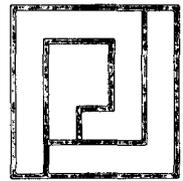


ADOLESCENT FERTILITY IN THE REGIONS



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ABSTRACT

This paper is an attempt to regionalize adolescent fertility information in response to the plan of the national population program to decentralize one of its priority programs: the adolescent fertility program. Presented are baseline data on the following aspects of adolescent fertility in the regions: 1) attitudes towards fertility and fertility-related issues; 2) courtship and dating patterns; 3) incidence of and circumstances surrounding premarital sex experience. Present data indicate a modest proportion of young women in each region engaging in sex but predict a large potential for increase in practice especially in some regions due to a more liberal attitude towards premarital sex. Findings also point to the need for service-oriented approaches to the problem of adolescent fertility.

INTRODUCTION

The first report on the nationwide Young Adult Fertility Survey (YAFS)¹ attests to a moderate level of premarital sex among women aged 15-24 and, as evident from other data sources, suggests an increasing trend at least during the last decade. The absence of a rural-urban differential in the incidence of premarital sex is not only an important finding but an unexpected one as well. The common notion that the generally more liberal urban environment allows for freer sex expression does not appear to be the case in the Philippines, at least at the national aggregate level. One can, however, go through a whole list of differentiating factors ranging from family to peer to the larger environment influences and find each one accounting for variations in sexual behavior among teenagers. This does not

preclude finding different sets of determining factors of premarital sex between urban and rural areas in spite of similar levels of practice in both areas.

The significance of the non-variability of urban and rural areas in levels of premarital sex experience among young women is highlighted in this report to invite attention for organized public intervention. Any public intervention program requires target-setting as a necessary first step in planning; it includes prioritization of alternative geographic areas. The YAFS data tell us that rural areas merit the same concern as urban areas. This poses serious management issues inasmuch as rural women are more dispersed in their location and, therefore, more difficult to reach. Strategies to contain fertility among young women in the rural areas will definitely take on a different approach. The urban

concentration, the more active media, and the availability of other venues for reaching the urban youth contribute to the relative ease in setting up programs for the adolescents to the disadvantage of the rural youth. Teen centers have been in operation in Metro Manila, Metro Cebu and Baguio while corresponding efforts in rural areas still remain to be seen.

Another and perhaps more efficient way of geographic planning of efforts is via the regions. The regionalization scheme of government planning and implementation should provide a ready-made venue for reaching what are perceived to be impenetrable hinterlands. Being closer to the clients, local caretakers are in a better position to address regional needs with more innovative and salient efforts. From the national viewpoint, regional prioritization is the more logical step in the allocation of resources.

The need to regionalize adolescent fertility management assumes an urgent note in the light of adolescent fertility's far-ranging implications to the goals of the national population program. The dearth of data at lower levels has limited the ease and efficiency of all types of regional and local planning. This paper attempts to answer this need. It is hoped that presenting data at the regional level will be useful to the Commission on Population, especially its regional offices. The relative extent of the adolescent fertility problem in the regions can be a basis for resource allocation to the regions. Meanwhile, the nature of the adolescent fertility problem within the regions will dictate the ap-

propriate strategies and approaches to address the need.

This paper aims to provide baseline data on the following aspects of adolescent fertility in the regions: 1) attitudes towards fertility and fertility-related issues; 2) courtship and dating patterns; 3) incidence of and circumstances surrounding premarital sex experience; and 4) differentials in premarital sex experience. While differentiating factors within the regions can be identified, differences among regions will also be highlighted. There will be an attempt in the last section of this paper to identify implications for action.

THE BASELINE DATA

Conducted in 1982, the YAFS was the first attempt at generating baseline data at the national level on the fertility of young women in the Philippines. The YAFS utilized a multi-stage, cluster stratified sampling procedure that was designed to yield a national probability sample of both married and unmarried women aged 15-24² at the time of the survey. The survey covered 12 of the 13 regions of the country; excluded was Region XII or Central Mindanao which is predominantly populated by Muslims. In the project's conceptualization stage, it was deemed appropriate to concentrate on the non-Muslim regions of the country for two reasons: 1) because the country is predominantly Catholic; and 2) because the Muslims were expected to display different attitudes and behavior on marriage, sex, and fertility. Eliciting parallel information from the Muslims would, therefore, require al-

together a different set of questions.

In conducting the sampling procedure, the regions – except Metro Manila – were each divided into urban and rural strata, from which 20 barangays each were chosen, with probability of selection proportional to population size of the corresponding stratum in the region. A listing of the households and the eligible respondents within the households was conducted and served as the final sampling frame in the barangay for the final drawing of the sample respondents. Following this sampling scheme, a total of 5,204 women were generated and distributed across the 12 regions³ (Table 1).

The above distribution approximates the actual proportion of the married vs. the single in the population while the urban women were oversampled to yield an urban sample that can provide enough cases for the intended analyses. To correct the disproportionate representation of urban vs. rural areas, appropriate national scaled down weights were applied in all the analyses done. In the ensuing tables, therefore, the cases

per region differ from the original samples due to adjustments done by weighting.

Although the sampling scheme was designed without regional analysis in mind, the sample yielded decently-sized numbers of cases for each region, with the exception of Region VIII,⁴ that will allow regional analysis with some degree of confidence. The results for Region VIII, while still presented in this paper, should be viewed with caution since the small numbers can render the estimates unstable.

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS⁵

The sample yielded a population that was predominantly single. According to the data, only 27 percent of the sample women were married; clear age and urban-rural graduations were apparent. Ten percent of the 15-19 age group were married compared to 45 percent among the 20-24. The higher proportion married (32 percent) in the rural areas than in the urban (18 percent) highly suggests that the rural women marry at younger ages.

Table 1: Distribution of Sample Women Aged 15-24 By Region, Marital Status and Residence
YAFS, 1982

	Phil.	NCR	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
Marital Status													
Married	1,285	48	99	137	83	110	111	119	133	106	127	115	97
Single	3,919	402	351	313	367	327	337	331	316	164	323	335	353
All Women	5,204	450	450	450	450	437	448	450	449	270	450	450	450
Residence													
Urban	2,745	450	225	225	225	225	225	225	225	45	225	225	225
Rural	2,459	0	225	225	225	212	223	225	224	225	225	225	225
All Women	5,204	450	450	450	450	437	448	450	449	270	450	450	450

The data also validate the increasing role of young women in changing the character of migration in the country. Rural-urban migration streams were becoming female-dominated. As a result, young women were to be found disproportionately in urban areas; among those residing in rural areas, almost a quarter had had some urban exposure during their young adolescent years. For those who had ever moved from a rural to an urban residence, the first rural-to-urban move usually occurred at ages 14-15.

The migration behavior of our young women and the changes in the socioeconomic events in the country should manifest in a more favorable socioeconomic profile among these young women. The data support this with the sample displaying high school as modal level of educational attainment, placing them at a much higher educational level than the general population. Among this group, college training was no longer a privilege enjoyed by just a few. The data indicated that a plurality of 40 percent in the urban areas were college educated. The urban-rural gap in education, however, remains.

Urban women's edge in education should translate into a more favorable socioeconomic status for them. Slightly more than half of the urban women were still in school at ages 15-24 compared to the less than half among the rural unmarried women. The next biggest group found in the urban areas were the employed (27.7 percent) while the "idles" were to be found in the rural areas (36.8 percent). This

validates the lack of opportunities for self-advancement or the absence of competing activities to marriage and childbearing for women in the rural areas. A quarter of the total sample were employed at the time of the survey in clerical and service work, with a handful in professional or managerial positions. This is to be expected in the light of their being in the early stages of their career and their distribution in the education factor.

As expected, the married among the young women were the most disadvantaged in socioeconomic characteristics, and especially among the rural residents. The few who were working were either employed as clerks or were in sales. The latter, more specifically, is probably the type of job most compatible with a woman's mother role since a lot of selling jobs are unstructured as to work hours and place of work. Majority of them (88 percent), however, were housewives inasmuch as their early family formation stage required them to be at home. Their lower socioeconomic status, thus, puts them at a disadvantage in the job market.

SUMMARY OF THE NATIONAL FINDINGS

Prior to discussing regional behavior and their differences across regions, it is useful to review the national findings which will serve as the standard or average figures in discussing regional estimates. Relevant topics within the context of this paper are: the attitudes and behavior in courtship, marriage and premarital sex; and

the factors contributing to variations in premarital sex among young women.

On Attitudes

Virginity and Premarital Sex

On the whole, the pattern of responses in the sex-related attitudinal questions of our teenagers portrays the tentative character of the age group. There was inconsistency between the value they place on virginity prior to marriage and their approval of premarital sex in the name of love. While they were not so sure about their own feelings, they believed that all segments of the society, in general, would be tolerant of and sympathetic to unwed mothers.

As a group, they were strictly against abortion both as a contraceptive method and as a way of resolving a premarital pregnancy. While this might be an accurate portrayal of their views during normal times, the untoward consequences of an actual premarital pregnancy confronting a young woman can negate her more positive values. There are, after all, reports of increasing abortion cases among the very young. If and when confronted by a premarital pregnancy, a large proportion of the respondents felt that they would rather have the baby and keep it. If such a phenomenon in fact becomes manifest, then serious socioeconomic implications will result at both individual and societal levels. This means that young women still in their teens and barely out of high school are already saddled with the care and upkeep of a child.

Marriage and Family Formation

The more positive values of our teenager regarding sex were reinforced by their views on marriage and family-building. Most of them wished to marry at age 25 to guys two years their senior. They also preferred a small family size consisting of three children spaced 2-3 years apart. Their close alignment with the objectives of the Philippine population program is, therefore, very apparent. It is not clear, however, whether this was a mere recital of what was known to be acceptable or already an actual internalization of population program messages. Nonetheless, it is reassuring to know that the ideals of the near future cohort of married couples of reproductive age (MCRAs) were in agreement with those of the program's.

On Behavior

Courtship and Dating

The chronology of courtship and dating events as indexed by average ages during the first experiences indicates adherence to a more traditional practice as to chronology and a moderate timing. On the average, a Filipino woman starts to notice members of the opposite sex at age 15 and begins to attract the other sex in turn shortly after. Group dating seems to be an accepted norm to get acquainted with members of the opposite sex and also serves as a practice for developing more intimate relationships. A girl starts to date together with a group at age 16, during which time she is also almost ready to have her first boy-

friend. At 17, she is going out on single dates which are usually with the boyfriend and rarely with someone she is not going steady with.

Premarital Sex

The overall incidence of premarital sex among women aged 15-24 is suggested to be 12 percent with no significant urban-rural differential. Internal data consistency check suggests that this figure is probably underestimated by some unknown proportion. The proportion reporting to have actual knowledge of unmarried girlfriends who ever had sexual intercourse is much higher at 22 percent. While suggestion by association is a strong possibility, the high correlation between incidence of premarital sex and proportion having girlfriends with premarital sex experience has been used to validate incidence levels.⁶ There is a strong tendency for teenagers to hide their own experiences by reporting these as experiences of close friends. They are then comfortable about sharing their own experiences under the guise of somebody they claim to know well.

The 12 percent incident level is lower than the 1971 proportion of 27 percent reported by American girls aged 15-19 (Zelnik and Kantner, 1981) and the 21 percent report of Thai girls aged 13-20 in 1982 (Porapokkam, 1985). It is, however, higher than the one percent incidence level among Taiwanese female students in 1983 (Cernada, et al, 1985). Survey experiences on sensitive issues such as this are usually beset by underreport-

ing problems more than the other way around. This data problem was even entertained for the 1971 U.S. survey inasmuch as the rates were up significantly during the follow-up survey in 1976. More accurate reporting during the latter date was mentioned as a possible explanation for the divergent figures rather than fully due to actual increase in premarital sex over time.

Initiation to sex is usually with either a steady boyfriend or a fiance, occurring either in the girl's home or in her partner's home when the girl is 18 and out of school. Data also show that the first sex experience is not the last with that partner. The majority had at least another one with the same guy.

On Differentials

In recognition of the importance of identifying high risk groups for premarital sex, a roster of background factors addressing the various phases of a girl's life has been identified and each one is separately tested for association with premarital sex experience. These include mostly socioeconomic factors like education, school affiliation, type of family orientation, religion, religiosity, exposure to varying types of home environment, social environment and a girl's own outlook on sex-related issues. Each one was a priori suspected to have some bearing on precocious sexuality. Preliminary or bivariate analysis has resulted in an initial list of potential influencing factors in the environment without suggesting strict causality. Here are some of those showing initial relationships.

School enrolment seems to be a deterring factor to premarital sex. According to current activity status, those who are out of school and not working have higher probabilities of engaging in premarital sex. It appears that the transition period between school and their next activity leaves a hiatus in these women's lives that needs to be filled and some have sought refuge in an active sexual life.

Dormitory exposure offers the rural girls an opportunity for a freer expression of their sexuality. As a direct contrast from the rural home environment, dormitories, which are usually located in urban areas, provide new experiences and a multitude of activities that might be too much for a rural adolescent to handle, making her easily fall prey to a whole range of changes in her environment.

The differential composition of the family of socialization as a proxy to the quality and type of affective relationship between daughter and parents appears to effectively classify girls according to sexual behavior. According to the data, girls who grew up under the care of their real parents are least likely to be sexually promiscuous while the highest propensity is to be expected from those living with either one of the parents and a foster mother or father. Meanwhile, girls who are single parented during their growing up years display in-between rates of premarital sex.

As if to validate our earlier contention of a high correlation between personal experience and having "experienced" friends, in addition to a group of girls who would hide in their

friend's experiences, there is also a segment of the young women's population, which is not exclusive from the former, who are going around with friends of similar outlook and experiences in boy-girl relationships. After all, there is security and stability in numbers. For this group, the direction of influences is immaterial. Chances are, peer pressure will be so strong that self-determination is undermined especially in this age group.

Women who are "bolder" in sex-related attitudes are also "bolder" in action. Those who are not too keen on virginity before marriage and therefore are more likely to approve of premarital sex also display higher incidence of premarital sex. There is also evidence of a highly skewed distribution attesting to a prevailing conservatism as regards abortion as a resolution to an accidental pregnancy for a single girl. Attitudes among the majority who feel that the pregnancy should terminate in a live birth swing to the more liberal side. Young girls said they would keep the baby rather than put it up for adoption or pressure the guy to legitimize the birth of the child by marriage. These attitude scales are highly correlated with actual behavior where the more liberal-minded are also more sexually-active.

REGIONAL FINDINGS

This section will be devoted to the discussion of attitudes toward sex-related and family formation issues, actual premarital sex behavior and differentials in these behaviors for the

Philippines and each of the 12 regions (i.e., NCR, I-XI).

On Attitudes

The national picture borders on the conservative side insofar as attitudes toward virginity and abortion are concerned. Considerable relaxation of attitudes is evident, however, when premarital sex is put in the context of love. This can be interpreted as non-premarital sex being more preferred but not as an absolute value since girls can see themselves agreeing to it given the right man and the right circumstances. This more liberal angle of our girls is validated by the majority decision of going through with the pregnancy should they be confronted by an accidental one. Their hope for still a good chance to get married in spite of premarital sex experience can be gleaned from their perception of a more relaxed attitude of men towards virginity in the choice of wives.

Overall, this is the same general picture shown by most of the regions with a few exceptions (Table 2). Methodologically, Metro Manila is an interesting case. Insofar as virginity is concerned, Metro Manilans were the most liberal with 14 percent saying outright that virginity prior to marriage was not an important virtue of a woman. They had the same view regarding the male's perception. They, however, displayed approval of premarital sex below the national level. While the discrepancy in the proportions of those declaring virginity as not important and those approving premarital sex remains (i.e., those

approving premarital sex being more than those admitting that they no longer put a premium on women's virginity), the gap between the two figures is much smaller than that shown by any other region. While the two questions should be generating the same responses, results show that they are interpreted differently by the girls. Other cases were apparent.

A complete reversal of the pattern shown by Metro Manila is depicted by Region XI. While virginity was still held dear by majority of the women, more than half did not see this value as inconsistent with engaging in premarital sex. Although this is in general the same as the overall picture, the inconsistency is more pronounced in this region.

Region VII is more consistent in this regard. As in Metro Manila, girls in Region VII were more open on the virginity issue than girls in the rest of the country. Unlike in Metro Manila, however, approval for premarital sex was very high. A little less than half of the women were not averse to engaging in premarital sex themselves given the right circumstances. It is important to note at this point that all the three Visayan regions, VI-VIII, show high proportions of women approving of premarital sex.

Among the more conservative regions, Region II's behavior is quite striking. It maintains a very conservative position insofar as virginity and premarital sex are concerned. It shows, however, the highest proportion of women who approved of abortion per se and who would undergo abortion to resolve an accidental preg-

Table 2. Percent Distribution of Women According to Attitudes Towards Premarital Sex and Related Issues – Philippines and Regions

Premarital Sex Variables	Phil.	NCR	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
Importance of Virginity													
Very Important	55.6	52.0	48.9	66.3	69.5	50.1	48.0	62.1	49.0	59.2	55.6	40.6	60.4
Important	35.3	34.4	41.3	27.7	23.9	40.8	45.8	28.0	37.6	34.2	36.3	49.9	32.6
Not Important	9.1	13.6	9.8	6.0	6.6	9.1	6.2	9.9	13.4	6.7	8.1	9.5	7.0
Total	(5181)	(717)	(305)	(382)	(486)	(375)	(323)	(364)	(471)	(120)	(466)	(347)	(825)
Virginity as Criterion for Men's Choice of Wife													
Yes	80.0	69.8	81.7	87.4	87.9	74.6	83.0	76.2	77.2	85.8	69.8	83.7	88.2
No	20.0	30.2	18.3	12.6	12.1	25.4	17.0	23.8	22.8	14.2	30.2	16.3	11.8
Total	(5191)	(725)	(306)	(382)	(487)	(374)	(323)	(365)	(469)	(120)	(467)	(349)	(824)
Approval of Premarital Sex													
Approve	33.9	29.1	25.5	24.9	21.1	34.0	27.8	36.2	47.4	37.5	28.9	29.9	51.9
Disapprove	66.1	70.9	74.5	75.1	78.9	66.0	72.2	63.8	52.6	62.5	71.1	70.1	48.1
Total	(4959)	(700)	(302)	(349)	(478)	(374)	(313)	(356)	(418)	(120)	(440)	(341)	(768)
Approval of Abortion (Among Singles)													
Approve	3.2	3.0	6.8	8.8	3.1	2.8	2.2	5.3	3.5	1.5	2.4	0.4	1.1
Disapprove	96.8	97.0	93.2	91.2	96.9	97.2	97.8	94.7	96.5	98.5	97.6	99.6	98.9
Total	(3864)	(635)	(233)	(233)	(389)	(270)	(230)	(266)	(320)	(69)	(340)	(247)	(632)
Resolution of Premarital Pregnancy													
Abortion	2.5	1.2	1.6	9.9	2.1	1.3	1.2	6.6	2.1	3.4	1.7	2.0	0.7
Adoption	4.6	2.2	1.0	2.1	5.5	2.7	1.6	3.8	1.3	0.8	3.4	3.5	14.3
Keep the baby	66.3	72.2	38.7	57.6	78.7	52.7	56.5	54.3	69.9	67.2	70.4	79.2	73.5
Pressure guy to marry her	26.6	24.4	58.7	30.4	13.7	43.3	40.7	35.3	26.7	28.6	24.5	15.3	11.5
Total	(5191)	(726)	(305)	(385)	(488)	(374)	(324)	(363)	(469)	(119)	(466)	(347)	(825)

nancy. This seeming inconsistency is not difficult to explain. The high premium placed on virginity can be partly affected by social pressure, and therefore, proof of virginity to the public can sometimes take precedence over individual value. To the public, the ultimate proof of loss of virginity is a childbirth.

Attitudes Toward Marriage and Family Formation

Young women in the regions do not show much variation in their reported attitudes toward marriage and other family formation events especially in those that can affect the demography of the country and the regions. It can

**Table 3: Distribution of Women According to Attitudes Toward Family Formation Variables
Philippines and Regions**

Family Formation Variables	Phil.	NCR	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
Ideal age for a woman to marry													
Mean	24.0	24.9	24.7	23.5	23.9	24.2	24.1	24.1	23.4	23.1	24.0	23.7	23.8
(N)	(5202)	(726)	(306)	(383)	(485)	(375)	(329)	(365)	(472)	(121)	(467)	(348)	(825)
Ideal age for a man to marry													
Mean	26.4	27.0	26.7	25.9	26.0	26.3	26.5	26.5	25.7	25.5	26.7	26.3	26.4
(N)	(5199)	(726)	(306)	(383)	(485)	(374)	(329)	(363)	(472)	(121)	(467)	(348)	(825)
Ideal age for a woman to have a baby													
Mean	24.9	25.4	25.9	24.9	24.8	24.8	25.2	24.9	24.4	24.1	24.7	24.3	24.8
(N)	(4969)	(687)	(297)	(373)	(472)	(367)	(319)	(329)	(456)	(114)	(445)	(338)	(772)
Ideal age for a man to be a father													
Mean	27.1	27.2	27.6	27.2	26.7	26.7	27.6	27.2	26.4	26.5	27.4	26.8	27.3
(N)	(4968)	(687)	(297)	(373)	(472)	(366)	(319)	(330)	(455)	(114)	(445)	(338)	(772)
Number of children wanted													
Mean	2.9	2.8	3.2	3.0	3.3	2.7	3.4	3.0	3.0	3.2	3.0	2.7	2.8
(N)	(4975)	(688)	(297)	(373)	(475)	(367)	(320)	(330)	(455)	(115)	(445)	(338)	(772)
Ideal birth spacing (Years)													
Mean	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.2	2.6	2.8	2.6	2.6	2.3	2.4	2.9	2.7	2.6
(N)	(4959)	(686)	(294)	(372)	(475)	(367)	(320)	(329)	(454)	(115)	(443)	(337)	(767)

be claimed that like the national picture, the women in the regions favor an age at marriage that closely corresponds to the ideal age being advocated by the population program, i.e., 25 (Table 3). What is interesting in the aggregate report of ideal age at marriage is its positive association with actual behavior across regions. For example, Metro Manila and Ilocos women have always displayed the most advanced ages at which their women contract marriage. According to YAFS, this will probably still be the

pattern in the immediate future inasmuch as the highest desired ages at marriage, 24.9 and 24.7, were reported by the Metro Manila and the Ilocano respondents, respectively. In contrast, the youngest ideal age at marriage reports came from two Visayan regions, VIII and VII—23.1 and 23.4, respectively. Thus, the regional reports cluster around a narrow range of 23-25 years for ideal marriage timing.

Future husbands are ideally two years across regions except for the

slightly wider age gap between bride and groom as desired by women in the Mindanao regions: IX, X and XI. While other regions were reporting desired husbands to be exactly two years their senior, the age difference in the Mindanao regions went towards three years. This gap, however, does not change the general pattern of age levels of future husbands which hovered around an even narrower range, 25.5-27 years of age. As expected, Metro Manila and Ilocos, with the highest ideal age at marriage for themselves, reported the oldest grooms-to-be.

Once married, women in the regions want to have their first baby right away. In fact, in some regions, they were so eager to have their first baby that they reported an average first birth interval⁷ of less than the normal gestation period. This pattern is true for all the regions with very slight variations characterized by the over-eager to the more realistic, with the latter allowing just enough time for gestation prior to the birth of the first child. The same picture is depicted and therefore validated by the figures given as ideal age for a man to have his first baby.

Again, regional reports on average number of desired children and child-spacing are very much alike. The ideal number of children, if rounded off, is three for all regions which exactly conforms with the program's message. Desired birth interval hovers between two and three years, both numbers being moderate, neither too short nor too long. The inability to reach a unanimous figure here can be partly

attributed to the absence of a suggested birth interval in our IEC messages. Nonetheless, from the point of view of demographic and health impact, the intervals are highly acceptable.

On Behavior

Dating and Courtship

Before reaching age 24, majority of the Filipino women have had some experiences in boy-girl relationships as indicated by the earlier-cited national findings and in Table 4. A natural constriction in the proportion experiencing the various events from "crush" to "going steady" is evident in all regions and, therefore, suggests the chronology of these events in the Filipino society. Dating is an accepted practice and occurs not necessarily, it seems, with the boyfriend; the data show that there were significantly more girls who dated than those who ever had at least a steady boyfriend. Between three and 17 percent of the respondents had gone on dates without having experienced having a boyfriend. Indications suggest that group dating is more popular than one-on-one dating. This behavior is more pronounced in highly urbanized settings like Metro Manila, Regions IV and VII. It is easy to justify this finding inasmuch as there are more opportunities or occasions for boy-girl interaction in the urban setting. The case is different in Region IX. More girls were found to have had boyfriends than girls who had just simply dated. Of the regions covered by the present study, Region IX has the largest proportion of Muslims in its jurisdiction.

**Table 4: Distribution of Women According to Dating and Courtship Experiences
Philippines and Regions**

Dating/Courtship Events	Phil.	NCR	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
Percent ever had a crush	92.2 (5203)	93.7 (726)	87.9 (306)	88.7 (381)	94.5 (488)	97.6 (375)	92.7 (329)	88.5 (364)	93.4 (472)	88.3 (120)	91.0 (467)	96.6 (350)	90.7 (825)
Percent ever been courted	86.0 (5140)	84.2 (689)	79.2 (337)	85.7 (384)	91.1 (475)	89.6 (316)	85.7 (350)	80.4 (387)	88.8 (456)	89.2 (176)	91.6 (474)	91.2 (362)	80.5 (734)
Percent ever gone out on date	72.2 (5197)	72.3 (723)	59.1 (306)	68.7 (383)	67.6 (488)	77.6 (375)	76.9 (329)	69.4 (360)	82.2 (472)	70.8 (120)	66.3 (469)	80.7 (348)	72.6 (824)
Percent ever had boyfriend	67.5 (5139)	60.7 (689)	56.5 (338)	63.8 (384)	64.6 (475)	60.4 (316)	70.0 (350)	65.4 (387)	75.0 (456)	84.1 (176)	73.4 (473)	80.7 (362)	66.6 (734)

Figures in parentheses are N's

It will be recalled that Muslim tradition is more restrictive to social activities of women, whether married or not. In the predominantly Christian regions, the only deviation from the national norm is shown by Region VIII which yielded the smallest field sample size. At this point, it is difficult to trace whether this is a reality or a sampling artifact. Table 5 which identifies women's first dating partner, however, seems to point to the constricted sample size of the region's sample leading to instability in the resulting distribution.

In addition to incidence, timing of

boy-girl events is an important issue in the study of fertility, especially as it relates to other events in young people's lives. For instance, if initiation to a precursor event leads to a rapid progression to the more intimate experiences in the hierarchy of boy-girl relationship, it will be important to determine how early these events occur and how these relate to a girl's schooling and employment experiences. Do these events deter the attainment of social and economic opportunities or not? Relative timing of these events can give us a good picture of the relationship.⁸

**Table 5: Distribution of Women According to Relationship With First Dating Partner
Philippines and Regions**

Relationship	Phil.	NCR	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
Acquaintance	5.0	6.4	9.6	1.3	2.5	3.3	5.0	2.9	8.0	9.1	5.6	0.6	6.2
Admirer	17.7	17.5	20.5	23.1	17.4	9.8	12.5	23.5	16.9	22.7	12.0	28.0	16.6
Friend	27.3	35.0	16.9	10.2	10.6	19.4	10.8	26.5	19.4	22.7	40.0	26.2	39.4
Fiance	50.0	41.1	53.0	65.4	69.6	57.5	71.7	47.1	55.7	45.4	42.4	45.2	37.7
Total	(1930)	(280)	(83)	(78)	(161)	(153)	(120)	(136)	(201)	(22)	(125)	(168)	(403)

**Table 6: Average Ages at Dating/Courtship Events
Philippines and Regions**

Dating/Courtship Events	Phil.	NCR	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
Age at first crush													
Mean	14.5	13.9	14.7	15.0	14.5	14.5	14.6	15.2	14.5	15.0	14.8	14.9	14.0
(N)	(4794)	(680)	(269)	(338)	(461)	(365)	(305)	(321)	(439)	(106)	(424)	(338)	(748)
Age began having admirers													
Mean	15.1	14.8	15.6	15.4	14.9	14.8	15.1	15.8	15.0	15.6	15.3	15.3	15.1
(N)	(4481)	(617)	(236)	(328)	(445)	(342)	(279)	(289)	(421)	(101)	(428)	(316)	(682)
Age at first group date													
Mean	15.7	15.8	16.3	15.7	16.1	15.4	15.5	16.1	15.4	16.0	15.8	15.6	15.4
(N)	(3230)	(410)	(152)	(232)	(273)	(246)	(223)	(207)	(352)	(78)	(284)	(256)	(517)
Age at first single date													
Mean	17.0	17.7	17.3	17.2	17.1	17.1	16.9	17.3	16.2	16.7	17.5	16.7	16.6
(N)	(1953)	(286)	(82)	(79)	(163)	(153)	(122)	(136)	(206)	(22)	(127)	(168)	(409)
Age had first boyfriend													
Mean	15.8	16.1	15.9	15.8	15.8	15.8	15.7	15.9	15.7	16.0	15.8	15.8	15.8
(N)	(1575)	(183)	(62)	(107)	(132)	(100)	(96)	(91)	(188)	(50)	(197)	(148)	(221)

In this paper, our interest in the timing of dating and courtship variables is limited to the levels and the progression of the events. While both indicators address the gravity of concern on these events because of their fertility and socioeconomic implications, level of timing, especially of the precursor events, gives us some indication of the high risk age groups and the progression on the latitude to implement a series of planned action.

Table 6 shows the average ages at initiation of the following events as experienced by girls in the different regions of the country: having a crush on the opposite sex, being courted, group dating, single dating and going steady. In general, the timing of these

events does not vary widely across regions. A closer examination of the timing and progression aspects of the events would reveal some interesting differences among regions which have important program implications. Again, Metro Manila is an interesting case study in this regard. Metropolitan Manila girls are most precocious in the initial events like having a crush on the opposite sex and having admirers. They are overtaken by the regional girls as the boy-girl relations progress to the more serious events like going on single dates, having boyfriends and finally engaging in premarital sex (Table 8). The scenario in Metro Manila is, therefore, one of having early starters but having a protracted period prior

to engaging in very intimate relationships. This is, to some extent, the same picture portrayed by Regions IV, VII and XI. It may be recalled that Regions IV, VII and Metro Manila displayed some similarity in related attitudes in the preceding discussion. The near cosmopolitan character of these regions might have some bearing on the displayed behavior inasmuch as the expanded opportunities for social interaction in this environment can widen the horizon of choices of urban girls and can, therefore, lengthen the period from initial attraction to boys to finally taking up more serious relationships.

The other extreme is typified by Region IX where young girls start noticing boys at later ages but advance to more intimate relationships sooner than do girls in other regions. For instance, Region IX respondents on the average took less than half a year to engage in premarital sex after the first single date. The attribution is a little more difficult in this case due to the

difference in the ethnic and, maybe, the social composition of the region.

Incidence of Premarital Sex

The national rate of actual premarital experience among our 15-24 aged women is just an average of the divergent reports of regional experiences (Table 7). The national figure of 11.6 percent is the average of a regional range of values stretching from five to almost 17 percent, the lowest incidence being reported by Region VIII, and the highest, by Region II. These are both unexpected in the light of what has been said about the positive relationship between openness in sex expression and modernization. By this time, it should be clear that Region VIII's figures are subject to instability due to the small sample size. The highest incidence, on the other hand, is reported by one of the least urbanized regions, Region II. At 17 percent, Cagayan Valley tops the other regions at least in admitting that premarital

Table 7: Percent With Premarital Sex By Age Group and With "Experienced" Single Girlfriends
Philippines and Regions

Age Group	Phil.	NCR	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
15-19	5.8 (3012)	3.9 (387)	4.1 (172)	9.7 (226)	4.7 (301)	7.0 (213)	3.0 (198)	8.6 (221)	4.4 (251)	4.2 (71)	5.2 (270)	6.5 (201)	7.4 (501)
20-24	19.5 (2185)	15.9 (340)	20.9 (134)	26.8 (157)	21.5 (186)	20.9 (163)	27.6 (127)	22.4 (143)	22.3 (220)	6.1 (49)	11.7 (196)	22.6 (146)	16.4 (324)
Total	11.6 (5197)	9.5 (727)	11.4 (306)	16.7 (383)	11.1 (487)	13.0 (376)	12.6 (325)	14.0 (364)	12.7 (471)	5.0 (120)	7.9 (466)	13.3 (347)	10.9 (825)
Percent with Single Girlfriends with Premarital Sex	22.1	24.9	6.2	13.1	20.5	25.5	11.7	18.9	28.8	19.8	28.0	30.1	24.6

Figures in parentheses are N's

sex is not unheard of in the country. This is hardly consistent with the high value placed on virginity by the women in the region themselves but in line with their attitude on abortion as compared to those of the other regions.

The other Visayan regions, VI and VII, are true to their high approval for premarital sex report since their actual incidence was also high at 14 and 13 percent, respectively. The technical point previously raised in the case of Metro Manila is validated by the statistics on premarital sex experience. Unexpectedly, Metro Manila reports one of the lowest rates. While this is consistent with the earlier report of low level of premarital sex approval, other factors tell us otherwise. The extent and nature of media exposure, presence of vice dens and other exposing factors in the region can very well lead to an expectation of a higher rate of premarital sex among its youth. This might, therefore, suggest gross underreporting among this group of women and, likewise, varying degrees of accuracy in reporting across regions in the survey. One way to validate the data is through their own reports of similar experiences among their close girlfriends, as mentioned earlier (Table 7). Manila's report of premarital sex incidence is much lower than its statistics on girls having unmarried girlfriends with premarital sex experiences, suggesting a case of underreporting. This seems to be the general pattern of reporting except for three regions (I, II and V), all of which have higher reports on self-behavior than those of others. Inas-

much as these regions are relatively less-developed and are origins of young single women migrating to urban centers of other regions, this phenomenon can affect reports of knowledge of sex experiences among girlfriends. There will simply be less girls of that age and underdevelopment can reduce opportunities for interaction among peers. For the rest of the country, however, the reverse obtains, i.e., reports of self-behavior are lower than reports about friends. If one were to believe the positive and high correlation between these two statistics, then it can be said that the resulting figures are, in fact, underestimated.

There is, however, a clear distinction between the experiences of the young and the not-so-young. The 20-24 years of age are definitely more experienced than the younger group by at least a factor of four. The implication of a sustained trend in delayed marriage in the country is clear from these figures. A prolonged unmarried state increases a woman's risk of engaging in premarital sex.

First Premarital Sex Experience

The previous section discussed the level of premarital sex experience of young women in the various regions of the country. Due to the importance of a young girl's initiation to sex, as discussed in the YAFS's First Report, the circumstances surrounding the first sex experience will be detailed in this section.

To recapitulate, timing of first sex is almost the same for all regions. The

experienced ones had sex for the first time when they were around 18 years of age, on the average (Table 8), with NCR girls experiencing it at a slightly older age, 18.7.

If we are willing to assume that the first sex act is marriage-related or is characterized as a transition to marriage inasmuch as most of these are done with either the boyfriend or fiance, we can have an idea on whether the ideal bride-groom age gap is being adhered to by comparing ages of sex partners during the first experience. According to our statistics, first male sex partners are, on the average, four years older than the girls, a figure almost double the ideal husband-wife age difference of two years. Only Region VII came close to the ideal and, to some extent, Regions VI and XI. Regions III and IX are potentially overshooting their ideal age difference of future marriage partners by 4.5 and 4.7 years, respectively.

For all regions, majority of the girls who engaged in premarital sex experienced their first sex after quitting school. The data also indicate that Region IX had the highest proportion of girls engaging in premarital sex who were still in school (47.1 percent), followed by Metro Manila (38.2 percent) and Region IV (36.7 percent). For the latter two regions, the strong holding power of schools on female students and the disproportionate availability of centers of learning result in a large proportion of young women still in school. This predominance of women in schools and the freer environment in and outside of schools in the Metro Manila area ac-

cord the youth more opportunities for exploration. The behavior shown by Region IX is more difficult to explain unless we are provided with statistics on the differential characteristics of those in school and out of school. Region IX data, however, are more the exception rather than the rule since majority of first experiences here occurred when the girls were no longer in school.

The importance of the homes as a venue for youthful sex is highlighted in the rural areas where alternative places are almost non-existent. More than three-fourths of the first experiences in Regions I, II, IX and X occurred either in the partner's home, the girl's home or a friend's home. Different from the national picture where the partner's home is more preferred, the girl's home is the more popular venue in Regions II, VI, VII, IX, and X. The role of the presence of motels in premarital sex, on the other hand, is very pronounced in more urbanized areas like Metro Manila where fully two-fifths of all first experiences happened in motels or hotels. Regions XI and VII are poor second and third to Metro Manila in the use of motels for sex escapades but nonetheless is still of substantial magnitude. These findings suggest that teenagers can be imaginative and at the same time daring in their sex explorations. It seems that they can transform the most unlikely places to a venue for their sex activities. The popular notion that motels tend to increase sex activities among the youth is not supported by the statistics. The substantial percentages of sex experiences in areas other than

**Table 8: First Premarital Sex (PMS) Variables
Philippines and Regions**

PMS Variables	Phil.	NCR	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
1. Median age at first PMS	18.3	18.7	18.3	18.3	18.4	18.2	18.2	18.6	18.4	17.5	17.9	18.2	18.1
2. Level of schooling at first PMS													
Elementary	3.2	2.9	0.0	3.1	0.0	2.0	0.0	4.1	1.8	20.0	14.7	6.4	2.2
High School	17.7	25.0	15.1	20.3	11.5	16.3	12.5	18.4	19.6	0.0	20.6	12.8	18.9
College	11.4	10.3	9.1	12.5	15.4	18.4	15.0	8.2	10.7	0.0	11.8	6.4	10.0
Not Studying	67.6	61.8	75.8	64.1	73.1	63.3	72.5	69.4	67.9	80.0	52.9	74.5	68.9
Total	(587)	(68)	(33)	(64)	(52)	(49)	(40)	(49)	(56)	(5)	(34)	(47)	(90)
3. Where first PMS took place													
R's home	24.9	10.3	20.6	37.5	20.5	10.6	5.1	32.0	27.9	33.3	41.0	40.4	25.6
Partner's home	31.1	23.5	50.0	25.0	50.9	48.9	48.7	18.0	22.9	16.7	20.5	27.7	25.6
Friend's home	7.5	7.3	8.8	3.1	1.9	4.3	12.8	12.0	4.9	0.0	12.8	8.5	10.0
Hotel/motel	15.0	39.7	17.6	7.8	5.7	6.4	12.8	12.0	19.7	0.0	2.6	4.2	22.2
Beach/park	4.3	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0	2.1	5.1	10.0	14.7	0.0	2.6	10.6	2.2
Somewhere else	17.1	19.1	0.0	26.6	20.7	27.7	15.4	16.0	9.8	50.0	20.5	8.5	14.4
Total	(598)	(68)	(34)	(64)	(53)	(97)	(39)	(50)	(61)	(6)	(39)	(47)	(90)
4. Relationship with first PMS partner													
Acquaintance	1.0	2.9	2.9	1.6	0.0	2.1	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Friend	2.2	7.2	0.0	0.0	2.0	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.7
Boyfriend	73.9	73.9	70.6	62.0	75.0	83.0	57.5	66.7	76.7	83.3	73.7	91.3	78.6
Fiance	22.9	15.9	26.5	36.5	23.0	12.8	42.5	31.4	23.3	16.7	26.3	8.7	14.6
Total	(595)	(69)	(34)	(63)	(52)	(47)	(40)	(51)	(60)	(6)	(38)	(46)	(89)
5. Median age of first PMS partner	22.2	22.9	22.0	22.2	23.1	22.2	22.3	21.6	20.8	20.0	22.4	22.4	21.5
6. Partner's marital status at first PMS													
Single	97.3	94.1	97.1	98.4	98.1	95.7	97.5	94.1	100.0	100.0	97.4	95.6	100.0
Married	1.8	5.9	2.9	1.6	0.0	2.1	2.5	3.9	0.0	0.0	2.6	0.0	0.0
Widowed/Divorced/ Separated	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	2.1	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	0.0
Total	(596)	(68)	(34)	(64)	(53)	(47)	(40)	(51)	(60)	(6)	(38)	(46)	(89)
7. Percent who had sex again with first partner	80.9	66.2	67.6	84.4	79.2	78.7	84.6	86.3	85.2	66.7	89.5	81.2	86.5
	(598)	(68)	(34)	(64)	(53)	(47)	(39)	(51)	(61)	(6)	(38)	(48)	(89)

Figures in parentheses are N's

homes, motels, beaches and parks at-
test to the above statements.

Table 8 also reveals that our young girls are selective of their choice of partners. Going by their definition of the right circumstances during which they can be persuaded to have sex, majority of their first sex partners were either their boyfriends or fiance. It is only in Metro Manila and to a lesser extent in Region XI where a small proportion of the sexually-active did it with plain acquaintances and friends. While the proportion is low, it is worth noting that a few Manila girls also had had sex with married men. The character of sex experiences among girls in Metro Manila seems to be more varied and more "daring" than the experiences of girls in other regions.

As if to validate the above claim, fewer sexually-active girls in Metro Manila repeat the experience with the first partner which means that "sex anticipating marriage" situations are less likely in the metropolitan area. On the other hand, at least four-fifths of the sexually-active girls in the other regions had more than one sex encounter with the first partner. The present data do not allow an inquiry into the actual level of repeated sex whether with the same partner or not, but in spite of the isolated case as depicted by Metro Manila, all indications point to a high level of repeated sex in all regions. If these experiences are indicative of casual sex, then the implications for the need for assistance are clear. Prevention of untoward consequences of repeated or regular premarital sex should be high in the agenda

for action.⁹

On Differentials

Following the general directions shown by the national findings, the same types of determinants are tested for possible association with premarital sex experiences at the regional level. The results are shown in Tables 9-13. The variables include school experiences and aspirations, religion and religiosity, socialization and sex-related attitudes. These are, by no means complete but they are comprehensive enough to explain differentials in youth sex experiences.

Urban-Rural Exposure

The type of present residence does not make any distinction in young women's sexual activities as shown at the national level and duplicated at the regional level. It was suggested earlier in this paper that present residences may not accurately capture the kinds of residential exposure of these girls inasmuch as they are a highly mobile group. In fact, 32 percent of the urban sample had lived in rural areas and 13 percent of those found in rural areas during the survey had had urban exposure. The spatial mobility of these women and the direction of move are highlighted when the rural-born are classified according to residential experience in urban areas. Fully 54 percent or more than half of those born in rural areas claimed to have lived at least once for a minimum duration of three months in an urban place. Current residence as a factor, therefore, masks the actual experi-

ences of the women and might explain why present rural-urban residences do not show differences in sexual activity among young people.

It is in this spirit of more accurate geographic exposure attribution that we are examining premarital sex differentials according to urban exposure regardless of where the women were found during the survey. Table 9 clearly shows the role of urban residence and premarital sex experience. In all regions, with the exception of Regions V and IX, women who had ever lived in urban areas were definitely more experienced in premarital sex. It can, therefore, be conjectured if the reported experiences of the rural girls actually occurred during their urban sojourn. If so, the implications on the location of youth services is clear and should give a stamp of approval to present choice sites of teen centers and other similar kinds of services.

School Experiences

The high educational attainment of

Filipino women, especially those of the more recent cohorts, can either be an influencing or deterring factor towards premarital sex. On one hand, increased education can widen the horizon of women, enabling them to imbibe more liberal values and attitudes toward sex. In addition, education is positively associated with economic opportunities which together can effectively delay age at marriage and can subsequently increase chances for premarital sex activities due to longer exposure period. On the other hand, people who had to quit school early are left with not many possibilities for engaging in activities to improve their lot and they go through a hiatus at a time when their sexuality is starting to assume a significant role in their lives. In contrast, those who are able to continue their schooling can fill up their time more profitably with schoolwork and do not face a vacuum such as that experienced by the out-of-school. Those in school are, therefore, expected to have less need to be heavily involved with the oppo-

Table 9: Proportion With Premarital Sex By Exposure in Urban Areas
Philippines and Regions

Exposure	Phil.	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
With Urban Exposure	12.5 (3676)	12.3 (179)	18.5 (233)	15.3 (294)	13.0 (262)	10.7 (187)	16.3 (276)	15.0 (267)	6.8 (59)	7.9 (390)	13.6 (272)	13.2 (530)
Without Urban Exposure	9.1 (1521)	9.4 (127)	13.4 (149)	4.7 (193)	11.5 (113)	14.5 (138)	6.8 (88)	9.9 (203)	3.3 (61)	7.9 (76)	12.8 (78)	6.8 (295)
Total	11.5 (5197)	11.1 (306)	16.5 (382)	11.1 (487)	12.5 (375)	12.3 (325)	14.0 (364)	12.8 (470)	5.0 (120)	7.9 (466)	13.4 (350)	10.9 (825)

Figures in parentheses are N's

site sex.

Table 10, panel 1, confirms the latter expectation both at the national and regional levels. The less-educated ones, i.e., elementary educated, were twice more experienced than the college-educated, on the average. It is almost four times in Region IX and thrice as much in Region I.

This interpretation is by no means absolute as panel 2 of Table 10 suggests that there is also a segment of these women who seemed to be sexually-active while still in school. There is a definite edge in experience among those who quit school to get married, suggesting that either a premarital pregnancy or sex experience had triggered such marriage and curtailed schooling. This is specifically true for Region III, NCR and V where majority of those who quit school to get married admitted to having had premarital sex experience.

Relationship between reports of desire for self-improvement through education and premarital sex gives conflicting evidence by region (Table 10, panel 3). This is highly possible since desired education is not completely independent of actual attainment because of the possibility of justifying one's real situation in life by naming a not-so-different status from the actual one. At the same time, others will be more candid about their hopes and ambitions. Due to this varying interpretation of responses to the question on desired educational attainment among young women, regions do not reflect a uniform differential in premarital sex according to this factor. More regions, however, had higher

premarital sex level among their women with lower ambitions for education. These were NCR, V, VII, IX, X, XI.

Meanwhile, with religion being taught as a subject in school and perhaps as an indication of the kind of discipline in schools being run by members of religious sects, the type of school, whether sectarian or not, is tested for its likely association with girls' actual sexual activity (Table 10, panel 4). At the national level, it appears that sectarian schools are slightly more able to provide alternative activities to its girls vis-a-vis the religious schools. Examining the regional behavior, however, does not support the national picture. Rather the type of school seems to be confounded by other more important factors that are at the same time related to school environment. The Metro Manila figures contradict the national picture by showing higher proportion of girls in religious schools having premarital sex.

Religion and Religiosity

The national finding on the absence of a relationship between premarital sex and religiosity of the women and their families is not supported at the regional level (Table 11). There are three types of practice of religion variables examined, each one dealing with a different aspect of the variable: 1) an individual-level variable representing the status of attendance in religious services; 2) a combination of religious practice and religious discipline imposed by the young girl's parents; and 3) a family-level practice of

**Table 10: Proportion With Premarital Sex By Education Variables
Philippines and Regions**

Education Variables	Phil.	NCR	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
1. Educational Attainment													
No Schooling	4.0 (25)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (1)	0.0 (1)	0.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (1)	25.0 (4)	0.0 (3)	0.0 (3)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (5)	0.0 (7)
Elementary	15.6 (1466)	11.0 (73)	21.7 (69)	22.5 (129)	14.1 (135)	14.5 (76)	19.6 (92)	15.0 (113)	14.6 (213)	9.5 (63)	13.3 (143)	20.6 (107)	13.4 (253)
High School	11.7 (2272)	14.7 (278)	8.8 (136)	13.6 (191)	11.2 (205)	13.5 (193)	10.1 (159)	14.5 (165)	10.4 (182)	0.0 (40)	9.0 (155)	10.8 (176)	11.5 (392)
College	7.6 (1426)	5.3 (375)	7.1 (99)	13.1 (61)	8.3 (145)	8.7 (104)	8.0 (75)	11.0 (82)	13.9 (72)	0.0 (13)	3.0 (168)	8.3 (60)	5.8 (172)
Total	11.5 (5189)	14.8 (726)	11.1 (305)	16.5 (382)	11.1 (486)	12.3 (373)	12.3 (326)	14.0 (364)	12.8 (470)	5.0 (119)	8.2 (466)	13.2 (348)	10.8 (824)
2. Reason for Leaving School													
Bored	18.4 (283)	0.0 (21)	42.9 (7)	37.0 (27)	6.7 (30)	33.3 (24)	12.5 (16)	26.9 (26)	15.0 (40)	0.0 (10)	9.7 (31)	25.9 (27)	16.7 (24)
Failed	5.7 (53)	0.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (1)	0.0 (7)	0.0 (1)	25.0 (8)	0.0 (1)	0.0 (3)	0.0 (2)	0.0 (2)	25.0 (4)	0.0 (23)
To help at home	20.4 (186)	55.6 (9)	14.3 (7)	7.1 (14)	14.3 (21)	25.0 (8)	36.4 (11)	0.0 (2)	28.6 (21)	0.0 (10)	7.1 (14)	22.2 (9)	21.7 (60)
To earn	15.9 (239)	14.3 (42)	5.6 (18)	37.5 (8)	27.3 (11)	11.1 (9)	11.8 (17)	38.9 (18)	22.5 (40)	13.3 (15)	12.5 (16)	11.1 (18)	0.0 (27)
Lack of money	15.6 (1585)	11.3 (141)	18.9 (95)	21.5 (158)	11.9 (151)	16.3 (86)	16.5 (85)	16.7 (114)	10.9 (192)	12.1 (33)	12.2 (123)	17.6 (125)	18.8 (282)
To marry	48.4 (192)	66.7 (18)	44.4 (9)	50.0 (12)	82.4 (17)	33.3 (24)	63.2 (19)	44.4 (18)	37.5 (16)	0.0 (3)	52.6 (19)	27.8 (18)	42.1 (19)
Completed Education	11.2 (366)	10.8 (93)	11.1 (18)	26.1 (23)	11.8 (34)	13.5 (52)	10.5 (19)	0.0 (15)	25.0 (12)	0.0 (3)	0.0 (21)	11.1 (18)	8.6 (58)
Total	17.7 (2904)	15.1 (325)	18.8 (154)	24.7 (243)	16.2 (271)	19.6 (204)	21.7 (175)	21.1 (194)	15.7 (324)	7.9 (76)	13.7 (226)	18.7 (219)	16.8 (493)
3. Highest Schooling Want to Complete													
Elementary	0.0 (38)	0.0 (5)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (1)	0.0 (2)	0.0 (2)	0.0 (3)	0.0 (4)	0.0 (2)	0.0 (9)	0.0 (3)	0.0 (7)
High School	8.1 (740)	13.0 (92)	2.9 (34)	5.7 (35)	3.9 (76)	7.6 (66)	9.5 (42)	4.5 (67)	8.5 (71)	6.7 (15)	5.7 (53)	10.0 (50)	10.8 (139)

College	6.4 (2481)	6.1 (457)	5.0 (161)	7.3 (165)	4.6 (237)	8.0 (163)	5.7 (158)	14.1 (170)	5.0 (161)	0.0 (37)	4.0 (249)	3.1 (160)	8.3 (363)
Total	6.7 (3259)	7.2 (554)	4.6 (195)	7.0 (200)	4.5 (314)	7.8 (231)	6.4 (202)	11.2 (240)	5.9 (236)	1.9 (54)	4.2 (311)	4.7 (213)	8.8 (509)
4. Type of School Attended													
Sectarian	10.5 (1045)	53.8 (26)	7.7 (39)	18.5 (108)	9.4 (149)	14.6 (96)	14.6 (48)	13.2 (68)	10.3 (146)	0.0 (17)	7.2 (111)	5.9 (101)	0.0 (136)
Non-Sectarian	12.4 (3921)	11.0 (498)	11.7 (266)	16.2 (272)	11.9 (337)	12.0 (276)	11.9 (277)	14.3 (294)	14.0 (322)	6.1 (99)	8.1 (356)	16.5 (243)	13.1 (681)
Total	12.0 (4966)	13.2 (524)	11.1 (305)	16.8 (380)	11.1 (486)	12.6 (372)	12.3 (325)	14.1 (362)	12.8 (468)	5.2 (116)	7.9 (467)	13.4 (344)	10.9 (817)

Figures in parentheses are N's

religion which approximates the degree of closeness of the family.

Lower incidence of premarital sex was reported by those who attended religious services than those who did not (Table 11, panel 1). This is validated by the report of most of the regions except the most urbanized ones, led by Metro Manila and followed by Regions III and IV. In Region V, the difference in premarital sex incidence between those who attended religious services and those who did not was as high as almost five times; in Regions I and II, the difference was two times. This is supported by the direction of variation in premarital sex incidence by the religious practice in the women's home environment. Evident is the influence of one's family in religious practice as a proxy of a more profound family influence in the upbringing and consequently, on the behavior of the youth. Those who are required by parents to attend religious services and those whose families go to services together or pray together have, in general, lower incidence of

premarital sex. The only exception is Region IV where the opposite is the case, i.e., girls who are more religious and whose families are more religious are more sexually active. While the findings are internally consistent, the deviant behavior of the region is difficult to explain, requiring more in-depth inquiry into the type of sample respondents generated from Region IV.

The mechanics by which the religion variables operate will be an interesting subject for further research. It is important to know whether practice of one's religion by itself can influence the occurrence or non-occurrence of premarital sex or whether it is just a manifestation of a more profound aspect of one's home and outside-the-home environment.

While the findings are consistent with theoretical expectations, we believe the religion variables are a part of a multitude of variables interacting with one another as they shape a young girl's sex and sex-related attitudes and behavior.

**Table 11: Proportion With Premarital Sex By Religion Variables
Philippines and Regions**

Religion Variables	Phil.	NCR	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
1. Attend Religious Services?													
Yes	11.3 (4786)	9.6 (665)	10.2 (274)	14.9 (349)	11.3 (467)	13.0 (355)	10.9 (312)	14.2 (359)	12.8 (429)	4.8 (105)	7.8 (436)	13.2 (304)	10.8 (731)
No	14.7 (409)	8.1 (62)	21.9 (32)	33.3 (33)	5.0 (20)	9.5 (21)	46.2 (13)	16.7 (6)	14.3 (42)	6.2 (16)	13.3 (30)	13.6 (44)	11.1 (90)
Total	11.6 (5195)	9.5 (727)	11.4 (306)	16.5 (382)	11.1 (487)	12.8 (376)	12.3 (325)	14.2 (365)	13.0 (471)	5.0 (121)	8.2 (466)	13.2 (348)	10.8 (821)
2. Required by Parents to Attend Religious Services?													
Yes	9.7 (2699)	8.4 (418)	7.5 (159)	14.3 (203)	6.5 (215)	14.3 (189)	11.2 (143)	14.2 (169)	13.0 (246)	4.5 (67)	8.2 (341)	12.6 (127)	6.4 (422)
Sometimes	13.2 (925)	17.2 (64)	10.2 (49)	24.6 (61)	5.9 (34)	9.4 (32)	5.7 (88)	6.8 (44)	14.4 (90)	3.8 (26)	8.7 (69)	15.2 (66)	15.9 (302)
No	13.8 (1578)	9.4 (245)	17.5 (97)	16.1 (118)	15.5 (239)	11.6 (155)	20.4 (93)	16.4 (152)	11.7 (137)	7.4 (127)	7.3 (55)	13.9 (158)	14.7 (102)
Total	11.6 (5202)	9.5 (727)	11.1 (305)	16.5 (382)	10.9 (488)	12.8 (376)	12.3 (324)	14.2 (365)	12.9 (473)	5.0 (120)	8.2 (465)	13.7 (351)	10.9 (826)
3. Does R's Family Attend Religious Services Together?													
Yes	10.2 (1586)	8.5 (282)	9.9 (111)	13.2 (91)	8.6 (139)	16.8 (95)	11.4 (70)	16.5 (109)	12.2 (74)	3.2 (31)	9.9 (162)	7.3 (82)	8.2 (340)
Sometimes	12.0 (1722)	9.6 (167)	11.3 (71)	23.7 (131)	10.9 (128)	7.9 (63)	10.1 (139)	11.0 (91)	14.0 (215)	2.2 (46)	8.0 (163)	13.8 (152)	12.4 (356)
No	12.2 (1886)	10.5 (277)	12.3 (122)	12.6 (159)	12.3 (219)	12.4 (217)	16.2 (117)	14.0 (164)	11.5 (182)	11.1 (45)	5.7 (140)	17.2 (116)	13.3 (128)
Total	11.5 (5194)	9.5 (726)	11.2 (304)	19.8 (381)	10.9 (486)	12.8 (375)	12.6 (326)	14.0 (364)	12.7 (471)	5.7 (122)	8.0 (465)	13.4 (350)	10.8 (824)

Figures in parentheses are N's

Socialization

Theoretically, one would expect that living apart from parents or family offers a young girl a freer environment and more liberty in her activi-

ties. This was thought to be of relevance in the Philippines because of the recent popularity of boarding houses and dormitories offering young students and workers bedspacing and boarding facilities near their work-

place and school, but away from their parents. At present, this is a popular phenomenon especially among young single women who usually come to an urban conglomeration to either study, look for work, or actually work. This does not seem to be the case among our young respondents, as shown in Table 12, panel 1. Except for Metro Manila, a complete reversal of the expected pattern obtains, since an overwhelming majority of the regions show a higher incidence of premarital sex among those who had not experienced living in dormitories or boarding houses than those who had.

One possible explanation is the relationship of dorm/boarding house experience and the experience of having lived in urban areas at one time or another. Past urban exposure of young women which was earlier found to be highly associated with premarital sex may not be related at all with the experience of living in dormitories or boarding houses. In other words, those who have lived in urban areas may not necessarily have stayed in dormitories or boarding houses then; they may have stayed in the homes of friends, or relatives. In the metropolis where most of the migrant women from the rural areas are and where the boarding house phenomenon is more widespread, the role of the latter in influencing the sex activities of the young girls is clear.

Peer relationship as a current socialization factor has been hypothesized to influence an adolescent's behavior more than the living arrangements. While the initiation of current

friendships vis-a-vis the timing of first premarital sex experience will be helpful in tracing the mechanics of the relationship, we shall be content here, however, due to absence of appropriate data, in making speculations about the direction of relations. It is not possible to know in the present study whether girls are influenced by the attitudes and behavior of their friends, or whether their common values and attitudes have really brought them together in the first place, or whether their independent experience has set them to be seeking out other girls with the same experience. These possibilities are not mutually exclusive, however.

The data in Table 12, panel 2, show wide divergence in sex behavior between those who claimed to have some close girlfriends who had had premarital relationships, with those claiming to have such friends more likely to have the same experience themselves. The difference can be as high as six times as shown by Region V and almost twice in Regions VI, III and XI. The other regions show lower difference but indicate the same trend, except for Region II which show otherwise.

The third aspect of a young girl's socialization that this paper deals with is her family environment at the time she was being raised. Earlier in the paper, it was mentioned that, at the national level, the composition of the girl's family is an effective discriminating factor between those who are sexually-active from those who are not. We have ventured to interpret this to represent, to some extent, the

**Table 12: Proportion With Premarital Sex By Selected Socialization Variables
Philippines and Regions**

Socialization Variables	Phil.	NCR	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
1. Ever Lived in Dorm/Boarding House?													
Yes	8.5 (1234)	12.6 (175)	8.8 (91)	16.8 (131)	11.6 (121)	10.3 (116)	8.2 (73)	12.1 (99)	10.1 (69)	0.0 (22)	3.2 (124)	11.0 (73)	8.6 (140)
No	10.7 (3956)	8.6 (548)	12.1 (214)	16.3 (251)	10.9 (366)	13.5 (259)	13.9 (252)	14.7 (265)	13.2 (401)	6.1 (98)	9.6 (342)	14.5 (276)	11.3 (684)
Total	10.2 (5190)	9.5 (723)	11.1 (305)	16.5 (382)	11.1 (487)	12.5 (375)	12.6 (325)	14.0 (364)	12.8 (470)	5.0 (120)	7.9 (466)	13.8 (349)	10.8 (824)
2. Has Girlfriends With Premarital Sex													
Yes		16.6 (181)	22.4 (49)	14.0 (50)	21.0 (100)	16.8 (95)	31.6 (38)	29.0 (69)	19.3 (135)	4.2 (24)	9.9 (131)	14.3 (105)	19.7 (203)
No		6.3 (479)	9.4 (234)	16.6 (290)	8.1 (356)	11.4 (264)	5.5 (219)	9.3 (268)	8.8 (239)	4.7 (86)	7.5 (320)	13.2 (190)	7.1 (410)
Total		9.1 (660)	11.7 (283)	16.2 (340)	11.0 (456)	12.8 (359)	9.3 (257)	13.4 (337)	12.6 (374)	4.5 (110)	8.2 (451)	13.6 (295)	11.3 (613)
3. Person(s) Who Mostly Raised R													
Mother & Father	10.5 (4579)	8.1 (615)	9.3 (268)	14.5 (337)	10.1 (426)	12.5 (337)	12.6 (301)	12.4 (307)	11.7 (409)	4.0 (99)	7.8 (410)	13.4 (321)	9.3 (749)
Mother or Father only	16.4 (281)	15.5 (58)	29.4 (17)	23.5 (17)	15.8 (19)	25.0 (16)	0.0 (11)	20.0 (25)	15.2 (33)	0.0 (9)	4.8 (21)	6.7 (15)	22.5 (40)
Mother/ Father and Someone else	24.6 (61)	18.2 (11)	25.0 (4)	100.0 (1)	0.0 (1)	12.5 (8)	0.0 (3)	40.0 (5)	75.0 (4)	0.0 (2)	13.3 (15)	25.0 (4)	66.7 (3)
Others	19.9 (272)	19.0 (42)	23.5 (17)	36.0 (25)	17.5 (40)	7.7 (13)	20.0 (10)	25.0 (28)	13.0 (23)	10.0 (10)	13.0 (23)	11.1 (9)	25.0 (32)
Total	11.5 (5193)	9.5 (726)	11.4 (306)	16.6 (380)	10.9 (486)	12.8 (374)	12.3 (325)	14.2 (365)	12.6 (469)	4.2 (120)	8.1 (469)	13.2 (349)	10.8 (824)

Figures in parentheses are N's

quality and type of affective relationship between the girl and her parents. In the regions, girls who are nurtured and raised by both natural parents seem to be able to maintain their virginity longer than those who have

been single-parented by any of the natural parents either alone or while living with somebody else. Between the latter two parenting styles, the strictly single parenting has an edge in more regions, i.e., the daughters tend

more to remain virgins. On the other hand, in Regions II, VI, VII, IX, X, XI and NCR, girls with step-parents were more sexually active than those without.

Sex-related Attitudes

The national findings in this regard are duplicated without any exception in the regions where the variation is manifested as a mere difference in magnitude. From the figures shown in Table 13, panels 1-3, it can be deduced that the more open in outlook regarding virginity and therefore, premarital sex, in the more cosmopolitan areas are not that different in actual sex behavior from the more conservative in attitude compared to the less-urbanized regions. A clear example of this is Metro Manila where a substantial difference in sex experience between those who value and do not value virginity exists but this difference is not as pronounced as in Regions X, XI, and III, for example. The same pattern obtains in the other factors presented in the same table. A seeming exception in this regard is the finding on abortion. Due to the insignificant number of those who reported to approve of abortion, the premarital sex differential by this factor becomes spurious (Table 13, panel 4).

IMPLICATIONS

Prior to enumerating the various suggestions arising from the foregoing analysis, it is important to put these in proper perspective. In view of this, we would like to reiterate that, on the whole, teenagers' attitudes are refreshing and stimulating: there are

still many young people with high aspirations. They reflect, however, some manifestations of being in the most tumultuous period in one's life, i.e., adolescence, and the equally confusing influences in their environment, thus greatly weakening their grasp of their own destiny. Inasmuch as this section deals with implications for action, we will work with the assumption that the present level of sexual activity among these young people deserve concern and attention. This was articulated in the First Report and we shall just add new evidences from the regional dimensions of the analysis.

Let us also recall our previous doubt on the effectiveness of efforts to prevent young people from engaging in premarital sex as a short-run measure, and that efforts to be launched to make a difference should be addressed toward reduction of the harmful effects of present youthful sexual activities.

Likewise, interpretations are constrained by limitations in the data; a call for further research is in order. The pattern of responses from some regions raises some methodological issues. Metro Manila respondents, for instance, show internal inconsistencies in the data, leading one to conclude on the variability of the degree of underestimation of reports on premarital sex. The relatively low incidence arising from the Metro Manila data defies the suggestions of other evidences from the same survey and elsewhere. Small experimental studies can be conducted to validate levels and pave the way for developing technical procedures in generating better responses

**Table 13: Proportion With Premarital Sex By Sex-Related Attitudes
Philippines and Regions**

Attitudes	Phil.	NCR	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
1. Importance of Virginity													
Very Important	7.4 (2882)	8.6 (373)	9.4 (149)	16.6 (253)	8.0 (338)	8.5 (188)	5.8 (155)	10.2 (226)	4.8 (231)	1.4 (71)	5.0 (259)	6.4 (141)	3.4 (498)
Important	11.6 (1827)	9.3 (247)	8.7 (126)	11.3 (106)	8.6 (116)	13.7 (153)	14.2 (148)	17.6 (102)	13.6 (177)	7.3 (41)	8.3 (169)	8.1 (173)	15.2 (269)
Not Important	36.4 (472)	16.5 (97)	33.3 (30)	43.5 (23)	50.0 (32)	29.4 (34)	45.0 (20)	30.6 (36)	39.7 (63)	12.5 (8)	26.3 (38)	69.7 (23)	53.4 (58)
Total	11.5 (5181)	9.9 (717)	11.5 (305)	16.8 (382)	10.9 (486)	12.5 (375)	12.1 (323)	14.3 (364)	12.7 (471)	4.2 (120)	7.9 (466)	13.3 (347)	10.8 (825)
2. Virginity as Criterion for Men's Choice of Wife													
Yes	9.4 (4153)	7.3 (506)	8.4 (250)	15.6 (334)	10.7 (428)	11.8 (279)	10.4 (268)	12.2 (278)	9.1 (362)	3.9 (103)	7.7 (326)	7.9 (292)	7.7 (727)
No	20.2 (1038)	15.1 (219)	23.2 (56)	25.0 (48)	13.6 (59)	14.7 (95)	20.0 (55)	20.7 (87)	25.2 (107)	17.6 (17)	9.2 (141)	42.1 (57)	35.1 (97)
Total	11.6 (5191)	9.7 (725)	11.1 (306)	16.8 (382)	11.1 (487)	12.6 (374)	12.1 (323)	14.2 (365)	12.8 (469)	5.8 (120)	8.1 (467)	13.5 (349)	10.9 (824)
3. Approval of Premarital Sex													
Approve (Unqualified)	52.2 (498)	37.2 (78)	48.5 (33)	53.8 (39)	51.5 (33)	41.9 (31)	56.2 (32)	58.3 (48)	48.1 (54)	20.0 (10)	25.0 (24)	82.9 (35)	67.9 (81)
Approve (Qualified)	12.4 (1185)	11.1 (126)	9.1 (44)	2.1 (48)	22.1 (68)	20.8 (96)	12.7 (55)	14.8 (81)	16.7 (144)	5.7 (35)	12.6 (103)	19.4 (67)	6.9 (318)
Disapprove	5.1 (3276)	4.6 (496)	6.2 (225)	9.5 (262)	5.8 (377)	5.7 (247)	6.2 (226)	5.3 (227)	2.7 (220)	2.7 (75)	5.8 (313)	1.7 (239)	3.3 (369)
Total	11.6 (4959)	9.4 (700)	11.3 (302)	13.5 (349)	11.3 (478)	12.6 (374)	12.5 (313)	14.6 (356)	13.4 (418)	5.0 (120)	8.4 (440)	13.5 (341)	11.6 (768)
4. Approval of Abortion													
Approve	6.6 (122)	15.8 (19)	0.0 (16)	0.0 (20)	0.0 (12)	0.0 (8)	0.0 (5)	14.3 (14)	0.0 (11)	0.0 (1)	0.0 (8)	100.0 (1)	28.6 (7)
Disapprove	2.4 (3742)	3.6 (616)	2.8 (217)	1.9 (213)	1.9 (377)	3.1 (262)	0.0 (225)	2.0 (252)	4.2 (309)	1.5 (68)	0.6 (332)	2.4 (246)	2.6 (625)
Total	2.5 (3864)	3.9 (635)	2.6 (233)	1.7 (233)	1.8 (389)	3.0 (270)	0.0 (230)	2.6 (266)	4.1 (320)	1.4 (69)	0.6 (340)	2.8 (247)	2.8 (632)

5. Resolution to Premarital

Pregnancy													
Abortion	23.8 (130)	22.2 (9)	40.0 (5)	18.4 (38)	10.0 (10)	0.0 (5)	50.0 (4)	25.0 (24)	10.0 (10)	0.0 (4)	12.5 (8)	57.1 (7)	83.3 (6)
Adoption	7.2 (236)	12.5 (16)	0.0 (3)	12.5 (8)	18.5 (27)	20.0 (10)	20.0 (5)	7.1 (14)	16.7 (6)	0.0 (1)	18.8 (16)	8.3 (12)	0.0 (118)
Keep the baby	11.7 (3442)	8.8 (524)	16.9 (118)	18.5 (222)	10.7 (384)	11.2 (197)	12.0 (183)	12.7 (197)	13.4 (328)	6.2 (80)	8.2 (328)	12.7 (275)	12.0 (606)
Pressure child's father for marriage	10.9 (1383)	10.7 (177)	6.7 (179)	13.7 (117)	10.4 (67)	14.8 (162)	10.6 (132)	14.8 (128)	11.2 (125)	2.9 (34)	7.0 (114)	11.3 (53)	11.6 (95)
Total	11.6 (5191)	9.5 (726)	11.1 (305)	16.9 (385)	11.1 (488)	12.8 (374)	12.0 (324)	14.0 (363)	12.8 (469)	5.0 (119)	8.4 (466)	13.3 (347)	10.8 (825)

Figures in parentheses are N's

in large-scale surveys.

The value of undertaking a regional analysis of the YAFS data rests in the possibility of pinpointing some bases for allocation of program resources. Present available data can make some distinctions among three levels of geographic disaggregations: three major island groups, regions, and urban-rural.

Starting with the larger aggregate, all the three main island groups – Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao – deserve attention. Visayan regions, however, display a larger potential for sexual increase in practice due to their more favorable attitude towards premarital sex. The relatively high incidence of precocious sex activities in these regions, thus, requires more service-oriented action. This should not, however, preclude attention on Luzon and Mindanao where no component region is completely devoid of adolescent fertility problems.

Despite the varying levels of under-estimation of reports on premarital

sex at the regional level, each region has a modest proportion of young women engaging in sex, thus warranting some concern.

Within the region, the urban-rural dichotomy is a nagging issue for good reasons. Inasmuch as premarital sex is not yet a rampant practice and requires more imagination in designing approaches for service, wide dispersal of efforts is certainly not very advantageous from the point of view of efficient use of resources and effectiveness. New evidence from the regional analysis suggests the likelihood of urban-based sex activities among rural women. If this is in fact the case, then teen centers in metropolitan and more urbanized areas tend to have better chances for success especially since present prototypes of services that have worked are designed for high population concentration areas. Highly-urbanized areas have greater potential for increasing sexual activity not only because of the presence of a more hospitable environment but also,

as has been seen, of the more open attitude towards sex among urbanized women. The greater chances for success of urban-based programs also lies in the slower progression of boy-girl relationships in these areas and, therefore, provides more latitude for the program before the relationship progresses to the highest level of intimacy.

Still on the possible target group, school dropouts are another group to focus attention on. While there is certainly some activities going on in schools, the highest proportion of first sex experiences happen while a girl is idle after dropping out from school. With the recent increase in dropout rate, we can expect a corresponding increase in the proportion of women with premarital sex experience.

In the Philippines, we have passed the stage of arguing for action since there have been responses in different forms at the public level. The value of subsequent inquiries on the topic remains to be for fine tuning the various aspects of the behavior to improve program approaches and components.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The authors wish to acknowledge the Population Center Foundation under whose contract this study was implemented and the Commission on Population which provided the funding.

NOTES

¹Raymundo, Corazon. 1984. *Young Adult Fertility in the Philippines: A First Report*. U.P. Population Institute.

²A more liberal definition of adolescents is taken to include up to 24 years of age in line with the delayed marriage policy of the program, i.e., 25 is promoted as the ideal age at marriage.

³The 12 regions covered are as follows: Region I (Ilocos), Region II (Cagayan Valley), Region III (Central Luzon), Region IV (Southern Tagalog), Region V (Bicol), Region VI (Western Visayas), Region VII (Central Visayas), Region VIII (Eastern Visayas), Region IX (Western Mindanao), Region X (Northern Mindanao), Region XI (Southern Mindanao), National Capital Region.

⁴Difficulties in interview situations in the region at that time precluded completing the interview of the original sample.

⁵Supporting figures for this section are found in Raymundo, 1984.

⁶Consultancy with Frank Furstenberg during the Asian Seminar on Adolescent Fertility, Taichung, August 1985.

⁷Time interval between marriage and birth of first child.

⁸This issue is the subject of another paper.

⁹A succeeding paper delves into the protection from pregnancy practices of these women.

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