follows

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*The statements in this section, including those on agriculture, concern the experienced labor force and are based on tests of significance at the 5% level.

(Mangahas, Meyers and Barker, 1972; cf. Oshima, 1971b):

Agriculture, fishing and forestry	0.7
Mining and quarrying	2.5*
Manufacturing	0.5
Construction	1.0*
Transportation, storage, communications and utilities	1.2
Commerce	1.3
Services	1.1

Policy Directions

National directions have been set in the Four-Year Program for Fiscal Years 1973-1976 (National Economic Council, 1972):

1. The chief strategy is simply to expand employment by achieving accelerated production growth, the target annual rate for real GNP for the next four years being set at 6.5-7.0%. The leading sectors are expected to be Mining (22% p.a.), Construction (13.5% p.a.) and Manufacturing (9.0%). These targets, if attained, are expected to relieve the unemployment problem substantially. Projection of employment growth under the Plan using various econometric models (Encarnacion et al, 1971, 1972), including the crude employment/value-added elasticities, give expected employment growth rates ranging from 4.2% to 5.3% per annum. A rate of 4.2% will suffice to reduce an unemployment rate of 7.7% (taking a pessimistic choice) to 2.0% after 5-6 years.

2. The target annual growth rate for domestic investment is 11%. Public investment in particular is planned for 29% annual growth, by increasing the government investment/

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*The regressions from which these were derived are on the weak side.

expenditure ratio from .19 (1972) to .29 (1976).* This will require an increase in the tax effort from 12% of GNP currently to 16-18% by 1976, to be met through rationalization of tariff and internal revenue measures, elimination of corrupt practices, and, inevitably, higher commodity, income, and property taxes.

In the Investment Priorities Plan, or IPP, the government has annually listed, for the past five years, preferred areas for which investment may be rewarded by a number of admittedly capital-biased incentives: tax-free importation of equipment, exemption from the capital-gains tax, accelerated depreciation, and deductions on reinvested taxable income. (By way of contrast, the more recent Export Priorities Plan, or EPP, features deductions on taxable income which increase with the labor content of the export product.) Capital-labor ratios in the IPP projects are on the large side, ranges being 40,000-50,000 pesos per worker in agriculture, ₱40,000-90,000 in mining, and in manufacturing ₱10,000-380,000, clustering at ₱100,000. The 236 IPP projects approved over 1968-1972 have thus far directly created 33,000 jobs (23,000 in manufacturing). By 1973, when in full operation, a total of 50,000 jobs are anticipated from these projects, or 10,000 per year. If total investment as planned in the Four-Year Program is realized, it is hoped that the portion in IPP areas will directly create 30,000-50,000 new jobs annually (Abelia, 1972).

The extent to which the unemployment problem would be eased in such a case is still difficult to define. Indirect employment is the subject of some input-output-oriented research only recently begun. To what extent might both the direct and indirect employment created have been forthcoming even without the IPP? Finally, much depends on the capacity of the national training system to produce enough workers of the abilities needed by the IPP projects.

The Program now promises broad encouragement for labor-intensification of industries. Suitable modification of the IPP and EPP terms of reference will be considered. A wide range of existing labor legislation is under review, including the laws on minimum wages, overtime work, child and woman labor, workmen's compensation, emergency medical and dental care, apprenticeship, and private employment agencies.

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*One promising area of investment is rural electrification (Dumol and Policarpio, 1972).

3. The exports growth target is set at 10% per annum in terms of foreign exchange. This is a key assumption to the output and employment projections. Although imports or exports represent one-fifth of GNP, the export industries account for only about one-eighth of employment, and exports per se account for about 6% of employment (Alban,1972). The forestry and mining sectors are necessarily capital-intensive, hence the point that extractives might be usefully classified as an export sub-sector within a modern capital-importing sector (Hicks and McNicoll, 1971). Labor-intensive manufacturing exports, only some of which are listed in the EPP, are now beginning to be identified (Noriega, 1972). The role of exports, and for that matter, foreign investments (85% of which is in capital-intensive manufacturing establishments; Subido, 1972), in employment policy thus mainly concerns the easing of the foreign exchange constraint to the growth of output.

Firstly, it is declared policy to maintain a "realistic" exchange rate.* Other measures include the Mariveles Free Trade Zone (nearly operational), possible establishment of a quick-release fund for export-oriented small and medium-scale industries, inducements of foreign-controlled firms into exports (e.g., the Progressive Car Manufacturing Program, which exchanges limitation of competition for a program to increase domestic content of cars and initiate exports of Philippine-made components),and opening of international marketing agencies.

4. The manpower training system is approaching overhaul. The Education Task Force considers that a meaningful educational program would involve the following specific policies (Alba and Magno, 1972): (a) A decentralization of public basic education. Local governments would take over the responsibility for primary education, and draw from expanded real property taxation. (b) Vocational training on the secondary level would be upgraded, using some funding scheme in which both the national government and industry should participate. To meet a minimum equipment complement, some

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*The current foreign exchange market is a closed shop among banks, with Central Bank intervention or suasion both possible and likely, so that the"floating rate" system seems to have degenerated into a floating peg.

present schools might be consolidated; the opening of new schools would need to be carefully managed. Patterns may be drawn from the industrial training centers recently established by the National Manpower and Youth Council (Diaz, 1972).
(c) Enrollment patterns would be restructured to preferred areas on both secondary and tertiary levels by means of some mix of incentives both to students and to private schools. Equity would be an important consideration in the formation of student incentives.

5. In the short run, the government is likely to take the traditional path of hiring workers itself. The organization of work brigades for rural public works comes to mind at once (Kintanar, 1972). These could indeed help to the extent that low-schooled unemployed exist. As pointed out earlier, those with no more than five years of schooling are only one-third of the unemployed. If corrupt practices got in, the effect per unit of expenditure would be not only low output but also a high capital-labor ratio.* A potential disaster (the Emergency Employment Administration of the early '60s is recalled) is now regarded as only an academic possibility.

6. In the long run, the lower income classes must be afforded wage-goods in a certain degree of plenty, which will be manifest in prices of those goods being low relative to their wages (Dandekar and Rath, 1971). The direct solution is to subsidize or otherwise promote production in agriculture, food manufacturing, and basic items of shelter and clothing, with financing, of course, from taxation on higher income groups. The current tendency, however, is to impose ceiling prices on such goods at the very outset, thus delaying the further development of the industries of highest priority to the consumption needs of the poor. For some items (rice), the government may at the moment have adequate stocks from foreign sources with which to defend the ceilings; for many others (meat, construction materials), the ceilings are there by fiat. In all, such a policy appears motivated by short run considerations regarding equity in urban areas to the neglect of the development of the rural. The Philippines

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*For illustrations of low labor components in road building and housing construction, see Cabato (1972) and Paqueo (1972) respectively. A government manager once hypothesized that the optimal complement of graders, road rollers, trucks, etc. per x kilometers of road was determined mainly by the kickback value per unit of equipment.

seems on the other hand agriculturally productive enough not to have to undergo, as Korea, a wage-goods imports stage in its development (cf. Fei and Ranis, 1971).

7. The speedier implementation of land reform is probably regarded by many as justified even on equity grounds alone. There seems, in addition, a good possibility that the program will be favorable to employment as well. If income is effectively redistributed from landowners to former tenants*, the demand for goods by rural consumers will tend to shift away from "landowner-items" and towards "tenant-items." The latter types of goods -- clothing, home improvements, etc.-- are labor-intensive, rural-intensive, and not likely to call upon labor skills specifically in shortage. On the supply side, the outlook is rather complex. Past ambiguities regarding the effect of owner-operatorship on farm productivity and the acceptance of new agricultural technology suggest a preliminary hypothesis that land reform will be neutral with respect to the amount of labor applied on areas converted to owner-operatorship.

In closing, it cannot be said with too much certainty that all these enumerated will be the principal measures by which unemployment and poverty will be combatted over even a planning horizon of four years. Many additional measures are in the works (e.g., interest rate reform) which, finding favor, can and probably will be acted upon very quickly. There is a wide potential for good judgement, bad mistakes, as well as reversals from bad to good and vice-versa.

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*The gist of the October 1972 land reform decree is that tenants are automatically owners, and shall pay former owners in installments in kind equivalent to the legal leasehold rental prior to the decree. The land sales price in real units of the product and the interest rate on outstanding principal were chosen so that such installments would fully pay for the land after 15 years. Transfer of the acquired land is prohibited except for hereditary succession.

Table 1. Average Philippine Labor Force Participation Rates, By Month of Survey, Age Group and Sex, 1956-1971.

In Percent

	Age Group				
	10 and over	10-24	25-44	45-64	65 and over
OCTOBER SURVEYS					
Total	54.5	40.2	70.3	70.2	36.6
Male	71.4	48.8	97.1	93.7	54.1
Female	37.9	31.8	45.6	45.8	19.0
MAY SURVEYS					
Total	57.7	47.5	69.6	69.3	36.6
Male	76.5	59.2	96.8	93.5	54.6
Female	39.4	35.8	44.4	44.7	18.2

Source: Mijares and Ordinario (1972), Tables 3 and 4.

Table 2. Philippine Unemployment Rates. 1957-1971

Survey Date		(Percent of Labor Force) National	Urban	Rural
1957	May	8.7		
	Oct.	10.0		
1958	May	9.1		
	Oct.	7.1		
1959	May	7.7		
	Oct.	7.2		
1960	Oct.	5.9		
1961	May	8.6		
	Oct.	6.3		
1962	May	9.5		
	Oct.	6.4		
1963	May	7.8		
	Oct.	4.6		
1964	May	6.4		
	Oct.	6.2		
1965	May	8.2		
	Oct.	6.2	10.7	4.1
1966	May	7.2		
	Oct.	7.0	10.0	5.7
1967	May	8.2		
	Oct.	7.7	10.3	6.6
1968	May	7.8		
	Oct.	7.9	9.0	7.4
1969	May	6.7		
1970	May (Census)	7.7		
1971	March	5.4	7.7	4.3
	May	4.8	9.0	3.0
	November	5.3	8.6	3.8

Source: Bureau of the Census and Statistics Labor Force Surveys; Mijares and Ordinario (1972).

Table 3. Measures of Income Inequality in the Philippines 1956-1970

	1956	1961	1965	1970
Household survey data				
Mean family income, pesos	1471	1804	2541	3736
Median family income, pesos	924	1105	1648	2454
Mean of the natural log of family income	6.9116	7.0679	7.3673	7.8042
Std. deviation of the natural log of family income	0.8160	0.8497	0.9236	0.9696
Gini ratio	.483	.502	.507	.485
National income data				
Nominal per capita GNP after taxes, in pesos	351.6	381.6	416.7	467.5*
Real per capita GNP after taxes, in pesos	360.7	453.3	595.9	207.5*
Nominal Manila unskilled wage, daily basis x 250	1315.0	1352.5	1585.0	2303.8
Real Manila unskilled wage, daily basis x 250	1281.7	1138.5	1108.4	1022.5
GNP price deflator, 1955 = 100	102.6	118.8	143.0	225.3

*1969.

Sources: Computed from BCS Family Income and Expenditure Surveys and from National Income Accounts.

Table 4. Distributions of Employed Persons by Source of Income, 1958 and 1968

	1958			1968		
	Total	Agric.	Non-agric.	Total	Agric.	Non-agric.
Wage & salary workers	27.0	9.5	54.0	34.3	14.6	61.2
Self-employed workers	42.6	48.0	34.2	37.3	43.4	29.0
Unpaid family workers	30.4	42.5	11.8	28.4	42.1	9.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Rañoa (1972), Table 6

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