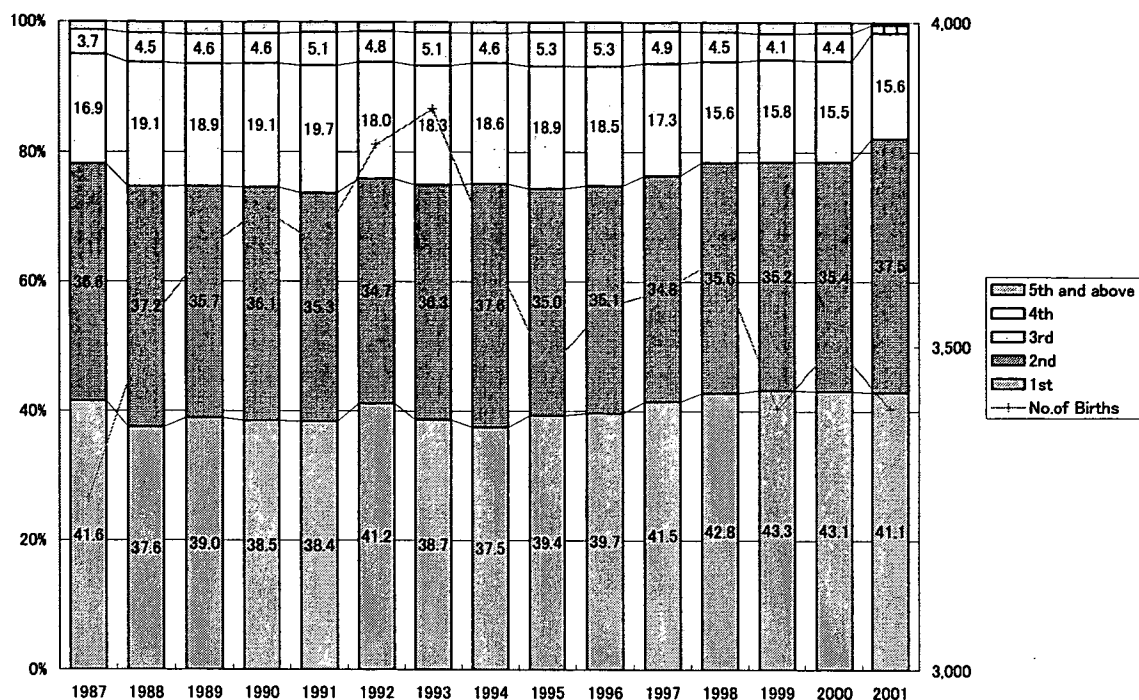


図 出生順位別、出生数と出生割合（インド系）



Data: Ministry of Home Affairs, Report on Registration of Births and Deaths

1987年直後の数年における出生数および出生率の突発的な上昇には伝統的思想の影響が大きいとされるが、その後数年間にわたり出生率が安定しており、その間の人口構造を考慮に入れても1990年代にみられる出生率の安定期において政策効果が持続的に保たれていた可能性が示唆される。とりわけ、マレー系における3子以上の出生割合の増加にこの間の政策の影響が最も明確に現れている。

(7) シンガポールにおける2004年新少子化対策

シンガポールでは、新しい首相とキャビネットの下で2004年8月からあらたな出生促進政策が始まった。

○ 住宅施策

これまで、中古物件を買う場合 CPF 住宅補助金 11,000 ドルを支給された。

2004年8月1日以降に結婚した者は CPF 家族住宅補助金（最高で 29,000 ドル）を支給される。ローン返済にも用いることができる。これは、近年のシンガポール若年層の未婚

化が、若年夫婦のニーズにあった住宅取得の難しさにあると分析されていることによる。結婚促進策として効果が期待されている。

以下には出生促進策としての効果を期待される新設の施策、および改正された施策を挙げる。

○ 健康保険

これまで、健康保険を第3子目までの出産費用、および産前検診費用に用いることができる。

2004年8月1日以降、第4子目以上を含めすべての出産に対して、出産費用だけでなく、産前検診費用にも健康保険を用いることができる。

○ 不妊治療

2004年8月1日以降、不妊治療に対して健康保険を使うことができる。

○ ベビーボーナス

これまで、ベビーボーナスは第2子、第3子目の出産のみが対象で、期間は6年間に渡り支給されてきた。

現在、第1子から第4子目までが対象となり、2年間で支払われることになる。

シンガポール市民は、2004年8月1日より、第1子目に対して最高3000ドル、第2子目に対して9,000ドル、第3、第4子目に対しては18,000ドルのベビーボーナスが支給される。

支給期間を6年から2年にすることで、費用の最もかかる乳児期の支出に対応しやすくする。乳幼児保育、幼稚園にかかる支出をカバーするのにも用いられる。

○ 税金控除

出生順位に応じて10,000～20,000ドルの範囲で税金の払い戻しが行われる。年齢や請求期間に制限はない。

就業している母親は、子ども数に応じて5～25%の範囲で所得税控除が受けられる。

これら2つの税金控除は、2004年1月1日以降に生まれたシンガポール国籍の子どもに対して年末調整で適応される。

○ 有給の産前産後休暇

シンガポール国籍の子どもを持つ就業中の母親は、12週間（約3ヶ月）の有給の産前産後休暇をとることができる。これまでは8週間（約2ヶ月）であった。今回延長された4週間分の休暇は、出産から6ヶ月以内ならいつでもよい。

第1子、第2子の出産の場合、雇用者は8週間の産休期間中の給与を支払わなくてはならない。また、残りの4週間分は政府が支払う。第3子、第4子の場合、政府が12週間分全額負担する。休暇中の給与の上限は10,000ドル/4週間。

実施は2004年10月1日からだが、8月1日～9月30日に出産した子どもに対しても、雇用者が認める場合に限り給与が支払われる。

○ 育児休暇

7歳未満の子どもを持つ就業中の親は、雇用者から年間2日間の有給の育児休暇を得る資格がある。実施は2004年10月1日から。

○ 乳児保育

2～18ヶ月の乳児をもつ親で、認可されているインファントおよびチャイルド・ケア・センターを利用している場合、乳児保育補助金を月400ドルを上限に支給される。2004年9月1日から実施。

MCYS (Ministry of Community, Development, Youth and Sports) は乳児保育施設の増加に努める。

○ 外国人ヘルパー雇用税の減額

外国人ヘルパー雇用に課せられる税金が、これまでの345ドルから250ドルに引き下げられる。対象は、シンガポール国籍の12歳以下で同居する子どもがいる世帯。

その他、シンガポール国籍を持つ65歳以上の親、義理の親、祖父母、義理の祖父母と同居している場合、または雇用者本人か配偶者が65歳以上の場合にも適応される。

○ 祖父母による育児

就業している母親で、子どもの世話を祖父母に頼っている場合、3000ドルの税金控除がおこなわれる。対象は、シンガポール国籍の12歳以下の子どもを持つ就業中の母親。実施は2004年1月1日以降分を年末調整で。

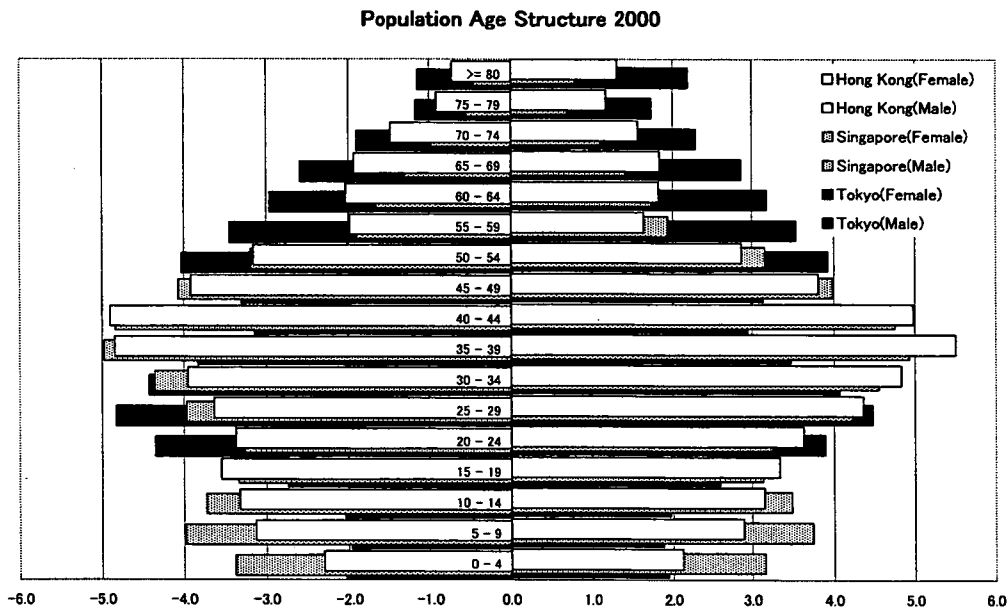
○ ワーク・ライフバランス

家族と仕事の調和をとりやすくするため1000万ドルのファンド (WoW! : Work-life Works!) を設立。

フレックスな勤務時間の導入などファミリー・フレンドリーな制度を実施する企業を経済的に支援するためのファンドで、各企業は2004年10月22日からMinistry of Manpowerに申請ができる。

5. おわりに

シンガポール、香港における出生率は急速に低下しており、それぞれの政府は人口高齢化や労働力不足による経済への悪影響を懸念している。そのなかにあつて、両地域は大量の国際人口移動を経験して久しく、人口の移動が現在の社会システムの前提となっている。近年では中国大陸からの人口流入が活発化しており、出生率の低下が人口減少や労働力不足に直結しない社会である。しかし、各政府は地域のアイデンティティおよび教育水準、労働力の質といった側面から人口問題を捉えており、長期化する少子化が将来の地域社会構造にどのように影響を及ぼすのかが注目される場所である。高度に都市化した両地域における今後の少子化の動向、およびその対応は、グローバル化の進行する各国・地域、とりわけ東京を含めた大都市にとって、極めて重要な資料と教訓を与えてくれると思われる。両地域の出生動向とその対応は注目される。



Fertility and Population Policy: an update on the Singapore Experience

Introduction

In August 2004, the Singapore government announced the latest of its package of policy measures to address the problem of low and declining fertility in the country. This followed the continued decline of the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) to historic lows annually in the first three years of the present decade. The declines have also come about despite renewed effort in 2001 to raise the fertility rate. Touted as a package to address the total environment in which Singaporeans have and raise children and to make Singapore a great place for families, the latest package comprises new initiatives as well as modifications and rationalisation of measures which had been introduced at various times since 1987 when a pro-natalist fertility policy was adopted.

As discussed elsewhere (Yap 2003¹), Singapore has long been known for its use of social policies to influence fertility/reproductive behaviour, beginning in the late 1960s/early 1970s. The demographic objective, however, has changed from anti-natalist to pro-natalist, with the turning point coming in the mid-1980s after about a decade of below-replacement fertility. On 1 March 1987, the then First Deputy Prime Minister (and current Senior Minister) Mr Goh Chok Tong announced the replacement of the two-child policy which had been in effect since 1972 with the “have three, or more if you

can afford it” policy, together with a package of pro-natalist measures. These measures have been modified and added to over the years, with the 2004 package being the result of a major review and revamp effort after much public consultation. As they stand currently, the measures could be described as a combination of incentives and measures to support the family. As in the past, the government feels that while marriage and family sizes are private matters, there are important larger societal consequences that concern the survival of Singapore which justify intervention – even as it also recognises the dismal record of procreation incentives elsewhere (see “Taking Stork”, The Straits Times Interactive 31 January 2004, for example).

The section that follows describes recent demographic trends in Singapore. This is followed by a presentation of the measures in place to address the problem of persistent low fertility, and finally, some early indicators of their impact.

Demographic Trends and Patterns

As mentioned elsewhere, Singapore’s TFR was nearly five children per woman at independence in 1965 (Figure 1 below). Rapid economic and social development and the implementation of a highly successful national family planning programme brought the TFR down to replacement level in 1975 and 1976 and fertility has been below replacement level since 1977. The TFR reached an unprecedented low of 1.4 children per woman in 1986, the phenomenon commonly attributed to economic recession (the first since independence) and the inauspicious year of the Tiger. The TFR as well as

¹ Yap, Mui Teng (2003), “Fertility and Population Policy: The Singapore Experience”, Journal

total births rose sharply to reach 1.96 children per woman in 1988, following the reversal of the two-child policy and the adoption of the new, selectively pro-natalist population policy in 1987. The other factors that could have contributed as well were the recovery of the economy and the “auspicious” Year of the Dragon and the number “88”. Although there was a declining trend post-1988, the TFR remained above the pre-1987 level of about 1.6 children per woman for about a decade until the late 1990s, falling to about 1.5 in 1998 and 1999. It rose to 1.6 in 2000, which was also a Dragon Year, but has since fallen continuously, to 1.41 in 2001, 1.37 in 2002 and only 1.25 in 2003. The last two years of the 1990s as well as the beginning of the 2000s saw the Singapore economy swing between recession and 10 per cent economic growth, as a result of the Asian Financial Crisis and then the global economic slowdown. It may be noted that the Dragon Year of 2000 brought a much smaller upturn than was the case twelve years earlier in 1988. The recession in 2001, when real GDP dipped by nearly two per cent, was Singapore’s worst since independence.

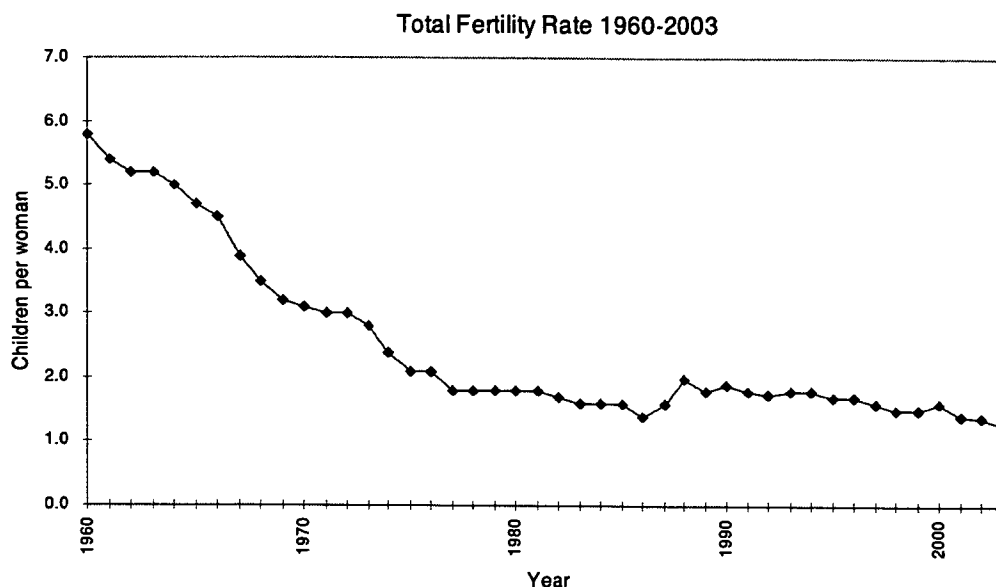


Table 1 (below) shows that among Singapore's three major ethnic groups, the TFR for the Chinese fell to only 1.07 in 2003 (which puts it close to the 0.94 recorded for Hong Kong where the population is almost exclusively Chinese). The Malay TFR, which has remained above replacement level for the past two decades, has also headed downward, reaching 2.13 in 2003. The Indian TFR was close to that of the Chinese, at 1.36 children per woman.

Table 1: Total Fertility Rate by Ethnic Group (per resident female)

	Total	Chinese	Malays	Indians
1980	1.82	1.73	2.19	2.03
1990	1.83	1.65	2.69	1.89
2000	1.60	1.43	2.54	1.58
2001	1.41	1.21	2.45	1.50
2002	1.37	1.18	2.29	1.50
2003	1.25	1.07	2.13	1.36

Sources: Tan Yeow Lip (2002), "Singapore's Current Population Trends", Statistics Singapore Newsletter Sept 2002, p 5, Table 4; Heng Tze Chow and Png Ming Tyng (2003), "Singapore's Demographic Trends 2003", Statistics Singapore Newsletter Sept 2004, p 15 Table 7. Figure for 1980 is drawn from Population Report 1998 (Singapore Ministry of Health, Population Planning Section).

Being a small island city-state with no natural resources, the government has been concerned with the quality of its population as much as its quantity. It is in this regard that senior politicians had expressed concern in the 1980s about educational differentials in fertility, more specifically, the lack of replacement among the better educated while the less well educated over-replaced themselves (see Yap 2003 for details). Recent data show, however, that there has been a convergence in family sizes among the various educational groups, with little difference in the mean number of children born between them (see Table 2).

Table 2: Mean Number of Children Born to Resident Ever-married Females Aged 40-49 Years

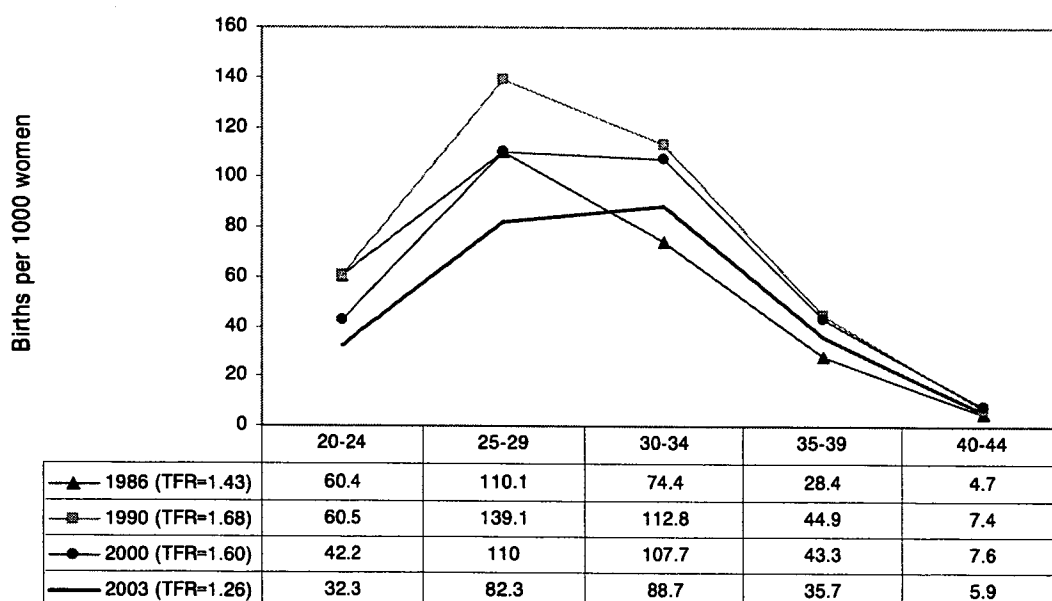
	Total	Below secondary	Secondary	Post-secondary	University
1990	2.8	3.0	2.1	2.1	2.0
2000	2.2	2.4	2.1	2.0	1.9
2001*	2.2	2.3	2.1	2.0	1.9
2002*	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.0	2.0
2003	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.0	1.9

Source: Heng and Png (2004), p 16 Table 8. Figures for 2001 and 2002 are from Edmund Lee Eu Fah and Yeo Yen Fang (2003), "Singapore's Demographic Trends in 2002", Statistics Singapore Newsletter Sept 2003, p 13 Table 5

Figure 2 (below) shows the changes in the age-pattern of fertility over the nearly two decades since the adoption of the pro-natalist policy. As the figure shows, declines in the TFR since 1990 have been mainly contributed by reductions in fertility levels among the younger, under 30, age groups. In 2003, fertility levels in the 20-24 and 25-29 age groups have fallen well below the levels in 1986 when the TFR was at a (then) historic low of 1.4 children per woman. Fertility levels among the 30 and older age groups have also declined, particularly since 2000. The age-specific fertility rates for these

older age groups, however, remain higher than in 1986. The peak childbearing age group shifted to 30-34 years in 2003, from ages 25-29 previously. The changing levels and pattern of childbearing are the result of changes in the level and timing of marriage and childbearing, as will be shown below.

Figure 2 Age pattern of fertility 1986-2003



As elsewhere, singlehood rates among men and women have been on an ever-rising trend. In 2003, more than one third of males and nearly one quarter of women in the 30-34 age group were single. The proportions single remained high, at about 20% for both sexes in the 35-39 age group and 15% in the 40-44 age group. As Table 3 (below) shows, singlehood rates have risen considerably since 1980 despite official encouragement to marry. The rising singlehood rates are likely to have a depressing effect on fertility as childbearing in Singapore typically takes place within the context of marriage and there are strong negative social sanctions against out-of-wedlock births.

According to Leow (2001), the rising singlehood trends have been moderated by immigration as new permanent residents tended to be married.

Table 3: Singlehood Rates by Gender and Age

	Males (%)			Females (%)		
	30-34	35-39	40-44	30-34	35-39	40-44
1980	21.3	10.5	8.1	16.6	8.5	5.9
1990	33.5	17.0	9.0	20.2	13.4	9.4
2000	31.3	20.4	14.7	19.4	15.0	13.7
2001	31.1	18.9	15.0	19.8	14.9	14.0
2002*	34.9	20.0	15.1	23.1	15.2	14.9
2003*	35.1	21.4	16.5	24.8	18.7	14.6

Source: Department of Statistics (2002), "Twenty-Five Years of Below Replacement Fertility: Implications for Singapore", Table 2 for 1980-2001; figures for 2002-2003 are computed by author based on the respective Labour Force Survey reports.

In addition to the rising singlehood rates, Singaporeans are also marrying at increasingly older ages. The mean ages at first marriage obtained from marriage registration data have continued to rise for both sexes. The male mean age at first marriage reached 30.2 years in 2003, rising by nearly half a year as compared to 2000. Female age at first marriage rose by a similar margin during this period, reaching 27.2 years in 2003.

Table 4: Mean Age at First Marriage by Gender

	Mean Age at First Marriage (years)	
	Males	Females
1990	28.7	25.9
2000	29.8	26.8
2001	29.9	26.8
2002	30.0	26.9
2003	30.2	27.2

Source: Heng and Png (2004), p 14, Table 4.

Singaporean women are also becoming parents at older ages, with the median age of mothers at first births rising by 1.1 years over the period 1990-2001 (Table 5). They also continue to postpone their second births, with the median age of mothers rising by an even higher 1.5 years over the same period. In 2003, the median age of mothers at first birth was 28.6 years while the corresponding figures for second and third births were 31.3 and 33.2 years respectively.

Table 5 Median Age of Mother at First, Second and Third Births (years)

	All	First	Second	Third
1990	29.3	27.5	29.8	32.1
2000	30.6	28.4	31.3	33.1
2001	30.7	28.6	31.3	33.2

Source: Tan Yeow Lip (2002), "Singapore's Current Population Trends", Statistics Singapore Newsletter Sept 2002, p 5 Table 5.

Attitudes towards Marriage and Childbearing

Recent studies have shown that despite the demographic trends described above, Singaporeans continue to value marriage and having children. The results of a series of surveys on social attitudes carried out over the period 2001-2003 show that a high proportion of Singaporeans agreeing with the statements "it is better to be married than to remain single" (over 80%) and "married couples should have children" (about 90%) [MCYS 2004² Table 1.7]. Another study found that only a small minority (about 5%) of the single respondents interviewed indicated no intention to marry; the majority (about three quarters) would marry although there was also a large proportion (about 20%) who was ambivalent (MCYS 2004 Table 6.7). Those indicating

² Ministry of Community Development, Youth and Sports (2004). State of Families in Singapore.

no intention to marry, however, tended to be older than the other respondents (Table 6.8). However the social attitudes surveys also found that singles tended to be less positive about marriage and children than those already married (Chapter 6, p 4).

As regards children, another study among married men and women found that while nearly four out of five felt that the three child family was “just nice”, the overall actual and intended family sizes averaged only about two children (MCYS 2004 Chapter 2, p 5, para 4.5). The main constraints cited were “lack of time and energy for the children and concerns about financial support”. The survey also found that the majority of Singaporeans wanted children for their intrinsic, and not utilitarian, values. Only 37% agreed that “it is important to have children so that they look after you in old age” (para 4.6). Singaporeans also have high expectations of their children and of themselves as parents (Table 6 below). More than two out of three of the married respondents in the study hoped to have at least one child attain university education and almost half wanted all of their children to be university graduates (in comparison, about 54% of the Singapore resident population aged 25 and older have secondary and higher qualifications and the mean years of schooling is 8.6 years). When asked about their fears and concerns about being parents, 50% were afraid their children would not be able to obtain a university degree and 65% were afraid their children would not be able to achieve their potential. Other fears and concerns included not being able to provide for their children’s education (61%) or spending time with the children (61%), not having effective parenting skills (60%) and not being able to help their children compete (50%).

Table 6: Parents' Fears and Concerns

Fears/concerns	% agree / strongly agree
Children will not be able to obtain university degree	49
Children will not be able to equal parents' achievements	38
Children will not be able to achieve their potential	65
Parents not able to provide for children's university education	61
Parents not being able to spend time with children	61
Parents not able to help children compete/give them a leg up	59
Not being able to give children what other parents have / provide to children	50
Not having effective parenting skills	60

Source: MCYS (2004) chapter 4 Table 4.5.

The study also found that most women want to have children and keep their jobs. Out of all single and married females who desired children, 80% would like to have some form of a job or career while raising their children. These comprised 38% who preferred full time work, 26% who preferred flexible work arrangements and 16% who would prefer to return to the workforce when their children were older. The remaining 20% would leave the workforce permanently when they get married and have children. In addition, a significant percentage of males and females (54% and 56% respectively) agreed that a part-time job is the best way to reconcile work and family for the mother (para 5.2-5.4). However, a Conditions of Employment survey conducted among 2400 private sector establishments employing at least 25 workers in 2004 showed that only 4.1% of private sector employees were on flexible work schedules, whether part-time, flexi-time or teleworking (Ministry of Manpower 2005). Thus it appears that the desire for flexible work arrangements far outweighs what is presently available and there is room for improvement in this area.

Measures to promote marriage and procreation (as in 2005)

In announcing the package of measures to support marriage and procreation, the chairman of the high-level Steering Group on Population and then Health Minister, Mr Lim Hng Kiang, explained that the approach adopted was one of helping couples “at each stage of their journey as parents” (“New Package of Measures to Support Parenthood”, Press Release issued by the Steering Group on Population on 25 August 2004, http://www.fcd.ecitizen.gov.sg/family_population.htm). The Minister also noted that the new measures are meant address not only the cost issues but also a broader set of concerns that prevent Singaporeans from having larger families – better work-life balance, more childcare options, opportunity to spend more time with their children, greater flexibility and more choice for parents.

(a) Marriage

As the majority of Singaporeans (about 80%) live in public housing, a number of measures were initiated over the years to help young couples realise their goal of acquiring their own home at the start of their marriage. These included a cash grant given to first-time purchasers to help pay for public housing flats bought on the re-sale market (since they do not benefit from the subsidies given to purchasers who buy their flats directly from the public housing authority) and the payment of the initial 20% down-payment into two stages instead of one. While initially confined to married couples, a smaller grant was extended to singles. To encourage such singles grants recipients to marry and set up a family, the government announced in 2004

that it would make up the difference so that these singles would also get the equivalent given to couples upon their marriage. All grants are channelled through the Central Provident Fund (CPF), the mandatory old-age savings scheme from which the majority of Singaporeans pay their housing mortgages. It should be noted that this measure will benefit only the older singles since only singles aged 35 and over are eligible to purchase public housing flats on their own.

(b) Childbirth

To help couples pay for expenses associated with the birth of their children, the government had earlier extended the use of funds in the medical savings (Medisave) account of their provident fund savings to cover delivery charges for the first three births. In 2004, this was extended to cover the fourth birth as well as pre-delivery medical expenses for the first four living children. This can be extended to the fifth child if the parents have at least a government determined sum in the account. Additionally, the amount of Medisave savings that can be used for assisted conception procedures was raised although they remain limited to three procedures so as not to deplete the Medisave savings which is also meant for medical expenses in old age. These “Medisave measures” reduce the amount of out-of-pocket expenses couples would otherwise have to make.

(c) Childrearing

(i) The baby bonuses which were first introduced in 2001 for second and third births, was extended to first and fourth births in 2004. Parents get a

cash gift of S\$3,000 for the first child, and a higher cash gift and matching contribution from the government for each dollar they put into a child development co-saving account for the second, third and fourth children. The savings in these accounts can be used to pay for childcare centre, kindergarten and special education expenses as well as health insurance for all their children. More recently, in his budget speech on 18 February 2005, Prime Minister and Finance Minister Lee Hsien Loong announced that there would be greater flexibility in varying the amount that parents can put into the co-savings account annually, subject to the total co-savings limit for six years.

(ii) Fiscal incentives in the form of tax reliefs and rebates have been introduced since 1987 and extended over the years. In 2004, the enhanced child relief and further tax rebates given to working mothers to encourage them to remain in the workforce while raising their families were replaced by a single Working Mother's Child Relief. The amount of relief increases from 5% of earned income for the first child to 25% for the fourth child, subject to a cap of \$25,000 for each child. The sliding tax rebate introduced earlier to encourage earlier second births was simplified in 2004 with the removal of the age condition for mothers and the quantum rounded to \$10,000 regardless of the age of mother. The tax rebate for third and fourth births, however, remained at \$20,000. A grandparent caregiver tax relief was also introduced in 2004. This relief is given to working mothers, however, and not directly to the caregiving grandparent. The tax relief for delivery and hospitalisation expenses for fourth births was removed in 2004.

(iii) Paid maternity leave was extended from eight to twelve weeks with effect from 1 October 2004. Employers continue to be responsible for the first

eight weeks of paid maternity leave for the first two births but they will be reimbursed by the government for the additional four weeks. The government reimburses employers for all twelve weeks of maternity leave taken in connection with third and fourth births. There is, however, a cap on the amount of reimbursement. The additional four weeks can be taken flexibly over a period of six months from the birth of the child upon mutual agreement between employer and employee.

(iv) With effect from 1 October 2004 as well, each working parent is entitled to two days of statutory employer-paid childcare leave per year if they have any child under age seven. Parents have flexibility in how they use this leave to spend time with their children. Employers are encouraged to extend the same childcare leave benefits to all staff, regardless of whether they are covered by employment legislation.

(v) In addition to the centre-based child care subsidy introduced in 1987, the government has also introduced a monthly centre-based infant care subsidy with effect from August 2004. This subsidy is available to infants aged two to 18 months who are first to fourth children. As with the child care subsidy, the infant care subsidy is pro-rated for infants enrolled in flexible care programmes. To qualify as a working mother, a mother must work at least 56 hours per month.

(vi) Acknowledging the reliance of Singaporean families on foreign domestic workers, the government also reduced the monthly foreign domestic worker (FDW) levy for families with young children (and old parents) with effect from August 2004.

(vii) Families with at least three children continue to enjoy priority in

the allocation of public housing flats, a measure which was introduced in the 1980s. About 5% of available flats are set aside for applicants under this scheme.

(viii) To promote work-life balance, the government also introduced the WoW! (Work-Life Works!) Fund in 2004 to facilitate the development and implementation of work-life strategy at the workplace. This fund provides grants to help defray the costs of introducing measures that help employees better achieve work-life harmony. The Government co-funds up to 70% of the costs incurred for approved projects, subject to a cap of \$30,000 per project per organisation.

Impact Assessment and Prognosis

As noted earlier, the TFR in Singapore fell to a historic low of 1.25 children per woman in 2003. This was part of a continuous downward trend which saw the TFR falling below the levels attained even before the pro-natalist policy. The decline has taken place despite the slew of measures introduced over the year to promote marriage and childbearing. This has also occurred in spite of continued positive attitudes towards marriage and childbearing. Part of the extremely low fertility level in recent years can probably be attributed to the climate of economic uncertainty and rising unemployment. However obstacles identified have also included financial costs and time bind. The latest exercise is to address these concerns of Singaporeans. It is too early yet to assess the impact of the 2004 package. However, there are media reports of increased visits to gynaecologists' offices

for consultations and increased enquiries regarding fertility treatment (“Signs that the stork is heading this way”, The Straits Interactive 11 February 2005).

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10/03/2005