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Casual, Commercial, and Committed: A Typology of Premarital Sex in the Philippines

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Casual, Commercial and Committed: A Typology of Premarital Sex in the Philippines:

I. Introduction

In this chapter we assess the prevalence of sexual experience among the young people in our sample while they were still unmarried.¹ We begin by comparing their responses to the several kinds of direct question about sexual experience, heterosexual relationships and forms of marriage that were included in YAFS-II. Subsequent sections focus in greater detail on the premarital experiences of married youth, and on relationships among the single. The result is a preliminary typology of premarital sexual experience and prevalence estimates for the different kinds of premarital sexual experience. Then we introduce additional information from the survey on pregnancy and childbearing in order to identify premarital conceptions.² This information sheds some further light on our categories and points to higher levels of premarital sexual experience than were obtain from responses to the direct questions. Levels of the different types of premarital sexual experience within selected subgroups of the population are then examined as a prelude to a section focusing on the first sexual experience and the circumstances surrounding that first experience.

The implications of the analysis span the practical and the theoretical or basic. On the practical side, our findings concerning high levels of unmarried sexuality, and for many individuals a combination of sexual partners, carry important implications for the spread of sexually transmitted diseases and especially HIV/AIDS. These are taken up elsewhere in the report. The theoretical contribution of the analysis is a grounded typology of sexual "risk groups" among the unmarried of each sex. In combination with information on sexuality within unions, this opens the way toward a more comprehensive model of sexual behavior and the social behavior and union-formation institutions surrounding that behavior.

¹The authors are grateful to Ms. Midea Kabamalan for her excellent assistance, particularly with the Tagalog-English translation issues.

²This is our only consideration of the survey's pregnancy and childbearing information. These topics are examined comprehensively in other parts of the report.

II. Concepts, Data and Indicators

In both the 1982 YAFS and 1994 YAFS-II there were three separate approaches to measuring sexual experience directly. These can be outlined with reference to the YAFS-II questionnaire for single females. First, in the context of a sequence of questions in Block F on dating, respondents were asked if they had ever been on a date, whether in a group or as a couple. Those who reported experiencing a single date were asked several questions about the circumstances and the partner, culminating in question F27: "*On the first single date, did you...*" with yes/no responses to four items, "*hold hands,*" "*kiss,*" "*pet,*" and "*go 'all the way'*". Second, respondents were asked to report whether they currently have or ever had a boyfriend. Those who responded affirmatively were asked about those boyfriends with a sequence of questions culminating with F43: "*When you go out on dates, do (did) you ...*" and the same set of items as above. Third, in a series of questions in block G on attitudes toward sex before marriage and abortion, the respondent is asked about the behavior of his or her unmarried friends in this regard, including any knowledge of their sexual experience. Then question GI6 asks, without suggesting any specific context for the behavior, "*Have you ever had sexual intercourse?*"³

A significant amount of ancillary information was obtained on reported sexual encounters. About the first single date interviewers asked who the partner was (relationship to the respondent), whether there was a chaperon or other accompaniment, where the couple went, and, finally, what they did. When there was a boyfriend/girlfriend interviewers asked the age the relationship started, how long the couple had been going steady, frequency of contact, whether there was a chaperon, where the couple typically went, and, finally, what they typically did. When sexual intercourse was reported in the third, without-context sequence of questions, interviewers asked age at first sex, where this occurred, the age of the partner, relationship to the partner, whether there were further encounters with that partner, and how many other partners there had been. Then they asked about the most recent sexual intercourse (when this occurred, and whether a condom was used), and about the frequency of intercourse in the past month.

³These are slightly streamlined repetitions of the questions used in 1982. The YAFS-I questions are found at G23, G35 and H17 in that questionnaire. In 1994 these questions are found, unchanged in content, at different locations in the three other questionnaires: Male Single, Male Married and Female Married.

The design and sequencing of these questions implies that both the experience of sex while dating and sexual experience with a boyfriend/girlfriend be subsets of that reported by the third and broadest approach. We further expect that most sexual experience, though not necessarily all, with a boyfriend or girlfriend will be dating experience and reported there as well.

The 1994 survey also included as new items a series of questions, directed only to males, concerning sexual experience with a commercial partner. For single males question H34, which follows a series of questions on condom use, asks: "*Sometimes young men go to places and pay girls for sexual intercourse. Have you ever done this?*" When the response is affirmative H35 asks "*Think of the first time you did this. How old were you at that time?*" There are also questions about who accompanied the respondent, whether there was an occurrence of commercial sex in the last 12 months, and further inquiry relating to condom use and number of such commercial partners.⁴

There is very little external basis for assessing the responses to these questions and inferring true levels of sexual behavior in these different contexts for males and females. The female responses for 1982 are considered to be severe understatements, but this is only a supposition from limited circumstantial information. None of these questions has ever been employed with a large sample of Filipino males. The examination and classification of types of sexual experience presented here is imbedded in the background of marriage and youth institutions which we consider to be necessary for understanding and interpreting statistics derived from the individual questionnaire items.⁵

"Marriage" and "marital status" are pivotal concepts in this analysis. The YAFS-II questionnaire embodies a strictly de facto and *emic* view of marriage as is conventional in demographic surveys. That is, marriage refers to any union of a male and a female for purposes of partnership and intimacy, self-labeled by the partners and having an existence that is socially recognized. For our purposes we take "marriage" and "union" to be interchangeable terms, distinct from "formal

⁴A final question in this sequence asks young men *Were there any people who paid you for sexual intercourse?* and *Who is (are) this (these)?* (questions H42 and H42a). Commercial sex is discussed below.

⁵ In view of this uncertainty, further effort was made to measure sexual experience using a sealed envelope technique to assure anonymity. The results of this will be reported elsewhere.

marriage” which in our usage denotes either religious or state certification. Of women currently in unions or marriages by our definition,⁶ only 47.4 percent had been married in church (*simbahan*), 25.9 percent were civilly/legally married (*sibil/legal* or *huwes*, [before] a judge), and the remaining 26.8 percent said they were *kasalukuyang may kinakasama* (currently living with a partner) or “living in”. Among currently married males the distribution is very similar with a somewhat greater percentage (32.1) saying they are living in. Note that the living-in designation, though identified essentially as a residual category (cf note 6), generally describes a traditional or long-standing Filipino marriage form in which the commitment is life-long and public, rather than a trial arrangement or delimited commitment (Dobson 1988: esp. p. 227ff and the sources cited there).

Second, sexual experience here refers specifically to acts of sexual intercourse. The questions presumed male-female sexual intercourse, though we cannot be certain that all respondents interpreted the questions in this way. For example, G16 asks “*Ikaw ba ay nakipag-seks o nakipagtalik na?*” Here the term “seks,” which is the transliterated version in Tagalog of the English term, is used together with the Tagalog term for sexual intercourse (*talik*). In everyday usage, and particularly among young people, English and English/Tagalog combinations as well as euphemisms are frequently employed.⁷ This and other terminology is presented here in English, yet questionnaire design was conducted in a combination of English and Pilipino, and the interviewing was conducted in one of eight dialects, or English, or a combination of a dialect, Pilipino and/or English at the respondents’ discretion. Concepts are explained here in English, with reference to terms and concepts in Pilipino where that seems helpful.

Finally, our initial analysis is cross-sectional in character, describing the current situation or lifetime experience cumulative to the time of the survey. This approach is useful as description but also overly simplistic, particularly in studies of the youth age range. The pattern of lifetime experience is also of interest. For example, we show subsequently that while 7.2 percent of single

⁶ Respondents were so classified based on questions B1: “*What is your marital status?*” The tagalog version of the questionnaire puts the question rather differently, asking if the respondent has a spouse “yet” (*may asawa na?*). The response categories are single or “no spouse” (*walang asawa*); if there is a spouse there is a follow-up question: “...*Saan kayo ikinasal?*” or “where were you married?” with the responses give in the text.

⁷ This may have occurred in many YAFS-II interview situations. Language issues of this kind in YAFS-II are examined in the YAFS-II procedural report.

male youth report having ever visited a commercial sex worker, more than double that percentage say they had done so by age 24. The present analysis should be considered a starting point for life course investigation of the same issues.

III. Initial Results

We first consider results for the several different indicators of sexual experience before marriage, distinguishing males and females and the single from the married. The most encompassing item is question G16 asking whether the respondent had ever had sexual intercourse (for the married, referring to the period prior to marriage). Responses are given in Row A of Table 1. Among single males 22.1 percent said yes, compared with only 2.1 percent of single females, while among the married of each sex the reported levels of premarital sexual experience are considerably higher. Two points should be noted for subsequent discussion. First is the very much lower level for single females than single males, and second is the contrast between the responses of the single and the married even though both are describing their premarital experience.⁸ We consider below the suggestion that female levels are relatively under reported, which seems on balance far more likely than the alternative suggestion that males are over reporting. We will also look at two competing explanations for the higher premarital levels among the married: first, that married youth (especially, females) are more likely to report their premarital experience than are still unmarried youth; and second, that premarital sex tends to initiate or accelerate the process of marriage, or in some complex fashion occur in the context of marital decision-making. These issues can be examined more carefully once some further results have been presented.

Rows B and C of Table 1 give the levels of reported sexual experience among unmarried youth in two very specific contexts: the first "single date," and with the current (or last before marriage, presumptively the first spouse) boyfriend or girlfriend. It can be seen that sexual intercourse on the first single date is very rare according to our respondents, while sex with the current or last boy or girlfriend is uncommon as well. These three questionnaire items provide alternative indicators of overall sexual experience. In Row D these are combined to show the proportions reporting affirmatively to any (i.e., one or more) of the three items. The value of multiple

⁸We must bear in mind that the male and female responses need not be identical, since we did not sample couples. Among married females in our sample, 50.5 percent report husbands outside the youth age range. Among married males, 12.9 percent report wives outside the youth age range.

approaches to measurement and even outright redundancies in a questionnaire of this kind is illustrated by the fact that most but not all of the specific experiences indicated by rows B and C were included in the responses to the general question on sexual experience (compare rows D and A).

A second set of indicators, shown in the next panel of Table 1 (Rows E through J), describes the role of "living together" and "elopement" in the processing of union formation. This information of course is available only for those who by their own designation had entered a union, were "married," by the time of the survey. Respondents who so identified themselves were asked if they had lived together before the union began. The question translates to English as follows (selected Tagalog terms are in brackets):

Some couples begin [nagsisimulang] living together before or after they are formally married [kasal]. How was it in your case? Did you start living with your present husband before, after, or at the time you were formally married? (Responses coded "Before," "After," or "At date of marriage".)

This was followed in the first two instances by question F5, "*How long (before/after) the date of your formal marriage did you begin living together?*" (recorded in years and months). The next question (F6), was "*Did you elope [tanan] with your present husband?*" *Tanan* is a widely recognized marriage institution in the Philippines, a form of marriage most common among low-income families but practiced across social classes. In one careful field investigation of marriage institutions in Tagalog society (Dotson 1988), *tanán* and "living-in" are described along with *pamahikan*, which involves formal marriage negotiations between families. *Pamahikan* is generally described as the normative form, and is aspired to by most families, but *tanán* is the most common marriage form.⁹

⁹In Gapan, Nueva Ecija, studied by Dotson, about 90 percent of the marriages were of the *tanán* form. Evidence from national surveys such as the National Demographic Survey and specialized surveys such as the Asian Marriage Survey (Cheung et al 1985) also suggest very high proportions of *tanán* marriages. Dotson explains that many *tanán* marriages are subsequently transformed by "*pamahikan* after *tanán*." Other useful sources on these marriage forms and related issues include Murray (1972) and Fegan (1978, 1979). Ethnographic evidence is not available for each major language group, so it is not clear what sub-group variations in these institutions may exist.

We find in Row E of Table 1 that about half of married males and females say they had lived with their spouse prior to the time of formal marriage (*kasal*)." Row F shows that about 29 percent of the married of each sex say that they eloped (*tanan*). Row G indicates that roughly two-thirds of each sex had either lived together or eloped. Comparison of rows H through J suggests that elopement virtually always involves a period of living together, whereas a substantial proportion of respondents say they lived together without an elopement.

Those claiming "living in" ("*kasalukuyang may kinakasama*") as their marital status were defined as having lived together before marriage and were not asked whether they had or for how long. But for other marital statuses it is revealing to compare, as we do in Table 2, responses on current marital status and reports of living together or elopement. The essential points in the following discussion are that marriage among most Filipino youth is a process rather an event, though particular events-- perhaps *tanan*, perhaps a religious ceremony, perhaps first sex-- are certainly important elements in the process; and, that there are evidently several common pathways between "single" as an initial status and "married" as one's current status. By implication, moreover, one may be "married," yet further events in the process may subsequently occur. For the majority of youth sexual relations are a part of this process, though precisely when sexual relations begin to occur varies markedly.

Only about half of our married respondents of each sex who by the interview date had had a church wedding, did not also report some prior stages in their marriage process. Among church-wedded males, 51.1 percent say they previously had lived together with their partner or had eloped, and the percentage for females is nearly at that level. Among church-wedded males, 31.0 percent say they had lived together, and another 20.1 percent say they had eloped, virtually always followed by living together. Among church-wedded females similar levels are found though the percentage saying they lived with their partner is somewhat lower than among males. Among those who married civilly, prior stages in the process are even more common. One-third of these males had lived together and one-fourth had eloped, and similar though somewhat lower levels are seen for females (especially for reports of living together). Still, 59.0 percent of civilly-wedded females, compared with 64.3 percent of civilly-wedded males, reported prior stages in their marriage process. Virtually everyone who described himself or herself as "living-in" as their marital status at the time of the interview, also reported a living-in episode. For each sex about 40 percent reported that an elopement was involved. Table 2 shows that of all female respondents reporting elopements, 30.4 percent had been married in church by the time of the survey, and another 25.8 percent had been married civilly, while 41.9 percent were still living-in. Among

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males reporting elopements, 16.9 percent had been married in church by the time of the survey, another 24.2 percent had been married civilly, while 39.4 percent were still living-in. Among those married by elopement, females are somewhat more likely than males to subsequently have a church or civil wedding, but overall the marriage-as-process claim is clearly supported by these data and frames our subsequent analysis of when “premarital” sexual experience may occur.

The time period of exposure to sexual relations encompassed by living together is generally short. For both males and females 70 percent of those who lived together did so for three months or less. Only 5.5 percent reported living together for two years or longer.¹⁰ Adjustment for this has little overall effect on conception rates, for example. The import of these results lies in revealing the numerical significance of the elopement form of marriage, and in suggesting that “living together” is also an important pattern, involving a third or more of married respondents. Both these forms should be viewed as contemporary manifestations of traditional marriage forms. For the present analysis the critical point is that for both these marriage forms, and particularly for living together, it is problematic whether the sexual relations involved should be seen as “premarital.” In what follows we label these two forms of premarital sexual experience “Sex Toward Marriage.”

The prevalence of participation in commercial sex among young men as a whole (women were not asked this question) is given in Row K of Table 1. According these responses one in fourteen single men and one in eight married men had engaged in commercial sex before marriage. We have no basis for evaluating these statistics, and it is quite plausible to suggest that many young men did not report their commercial sex experiences. Still, the reported levels are notable, particularly when we consider that the whole 15-24 age range is described. In Table 3 the same information is provided for single years of age. Keeping in mind that these are current ages and cumulative reports of commercial sexual experience, we note that by age 21, about 12 percent of young men are reporting premarital commercial sexual experience. Interestingly, the levels among married men begin to decline at ages later than 21, but continue to rise at older ages among men still single at those ages.¹¹

¹⁰The survey does not provide the duration of time from elopement to marriage.

¹¹We note here that a smaller but not inconsequential 3.4 percent of males indicated in response to question H42 that there were other people who paid the respondent for sexual intercourse. Moreover, one in five of the males reporting employing a commercial sex worker also

Our understanding of these types of premarital sexual experience is enhanced by some further detail in Table 4 on the distinct first-sex experiences of males and females. First are reports about the first premarital partner. Among single males and females, males are much more likely to describe their first premarital partner as an acquaintance or friend (46 percent versus 11 percent), but females are more likely to describe them as boyfriends (85 percent versus 50 percent). Neither consider their partners to be fiances or commercial sex workers. The same gender difference is found among the married, for whom some additional and quite revealing information is available. Females rarely report that they had an additional partner, while 36.8 percent of males report more than one premarital partner. While the two sexes are similar in their reports of whether they had sex with their spouse prior to marriage, a very high proportion of males report that their first sexual experience was not with their spouse. This information suggests strongly that males, far more than females, are involved before their marriages in sexual networks involving more than one sexual partner and often including their prospective spouse.

IV. The Premarital Experience of Married Youth

Focusing now on our married respondents, we examine more closely their combinations of responses to the general questions on premarital sexual experience and to the questions on the living-in and elopement forms of marital union. The full cross-tabulation of this information for each of the sexes has been examined and is summarized in Table 5 where only the most important subgroups are shown.

Perhaps the most notable revelation here is the very small proportion of married youth of each sex who report no sexual experience before marriage, whether by the general indicators or the evidence of elopement and living together, which we characterize as "committed" sexual relations. This group comprises only 13.7 percent of married males and only 29.7 percent of married females.

Among married males the largest group (27.2 percent) is men who reported that they lived together with a partner, though not in an elopement type of union, and who also reported sex before marriage in response to one of the general questions. The next largest group of married males (16.7 percent) reported no experience of Committed Sex, but did report premarital sex. The

report having been paid for sexual intercourse. Such cases are very rare among the female respondents.

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next group in size (13.1 percent) is married males who say they lived with a partner, without elopement, and did not report premarital sex. The smallest identifiable group is men who eloped and lived with a partner but did not report premarital sex (12.2 percent).

The same information for married females yields a different ordering by size of subgroup. The largest group among females is married women who reported no sexual experience by any of the indicators (29.7 percent). These are followed by women who reported living with a partner (without an elopement marriage). These women include 17.6 percent of the total who did not also report premarital sex, and another 16.5 percent who did report pre-martial sex. The remaining subgroups are women who reported elopement (and living with a partner), some who did not report premarital sex (13.2 percent) and some who did not (13.1 percent). The final small group listed (3.0 percent) is women who eloped but did not live with their partner, and who reported no premarital sex.

These patterns highlight two issues of interpretation that are critical to this analysis, one related to measurement, and the other related to conceptualization.

We have multiple indicators of premarital sexual experience, some general and some defined in terms of particular marriage institutions. Some subgroups give seemingly consistent responses, viz. the small group of women who say they eloped but did not live with their partner, and also say that they had no premarital sexual experience. But some groups give seemingly inconsistent responses. Should inconsistencies among these indicators be regarded as indications of error in reporting? For example, we earlier saw evidence of both males and females who reported (premarital) sex on their first date, or with their current boyfriend or girlfriend, but who gave a negative response to the general question regarding premarital sexual experience. Our approach in these instances of inconsistent response is to presume that any indication of premarital sex should override any contrary indications.

The conceptual issues relate to the meaning of elopement and living together. These are reasonably well defined in Philippine society, and we believe that young people are describing their relationships in a meaningful way when they associate themselves with these labels. For example, we accept the distinction, among those who lived with a partner, between those who took the elopement path to those living arrangements and those who did not. We note that the most of those who eloped also lived together, but that a substantial number of those who lived together did not elope.

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What is far less clear--but crucial for the topic of this chapter-- is whether "premarital" is an appropriate label for sexual experience in such relationships. The critical unknown in this analysis is why some respondents in a committed, premarital relationship do report premarital sexual experience while others do not. In part the issue is clouded by the fact that there may have been other sexual partners, besides the committed-sex partner, particularly among males. But even when there had been only one partner, one woman may see that as having been an instance of premarital sex, while another may see the same behavior as having been an instance of sexual relations within a bona fide union, and thus not premarital. We cannot resolve this conceptual issue here. Our interim tactic is to distinguish both live-in and elopement sexual relations as forms of Sex Toward Marriage--to be considered as premarital or not as seems appropriate for a particular analytic or policy purpose.

Of males reporting a committed-sex experience before marriage, 39.9 percent had not reported any general sexual experience, and among similar females 54.4 percent had not reported any general sexual experience. These numbers combine those reporting living together and elopement types of committed sex experience. Those of each sex reporting only an elopement, without living together, were least likely to have also indicated a general sexual experience. The levels are very near half for both males and females reporting a living-in experience, whether with or without an elopement. There is a very large difference between males and females who reported no committed sexual experience. Of these males, 45.0 percent responded affirmatively to the general questions on sexual experience; of these females, only 16.9 percent responded affirmatively. We provisionally conclude that these results reflect a real gender difference in behavior. That is, a high proportion of female premarital sexual experience is in committed relationships, while a much lower proportion of male premarital sexual experience is in such relationships.

V. Relationships Among the Single

We have thus far considered patterns of living together and elopement and how these blur the boundary between married and single statuses. A considerable share of the total sexual exposure among youth is among those in such living-together or elopement relationships. Both these marriage forms involve individual choice and require that youth dating and related institutions be in place as a venue or marketplace for such decision making. We turn now to the dating and related behavior of single youth.

It seemed likely that much of the premarital sexual experience reported by youth would be among

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those who had ever been on “couple dates.” This experience is thought to distinguish the subgroup of youth more involved in heterosexual relationships than the larger number of youth who participated in group-dating only or reported no dating behavior of any kind. In Table 6 and Figure 1 we see that the experience of couple-dating rises to 43.3 percent of still-single males and 28.4 percent of still-single females by age 18; by the end of the youth age range about 70 percent of never-married males and 50 percent of never-married females have been on couple dates (row A of Table 6).

The data provide additional information which we have employed in an effort to identify young people in close relationships of the kind that might lead to marriage or to living-in or elopement, or perhaps to sexual experience without any of these. We have considered responses on whether respondents had ever had a boyfriend or girlfriend, and whether they had ever planned a wedding date. Additionally, those aged 20 and single were asked why they were still single, and one of the reasons given was that the respondent was engaged but not yet married. Such dating information is examined in greater detail in another section of the report. For the present purpose a few observations are sufficient. First, the proportion of each sex describing a single-date experience is much lower, age by age, than the proportion who say they have had a boyfriend or girlfriend. Among females of all ages, for example, 27.1 percent have had a single date, but 48.2 percent have had a boyfriend. The figures for males are 44.2 percent and 58.6 percent (row B versus row A). In another chapter the nature of boyfriend/girlfriend relationships without accompanying dating behavior is examined. We have included as youth with “serious relationships” only those who say they have had boyfriends or girlfriends and have been on single dates. To this number we have added those who referred specifically to dating with a boyfriend or girlfriend, or a fiance, those who have ever planned a wedding date, and those who say they were still single because they were engaged. The resulting subgroup of youth reporting a “serious relationship” is shown as row D in Table 6. By the definition indicated, some 20 percent of young women had a serious relationship by age 17 (28 percent of corresponding males), and 46 percent had a serious relationship by age 21 (61 percent of males). We must bear in mind in interpreting these numbers that they describe single youth, those who have not yet shifted into one of the “married” statuses. Those with relatively early experiences of serious relationships are most likely to have married, by one or the other of the processes described earlier.

Table 6 and Figure 1 give us a broad indication of the youth population who might be most likely to have engaged in premarital sexual relations, in that a serious relationship is reported. In Table 7

(cf also Figure 2) we present the level of reported premarital sexual experience¹² in several relationship statuses among young men and women. Certain patterns are striking.

First, our “serious relationship” construct clearly does distinguish youth with the highest level of premarital sexual experience. Second, even within this well-defined subgroup the reported male level of premarital sex greatly exceeds that for females. By age 21 half the unmarried young men in serious relationships are reporting experience of premarital sex, compared with only 11 percent of comparable females. Though these males and females are not dating partners, we argue that much of this difference reflects the more rapid movement of women with serious relationships into marriage, especially if they have been sexually active.

Among females all the other categories report very low levels of premarital sexual experience, but not so among males. Among young men who had never been on a single date, and among those who had never had a girlfriend, some 10 percent or more reported sexual experience by age 20. Among those with a girlfriend, though having never dated, a significantly higher percentage reported premarital sexual experience. We will not comment further on these reports of premarital sex except to identify them as probably “casual” in nature.¹³

VI. The Further Evidence of Reported Conceptions

Paralleling the YAFS-II questions on premarital sexual experience is pregnancy history information. When we compare women’s responses on whether they ever had premarital sex, with whether they ever had a premarital conception, we find evidence of premarital sex for additional subgroups of women. Recall in the discussion following that sexual and pregnancy events occurred in the past, while the terms “single” and “married” refer to current marital statuses. A premarital pregnancy is defined as one commencing less than seven months after the date given as the date of marriage.¹⁴

¹²As measured by the general indicators of sexual experience (row D in Table 1).

¹³We have considered whether these reports of premarital sex reflect experience with commercial sex workers. Most, apparently, do not. About one-third of the males aged 20 or over who reported premarital sex in the absence of a serious relationship, also reported an episode with a commercial sex worker. This leaves substantial percentages who do not.

¹⁴We employ here the definition developed by Balk et. al. for the chapter on fertility.

A very small proportion (only 1.0 percent) of single women seem to have had a (premarital) conception, and virtually all of these women had separately reported premarital sexual experience. Of those who acknowledged premarital sex, 49.4 percent also seem to have had a premarital conception. This conception ratio is high enough to suggest that possibly some single women had premarital sexual experience which they did not feel compelled to report because they had not become pregnant.

Among married women the comparison of sexual experience versus conception prior to marriage reveals a situation that is entirely consistent with other evidence including that from males and from single women. The joint distribution of premarital sex and conception statuses among married women is as follows:

Acknowledged premarital sex	No <7 month conception	16.5
Acknowledged premarital sex	With a <7 month conception	18.4
Denied premarital sex	With a <7 month conception	17.8
Denied premarital sex	No <7 month conception	47.2

		100.0

This evidence suggests that the proportion of married women with premarital sexual experience must have been at least 52.0 percent instead of 34.9 percent--about 50 percent higher than was directly acknowledged. This higher level takes on greater plausibility because it roughly parallels the level of premarital sex reported directly by married males--58.6 percent.

The group of married women reporting premarital sexual experience includes 52.7 percent who reported a premarital conception. This ratio of premarital conception to exposure must be considered remarkably high, unless the pre-marital sexual exposure referred to continued with frequency and over a period of time. The unexpectedly high ratios of conception to exposure leaves us with the suggestion, to be pursued subsequently, that additional premarital sexual experience that did not lead to pre-marital conception remains unreported. This would have to be found, most obviously, among the 47.2 percent of married women who reported neither premarital sex or conception. Another contribution to the very high conception level among those now married and sexually active before marriage may come in an indirect fashion from those still single. Our reasoning is that one of the circumstances encouraging marriage among single women

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is premarital sexual experience and particularly sexual experience which produces either pregnancy or significant concern about pregnancy. That is to say, we are suggesting that some single women marry because of pregnancy (or their worry about pregnancy), thus boosting the ratio of conception to exposure among the married. We saw in the previous section that women with serious relationships do not report high levels of premarital sexual experience. As noted earlier, this may occur because such women tend to enter into marriage and then report their premarital experiences and in some cases their premarital conceptions.

Finally, we note that the overall level of premarital sexual experience for the cohort of females aged 15-24 rises, when we consider the evidence of pre-marital pregnancy, from the directly acknowledged 10.2 percent to 14.2 percent.

VII. Commentary and Conclusions

Our goal in this final section is to unify the several parts of the analysis in order to answer a few basic questions about sexuality among Filipino youth. We first of all want to know what subgroups of youth, both married and unmarried, can be identified by their distinct place in a continuum of exposure to premarital sexual activity. Second, we want estimates of the prevalences of premarital experience within these subgroups.

The first step is to combine the categories for single and married for the complete 15-24 cohort into an overall breakdown of the youth population into "risk groups." Separately for males and females, this breakdown is depicted in Figure 3 A and B. Considering the segments in clockwise order from the top, around to the top again, we find first the group of youth who are, in terms of available indicators, at the least risk of premarital sex because they are neither dating or have boyfriends or girlfriends. This group comprises 38.5 percent of female youth and 34.1 percent of male youth. The remainder of single youth, fully half of all single females and nearly half of all single males, have begun dating the opposite sex or have had what they consider to be girlfriends or boyfriends. Among all females, 20.9 percent have had "serious relationships" as defined for the present analysis. Among males 38.6 percent have had such relationships. This means that serious relationships are found among 26.8 percent of single females and 42.8 percent of single males. We *a priori* anticipate higher levels of premarital sexual activity among these young persons.

Continuing around the figures we find the married youth population classified to distinguish combinations of initial marriage forms and marital statuses at the time of the survey. We expect

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that virtually all these young people are at essentially universal exposure to sexual relations. We distinguish these marriage forms and histories here because they help to reinforce a major point of this analysis--that marriage is a process, with the onset of sexual relations imbedded variously in the processes for different couples. We note that elopement leads to living in, usually very shortly, but almost certainly very soon. Living in leads very often to civil or church union. Only 8.5 percent of female youth, and 3.1 percent of male youth, report that they are in formal marriages that started out as such. These represent 31.6 percent of married females and 37.1 percent of married males. The majority of the married youth population reports that they began their unions either by living in or by elopement.

The same classification is presented in Figures 4 A and B and 5 A and B, showing the changing cumulative or lifetime experience across the ages of youth. The age-curves reflect expectations, with the proportions with dating or boyfriend/girlfriend experience dropping to near zero by age 24, for example. The other risk categories have a slightly humped age-pattern as dating and/or close friendships become more common and then diminish in importance at later ages as these couples shift into the married category. The proportions of both females and males with serious relationships peaks at about 15 percent by age 20.

The categories of the married youth population (Figure 5 A and B) all rise with age. The fact that they all represent roughly similar proportions of all youth (about 14-20 percent at age 21, for example) is interesting but of no particular importance. The fluctuations across ages in Figure 5 reflect the fact that there are relatively small numbers of married youth on which to base the estimates.

We conclude this analysis by returning to the classification scheme mentioned at the outset. Sexual experience among unmarried youth is of several quite distinct types reflecting a combination of long-standing marriage institutions and relatively new forms of relationship among the single. Based upon young men's and women's reports of cumulative or lifetime experience, the following kinds of unmarried sexual experience emerge from the analysis. *Committed* sexual experience is sex with a partner who subsequently becomes the marital partner, marriage here defined in de facto terms. Among married youth in the YAFS-II sample, 69.2 percent of males and 64.5 percent of females report sexual experience with their partner before formal unions. *Commercial* sexual experience, the purchase of sex, is reported by 7.7 percent of males aged 15 through 24 (females were not asked about their commercial sex experience). *Casual* sexual experience is sex with a partner who has not subsequently become a marital

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partner, and where a monetary transaction did not occur. This is essentially a residual category, made up primarily of sex with acquaintances or boyfriends/girlfriends. Whether a particular sexual relationship involves casual sex or sex toward marriage (committed sex) is obviously a matter of subtle judgement over which even the sexual partners may well disagree. From the evidence at hand, we must conclude that the overall level of sexual experience among unmarried, male youth is notably higher than many observers had anticipated. The level among females is lower than for males, at least for *casual sex*, it is unmeasured for *commercial sex*, but about the same as among males for *committed sex* reflecting the participation of both sexes in institutionalized marriage processes which involve sexual relations prior to any church or civil marriage event.

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Table 1 . Indicators of Sexual Experience by Sex and Marital Status: Philippines 1994

Indicators of Sexual Experience	Male		Female	
	Single	Married	Single	Married
(N)	(4,731)	(526)	(4,295)	(1,327)
General				
A. Premarital intercourse ^a	22.1	57.5	2.1	34.5
B. Intercourse on first single date ^b	1.8	2.9	0.3	0.9
C. Intercourse with current B/G friend or spouse before marriage ^c	3.8	14.3	0.7	8.3
D. Intercourse reported under A, B or C	22.4	58.6	2.4	35.3
Committed Sex (Sex Toward Marriage)				
E. Lived together before marriage ^d	-	51.0	-	46.6
F. Eloped ^e	-	29.0	-	29.4
G. Lived together or eloped (E or F)	-	69.2	-	64.5
H. Lived together - only (E, not F)	-	39.8	-	33.9
I. Eloped - only (F, not E)	-	3.0	-	3.8
J. Lived together & eloped (E and F)	-	25.7	-	25.1
Commercial Sex				
K. Ever Paid CSW for intercourse ^f	7.2	12.2	-	-
Summary				
L. Any Type of Sexual Experience Indicated ^g	22.8	86.6	2.4	29.3
M. No Type of Sexual Experience Indicated ^h	77.2	13.4	97.6	70.7

- ^a Variable G16: Question G16 (single) or G58 (married): "Have you ever had sexual intercourse?" or "When you were still single, did you ever have sexual intercourse?"
- ^b Variable FG27D: Question F27 (single) or G25 (married): "On your first single date, did you 'go all the way'?"
- ^c Variable FG43D: Question F43D (single) or G40D (married): For single refers to current or last B/G friend; for married refers to spouse prior to marriage
- ^d Variable F4: Question F4 (married only): "Did you start living together before, after, or at the time of marriage?"
- ^e Variable F6: Question F6 (married only): "Did you elope with your present wife/husband?"
- ^f Variable I34: Question H34 (males only): "Sometimes young men go to places and pay girls for sexual intercourse. Have you ever done this?"
- ^g Row D or G or K.
- ^h Compliment of Row L.

Source: YAFSII

Table 2. Comparisons of Selected Types of Marriage and Current Marital Status, by Sex: Philippines, 1994

Current Marital Status	N of cases	Type of Marriage				
		Did not Live Together or Elope	Lived Together or Eloped	Eloped and Lived Together	Lived Together (no elopement)	Eloped (did not live together)
Male						
<i>Percents Reporting Types of Marriage</i>						
Never married	4,731	-	-	-	-	-
Married in church	240	48.9	51.1	16.9	31.0	3.2
Married civilly	109	35.7	64.3	24.2	33.9	5.5
Living-in	166	0.0	100.0	39.4	58.8	0.5
Separated/Divorced/ Widowed	12	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Percents by Current Marital Status</i>						
Never married	4,731	-	-	-	-	-
Married in church	240	73.1	33.5	30.2	35.0	49.3
Married civilly	109	24.4	19.1	19.6	17.3	38.7
Living-in	166	0.0	45.4	48.6	46.0	5.1
Separated/Divorced/ Widowed	12	2.5	2.0	1.6	1.6	6.9

Current Marital Status	N of cases	Type of Marriage				
		Did not Live Together or Elope	Lived Together or Eloped	Eloped and Lived Together	Lived Together (no elopement)	Eloped (did not live together)
Female						
<i>Percents Reporting Types of Marriage</i>						
Never married	4,295	-	-	-	-	-
Married in church	607	52.4	47.6	16.4	25.8	5.1
Married civilly	333	41.0	59.0	25.5	27.7	5.3
Living-in	343	0.7	99.3	40.2	57.5	0.0
Separated/Divorced/ Widowed	27	*	*	*	*	*
NI	17	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Percents by Current Marital Status</i>						
Never married	4,295	-	-	-	-	-
Married in church	607	67.1	33.9	30.4	34.7	62.4
Married civilly	333	28.9	23.0	25.8	20.4	36.0
Living-in	343	0.4	39.9	41.9	43.6	0.0
Separated/Divorced/ Widowed	27	1.5	2.2	0.9	0.3	1.6
NI	17	2.1	0.9	1.0	1.0	0.0

* Insufficient cases

- Not applicable

Source: YAFSII

Table 3. Indicators of Sexual Experience with Commercial Sex Workers for Male Filipino Youth by Marital Status: Philippines, 1994

Indicators	Marital Status		
	Never Married	Ever Married	
		First occurred before marriage	First occurred since marriage
(N)	(4,731)	(526)	
Ever paid for sexual intercourse [I34] %	7.2	12.2	
Age 15	0.1	0.0	0.0
Age 16	1.0	0.0	0.0
Age 17	2.0	0.0	0.0
Age 18	5.0	0.0	0.0
Age 19	7.2	8.1	0.0
Age 20	12.2	9.1	9.1
Age 21	12.5	6.9	4.6
Age 22	15.8	8.7	5.0
Age 23	15.6	11.8	1.9
Age 24	21.6	7.7	2.2
Paid for sex in the past 12 months [I37] %	3.1	1.7	

Note: Brackets contain question or variable numbers.

Source: YAFSII

Table 4. Indicators of Sexual Experience for Never Married and Ever Married Youth by Sex: Philippines, 1994

Indicators of Sexual Experience	Sex	
	Male	Female
<u>Never Married Youth Reporting Sexual Experience Before Marriage</u>	(n=1,037)	(n=86)
Relationship with first premarital partner [G21]%		
Acquaintance/friend	46.1	10.5
Girl/Boy friend	50.2	84.8
Fiance(e)	1.3	4.7
Commercial Sex Worker	2.4	0.0
No Information	??	??
<u>Married Youth Reporting Sexual Experience Before Marriage</u>	(n=297)	(n=451)
Relationship with first premarital partner [G21] (%)		
Acquaintance/friend		
Girl/Boy friend	21.8	4.2
Fiance(e)	68.4	86.4
Commercial sex worker	5.2	8.0
No information	3.0	0.0
Additional sex partners before marriage [G31] (%)	36.8	2.6
Had sex with spouse before marriage? [*] (%)	57.1	51.3
First sex was not with spouse [G16B] (%)	62.7	4.7

Note: Brackets contain question or variable numbers.

* Positive indicator on G16B, F4R or F6R.

Source: YAFSII

Table 5. Comparison of Responses on Living Together, Elopement and General Indicators of Premarital Sexual Experience, Married Youth by Sex: Philippines, 1994

Sex and Combination of Responses ^a	Number of Cases	Percent Distribution
Males		
Lived together (no elopement) Reported PMS	143	27.2
No Committed Sexual Experience Reported PMS	88	16.7
-----No Reported Sexual Experience-----	72	13.7
Elopement (and lived together) Reported PMS	70	13.3
Lived Together (no elopement) No Report of PMS	69	13.1
Elopement (and lived together) No Report of PMS	64	12.2
----- All Other Combinations-----	20	3.8
ALL COMBINATIONS	526	100.0
Females		
-----No Reported Sexual Experience-----	394	29.7
Lived together (no elopement) No Report of PMS	233	17.6
Lived Together (no elopement) Reported PMS	219	16.5
Elopement (and lived together) No Report of PMS	175	13.2
Elopement (and lived together) Reported PMS	154	11.6
Elopement (and ^{did not} live together) No Report of PMS	40	3.0
----- All Other Combinations-----	112	8.4
ALL COMBINATIONS	1,327	100.0

^a For definitions, see notes to Table 1 and text .

Source: YAFSII

**Table 6. Percent Reporting Various Relationship Status Among Single Youth,
by Sex and Age: Philippines, 1994**

Relationship Status	All Ages	Age									
		15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Male (N)	(4,731)	(694)	(647)	(622)	(552)	(511)	(413)	(419)	(358)	(286)	(229)
A. Ever been on a single date	44.2	13.3	23.4	31.6	43.3	52.9	64.7	63.2	69.9	71.2	67.8
B. Ever had a girlfriend	58.6	26.6	39.3	48.0	63.3	71.6	74.2	75.6	80.8	78.2	80.1
C. Ever had a girlfriend but never dated	18.0	15.0	18.8	21.2	22.2	21.4	15.2	16.3	15.3	12.7	17.0
D. Reported a serious relationship	42.7	12.5	22.4	28.1	43.5	51.8	62.7	60.8	68.1	69.3	67.5
Female (N)	(4,295)	(793)	(642)	(628)	(508)	(426)	(375)	(284)	(237)	(240)	(162)
A. Ever been on a single date	27.1	6.8	12.0	19.1	28.4	32.9	43.8	46.4	50.8	50.2	57.2
B. Ever had a boyfriend	48.2	19.1	31.5	42.3	53.5	59.3	67.4	72.9	71.7	72.8	75.5
C. Ever had a boyfriend but never dated	24.2	13.4	22.3	25.5	28.8	30.0	28.8	31.3	25.4	27.7	20.6
D. Reported a serious relationship	27.2	6.3	11.0	19.6	27.1	34.2	43.6	46.0	52.7	51.4	60.0

Source: YAFSII

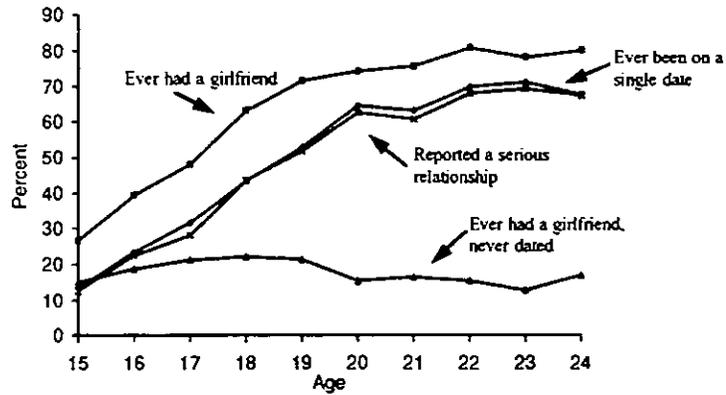
**Table 7. Percent Reporting Sex Before Marriage Among Single Youth,
by Relationship Status, Sex and Age: Philippines, 1994**

Relationship Status	All Ages	Age									
		15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Male (N)	(4,731)	(694)	(647)	(622)	(552)	(511)	(413)	(419)	(358)	(286)	(229)
A. Never been on a single date	6.2	1.0	3.4	3.7	6.0	7.7	9.5	16.3	13.1	23.9	21.6
B. Never had a girlfriend	3.7	0.2	1.5	2.1	1.4	4.8	13.1	8.6	8.4	14.7	25.3
C. With a girlfriend but never dated	14.9	5.0	10.6	10.8	13.9	15.1	12.0	31.2	19.4	36.6	20.8
D. With a serious relationship	43.9	14.4	20.4	26.2	33.1	47.2	45.6	51.4	53.5	59.3	63.8
Female (N)	(4,295)	(793)	(642)	(628)	(508)	(426)	(375)	(284)	(237)	(240)	(162)
A. Never been on a single date	0.8	0.1	0.2	1.0	0.3	1.1	2.6	0.0	1.9	4.0	0.0
B. Never had a boyfriend	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.6	1.0	0.0	0.0	4.1	4.0
C. With a boyfriend but never dated	1.7	0.0	0.6	3.3	0.8	1.6	3.9	0.0	3.6	3.2	0.0
D. With a serious relationship	7.3	0.0	1.3	6.5	4.6	5.9	5.3	11.2	12.8	7.3	13.2

Source: YAFSII

FIGURE 1

Percent reporting various relationship status among single male youth



Percent reporting various relationship status among single female youth

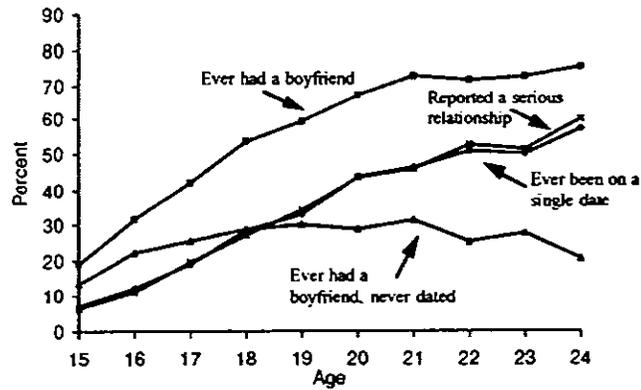
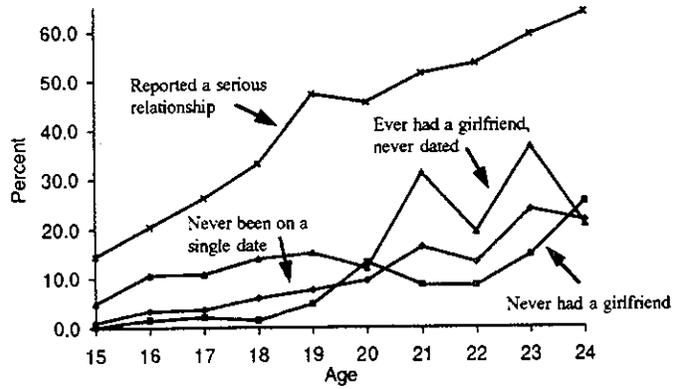


FIGURE 2

**Percent reporting sex before marriage
among single male youth,
by relationship status**



**Percent reporting sex before marriage
among single female youth,
by relationship status**

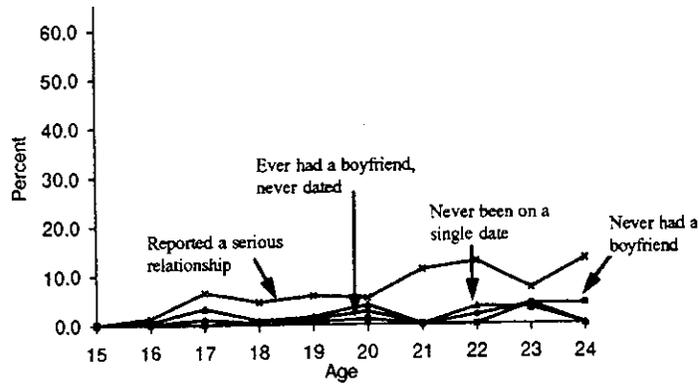
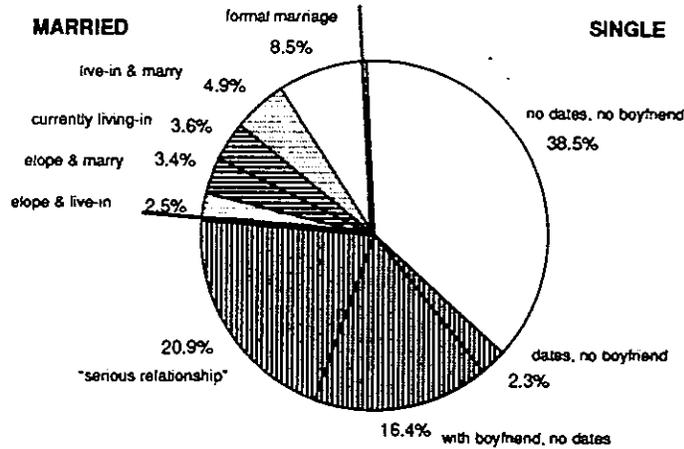


FIGURE 3

Classification of youth according to risk groups for premarital sex: (A) Females



Classification of youth according to risk groups for premarital sex: (B) Males

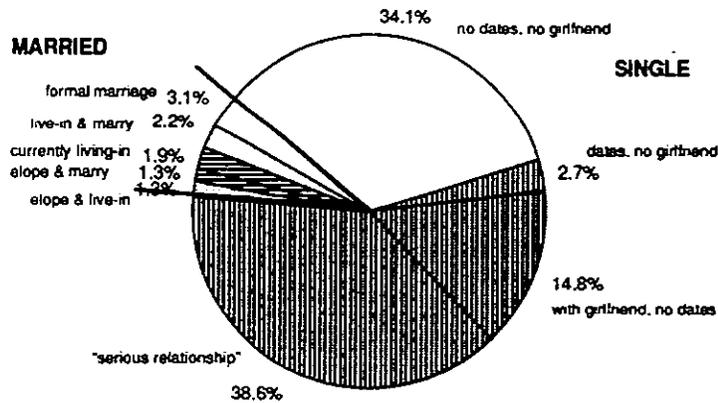
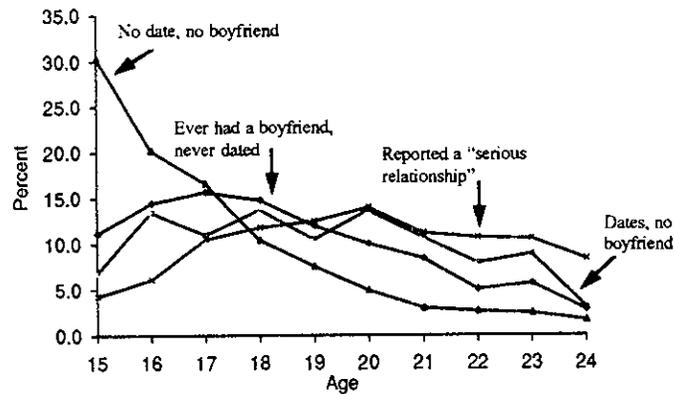


FIGURE 4
 Classification of single youth according to
 risk groups for premarital sex, by age:
 (A) Females



Classification of single youth according
 to risk groups for premarital sex, by age:
 (B) Males

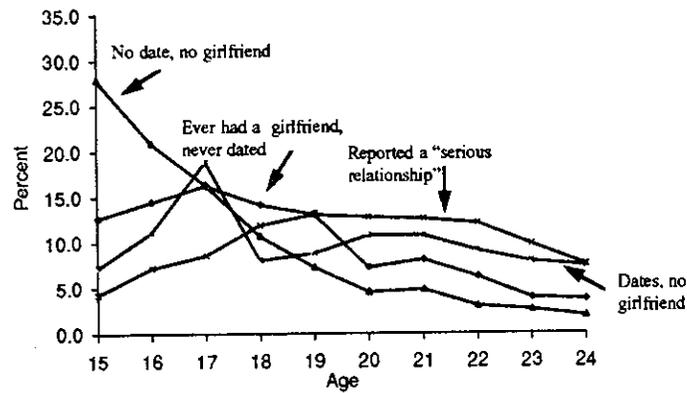
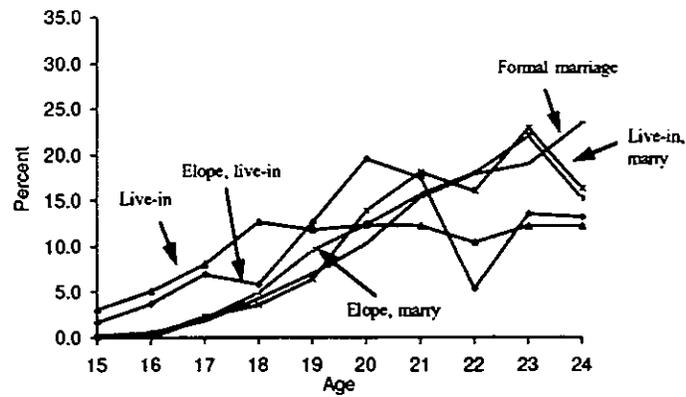


FIGURE 5
 Classification of married youth according
 to risk groups for premarital sex, by age:
 (A) Females



Classification of married youth according
 to risk groups for premarital sex, by age:
 (B) Males

