

Chapter 3

MARRIAGE, FERTILITY, AND HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

3.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at demographic outcomes reflected in the 2008 census data regarding marriage, fertility, and household structure. International experience shows development typically brings about changes in all three areas: marriages takes place at later ages, fertility declines, and household size grows smaller even while household structure diversifies. These trends are typically more advanced in urban areas than rural.

International experience also shows the impact of these trends on gender relations are complex. Depending on the circumstances for some women they can open up new opportunities for autonomy and empowerment, and for others they can result in additional burdens and exploitation. Sound policy interventions can make a lot of difference in aligning these demographic changes with increased gender equality and minimizing the risk of exploitation. Sound policy depends on a clear understanding of how the various factors are interrelated in the particular case at hand.

3.2 Marital Status

Table 3.1 gives a detailed breakdown of the population by age group and marital status, for both sexes combined and separately. The data confirm that marriage is near-universal for adults in Cambodia, with less than 4 percent reporting they have never been married by age 45.

Several data sources – especially the Cambodia Demographic and Health Survey (CDHS) in 2000 and 2005 – show that marriage patterns are changing (see MOWA 2008: 12-14). There is a trend away from arranged marriages, for example, and young adults are marrying later. The census does not include a question on age at marriage. Nevertheless by using the census data on marital status by age and comparing the age-specific proportions of those who are never married with the proportions of those who are ever-married we can¹² estimate the so-called singulate mean age at marriage (SMAM). Table 3.2 shows, as expected, that the SMAM is higher for males than females; and that age at marriage in 2008 is higher for both males and females than in 1998. In addition, the difference in age at marriage between males and females has increased, from 1.7 to 2.3 years. The SMAM for the urban population is higher than that for the rural population: in 2008 the SMAM is 28.0 years for urban males and 25.5 years for urban females.

¹² Using a method first developed by the demographer John Hajnal.

**Table 3.1 Adult population (number and percent) by marital status and age group,
for both sexes, males, and females, Cambodia 2008**

| Age | Never Married | Married | Widowed | Divorced | Separated | Total |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|--------------------|
| Both sexes | | | | | | |
| 15-19 | 1,536,176 94.9 | 79,706 4.9 | 976 0.1 | 2,093 0.1 | 339 0.0 | 1,619,290 100.0 |
| 20-24 | 818,669 59.8 | 532,571 38.9 | 3,847 0.3 | 12,963 0.9 | 1,152 0.1 | 1,369,202 100.0 |
| 25-29 | 323,137 26.2 | 879,192 71.3 | 7,611 0.6 | 21,985 1.8 | 1,436 0.1 | 1,233,361 100.0 |
| 30-34 | 74,032 10.7 | 592,771 85.5 | 9,010 1.3 | 16,436 2.4 | 986 0.1 | 693,235 100.0 |
| 35-39 | 49,034 5.8 | 757,063 89.6 | 16,695 2.0 | 20,936 2.5 | 1,220 0.1 | 844,948 100.0 |
| 40-44 | 31,979 4.3 | 657,929 89.2 | 25,548 3.5 | 20,859 2.8 | 1,136 0.2 | 737,451 100.0 |
| 45-49 | 21,532 3.3 | 575,544 88.0 | 35,153 5.4 | 20,384 3.1 | 1,037 0.2 | 653,650 100.0 |
| 50-54 | 16,239 3.3 | 410,025 83.5 | 46,388 9.5 | 17,114 3.5 | 960 0.2 | 490,726 100.0 |
| 55-59 | 10,535 2.7 | 312,110 79.8 | 54,334 13.9 | 13,450 3.4 | 687 0.2 | 391,116 100.0 |
| 60-64 | 7,471 2.7 | 204,549 73.7 | 55,673 20.1 | 9,430 3.3 | 488 0.2 | 277,611 100.0 |
| 65-69 | 4,910 2.3 | 148,988 68.7 | 54,846 25.3 | 7,771 3.6 | 324 0.1 | 216,839 100.0 |
| 70-74 | 4,487 2.8 | 96,027 60.4 | 51,890 32.6 | 6,283 4.0 | 258 0.2 | 158,945 100.0 |
| 75 & over | 7,075 3.6 | 97,231 49.7 | 81,597 41.7 | 9,312 4.8 | 301 0.2 | 195,516 100.0 |
| Total 15+ | 2,905,276 32.7 | 5,343,706 60.2 | 443,568 5.0 | 179,016 2.0 | 10,324 0.1 | 8,881,890 100.0 |
| Males | | | | | | |
| 15-19 | 819,416 98.2 | 14,058 1.7 | 347 0.0 | 462 0.1 | 133 0.0 | 834,416 100.0 |
| 20-24 | 474,146 70.8 | 190,906 28.5 | 874 0.1 | 3,081 0.5 | 336 0.1 | 669,343 100.0 |
| 25-29 | 185,982 30.7 | 412,044 68.0 | 1,374 0.2 | 5,864 1.0 | 442 0.1 | 605,706 100.0 |
| 30-34 | 34,010 10.1 | 295,424 88.2 | 1,326 0.4 | 4,034 1.2 | 252 0.1 | 335,046 100.0 |
| 35-39 | 17,554 4.3 | 384,083 94.0 | 1,977 0.5 | 4,400 1.1 | 281 0.1 | 408,295 100.0 |
| 40-44 | 8,260 2.4 | 329,470 95.7 | 2,700 0.8 | 3,584 1.0 | 261 0.1 | 344,275 100.0 |
| 45-49 | 3,926 1.3 | 288,709 96.5 | 3,462 1.2 | 2,707 0.9 | 201 0.1 | 299,005 100.0 |
| 50-54 | 2,482 1.3 | 187,719 95.8 | 3,650 1.8 | 1,893 1.0 | 167 0.1 | 195,911 100.0 |
| 55-59 | 1,566 1.0 | 154,591 95.2 | 4,366 2.7 | 1,660 1.0 | 145 0.1 | 162,328 100.0 |
| 60-64 | 1,689 1.4 | 107,921 92.5 | 5,492 4.7 | 1,492 1.3 | 137 0.1 | 116,731 100.0 |
| 65-69 | 1,224 1.3 | 81,364 89.9 | 6,211 6.9 | 1,595 1.8 | 127 0.1 | 90,521 100.0 |
| 70-74 | 1,421 | 53,766 | 7,097 | 1,550 | 104 | 63,938 |

| Age | Never Married | Married | Widowed | Divorced | Separated | Total |
|------------------|---------------|-----------|---------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| | 2.2 | 84.1 | 11.1 | 2.4 | 0.2 | 100.0 |
| 75 & over | 2,838 | 54,589 | 15,301 | 2,856 | 149 | 75,733 |
| | 3.7 | 72.1 | 20.2 | 3.8 | 0.2 | 100.0 |
| Total 15+ | 1,554,517 | 2,554,644 | 54,177 | 35,178 | 2,735 | 4,201,248 |
| | 29.1 | 60.8 | 1.3 | 0.8 | 0.1 | 100.0 |
| Females | | | | | | |
| 15-19 | 716,760 | 65,648 | 629 | 1,631 | 206 | 784,874 |
| | 91.3 | 8.4 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| 20-24 | 344,523 | 341,665 | 2,973 | 9,882 | 816 | 599,859 |
| | 49.2 | 48.9 | 0.4 | 1.4 | 0.1 | 100.0 |
| 25-29 | 137,155 | 467,148 | 6,237 | 16,121 | 994 | 627,655 |
| | 21.8 | 74.4 | 1.0 | 2.6 | 0.2 | 100.0 |
| 30-34 | 40,022 | 297,347 | 7,684 | 12,402 | 734 | 358,189 |
| | 11.2 | 83.0 | 2.1 | 3.5 | 0.2 | 100.0 |
| 35-39 | 31,480 | 372,980 | 14,718 | 16,536 | 939 | 435,653 |
| | 7.2 | 85.4 | 3.4 | 3.8 | 0.2 | 100.0 |
| 40-44 | 23,719 | 328,459 | 22,848 | 17,275 | 875 | 393,176 |
| | 6.0 | 83.6 | 5.8 | 4.4 | 0.2 | 100.0 |
| 45-49 | 17,606 | 286,835 | 31,691 | 17,677 | 836 | 354,645 |
| | 5.0 | 80.9 | 8.9 | 5.0 | 0.2 | 100.0 |
| 50-54 | 13,757 | 222,306 | 42,738 | 15,221 | 793 | 294,815 |
| | 4.7 | 75.4 | 14.5 | 5.1 | 0.3 | 100.0 |
| 55-59 | 8,969 | 157,519 | 49,968 | 11,790 | 542 | 228,788 |
| | 3.9 | 68.9 | 21.8 | 5.2 | 0.2 | 100.0 |
| 60-64 | 5,782 | 96,628 | 50,181 | 7,938 | 351 | 160,880 |
| | 3.6 | 60.1 | 31.2 | 4.9 | 0.2 | 100.0 |
| 65-69 | 3,686 | 67,624 | 48,635 | 6,176 | 197 | 126,318 |
| | 2.9 | 53.5 | 38.5 | 4.9 | 0.2 | 100.0 |
| 70-74 | 3,066 | 42,261 | 44,793 | 4,733 | 154 | 95,007 |
| | 3.2 | 44.5 | 47.1 | 5.0 | 0.2 | 100.0 |
| 75 & over | 4,237 | 42,642 | 66,296 | 6,456 | 152 | 119,783 |
| | 3.5 | 35.6 | 55.4 | 5.4 | 0.1 | 100.0 |
| Total 15+ | 1,350,762 | 2,789,062 | 389,391 | 143,838 | 7,589 | 4,680,642 |
| | 28.8 | 59.6 | 8.3 | 3.1 | 0.2 | 100.0 |

Source: A2. Note: The 2008 Census recorded 3,061 persons married, 681 widowed, 283 divorced, and 172 separated in the 10-14 age group; these cases are not included in the table.

When we compare percent never married by sex, it is much higher for males in the under-30 age groups, but then after age 30, when about 90 percent of the population has already married, the percent never married, although very low for both sexes, is consistently higher for females (Figure 3.1). This pattern likely reflects a male preference for younger wives combined with an excess number of females over males, especially in the older ages (chapter 2). It suggests that if a young adult chooses to postpone marriage (in order, for example, to complete advanced studies and start a career) the risk later of not finding a suitable partner and remaining unmarried is significantly higher for a woman than a man. In 2008 there were over 71,000 women aged 30-39 never married but less than 52,000 men.

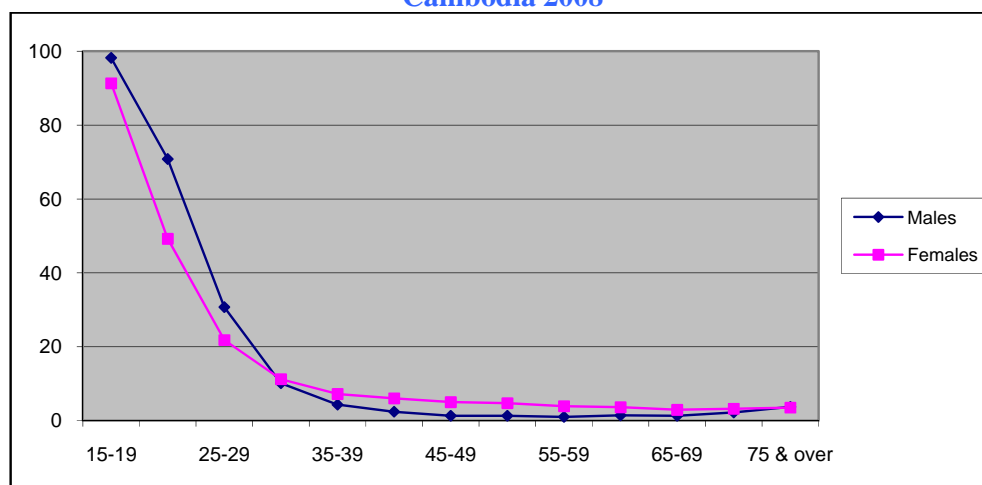
Table 3.2 Singulate mean age (in years) at marriage by sex and residence, Cambodia, 1998 and 2008

| Residence | Year | SMAM | |
|---------------|------|-------|---------|
| | | Males | Females |
| Rural | 1998 | 23.5 | 22.1 |
| | 2008 | 24.8 | 22.5 |
| Urban | 1998 | 26.8 | 23.8 |
| | 2008 | 28.0 | 25.5 |
| Rural + Urban | 1998 | 24.2 | 22.5 |
| | 2008 | 25.6 | 23.3 |

Source: Calculated applying Hajnal's method to data in A2.

The pattern in the data on currently married by age group and sex is even more striking. The fact that someone is ever married does not necessarily mean they are currently married: they could be widowed, divorced, or separated. Moreover someone currently married could previously have been widowed, divorced or separated, and have subsequently re-married.

Figure 3.1 Percent never married by age group, males and females, Cambodia 2008

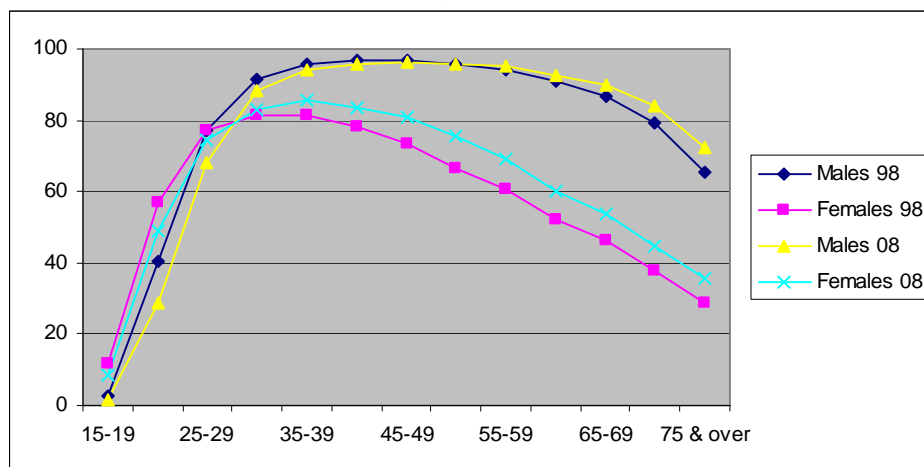


Source: Data from Table 3.1.

Figure 3.2 shows percent currently married by age group by sex for both 1998 and 2008. The figure is striking the way it shows how percent married by age group varies by sex. Looking at the 2008 data first, for females percent married peaks in the 35-39 age group (at 85.4 percent), and then consistently declines (to 35.6 percent for 75 & over). For males percent married does not peak until the 45-49 age group (at 96.5 percent), and then it declines with age far more slowly than for females (so percent married is still as high as 72.1 percent for males 75 & over). For any country where unmarried women are known to be especially vulnerable, both economically and socially, this pattern has major policy implications. We therefore examine their characteristics more closely in the next section.

Comparing the 1998 and 2008 data shows the situation was not very different in 1998: the curves in Figure 3.2 have shifted slightly to the right reflecting the increased age at marriage for both sexes, and they are very slightly higher in the older ages for males and more noticeably higher for females in the higher ages reflecting higher rates of marriage and a slight narrowing of the gap in percent married between males and females, consistent with the sex ratio growing closer to parity as the effects of civil war become more attenuated with time.

Figure 3.2 Percent currently married by age group, males and females, Cambodia, 1998 and 2008

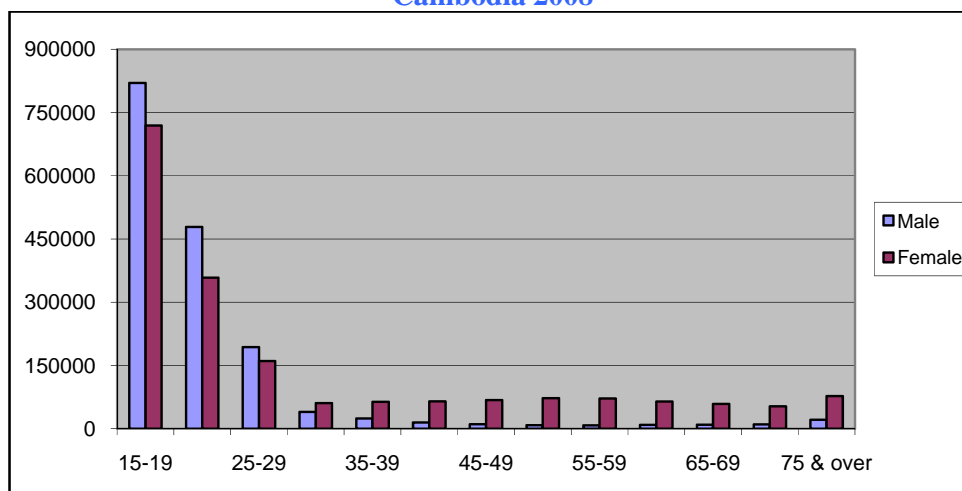


Source: Data from Table 3.1 and 1998 Census.

3.3 Characteristics of Currently Not-married Females

Figure 3.3 represents absolute numbers of marrieds and unmarrieds by adult age group for each sex, showing clearly the excess of unmarried females over age 30. Table 3.1 shows there are 652,653 females 30 years old and over who are currently not married in 2008. By comparison there are 154,147 males 30 years and over who are currently not married; the unmarried females out-number the unmarried males by more than 4-to-1. What are the characteristics of these females?

Figure 3.3 Numbers of males and females currently not married by age group, Cambodia 2008



Source: Data from Table 3.1.

Table 3.3 Selected characteristics of married (Mar) and unmarried (Um) females 30 years and over, by age group, Cambodia 2008

| | Number (thousands) | | Percent urban | | Percent head of household | | Percent living in permanent building | | Percent literate | | Percent employed | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|-----|------------------|------|---------------------------------|------|---|------|---------------------|------|---------------------|------|
| Age | Mar | Um | Mar | Um | Mar | Um | Mar | Um | Mar | Um | Mar | Um |
| 30-34 | 297 | 61 | 19.3 | 27.7 | 11.5 | 24.0 | 23.5 | 22.7 | 71.4 | 70.0 | 86.6 | 89.2 |
| 35-39 | 373 | 64 | 19.5 | 23.8 | 13.0 | 40.2 | 23.7 | 23.0 | 74.4 | 68.9 | 87.2 | 90.3 |
| 40-45 | 329 | 65 | 19.7 | 20.5 | 13.9 | 56.2 | 23.9 | 23.5 | 67.6 | 60.5 | 87.8 | 90.1 |
| 45-49 | 287 | 68 | 18.9 | 20.3 | 15.1 | 67.6 | 23.9 | 23.5 | 62.8 | 55.8 | 87.1 | 88.8 |
| 50-54 | 222 | 73 | 20.1 | 20.2 | 16.5 | 70.7 | 23.7 | 23.1 | 68.1 | 59.5 | 85.2 | 84.0 |
| 55-59 | 158 | 71 | 19.1 | 19.6 | 18.4 | 68.7 | 23.8 | 23.6 | 63.3 | 55.0 | 83.0 | 77.6 |
| 60-64 | 97 | 64 | 18.2 | 18.6 | 20.2 | 61.0 | 24.0 | 23.5 | 53.5 | 45.3 | 75.4 | 70.6 |
| 65-69 | 68 | 59 | 16.4 | 17.1 | 20.9 | 52.1 | 23.7 | 24.0 | 40.6 | 33.5 | 67.3 | 54.1 |
| 70-74 | 42 | 53 | 16.4 | 16.8 | 20.4 | 40.5 | 24.3 | 23.6 | 32.8 | 25.9 | 51.2 | 37.8 |
| 75+ | 43 | 77 | 17.5 | 16.9 | 17.6 | 25.6 | 23.9 | 23.7 | 29.1 | 21.9 | 35.2 | 23.5 |
| Total 30+ | 1915 | 654 | 18.9 | 20.1 | 15.0 | 51.0 | 23.8 | 23.4 | 65.2 | 49.7 | 83.4 | 70.0 |

Source: A2 and special tabulations.

Table 3.3 shows how married and unmarried females 30 years and over compare regarding percent urban, percent head of household, percent living in permanent building,¹³ percent literate, and percent employed. There is no significant difference between the two groups regarding percent urban, except that unmarried women in their 30s are more likely to be urban than their married sisters (e.g. of those 30-34, 27.5 percent of unmarries are urban compared to 19.3 percent of marries).

Regarding the percent of women in each group who are head of household there is a significant difference between the two groups, as we might expect; the magnitude of this difference and the way it varies by age group are important too. The differences are most striking in the middle of the range of age groups shown: for the age group 40-54 unmarried women are 4 times as likely to be head of household as their married sisters, whereas the ratio is only about 2:1 at the extremes of ages 30-34 and 70-74. (For 75+ the ratio is even lower.) It is worth noting that where the differences are highest, around ages 45-59, the proportion of unmarries who are head of household peaks at 70.7 percent (for age 50-54); this reminds us there is still a significant proportion of unmarried women are *not* head of household. Conversely among marries there is always a significant minority who *are* head of household. The relationship between marital status and head of household for both sexes deserves further study (see also section 3.6).

There are no significant differences between the two groups regarding percent living in permanent building. The unmarried women are less likely to be literate than the married (the difference is about 15 percentage points for the 30 and over totals). Unmarried women are slightly more likely to be employed than married women up to age 50; after age 50 the married women are significantly more likely to be employed than the unmarried.

¹³ A building is considered permanent if it has a permanent wall (i.e. wall is made of wood/plywood/concrete /brick/stone/galvanized iron/aluminum/other metal sheets and asbestos cement sheets) and a permanent roof (i.e. a roof made of wood/plywood/concrete/brick/stone/galvanized iron/aluminum/other metal sheets and asbestos cement sheets and tiles (NIS 2009a: 134).

3.4 Fertility

Fertility has important consequences for gender relations. Women's ability to control their own fertility is an important element of their empowerment; it is hard to imagine gender equality in a situation where women cannot control their own fertility and fertility remains high.

The Census asked two questions of every female 15 years old and over:

- *How many children have been born alive to the woman?* (With follow up questions, *How many male? How many female? How many of them are living? How many of them have died?*)
- For women aged 15-49 years: *Was any child born alive to the woman during the last 12 months?* (With follow up questions, *Male? Female? Who assisted her during the delivery?*)

Table 3.4 presents the data on females 15 and over by parity and age group, for total (rural plus urban), rural, and urban populations. We see that for the total population of women 15 and over at the time of the census 35.0 percent have had no live births, and at the other extreme 19.9 percent have had 5 or more. The percent distribution by parity varies by age: in the 20-24 age group 35.3 percent have had 1 or 2 live births, but only 3.4 have had 3 or more, and 61.4 percent have had no live births; in the 40-44 age group 19.6 percent report 1 or 2 live births, 71.5 percent have had 3 or more live births, and only 8.9 percent have had no live births.

Table 3.4 Females 15 and over (number and percent) by parity and age group, for total, rural and urban populations, Cambodia 2008

| Age | Parity | | | | | | Total no. of women |
|---------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 & over | |
| Rural + urban | | | | | | | |
| 15-19 | 747,704 95.3 | 29,212 3.7 | 4,497 0.6 | 1,195 0.2 | 743 0.1 | 1,177 0.2 | 784,528 100.1 |
| 20-24 | 429,524 61.4 | 168,344 24.1 | 78,242 11.2 | 16,719 2.4 | 3,951 0.6 | 2,661 0.4 | 699,441 100.1 |
| 25-29 | 193,936 30.9 | 141,769 22.6 | 171,788 27.4 | 82,830 13.2 | 26,416 4.2 | 10,586 1.7 | 627,325 100.0 |
| 30-34 | 58,580 16.4 | 43,695 12.2 | 89,896 25.1 | 82,715 23.1 | 48,060 13.4 | 35,011 9.8 | 357,957 100.0 |
| 35-39 | 47,824 11.0 | 34,926 8.0 | 79,899 18.3 | 98,126 22.5 | 79,318 18.2 | 96,345 22.1 | 436,438 100.1 |
| 40-44 | 35,071 8.9 | 25,582 6.5 | 51,551 13.1 | 68,988 17.6 | 70,663 18.0 | 141,112 35.9 | 392,967 100.0 |
| 45-49 | 28,321 8.0 | 22,404 6.3 | 36,623 10.3 | 48,482 13.7 | 55,922 15.8 | 162,766 45.9 | 354,518 100.0 |
| 50+ | 96,184 9.4 | 95,574 9.3 | 112,505 11.0 | 114,402 11.2 | 126,194 12.3 | 480,313 46.9 | 1,025,172 100.1 |
| Total 15+ | 1,637,144 35.0 | 561,506 12.0 | 625,001 13.4 | 513,457 11.0 | 411,267 8.8 | 929,971 19.9 | 4,678,346 100.1 |
| Rural | | | | | | | |
| 15-19 | 571,219 94.6 | 25,901 4.3 | 3,841 0.6 | 965 0.2 | 614 0.1 | 1,041 0.2 | 603,581 100.0 |
| 20-24 | 273,188 54.3 | 141,164 28.1 | 67,857 13.5 | 14,746 2.9 | 3,463 0.7 | 2,310 0.5 | 502,728 100.0 |
| 25-29 | 115,249 24.8 | 105,332 22.6 | 139,803 30.1 | 71,714 15.4 | 23,498 5.1 | 9,565 2.1 | 465,161 100.1 |
| 30-34 | 39,186 13.8 | 31,454 11.1 | 69,146 24.4 | 69,081 24.4 | 42,476 15.0 | 32,301 11.4 | 283,644 100.1 |
| 35-39 | 33,702 | 25,137 | 56,923 | 77,494 | 67,710 | 87,792 | 348,758 |

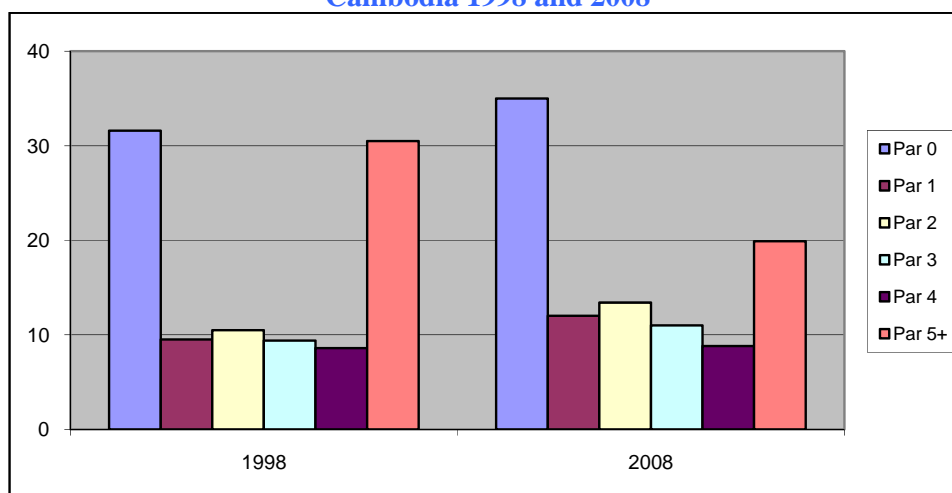
| Age | Parity | | | | | | Total no. of women |
|--------------|-----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|-----------------------|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 & over | |
| | 9.7 | 7.2 | 16.3 | 22.2 | 19.4 | 25.2 | 100.0 |
| 40-44 | 26,159 | 19,438 | 36,538 | 52,437 | 58,230 | 126,870 | 319,672 |
| | 8.2 | 6.1 | 11.4 | 16.4 | 18.2 | 39.7 | 100.0 |
| 45-49 | 21,574 | 17,258 | 26,406 | 35,460 | 43,518 | 142,576 | 286,792 |
| | 7.5 | 6.0 | 9.2 | 12.4 | 15.2 | 49.7 | 100.0 |
| 50+ | 75,609 | 75,540 | 85,710 | 87,794 | 98,216 | 412,039 | 834,908 |
| | 9.1 | 9.0 | 10.3 | 10.5 | 11.8 | 49.4 | 100.1 |
| Total 15+ | 1,155,886 | 441,224 | 486,224 | 409,691 | 337,725 | 814,494 | 3,645,244 |
| | 31.7 | 12.1 | 13.3 | 11.2 | 9.3 | 22.3 | 99.9 |
| Urban | | | | | | | |
| 15-19 | 176,485 | 3,311 | 656 | 230 | 129 | 136 | 180,947 |
| | 97.5 | 1.8 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 100.1 |
| 20-24 | 156,336 | 27,180 | 10,385 | 1,973 | 488 | 351 | 196,713 |
| | 79.5 | 13.8 | 5.3 | 1.0 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 100.0 |
| 25-29 | 78,687 | 36,437 | 31,985 | 11,116 | 2,918 | 1,021 | 162,164 |
| | 48.5 | 22.5 | 19.7 | 6.9 | 1.8 | 0.6 | 100.0 |
| 30-34 | 19,394 | 12,241 | 20,750 | 13,634 | 5,584 | 2,710 | 74,313 |
| | 26.1 | 16.5 | 27.9 | 18.3 | 7.5 | 3.6 | 99.9 |
| 35-39 | 14,122 | 9,789 | 22,976 | 20,632 | 11,608 | 8,553 | 87,680 |
| | 16.1 | 11.2 | 26.2 | 23.5 | 13.2 | 9.8 | 100.0 |
| 40-44 | 8,912 | 6,144 | 15,013 | 16,551 | 12,433 | 14,242 | 73,295 |
| | 12.2 | 8.4 | 20.5 | 22.6 | 17.0 | 19.4 | 100.1 |
| 45-49 | 6,747 | 5,146 | 10,217 | 13,022 | 12,404 | 20,190 | 67,726 |
| | 10.1 | 7.6 | 15.1 | 19.2 | 18.3 | 29.8 | 100.1 |
| 50+ | 20,575 | 20,034 | 26,795 | 26,608 | 27,978 | 68,274 | 190,264 |
| | 10.8 | 10.5 | 14.1 | 14.0 | 14.7 | 35.9 | 100.1 |
| Total 15+ | 481,258 | 120,282 | 138,777 | 103,766 | 73,542 | 115,477 | 1,033,102 |
| | 46.6 | 11.6 | 13.4 | 10.0 | 7.1 | 11.2 | 99.9 |

Source: F4.

Note: Row percentages do not always add to 100.0 due to rounding errors.

Figure 3.4 shows how the distribution of females 15 and over by parity has changed since 1998. The percentage of women with high parity of 5 or more live births has declined (from 30.5 percent in 1998 to 19.9 percent in 2008) while the percentage of women with low or moderate parity has increased (from 31.6 to 35.0 percent for parity zero, 9.5 to 12.0 percent for parity 1, 10.5 to 13.4 percent for parity 2, and 9.4 to 11.0 percent for parity 3).

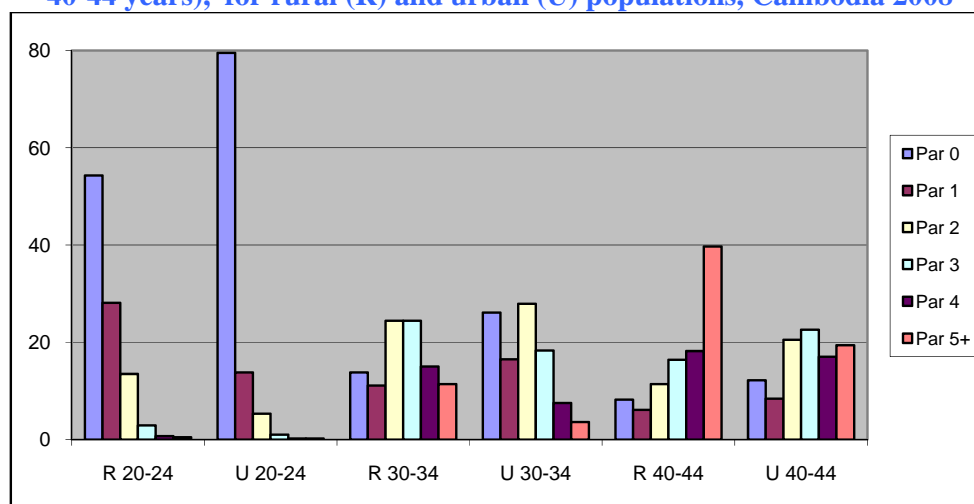
Figure 3.4 Percent of females 15 years and over by parity, Cambodia 1998 and 2008



Source: Table 3.4 and 1998 Census.

Table 3.4 also shows that the way the distribution of women by parity varies by age group is different between the urban and rural populations. Figure 3.5 displays the rural-urban comparison for age groups, 20-24, 30-34, and 40-44.

Figure 3.5 Percent of females by parity for three age groups (20-24, 30-34, and 40-44 years), for rural (R) and urban (U) populations, Cambodia 2008



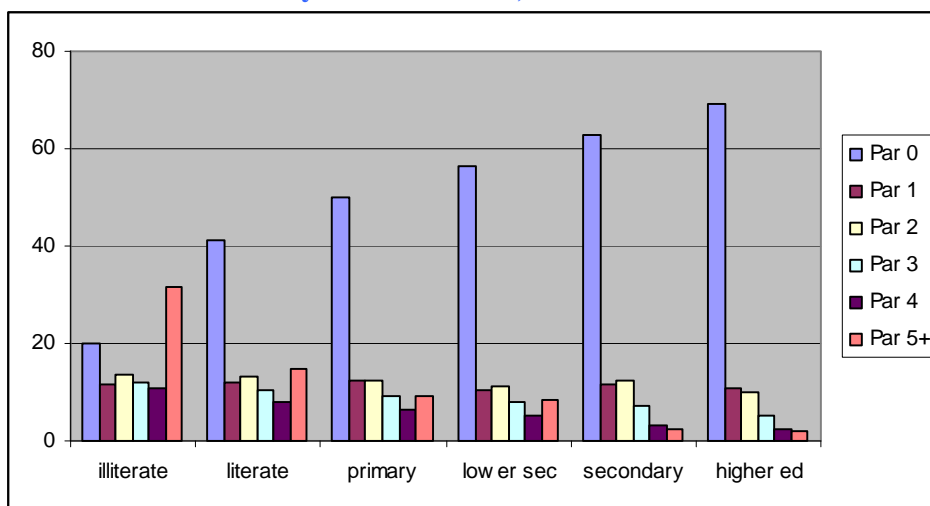
Source: Data from Table 3.3.

For women aged 20-24 years we see that for rural women close to half (45.7 percent) have already started childbearing whereas for the urban women only one fifth (20.5 percent) have started. For women aged 30-34 years, among rural women fewer than 1-in-7 (13.8 percent) have had no live births while among urban women more than a quarter (26.1 percent) have still not given birth. For women aged 40-44 years 2-in-5 (39.7 percent) rural women have had at least 5 live births at this age but only 1-in-5 urban women (19.4 percent).

Figure 3.6 shows how the distribution of females 15 years and over by parity varies by literacy and educational level. In the 2008 Census 1,363,451 females 15 years and over are recorded as illiterate and 3,314,825 as literate. Educational level is asked only of those recorded as literate. We can see that the percentage distribution of literate women according to parity is much higher in the zero category and much lower in the parity equals 5 or more category compared to the distribution for illiterate women: for literate women only 15.0 percent have 5 or more live births,

compared to 31.8 percent for illiterate women; and for literate women 41.2 percent report parity zero while the figure is only 20.0 percent for illiterate women.

Figure 3.6 Percent distribution of females 15 years and over by parity by literacy/education level, Cambodia 2008



Source: Based on data from F3.

When we look at the literate women by educational attainment¹⁴ we see a steady progression whereby the proportion of women with zero parity increases with educational level (reflecting postponement of marriage and the start of child-bearing) and a decline in high fertility (of 4 or more births).

Estimation of total fertility rate

Most stakeholders are more interested in the *level* of fertility than in the distribution of females by parity. In principle the second fertility question – namely, *Was any child born to the woman during the last 12 months?*¹⁵ – should allow calculation of the crude birth rate (CBR) and total fertility rate (TFR). In practice this is not the case since in any census there is invariably a significant underreporting of live births during the last 12 months, especially in a developing country.¹⁶ A direct calculation of TFR based on the number of births during the last 12 months recorded in the Cambodia 2008 Census gives a value of 1.6 live births per woman during her lifetime, which is clearly a “gross underestimate” (NIS 2010a: 16).

The use of so-called “indirect estimation techniques” applied to the 2008 census data¹⁷ gives a range of values (NIS 2010a: 16-19). These estimates are reproduced in Table 3.5.¹⁸

¹⁴ In Figure 3.6 we have not shown the distribution for women listed in the census results as with some education but without completing primary school, or for women listed in the with “Other” education category.

¹⁵ Asked of any woman in a household aged 15-49 years.

¹⁶ As explained in NIS (2010a: 11), “Because the questions about fertility and mortality, especially infant and child mortality are very sensitive questions to be asked of respondents, it requires tact and a great deal of experience to obtain correct answers from the respondents. A census is a huge operation where very detailed training can not be undertaken and a sufficiently long period can not be devoted to field work as can be done in a survey, so fertility and child mortality are always liable to be under reported in a census.”

¹⁷ Applied, specifically, to data resulting from the question, *How many children have been born alive to the woman?*

¹⁸ In addition the Brass P/F ratio method gives an estimated CBR of 26.9 live births per thousand population, averaged over 2004-2008; and a CBR of 27.7 for the rural population and 23.9 for the urban population (NIS 2010a: 18-19).

Table 3.5 Estimates of TFR using different methods for total, rural and urban populations based on 2008 census data

| Indirect estimation method | Estimated TFR | Reference period |
|----------------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Rural + urban | | |
| Brass P/F ratio | 3.4 | 2004-2008 |
| Arriaga-Brass | 2.7 | Mar 2007-Mar 2008 |
| Rele | 2.7 | Mar 2007-Mar 2008 |
| Own children method | 2.8 | Mar 2006-Mar 2008 |
| Rural | | |
| Brass P/F ratio | 3.6 | 2004-2008 |
| Arriaga-Brass | 2.9 | Mar 2007-Mar 2008 |
| Rele | 3.0 | Mar 2007-Mar 2008 |
| Own children method | 3.1 | Mar 2006-Mar 2008 |
| Urban | | |
| Brass P/F ratio | 2.4 | 2004-2008 |
| Arriaga-Brass | 1.9 | Mar 2007-Mar 2008 |
| Rele | 1.8 | Mar 2007-Mar 2008 |
| Own children method | 1.9 | Mar 2006-Mar 2008 |

Source: NIS (2010a: Tables 3-5). Note: Rele method here uses the child-women ratio based on 0-4 and 15-19 years; and a life expectancy at birth of 63.94 years.

Deciding how to determine a single “point estimate” based on a range of values is in this case partly a question of judgment. Taking relevant considerations into account NIS (2010a: 17) chooses a simple mid-point of the range, giving an estimated TFR of 3.1 live births per woman during 2005-2008 for the country as a whole, 3.3 for the rural population, and 2.1 for the urban population. These estimates are broadly consistent with those derived from other data sources, notably the Cambodia Demographic and Health Survey: The 2000 Survey gives an estimate of 4.0 for the period 1995-2000, and the 2005 Survey an estimate of 3.4 for 2002-2005. The 2008 Census confirms that fertility is declining in Cambodia.

Table 3.6 includes some further estimates of TFR by selected characteristics, taken from NIS (2010a). While there are significant differences in TFR (of the order of about 1 birth) by residence and education, the difference between women who are economically active and economically inactive is relatively small, and among the economically active employed women have higher fertility than unemployed. Fertility is associated with residence and education in ways one would expect, but its relationship with employment status appears more complex and needs further investigation.

Table 3.6 Estimates of TFR by selected characteristics based on 2008 census data

| Characteristics | Estimated TFR |
|--|---------------|
| Residence | |
| Rural | 3.3 |
| Urban | 2.1 |
| Total | 3.1 |
| Education | |
| Illiterate | 3.6 |
| Literate | 2.8 |
| Below primary education (including no schooling) | 3.1 |
| Primary and lower secondary | 2.5 |
| Secondary and above | 1.8 |
| Economic activity | |
| Economically inactive | 3.2 |
| Economically active and unemployed | 2.6 |
| Economically active and employed | 2.9 |

Source: Adapted from NIS (2010a: 20).

3.5 Household Size and Structure

The 2008 Census recorded 2,841,897 households, of which 2,817,637 (99.1 percent) are counted as “Regular or Normal” households (i.e. excluding Institutional, Homeless, Boat and Transient households).¹⁹

Figure 3.7 shows how the percent distribution by household size has shifted towards smaller household size: for households up to size 5 the percent of total distribution is higher in 2008 than in 1998, whereas for households larger than size 5 the percent of total distribution is higher in 1998 than in 2008. Average household size has declined significantly from 5.2 persons in 1998 to 4.7 in 2008 (NIS 2009a: Table 9.3)²⁰: the decline is 5.5 to 4.9 persons for urban households and 5.1 to 4.6 persons for rural households. It is noteworthy that despite higher fertility levels in rural areas that household size is higher in urban areas. More analysis is needed on changing household structure and its relation to changing family structure.

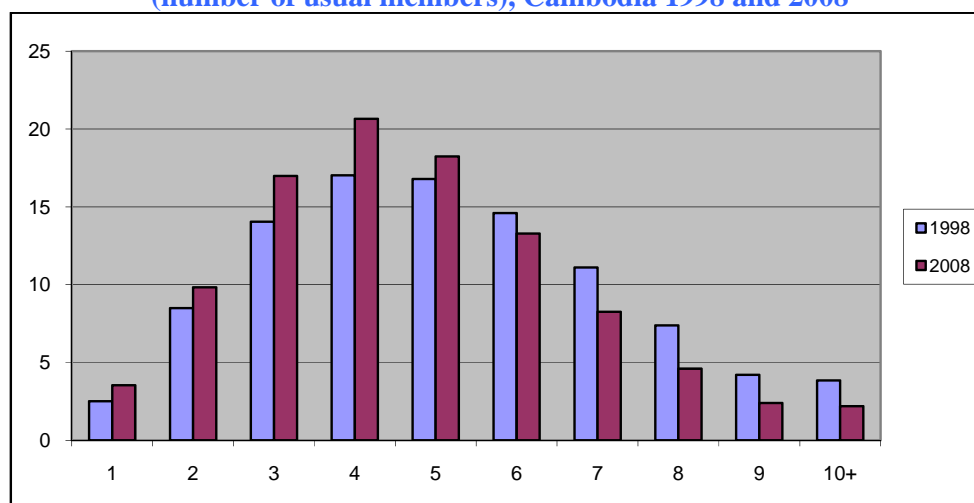
The 2008 Census found that 74.4 percent of regular households are headed by males and 25.6 percent by females (Table 3.7).²¹ The percentages were almost identical in 1998: 74.3 and 25.7, respectively.

¹⁹ A household is defined as a group of persons who commonly live together and who take meals from a common kitchen unless the exigencies of work prevent any of them from doing so (NIS 2009a: 161).

²⁰ For some purposes the median is a better summary statistic of household size than the arithmetic average: Given that the distribution shown in Figure 3.7 is asymmetric (with a longer tail to the right-hand side) this means a relatively small number of very large households can pull the average to a high value. The median household size in 2008 is 4.0 persons, down from 4.5 in 1998.

²¹ Head of household is defined as a person who is recognized as such in the household. He or she is generally the person who bears the chief responsibility for management of the household and takes decisions on behalf of the household, and in the case of an absentee *de jure* “HH,” the person who is in fact responsible for managing the affairs of the household is regarded as the HH (NIS 2009a: 161).

Figure 3.7 Distribution of regular households (percent) by household size (number of usual members), Cambodia 1998 and 2008



Source: Data from NIS (2009a: Table 9.5).

There is a special interest in Cambodia in the status of female-headed households and how they compare with male-headed households (MOWA 2008: 49-53). One might expect female-headed households to be vulnerable to social disadvantage but previous analysis “shows no significant difference between male- and female-headed households on indicators such as the poverty rate, child labor or school attendance” (MOWA 2008: 49). In part this is due to the fact so many households are poor or living close to the poverty line that loss of male head of household can hardly result in a significant additional quantum of poverty, at least as measured by the standard indicators. It is also important to recognize that the category “female head of household” covers a variety of conditions which are very different in practice: The case of a young widow raising children on her own when her late husband had been the main breadwinner is obviously different from that of an elderly widow living in her own house with grown children to support her. The category also includes the case of a woman whose husband is away elsewhere earning money for their household.²² The issue needs further investigation, distinguishing different subtypes of female-headed household.

Table 3.7 shows the distribution of heads of household (HH) by sex varies by age group with the percent female highest at the youngest and older years (see also Figure 3.8). The percent HH female is lowest for the 25-29 age group (16.8 percent); then rises at an increasing rate to reach 33.5 percent for the 50-54 age group; and thereafter rises slowly to 38.8 percent for the 75 and over age group.

In total there are 721,119 households headed by females. From the point of view of understanding gender relations important questions to consider are: (i) How do female-headed households compare to those headed by males? and (ii) How do women designated HH compare to women who are not HH?

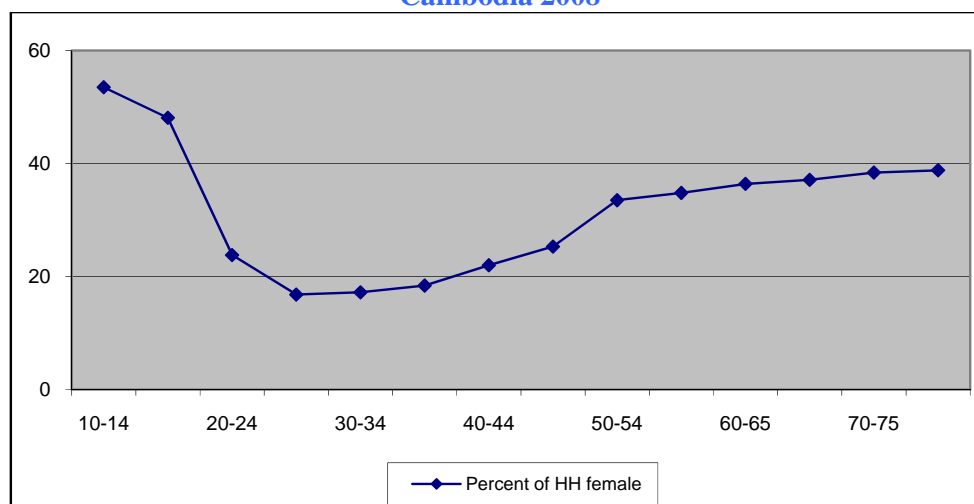
²² Table 3.3 shows that 15.0 percent of married women 30 years old and over are designated head of household; presumably many of these are so designated because their husbands are domestic or international migrant workers who will at some time return to the household, at which point the household will be designated as male-headed.

Table 3.7 Heads of household (number and percent) by sex and age group, Cambodia 2008

| | Male heads of Household | | Female heads of household | | Total heads of Household | |
|--------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| Age | N | Percent | N | Percent | N | Percent |
| 10-14 | 2,457 | 46.5 | 2,832 | 53.5 | 5,289 | 100.0 |
| 15-19 | 11,637 | 51.9 | 10,788 | 48.1 | 22,425 | 100.0 |
| 20-24 | 105,390 | 76.2 | 32,902 | 23.8 | 138,292 | 100.0 |
| 25-29 | 279,480 | 83.2 | 56,520 | 16.8 | 336,000 | 100.0 |
| 30-34 | 231,416 | 82.8 | 48,115 | 17.2 | 279,531 | 100.0 |
| 35-39 | 324,945 | 81.6 | 73,474 | 18.4 | 398,419 | 100.0 |
| 40-44 | 290,415 | 78.0 | 81,830 | 22.0 | 372,245 | 100.0 |
| 45-49 | 262,236 | 74.7 | 89,040 | 25.3 | 351,276 | 100.0 |
| 50-54 | 174,145 | 66.5 | 87,580 | 33.5 | 261,725 | 100.0 |
| 55-59 | 145,535 | 65.2 | 77,804 | 34.8 | 223,339 | 100.0 |
| 60-64 | 102,288 | 63.6 | 58,562 | 36.4 | 160,850 | 100.0 |
| 65-69 | 75,772 | 62.9 | 44,603 | 37.1 | 120,375 | 100.0 |
| 70-74 | 47,895 | 61.6 | 29,903 | 38.4 | 77,798 | 100.0 |
| 75+ | 42,907 | 61.2 | 27,166 | 38.8 | 70,073 | 100.0 |
| Total | 2,096,518 | 74.4 | 721,119 | 25.6 | 2,817,637 | 100.0 |

Source: H5.

Figure 3.8 Percent heads of household (HH) who are female by age group, Cambodia 2008



Source: Data from Table 3.7.

3.6 Characteristics of Female-headed Households

Table 3.8 compares female-headed households (FHH) and male-headed households (MHH) – both broken down by broad age groups – by selected characteristics (number and percent urban, number and percent living in permanent building, etc.).

The table shows that of the 721,119 households headed by a female: in 103,042 cases (i.e. 14.3 percent of all FHH cases, or 3.7 percent of all regular households) the female is 10-29 years of age; in 516,405 cases (71.6 percent of FHH and 18.3 percent of total households) the female is 30-64 years old; and in 101,672 cases (14.1 percent of all FHH, or 3.6 percent of total households) the female is 65 years of age or older. By comparison, while there are many more households headed by males the pattern of distribution by broad age group is similar to the FHH case: of the 2,096,518 households headed by a male, in 398,964 cases (i.e. 19.0 percent of all MHH) the male

is 10-29 years old; in 1,530,980 cases (73.0 percent) the male is 30-64 years old; and in 166,574 cases (7.9 percent) the male is 65 and over.

Similarly households with FHH are not significantly different from households with MHH in percent urban or percent living in a permanent building, even when households are broken down by broad age group of the head of household. There are differences in percent with HH literate, which is to be expected given the prevalent gender gap in literacy for older ages. There is also a significant sex differential in percent HH employed, which is largest for the 65 years and older age group.²³

Table 3.8 Selected characteristics (number and percent) of households by sex, broad age group, and other selected characteristics of household head (HH), Cambodia 2008

| | No & percent | No & percent urban | No & percent living in permanent building | No & percent with HH literate | No & percent with HH employed |
|----------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Households with FHH | 721,119 25.6 | 137,166 19.0 | 413,203 57.3 | 420,825 58.4 | 614,253 85.2 |
| HH 10-29 years | 103,042 (3.7) | 23,215 22.5 | 59,284 57.5 | 75,157 72.9 | 87,224 84.6 |
| HH 30-64 years | 516,405 (18.3) | 95,532 18.5 | 295,214 57.2 | 314,637 60.9 | 464,175 89.9 |
| HH 65 years & over | 101,672 (3.6) | 18,419 18.1 | 58,705 57.7 | 31,031 30.5 | 62,854 61.8 |
| Households with MHH | 2,096,518 74.4 | 369,413 17.6 | 1,203,468 57.4 | 1,714,674 81.8 | 2,016,228 96.2 |
| HH 10-29 years | 398,964 (14.2) | 57,021 14.3 | 224,390 56.2 | 318,492 79.8 | 384,902 96.5 |
| HH 30-64 years | 1,530,980 (54.3) | 286,245 18.7 | 883,592 57.7 | 1,268,850 82.9 | 1,499,927 98.0 |
| HH 65 years & over | 166,574 (5.9) | 26,147 15.7 | 95,486 57.3 | 127,332 76.4 | 131,399 78.9 |
| Total households | 2,817,637 100.0 | 506,579 18.0 | 1,616,671 57.4 | 2,135,499 75.8 | 2,630,481 93.4 |

Source: H5 and special tabulations.

Table 3.9 compares females who are HH with females who are not. There is not much difference between the two groups of females with regard to their level of urbanization, even when controlling for broad age group. Females who are HH are far more likely to be married than those who are not HH when they are young (10-29 years), but the reverse is true for older women (30-64 years); in the latter case for those females who are HH only 49.5 percent are currently married while 88.0 percent of those who are not HH are currently married. The higher percent currently married among those not HH carries over into the 65 and over age group too.

²³ What is really needed here is a breakdown of female- and male-headed households by subtypes, especially according to marital status of HH and whether there is a male of working age in the household. The census data can provide these results but they require further tabulations using the unit record files, which is beyond the scope of this report.

**Table 3.9 Selected characteristics of females 10 years and over (number and percent)
by whether they are head of household (HH), Cambodia 2008**

| | No & percent | No & percent urban | No & percent curren'y married | No & percent literate | No & percent employed |
|--|----------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Females who are HH | 721,119 13.1 | 137,166 19.0 | 355,020 49.2 | 420,825 58.4 | 614,253 85.2 |
| 10-29 years | 103,042 1.9 | 23,215 22.5 | 66,755 64.8 | 75,157 72.9 | 87,224 84.6 |
| 30-64 years | 516,405 9.4 | 95,532 18.5 | 255,856 49.5 | 314,637 60.9 | 464,175 89.9 |
| 65 years & over | 101,672 1.8 | 18,419 18.1 | 30,145 29.6 | 31,031 30.5 | 62,854 61.8 |
| Females who are not HH | 4,770,616 86.9 | 1,018,880 21.4 | 2,435,832 51.1 | 3,629,268 76.1 | 2,925,081 61.3 |
| 10-29 years | 2,820,439 51.3 | 639,138 22.7 | 809,496 28.7 | 2,401,391 85.1 | 1,398,498 49.6 |
| 30-64 years | 1,710,741 31.2 | 340,756 19.9 | 1,506,218 88.0 | 1,155,025 67.5 | 1,437,425 84.0 |
| 65 years & over | 239,436 4.4 | 38,986 16.3 | 122,382 51.1 | 72,852 30.4 | 89,158 37.2 |
| All females 10 years & over | 5,491,735 100.0 | 1,156,046 21.1 | 2,790,852 50.8 | 4,050,093 73.7 | 3,539,334 64.4 |
| 10-29 years | 2,923,481 53.2 | 662,353 22.7 | 876,251 30.0 | 2,476,548 84.7 | 1,485,722 50.8 |
| 30-64 years | 2,227,146 40.6 | 436,288 19.6 | 1,762,074 79.1 | 1,469,662 66.0 | 1,901,600 85.4 |
| 65 years & over | 341,108 6.2 | 57,405 16.8 | 152,527 44.7 | 103,883 30.5 | 152,012 44.6 |

Source: A2, B1, C1 and special tabulations.

Females who are HH have lower literacy rates than those who are not HH, especially in the younger age groups. Females who are HH are more likely to be employed than those who are not HH; although this is true across all age groups the differential is relatively small for the 30-64 years group.

3.7 Regional Differences

Table 3.10 shows how a few of the variables discussed in this chapter vary by province. The proportion of adult women (15 years and over) who are widowed, divorced or separated is significantly higher than the corresponding proportion for males in all provinces (by about 10 percentage points on average). As suggested earlier, this is a topic which needs further investigation to see how it may be affecting gender relations, and how its effects may vary across provinces.

The estimated total fertility rate (TFR) varies from a low of 2.0 live births per woman in Phnom Penh to a high of 4.9 in Ratanak Kiri. This reflects different cultural practices in different parts of the country and different levels of development and implies changes in the status of women are unevenly distributed throughout the country.

Regarding average household size most provinces are quite tightly clustered around the national mean of 4.7 persons within the range from 4.2 (Prey Veng) to 5.4 (Ratanak Kiri). There is very weak correlation between average household size and TFR. If we look at Figure 3.9 closely it appears there is more of a positive correlation for TFR above 3.5 than below. This suggests that

declining TFR may be associated with more diversity of household size and structure but the matter needs further examination.

Table 3.10 Selected marital status and household variables by province, Cambodia 2008

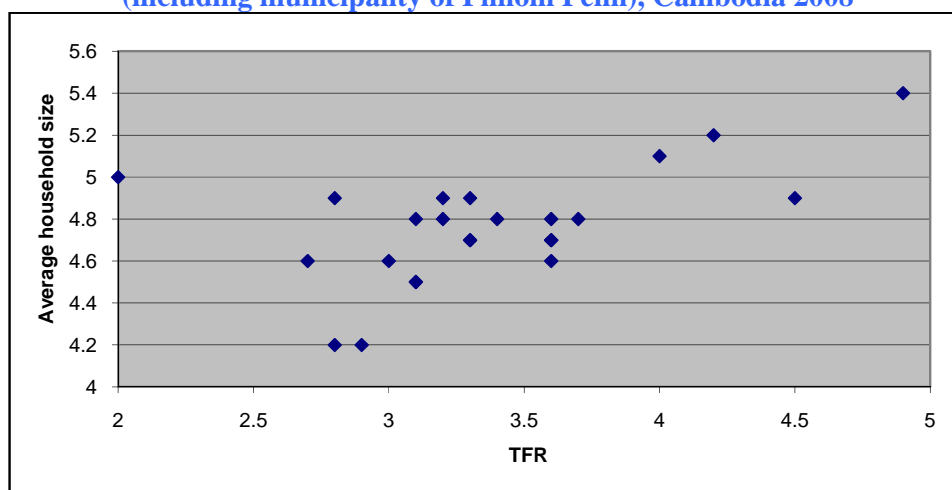
| Province | Marital status of population 15 and over (percent) | | | | | | TFR ^a | Av. household size |
|-----------------|--|---------|-------------------------|---------------|---------|-------------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| | Males | | | Females | | | | |
| | Never married | Married | Widow, divorce, or sep. | Never married | Married | Widow, divorce, or sep. | | |
| Bantey Meanchey | 35.9 | 61.9 | 2.2 | 27.9 | 61.7 | 10.4 | 2.7 | 4.6 |
| Battambang | 39.4 | 58.3 | 2.3 | 30.6 | 58.5 | 10.9 | 3.2 | 4.8 |
| Kampong Cham | 33.5 | 64.0 | 2.5 | 24.7 | 62.9 | 12.4 | 3.1 | 4.5 |
| Kampong Chhnang | 37.2 | 60.6 | 2.2 | 29.0 | 56.9 | 14.1 | 3.6 | 4.6 |
| Kampong Speu | 35.5 | 62.4 | 2.1 | 26.0 | 61.4 | 12.6 | 3.4 | 4.8 |
| Kampong Thom | 34.8 | 62.8 | 2.4 | 25.1 | 61.9 | 13.0 | 3.3 | 4.7 |
| Kampot | 33.7 | 64.0 | 2.3 | 25.1 | 62.2 | 12.7 | 3.1 | 4.5 |
| Kandal | 39.1 | 58.5 | 2.4 | 31.9 | 56.3 | 11.8 | 2.8 | 4.9 |
| Koh Kong | 36.7 | 61.6 | 1.7 | 25.7 | 64.9 | 9.4 | 3.6 | 4.8 |
| Kratie | 34.1 | 63.7 | 2.2 | 24.5 | 64.1 | 11.4 | 3.7 | 4.8 |
| Mondul Kiri | 33.8 | 64.1 | 2.1 | 23.2 | 67.5 | 9.3 | 4.5 | 4.9 |
| Phnom Penh | 46.6 | 51.7 | 1.7 | 42.1 | 48.8 | 9.1 | 2.0 | 5.0 |
| Preah Vihear | 32.7 | 65.2 | 2.1 | 24.9 | 64.5 | 10.6 | 4.0 | 5.1 |
| Prey Veng | 31.6 | 66.0 | 2.4 | 22.6 | 64.5 | 12.9 | 2.9 | 4.2 |
| Pursat | 38.8 | 59.3 | 1.9 | 30.6 | 57.8 | 11.6 | 3.6 | 4.7 |
| Ratanak Kiri | 31.5 | 67.0 | 1.5 | 22.2 | 69.4 | 8.4 | 4.9 | 5.4 |
| Siem Reap | 38.0 | 60.0 | 2.0 | 30.6 | 59.4 | 10.0 | 3.2 | 4.9 |
| Preah Sihanouk | 41.2 | 57.0 | 1.8 | 31.9 | 58.1 | 10.0 | 3.1 | 4.8 |
| Stung Treng | 35.6 | 62.6 | 1.8 | 27.3 | 63.2 | 9.5 | 4.2 | 5.2 |
| Svay Rieng | 33.5 | 64.5 | 2.0 | 23.6 | 63.1 | 13.3 | 2.8 | 4.2 |
| Takeo | 34.7 | 62.7 | 2.6 | 25.0 | 61.6 | 13.4 | 3.0 | 4.6 |
| Otdar Meanchey | 33.8 | 64.7 | 1.5 | 25.6 | 66.1 | 8.3 | 3.3 | 4.7 |
| Kep | 36.2 | 61.4 | 2.4 | 27.0 | 60.0 | 13.0 | 3.3 | 4.9 |
| Pailin | 38.6 | 59.3 | 2.1 | 29.0 | 63.3 | 7.7 | 3.6 | 4.7 |
| Cambodia Total | 37.0 | 60.8 | 2.2 | 28.9 | 59.6 | 11.5 | 3.1 | 4.7 |

Source: NIS (2009a: Table PT07; 2010a: Table 8; 2009a: Table P-01 - P-24). Notes: ^a TFR calculated using indirect estimation techniques, reference period 2007-2008.

3.8 Final Remarks

The 2008 Census data confirm that during the last 10 years age at first marriage has increased, fertility continues to decline, and average household size is getting smaller. The data also confirm that these trends are generally more advanced in urban than rural areas, although average household size is larger in urban areas than rural. For urban areas the singulate mean age at marriage is now 28.0 years for males and 25.5 years for females, and the TFR is estimated to be close to replacement.

**Figure 3.9 Scatterplot of average household size by TFR for 24 provinces
(including municipality of Phnom Penh), Cambodia 2008**



Source: Data from Table 3.10.

While the data do not allow comprehensive analysis of the impacts of these trends on gender relations some of the findings are nevertheless highly pertinent. There are many more unmarried females 30 years and over than males (by a ratio of more than 4-to-1 in 2008). These unmarried women are much more likely to be designated as head of household than their married female counterparts; at the same time they are less likely to be literate or employed. The capabilities and vulnerabilities of this population group clearly deserve more study. Similarly more analysis is needed of changing household structure and its relationship to changing family size and structure. Average family size is now down to 4.9 persons for urban areas and 4.6 for rural.