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Filipino Attitudes Toward Sexual Relations

Gerardo A. Sandoval



Are Filipinos conservative in their attitudes toward sexual relations—in particular premarital, extramarital, and homosexual relations? Are these conservative attitudes more likely to be found in certain groups than others? Are these conservative attitudes related to their religiosity? This article provides answers to such questions by using national survey data from the SWS Survey Data Bank.

Social Weather Stations became the first Third World country member of the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) in 1990. The ISSP is an association of reputable research institutions from twenty-one countries. To date, these are Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Philippines (represented by SWS), Poland, Russia, Sweden, Slovenia, and the United States.

Each year ISSP members design questions on a topic of common interest and agree to conduct surveys containing these questions for cross-country comparison. For 1991, the topic agreed upon was religion and religious beliefs.

SWS incorporated the ISSP religion module in its nationwide survey conducted from 7 June to 15 July 1991. The survey, like other nationwide polls undertaken by SWS, entailed face-to-face oral interviews with a probability-based, national sample of 1,200 adult respondents (eighteen years old and above or the voting population). The obtained sampling error was ± 3 percent.

Attitudes Toward Sexual Relations

Attitudes toward premarital, extramarital, and homosexual relationships were included as part of the ISSP religion module. Respon-

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dents were asked to give their opinion on whether these sexual relations were "always wrong," "almost always wrong," "neither wrong nor not wrong," "wrong only sometimes" or "not wrong at all."

Two previous SWS papers have dealt with sexual relations: a Social Weather Bulletin entitled "Survey Data on Religion and Morality" (Acuña 1991) and an occasional paper on "Religion in the Philippines: The 1991 ISSP Survey" (Mangahas and Guerrero 1992). Both papers show widespread conservatism among Filipinos in their attitudes toward sexual relations. A great majority (85 percent) feel it is always wrong to have extramarital relations, while 11 percent say it is almost always wrong, 3 percent wrong only sometimes, and 1 percent not wrong at all. In turn, 82 percent state that a homosexual relation is always wrong, while 10 percent say it is almost always wrong, 6 percent wrong only sometimes, and 2 percent not wrong at all. In contrast to extramarital and homosexual relations, premarital sex is viewed with relative leniency with 59 percent saying that it is always wrong, 19 percent almost always wrong, 11 percent wrong only sometimes, and 11 percent not wrong at all. It appears, then, that Filipinos are more conservative in their attitudes toward extramarital and homosexual relations, and relatively less so towards premarital relations.

But how do Filipinos fare when compared with other countries like Britain, Ireland, Northern Ireland, and U.S.A.? Table 1 presents the results.

Table 1: Attitudes Toward Sexual Relations By Country
1991 ISSP Surveys

% saying that this type of sexual relationship is wrong

	Premarital	Extramarital	Homosexual
Philippines	59	85	82
Britain	12	62	60
Ireland	36	71	68
N. Ireland	34	77	80
U.S.A.	27	73	75
Mean %	34	74	73
S.D.	17	8	9

Table 1 reveals three important findings. First, respondents from the five countries, the Philippines included, are more likely to disapprove of extramarital and homosexual relationships (mean percents of 74 and 73, respectively) compared to premarital sex (mean percent of 34). Second, as the standard deviations show, the scores are less dispersed for extramarital (S.D.=8) and homosexual (S.D.=9) relations than premarital sex (S.D.=17). Attitudes towards premarital sex vary the greatest from one country to another with Britain expressing less disapproval (12 percent) and the Philippines the greatest (59 %). Third, Filipinos prove to be more conservative in their attitudes toward all types of nonmarital sexual relations.

Do attitudes toward sexual relations vary by demographic and socioeconomic characteristics? To some extent, yes, as previous studies suggest. The 1986 report of the British Social Attitudes Survey (Chapter 9) revealed that, in Britain, older people are more likely to be conservative than younger people in all types of sexual relations. Premarital sex is viewed with most leniency with only 7 percent of the younger groups (ages eighteen to thirty-four) saying it is "mostly wrong" or "always wrong" compared to 45 percent of respondents over 55 years old. Men are also more likely to be more permissive than women, except with respect to homosexuality. Few differences appear between sexual attitudes and other demographic or socioeconomic characteristics like civil status, social class, and region (Airey and Brook 1986).

Background Characteristics and Sexual Attitudes

Three methodological notes are in order before presenting data relating sexual attitudes and background characteristics. First, the response categories for premarital, extramarital, and homosexual relations have been collapsed from the original five-point Likert scale to a dichotomy of "Not Wrong" and "Wrong" categories. The "wrong" category combines the "always wrong" and "almost always wrong;" the "not wrong" category combines "wrong only sometimes" and "not wrong at all." The categories "neither wrong nor not wrong" and "don't know" which counted very few cases, were treated as missing cases. These recodes were made in order to facilitate the reading of tables, particularly multivariate tables.

Second, as the study variables were treated in ordinal fashion (i.e., the variable categories were ranked or assumed to have ranks from

highest to lowest, or vice versa), a statistical measure of association called gamma (G) was used to describe the strength and direction of a relationship. Gamma coefficients range from -1.00 to $+1.00$, with 0 indicating the absence of a relationship between two variables (Loether and MacTavish 1980). In turn, the chi-square—a statistical measure to test the independence or association of two variables in the population—was used as a measure of inference.

Third, a measure of difference between the extreme response categories of a certain variable, or the margin, was also used.

Table 2 shows that differences by demographic characteristics are very small i.e. gamma coefficients below $.20$, suggesting widespread disapproval of unorthodox sexual behavior across several demographic groups. Despite these small differences, one characteristic, civil status, cuts across all types of sexual relations. Married people are more likely than single people to express their disapproval towards premarital sex ($G=.25$), extramarital sex ($G=.27$), and homosexuality ($G=.22$). The age factor, which appeared to be salient in the British Social Attitudes Surveys, shows mixed effects in the Philippine sample. While older Filipinos are more likely than younger Filipinos to express disapproval toward premarital ($G=.21$) and homosexual ($G=.22$) relations, no differences by age appear in attitudes toward extramarital relations. By the same token, while females are slightly more likely than males to express disapproval toward premarital sex ($G=.24$), no gender differences appear in attitudes toward extramarital and homosexual relations. Similarly, those who live outside the Greater Manila Area (the rest of Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao) are more likely to express strong disapproval toward homosexuality than those living within the GMA ($G=.27$). These coefficients, small as they are, are nevertheless statistically significant at the $.001$ level. In contrast, differences in attitudes toward all these types of sexual relations do not vary by locale or urban-rural residence; all gamma values are below $.20$.

Socioeconomic Status and Sexual Attitudes

Do attitudes toward premarital, extramarital, and homosexual relations differ by socioeconomic status? Yes, but in a very limited way. As table 3 shows, small differences in permissive attitudes prevail across various socioeconomic status indicators. Moreover, there is no consistent tendency that affluent persons are more likely

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Table 2. Demographic Characteristics and Sexual Attitudes
SWS July 1991 National Survey

Percent of Row Total saying that this type of relationship is wrong or not wrong

	PREMARITAL			EXTRAMARITAL			HOMOSEXUAL		
	Not Wrong	Wrong	Gamma	Not Wrong	Wrong	Gamma	Not Wrong	Wrong	Gamma
TOTAL PHILIPPINES	22	78		4	96		8	92	
LOCALE			0.04			0.09			-0.19
Urban	23	77		5	95		6	94	
Rural	22	78		4	96		9	91	
AREA			0.18			0.01			0.27
GMA	25	75		3	97		6	94	
Balance Luzon	25	75		6	94		12	88	
Visayas	25	75		2	98		5	95	
Mindanao	13	87		5	95		4	97	
GENDER			0.24			0.15			0.14
Male	27	73		5	95		9	91	
Female	18	82		4	96		7	93	
AGE GROUP			0.21			0.18			0.22
18-24	29	71		8	93		10	90	
25-34	25	75		4	96		10	90	
35-44	23	77		3	97		8	92	
45 & above	15	85		4	96		4	96	
CIVIL STATUS			0.25			0.27			0.22
Single	30	70		7	93		11	89	
Ever-married	21	79		4	96		7	93	

to hold permissive attitudes toward sexual relations than less affluent persons.

Persons who belong to the less privileged sectors, i.e. lower socioeconomic class and with limited educational attainment, are more likely, for example, to be less tolerant of premarital sex than those in the more privileged sectors—higher socioeconomic class and with higher educational attainment ($G=.21$). The reverse is true for extramarital and to some extent homosexual relations: in these cases, the less privileged sectors are more likely to be more tolerant than those in the more privileged sector. Differences by occupation are more consistent: those in white-collar jobs tend to hold less permissive attitudes toward sexual relations than those in lower-status occupations; these differences are, greater, however, for homosexual ($G=.16$) and extramarital relations ($G=.11$) than premarital sexual relations ($G=.04$). These gamma coefficients are significant at the .001 level. In

addition, nonworking people are more likely than working people to express permissive attitudes, a difference which can probably be explained by age. Younger people are prominent among the non-working group, and as seen earlier, tend to be more permissive than older people.

These differences, it must be pointed out, are slight and should not conceal the general impression that socioeconomic status has a weak influence on attitudes toward sexual relations. There remains widespread disapproval for unorthodox sexual behavior across various socioeconomic status indicators.

Religiosity and Sexual Relations

If attitudes toward sexual relations do not greatly vary by demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, would they differ more substantially by religiosity? Or stated differently, is the Filipino conservatism towards premarital, extramarital, and homosexual relations influenced by their religiosity? Two Social Weather Bulletins (Acuña 1991 and Arroyo 1992) and an SWS occasional paper (Mangahas and Guerrero 1992) have presented profiles of Filipino religiosity based on selected items found in the ISSP survey module. These survey items are: the respondent's assessment of his/her religious belief; the respondent's assessment of his/her own religiosity; and the frequency of attending religious services. All three SWS reports find Filipinos to be very religious: 78 percent report having a strong belief in their religion; 84 percent consider themselves religious; and 61 percent said they attend religious services at least once a week. Moreover, differences between religiosity and background characteristics are small, suggesting that religiosity is widespread, cutting across various demographic and socioeconomic traits of individuals. Is the overall religiosity of Filipinos associated with their general disapproval towards sexual relations?

Table 4 reveals that in general, religion has slight positive effects on sexual relations, i.e., the more religious the person, the greater is his/her disapproval towards unconventional sexual relations. However, the effects of various religious indicators are not uniform—they are more associated, it appears, with extramarital than premarital and homosexual relations.

Respondents who say that their belief is "strong" are more likely to disapprove of premarital ($G=.21$) and extramarital sex ($G=.24$) than

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Table 3. Socio-Economic Status and Sexual Attitudes
SWS July 1991 National Survey

Percent of Row Total saying that this type of relationship is wrong or not wrong

	PREMARITAL			EXTRAMARITAL			HOMOSEXUAL		
	Not Wrong	Wrong	Gamma	Not Wrong	Wrong	Gamma	Not Wrong	Wrong	Gamma
SOCIO-ECON. CLASS			0.21			-0.12			-0.08
ANC	31	69		3	98		6	94	
D	23	77		5	96		8	92	
E	17	83		5	95		8	92	
EDUC'L ATTAINMENT			-0.21			-0.03			0.07
Primary	17	83		4	96		9	91	
Secondary	24	76		4	96		7	93	
Tertiary	28	72		5	95		7	93	
OCCUPATION			0.04			0.11			0.16
Economically inactive	24	76		5	95		9	91	
Farming/Fishing	21	79		4	96		9	91	
Blue	23	77		4	96		4	97	
White	21	79		4	96		6	94	
WORK STATUS			-0.06			-0.14			-0.16
Working	22	79		4	96		7	93	
Not Working	24	76		5	95		9	91	

Table 4. Religiosity and Sexual Relations
SWS July 1991 National Survey

Percent of Row Total saying that this type of relationship is wrong or not wrong

	PREMARITAL			EXTRAMARITAL			HOMOSEXUAL		
	Not Wrong	Wrong	Gamma	Not Wrong	Wrong	Gamma	Not Wrong	Wrong	Gamma
STRENGTH OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF			0.21			0.24			0.01
Weak	28	72		6	94		8	92	
Strong	21	79		4	96		8	92	
SELF-ASSESSMENT OF DEGREE OF RELIGIOSITY			0.001			0.48			0.12
Less religious	22	78		9	91		9	91	
More religious	22	78		3	97		7	93	
HOW OFTEN R ATTENDS RELIGIOUS SERVICES			0.11			0.22			0.07
Less than once a week	25	75		6	95		8	92	
At least once a week	21	79		4	96		7	93	

those who say that their belief is "less strong." However, negligible differences appear between the strength of the respondent's belief and attitudes toward homosexuality ($G=.01$).

Those who say they are more religious express great disapproval toward extramarital sex than those who say that they are less religious ($G=.48$); however, no differences by self-assessment of one's religiosity show on attitudes toward homosexuality ($G=.12$) and premarital sex ($G=.001$).

No differences appear again between frequency of attending religious services and attitudes toward premarital and homosexual relations; however, those who attend religious services at least once a week are more likely to express disapproval toward extramarital sex than those who attend services less than once a week ($G=.22$). In addition, differences in attitudes toward all these types of sexual relations do not vary by frequency of prayer (not shown in the table). Once more, however, it must be noted that while these coefficients are statistically significant, they are so small as not to warrant serious consideration.

Religiosity, Background Characteristics and Attitudes Toward Sexual Relations

An earlier section of this article reported the associations, small as they are, between attitudes toward sexual relations and selected background characteristics. Ever-married people, for example, were more likely than single people to express disapproval toward all these types of sexual relations. In a similar view, older people were more likely than younger people to take conservative attitudes toward premarital and homosexual relations. Last but not the least, females are slightly more likely than males to hold less permissive attitudes toward premarital relations. Are these differences explained by religiosity? Can we say, for instance, that females tend to be more religious than males and that this religiosity, in turn, leads them to disapprove of premarital sex? To answer questions like these, it is essential first to establish a correlation between background traits and religiosity.

A previous Social Weather Bulletin (Arroyo 1992) found, for the most part, little association between religiosity and a set of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. There was, however, a tendency for females to be more religious than males on the basis

of all three indicators of religiosity. By the same token, older people attend religious services less often than younger people but have stronger belief and stronger self-assessed religiosity compared to younger persons. In turn, civil status shows a consistently low association with all religiosity indicators except for frequency of attending religious services: single people are more likely than ever-married people to attend religious services often. Because these differences, though statistically significant, are low, it cannot be said that religiosity explains the observed differences between attitudes toward sexual relations and background characteristics. How then do religiosity and personal traits interact to influence attitudes toward sexual relations?

Tables 5 to 7 present a series of crosstabulations between selected background characteristics and attitudes toward sexual relations controlled for indicators of religiosity. In general, the data demonstrate the "cumulative effect" of background characteristics and religiosity on permissive attitudes. By this is meant that two variables, taken simultaneously, have a stronger effect on attitudes toward sexual relations than any single variable considered separately.

Mention was made earlier that attitudes toward sexual relations tend to be more conservative among ever-married respondents and those who hold strong religious beliefs (Table 2). When these two categories are combined (Table 5), it is found that indeed ever-married respondents with strong religious beliefs are more likely than single people with weak religious beliefs to express disapproval towards premarital (margin= +15), extramarital (+4) and homosexual relations (+1). Similarly, objections toward premarital, extramarital and homosexual relations are more pronounced among the ever-married who assess themselves as religious than single people who view themselves as less religious (margins of +7, +4, and +4, respectively). Also, ever-married persons who regularly attend religious services show greater disapproval of premarital (+23), extramarital (+5) and homosexual relations (+1) than single people who occasionally attend religious services. The cumulative effect, one notes as well from the margins, is greater when dealing with attitudes toward premarital sex than with those on extramarital and homosexual relations.

With regard to gender and religiosity (Table 6), females with strong religious belief, in contrast to males having weak religious belief, tend to disapprove of premarital (+15) and extramarital sex (+2); however, there is no indication that gender and strength of

Table 5. Religiosity and Attitudes Toward Sexual Relations
By Civil Status
SWS July 1991 National Survey

A. % saying that **PREMARITAL** sex is wrong

CIVIL STATUS				Margin (B-A)
Single (A)		Ever-married (B)		
Strength of Religious Belief		Strength of Religious Belief		+ 15
Weak 66	Strong 71	Weak 73	Strong 81	
Self-Assessed Religiosity		Self-Assessed Religiosity		+ 7
Less religious 73	More religious 69	Less religious 79	More religious 80	
Frequency of Church Attendance		Frequency of Church Attendance		+ 23
< 1/week 57	≥ 1/week 75	< 1/week 78	≥ 1/week 80	

B. % saying that **EXTRAMARITAL** sex is wrong

CIVIL STATUS					Margin (B-A)
Single (A)		Ever-married (B)			
Strength of Religious Belief		Strength of Religious Belief		+ 4	
Weak	Strong	Weak	Strong		
93	94	94	97		
Self-Assessed Religiosity		Self-Assessed Religiosity		+ 4	
Less religious	More religious	Less religious	More religious		
93	93	90	97		
Frequency of Church Attendance		Frequency of Church Attendance		+ 5	
< 1/week	≥ 1/week	< 1/week	≥ 1/week		
92	94	95	97		

C. % saying that **HOMOSEXUAL** relation is wrong

CIVIL STATUS						Margin (B-A)
Single (A)			Ever-married (B)			
Strength of Religious Belief			Strength of Religious Belief			+ 1
Weak		Strong	Weak		Strong	
92		89	92		93	
Self-Assessed Religiosity			Self-Assessed Religiosity			+ 4
Less religious		More religious	Less religious		More religious	
89		89	91		93	
Frequency of Church Attendance			Frequency of Church Attendance			+ 1
< 1/week		≥ 1/week	< 1/week		≥ 1/week	
93		88	92		94	

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Table 6. Religiosity and Attitudes Toward Sexual Relations By Gender
SWS July 1991 National Survey

A. % saying that **PREMARITAL** sex is wrong

GENDER		Margin (B-A)
Male	Female	
(A)	(B)	
Strength of Religious Belief	Strength of Religious Belief	
Weak Strong	Weak Strong	
68 75	76 83	+ 15
Self-Assessed Religiosity	Self-Assessed Religiosity	
Less religious More religious	Less religious More religious	
73 74	83 82	+ 9
Frequency of Church Attendance	Frequency of Church Attendance	
< 1/week ≥ 1/week	< 1/week ≥ 1/week	
73 74	78 84	+ 11

B. % saying that **EXTRAMARITAL** sex is wrong

GENDER		Margin (B-A)
Male	Female	
(A)	(B)	
Strength of Religious Belief	Strength of Religious Belief	
Weak Strong	Weak Strong	
95 95	92 97	+ 2
Self-Assessed Religiosity	Self-Assessed Religiosity	
Less religious More religious	Less religious More religious	
90 96	92 97	+ 7
Frequency of Church Attendance	Frequency of Church Attendance	
< 1/week ≥ 1/week	< 1/week ≥ 1/week	
95 95	94 97	+ 2

C. % saying that **HOMOSEXUAL** relation is wrong

GENDER		Margin (B-A)
Male	Female	
(A)	(B)	
Strength of Religious Belief	Strength of Religious Belief	
Weak Strong	Weak Strong	
94 90	90 94	0
Self-Assessed Religiosity	Self-Assessed Religiosity	
Less religious More religious	Less religious More religious	
89 92	93 93	+ 4
Frequency of Church Attendance	Frequency of Church Attendance	
< 1/week ≥ 1/week	< 1/week ≥ 1/week	
92 90	91 94	+ 2

Table 7. Religiosity and Attitudes Toward Sexual Relations By Age
SWS July 1991 National Survey

A. % saying that PREMARITAL sex is wrong

AGE								Margin (B-A)
18 - 24 (A)		25 - 34		35 - 44		45 & above (B)		
Strength of Religious Belief <i>Weak</i> <i>Strong</i> 70 71		Strength of Religious Belief <i>Weak</i> <i>Strong</i> 70 77		Strength of Religious Belief <i>Weak</i> <i>Strong</i> 70 79		Strength of Religious Belief <i>Weak</i> <i>Strong</i> 77 86		+ 16
Self-Assessed Religiosity <i>Less rel.</i> <i>More rel.</i> 77 69		Self-Assessed Religiosity <i>Less rel.</i> <i>More rel.</i> 71 76		Self-Assessed Religiosity <i>Less rel.</i> <i>More rel.</i> 76 77		Self-Assessed Religiosity <i>Less rel.</i> <i>More rel.</i> 86 85		
Freq. of Church Attendance < 1/week ≥ 1/week 64 74		Freq. of Church Attendance < 1/week ≥ 1/week 71 77		Freq. of Church Attendance < 1/week ≥ 1/week 78 76		Freq. of Church Attendance < 1/week ≥ 1/week 82 87		+ 23

B. % saying that EXTRAMARITAL sex is wrong

AGE								Margin (B-A)
18 - 24 (A)		25 - 34		35 - 44		45 & above (B)		
Strength of Religious Belief <i>Weak</i> <i>Strong</i> 94 92		Strength of Religious Belief <i>Weak</i> <i>Strong</i> 92 97		Strength of Religious Belief <i>Weak</i> <i>Strong</i> 95 98		Strength of Religious Belief <i>Weak</i> <i>Strong</i> 95 96		+ 2
Self-Assessed Religiosity <i>Less rel.</i> <i>More rel.</i> 88 94		Self-Assessed Religiosity <i>Less rel.</i> <i>More rel.</i> 89 97		Self-Assessed Religiosity <i>Less rel.</i> <i>More rel.</i> 92 98		Self-Assessed Religiosity <i>Less rel.</i> <i>More rel.</i> 94 96		+ 8
Freq. of Church Attendance < 1/week ≥ 1/week 90 94		Freq. of Church Attendance < 1/week ≥ 1/week 95 97		Freq. of Church Attendance < 1/week ≥ 1/week 96 98		Freq. of Church Attendance < 1/week ≥ 1/week 96 96		+ 6

C. % saying that HOMOSEXUAL relation is wrong

AGE								Margin (B-A)
18 - 24 (A)		25 - 34		35 - 44		45 & above (B)		
Strength of Religious Belief Weak Strong 92 90		Strength of Religious Belief Weak Strong 86 92		Strength of Religious Belief Weak Strong 95 91		Strength of Religious Belief Weak Strong 100 95		+ 3
Self-Assessed Religiosity Less rel. More rel. 88 91		Self-Assessed Religiosity Less rel. More rel. 88 91		Self-Assessed Religiosity Less rel. More rel. 88 93		Self-Assessed Religiosity Less rel. More rel. 99 95		+ 7
Freq. of Church Attendance < 1/week ≥ 1/week 89 91		Freq. of Church Attendance < 1/week ≥ 1/week 90 90		Freq. of Church Attendance < 1/week ≥ 1/week 90 94		Freq. of Church Attendance < 1/week ≥ 1/week 96 95		+ 6

religious belief, when combined, affect respondents' attitudes toward homosexual relations. Likewise, women who are more religious are more likely than less religious men to express disapproval toward premarital (+9), extramarital (+7) and homosexual relations (+4). By the same token, females who frequently attend religious services, are more likely than males who rarely attend religious services to express greater disapproval toward premarital (+11), extramarital (+2) and homosexual relations (+2).

Combining age and strength of belief (Table 7), older people with strong religious beliefs show greater objection toward premarital (+16), extramarital (+2) and homosexual (+3) relations than younger respondents with weak religious beliefs. Similarly, older people who are religious show greater disapproval toward premarital (+8), extramarital (+8) and homosexual (+7) relations than younger, less religious people. In the same way, older people who attend religious services more frequently, are more critical toward premarital, extramarital and homosexual relations than younger people who attend religious services less frequently (margins of +23, +6 and +6, respectively).

Overall then, civil status, sex and age, together with religiosity show cumulative effects on attitudes toward premarital, extramarital and homosexual relations. Ever-married respondents, females, and older people with a higher degree of religiosity (strong religious belief, assesses himself/herself as religious and attend services often), are more likely to be intolerant of unconventional sexual relations compared to young unmarried males with a lower degree of religiosity. This interaction of background characteristics and religiosity demonstrates the highest cumulative effect on premarital relations with an average margin of +14, followed by extramarital (+4) and least, homosexual relations (+3).

Conclusion

In the Philippines, disapproval of sexual relations—particularly premarital, extramarital, and homosexual relations—is much greater than other countries. It is widespread enough to cut across most demographic and socioeconomic categories. Among the background characteristics showing some differences, only one, civil status, shows consistent effects on all types of sexual relations—married people are

more likely than single people to disapprove of unorthodox sexual relations. Moreover, although the religiosity variables show slight positive associations with attitudes toward sexual relations (the more religious the person, the greater is his/her disapproval of various nonmarital sexual relations), their effects are not uniformly strong, showing somewhat stronger association with extramarital rather than with premarital and homosexual relations.

Combining selected background variables like civil status, age and sex with religiosity items, however, demonstrates a cumulative or joint effect on attitudes toward premarital, extramarital and homosexual relations. Married persons, females, and older people whose degree of religiosity is high prove to be more critical of unconventional sexual relations than young unmarried males whose degree of religiosity is low. The cumulative effect on attitudes is stronger, however, on premarital than on extramarital and homosexual relations.

A set of background characteristics, as well as a person's religiosity are not the only factors affecting attitudes toward sexual relations. A previous study of college students' attitudes toward sexuality and abortion, conducted in a university setting, revealed that conservative attitudes toward premarital, extramarital and homosexual relations were influenced not only by the respondent's religion and demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, but also by "moral authoritarianism," a set of items reflecting authoritarian-libertarian attitudes. This authoritarianism partly explained why certain groups are less permissive in sexual matters than others (Abad and Sandoval 1990; see also Harding 1988). Authoritarian-libertarian attitudes and other possible predictors of conservative attitudes toward unorthodox sexual relations can be explored further in future studies.

In general, Filipinos are generally conservative on matters regarding sex, and their religiosity partly influences their position on these issues. But these hold only on the level of attitudes. Sexual *behavior* is another matter altogether, and one which may not be congruent with attitudinal states. The relationship between attitudes toward sexual relations and actual sexual behavior—which appear to be more liberal as previous studies indicate (e.g., Gilandas 1981; Mataragnon 1982)—deserves further scrutiny in subsequent investigations.

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