

Family Influences on the Lifestyle of the Filipino Youth

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The Philippines like the rest of the world is experiencing pervasive socio-economic and cultural transitions brought about by globalization. Continuing modernization, increasing levels of urbanization and industrialization along with the worsening level of poverty in the face of a ballooning debt burden have drastically changed the face of the Filipino society. The impact of such trends cannot be more dramatic on its effect on the Filipino family. Lack of economic opportunities have led to massive movements resulting in some adjustments in the family structure. Newly emerging forms of living arrangements have compromised the interest of many particularly the younger members of the family as evident in the marked increase in the number of children who are growing up under the care of either solo or surrogate parents. Meanwhile, the generally urbanward movement particularly among the young has spelled greater independence for them as early nest leaving diminish parental control and influence on these young people's lives which may pose undesirable consequences on their behavior. Such changes along with the rapid development in information technology and the spread of mass media provide a unique context for the Filipino adolescents.

As various factors compete to impinge on these young people's lives, to what extent has the family remain meaningful to them? This is important particularly as there are strong indications that the Filipino family is itself undergoing some stresses. This question is also essential in a culture that continues to depend on the family as the primary agency that prepares the child for life in the bigger society. This paper tries to address this issue, in particular the effect of the rapid environmental changes on the adolescent lifestyle by examining the association between family variables and adolescent behavior. As the main link between the society and the individual, the family is assumed to capture societal transitions that will eventually effect on the lifestyle of young people.

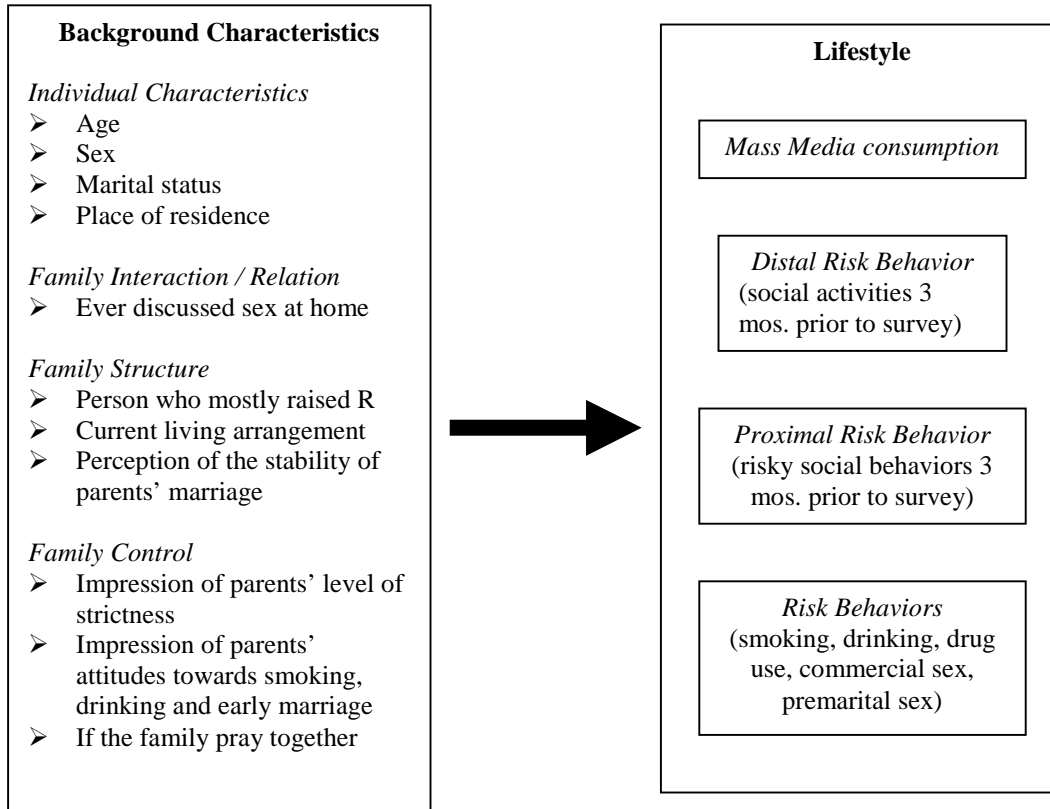
Particularly, the paper attempts to do the following: (1) describe the nature of Filipino adolescent lifestyle in terms of mass media consumption, engagement in social behaviors and risk behaviors; (2) describe the familial context of the adolescent as a possible determinant of adolescent lifestyle; (3) determine the correlates of distal, proximal and risk behaviors of the adolescents particularly focusing on the role of family structure, family control variables and parent-adolescent interaction process; and (4) identify the precursor variables to adolescent risk behavior.

This paper makes use of the data provided by the 1994 Young Adult Fertility Study (YAFS II), the first nationally representative sample of adolescents ages 15-24. This data set provides an inexhaustible source of information allowing the scientific study of several dimensions of adolescents social behavior. By identifying some of the possible protective and predisposing factors to risk behaviors, this study hopes to contribute to the furtherance of existing efforts to improve the welfare of our adolescent population.

Framework of Analysis:

As a framework for analysis, the paper follows the idea that adolescent personality is the result of the interplay of various forces including biological, social groups, structures and experiences. As such, it identifies some of the possible influences on adolescent lifestyle focusing on the individual characteristics as well as the bigger structure particularly the family. For this study, lifestyle is defined in terms of the activities which the adolescents do during their leisure time such as mass media consumption, social and risk behaviors. It looks at four areas of possible determinants of adolescent lifestyle namely: individual characteristics of adolescent, family interaction, and family control and family structure variables (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Framework of Analysis



Individual characteristics is measured in terms of age; gender; marital status and place of residence.

Family relationship/interaction. The family is an intimate social setting where the child first experiences love, care and attention that eventually help in launching him/her to the bigger environment. Unfortunately, YAFS II does not provide sufficient measures of the nature and extent of family interaction which makes operationalization of this variable difficult. To provide a glimpse of this process, however, the study used the question whether sex is discussed at home. Although it ignores specific areas of discussion, breadth and depth of the nature of discussions that took place, the timing of discussion, person the adolescent most likely to discuss sex and sexual matters with; etc., it is nevertheless an important indicator of family dynamics and integration. It is a measure of the parent-adolescent as well as sibling to sibling interaction particularly centering on an area that is very critical to the adolescent's stage of development. In Philippine culture where such topics remain to be a taboo, an affirmative response to this question can mean a more open, dynamic and progressive interaction process within the family.

Family control variables is a measure of the pervasiveness of the parental influence on the adolescent behavior. Parents, especially mothers exert a great influence on the child's attitude, norms, values and standards of right or wrong. Performance of socially accepted behavior is rewarded while performance of socially undesirable behavior is punished (Panopio and Rolda, 2000). Parenting style is measured in the study in terms of the youth's perception of their parent's level of strictness; perceived parental attitude towards smoking, drinking and early marriage as well as whether the family prays together. It is safe to assume that adolescents who see their parents to hold a conservative attitudes regarding these matters are more likely to have been reared in a more conservative family setting and thus are expected to refrain

from engaging in risk behaviors. On the other hand, those who view their parents to be more permissive are expected to eventually adopt a more liberal attitude and thus are more likely to engage in risk behaviors as well.

Parent's level of strictness variable was created using the adolescent's responses to some questions which reflect perceived parent's attitude towards some social behaviors/activities. In the study, the respondent was asked if he/she thinks their father and mother will approve or disapprove of certain social activities including: going to parties at short notice; going out on a date unchaperoned; smoking; drinking beer or alcoholic beverages; living away from home; getting married at an early age and overnight study groups. Those who claimed that their parents approved of at least 3 of the seven activities were classified to have "liberal" parents; those who say their parents approved of any 2 activities were classified to have "moderately strict" parents; while those who identified only 1 activity were classified to have "strict" parents. Adolescents who claimed their mother or father did not approve any of the said activities were categorized to have "very strict" parents. Such categorization assumes that all seven activities have equal weight. In the study, the average scores registered were 1.7 and 1.5 for father's and mother's perceived level of strictness, respectively.

Another indicator of family control variable is the adolescent's perception of the father's and mother's attitude toward risk behaviors such as smoking, drinking and early marriage. This measure provides a glimpse on the defining influence of parents. Following the line of symbolic interactionism, agents of socialization are the ones who set the expectations on certain behaviors (Starrels & Holm, 2000). Adolescents who perceived their parents to frown upon such practices are more likely to restrain from engaging in such behaviors. This is particularly true in the Filipino context where children are socialized to respect and obey the older members of the family, particularly parents. The child's unquestioning obedience is perceived as an expression of gratitude for having been given life by their parents (Go, 1993). Young members of the family are also expected to adhere to family norms due to their economic dependence.

Family control is likewise indicated by family religiosity, particularly if the family prays together. In a highly Catholic setting, the act of praying together is a strong indicator of a conservative family setting which presumably shields the adolescent from venturing into risky activities.

Family structure defines whether the adolescent grew up or is currently residing in a two-parent or alternative family setting. It also includes the youth's perception of the stability of their parents' relationship. Theoretically, adolescents who spend most of their growing years in an intact family structure are expected to have received more adequate guidance and attention which serves to protect them from engaging in risk behavior. On the other hand, alternative set ups including disintegrated families either due to parental separation, death or overseas work are expected to predispose adolescents to engage in risk behaviors.

However, since the presence of both parents is not a sufficient indicator of family structure, adolescent's impression of the stability of parental union has also been considered as a qualitative indicator. It is assumed that poor spousal relationships is more likely be associated with poorer parent-child interaction which leads to lower self-esteem among the young making them more vulnerable to risk behaviors.

In terms of lifestyle, two aspects were considered in the study. One is mass media consumption and the other one is social activities adolescents engaged into. Regular exposure to TV, radio, newspaper, comics/magazines/pocketbooks and videos serves as indicator of mass media use.

Another aspect of lifestyle is the social activities that take up most of adolescents' leisure time. A distinction was made between *distal* and *proximal social risk behaviors*, both considered possible precursor conditions to the practice of risk behaviors (smoking, drinking, drug use, commercial sex and premarital sex or pms). These variables which represent adolescent activities with peers serve as indicators of the extent of peer influence on the adolescents. Correlating these with individual and family indicators hopes to

reveal the possible tensions between peer and family which will also provide an understanding as to whether family factors can help undermine some of the negative peer influences.

Distal risk behaviors refer to certain social activities that adolescents normally engaged into, usually with their peers and are generally conducive to their social growth and development. While these activities may appear healthy social outlets for the young, they likewise present opportunities for socialization and interaction and serve as a fertile ground from which certain proximate and risk behaviors may eventuate. In the study, an index for distal risk behavior was computed using information on the respondent's attendance in six selected social activities three months prior to the survey. These activities include: going to parties; disco; excursion/picnics; sports activities; movie houses; fraternity/sorority activities. Adolescents who reported having done any of the activities at least 5 times for the said duration were given a score of 5, 3.5 for those who reported having done these activities 3-4 times, 1 for those who said 1 to 2 times and zero (0) for those who claimed they never participated in any of the said activities. Total scores for each respondent was computed. Those who scored zero in all activities were categorized to have 'no distal risk behavior'. Those who scored between 1 to 9.5 were considered to have 'moderate distal risk behavior' while those who scored over 10 points were categorized to have 'highly distal risk behaviors'. Registered distal risk behavior scores ranged from 0 to 30 with a mean of 6.9.

Proximal risk behaviors on the other hand involve social behaviors which present greater risks to the adolescent compared to the distal risk behaviors. In the study, this has been defined to include visiting massage parlors; spending night out with friends; going to strip shows/night clubs and beer houses three months prior to the survey. Just like the index for distal risk behavior, proximal risk behavior index was created using responses for the four activities. Weights were assigned so that those who reported to have engaged in the activity for 5 or more times in the three months prior to the survey were given a score of 5, while those who did it for 3-4 times were scored 3.5, 1.5 for those who did it at least 1 to 2 times and zero for those who claimed they never undertook the social activity.

A respondent's proximal risk behavior score is derived by adding all his/her scores for all four activities. Responses were classified into three groups namely: 'no proximal/distal behavior' for those who scored zero or those who never joined any of the aforementioned activities three months prior survey; 'moderate proximal risk behavior' for those who scored 1 to 9.5 while those who scored >9.5 were labeled as having 'high proximal risk behavior'. In the study, proximal risk behavior scores ranged from 0 to 18.5 with an average of 1.99.

Finally, adolescent *risky social behavior* is measured in terms of five risk activities including smoking, drinking, drug use, commercial sex (percent of adolescent male respondents who ever paid a girl for sexual intercourse in the year prior to the survey) and pms (proportion who ever experienced premarital sex).

Discussion of Findings

A. Characteristics and context of the Filipino youth

Individual characteristics of the adolescents

Considering the high incidence of poverty in the country, a significant proportion of our adolescents belong to below-poverty-line households. This is partly indicated in their low education survival rate where only 42 percent of first grade entrants graduate from high school and 16.7 percent from college. This is despite the high premium the country places on education. The adolescent cohort, particularly the females, is also a very mobile sector converging mostly in cities and crowded areas in search for jobs and other economic opportunities. One fourth of the female adolescents have likewise experienced living in dormitories or dormitory-like arrangements mostly related to the conduct of school and work activities. Fertility-wise, a sizeable number of young women contribute to annual births. At the time the YAFS II was conducted in 1994, women ages 15-24 contributed 770,000 births, indicating

the significant demographic share of this cohort accounting to their sheer number (Raymundo, Xenos and Domingo,1999).

Family interaction: *Interaction on sensitive issues like sex is limited.*

The results of YAFS II indicate a low level of sex discussion at home. Only about 14.8 percent of adolescents admitted they ever-discussed sex at home. Females, single adolescents and those in the older age cohort (20-24) are more likely to admit some amount of discussion at home compared with their counterparts (Table Appendix Table 1). No significant urban-rural differential is noted.

What emerges in the study is a clear gender differential in sex discussion at home as well as the fact that such intimate discussions are not solely with parents, but largely with siblings. The latter suggests the adolescents' preference to discuss such sensitive issues with somebody within their age bracket. Generally, women, particularly mothers (28.6 percent) and sisters (23.5 percent) are the most preferred discussion partners while fathers were least approached (7.1 percent). Both parents ranked as the third preferred by the adolescents for the discussions. Findings also show adolescents are more likely to open up with family member of similar gender. Females are more likely to approach their mothers and sisters while the males warm up more with their brothers (3.9 percent). Thus, discussion levels are not only low, but are also largely between the adolescent and his/her own brothers/sisters who may not be quite authoritative in terms of providing adequate information that will help these young ones cope with their sex and related concerns.

Such low level of family dynamics has some ramifications specifically in sending the adolescents to alternative sources outside the home for sex information. Results of the study notes that adolescents find their peers, particularly their friends of the same sex (53.5 percent) to be most helpful their current information on sex. Another 16 percent of them source their information from either their boyfriends or friends of the opposite sex. More authoritative sources including teachers and mothers are considered secondary sources (Table 1). It is thus not surprising that our young people do not get the right amount and quality of information. This is further aggravated by the increasing role of mass media particularly the movies, television shows and print media which consistently portray sex and violence themes.

Table 1. Most influential to respondent on sexual issues

Person or group of persons most helpful to R in what he/she knows about sex	Before got married, % said most helpful in what they know about sex (for married adolescents)	At present, % who said most important in what they know about sex
• father	0.6	6.9
• mother	2.2	17.1
• sister	0.9	5.9
• brother	0.2	2.8
• older relatives/guardian	1.4	7.7
• priest/minister	0.2	0.6
• teacher	2.3	19.6
• boyfriend	0.6	10.5
• friends (same sex)	8.6	53.5
• friends (opposite sex)	0.7	5.5
• doctor/nurse/midwife	0.6	4.4

Family structure: *Emerging patterns of family configuration challenge traditional family structure.*

The family is the microworld of the Filipino adolescent. It performs very important functions providing biological support, emotional security, protection and status to members. Through its socialization functions, the family plays an important role in the transmission of cultural values, beliefs, and customs; in the molding of personality and character of its members; and in ensuring conformity to norms (Medina, 2001). However, a confluence of factors associated with the modernization and urbanization process had contributed to the weakening of the family structure. Economic and social

opportunities have pulled family members away from home. This along with the increasing dominance of western technology and media are feared to break the traditional norms and values that used to glue the Filipino family together.

Filipino family configuration is projected to change with the decline in proportion of intact family households from 83% in 1970 to 78% in 2030 (Racelis and Cabegin, 1998). Female single headed households are likewise to rise from 9 to 12 % for the same time frame. Consistent with this projection, the study shows that only 84% of adolescents have been raised under intact family structure leaving a substantial 16% reared under alternative family set-ups. Similarly, the dominance of the women figure is noted with a considerable proportion claiming to have been raised by mother alone (6.4 percent) or mother and another person (1.7 percent) in contrast with those raised by father only (1.4 percent) or father with another person (0.5 percent) (Appendix Table 1). Albeit, intact families will continue to predominate, the considerable proportion of alternative family types suggests a growing number of our youth who will not be reared under the guidance of both parents.

As the children mature in age, leaving the parental home becomes a natural occurrence. In the case of the Philippines however, cultural norms which stress the primacy of the family may delay the departure of children from their parental home. In fact, it is very common to see married couples who continue to live with their parents even long after they have started to bear children. The economies of scale of living together also provides incentive for children to continue living with their parents particularly in cases where the cost of housing and cost of living in general, is high. The modernity argument on the other hand states that nest-leaving may occur earlier in families that subscribe to more modern, western views (Johnson and Da Vanzo, 1998). The latter may lend support to the finding that 3 out of 10 of our adolescents no longer live with their parents at the time of the interview with such arrangement more likely to happen among the older cohort, urban residents, married respondents and the females. This finding tends to agree with the predominant urbanward migration patterns in the country which is selective of young, female migrants. As more and more employment opportunities suited for the females like the service sector are made available in urban areas, early nest leaving is expected to prevail in the future. Among those married, about 30 percent continue to live with parents.

A cross classification between the person who raised the adolescent (from birth to age 15) and current living arrangement sheds more light on the extent to which these adolescents have lived with their biological parents all throughout their childhood and adolescence. Assuming both variables cover this entire period, it would seem that only about two thirds (63.9 percent) of our youth have so far been living with their parent(s) from childhood to adolescence. A lower but significant proportion lived with their parents only at some points in their life. Similarly, a small proportion (4.4 percent) may be considered deviants in terms of their socialization having absentee parents throughout this critical period of their life. The latter presents an interesting subgroup in terms of exploring the possible effect of this kind of family set up on risk taking behavior (Table 2).

Table 2. Cross classification between person who mostly raised 'R' and current living arrangement

Type of Current Living Arrangement/Sex/Place of Residence	PERSON WHO MOSTLY RAISED 'R'					
	Father Only	Mother Only	Both Parents	Father and Other Person	Mother & Other Person	Others
TOTAL						
Not living with both parents	0.6	2.6	20.6	0.3	0.9	4.4
Living with both parents	0.8	4.0	63.9	0.2	0.2	0.7
MALES						
Not living with both parents	0.5	2.2	16.0	0.2	0.6	3.8
Living with both parents	0.9	4.0	70.0	0.2	0.7	1.1
FEMALES						
Not living with both parents	0.8	3.0	24.8	0.4	1.1	5.1
Living with both parents	0.7	3.9	58.1	0.3	0.7	1.0
URBAN						
Not living with both parents	0.7	3.1	22.9	0.4	1.1	4.9
Living with both parents	0.6	4.2	59.8	0.2	0.8	1.2
RURAL						
Not living with both parents	0.5	2.0	17.6	0.2	0.6	3.8
Living with both parents	1.0	3.7	68.8	0.3	0.6	0.9

Another indicator of family structure considered in the study is the adolescent's perception of the 'stability of their parents' relationship'. It is theorized that adolescents who view their parents' relationship to be more stable are more likely to experience a supportive and intimate interaction with their parents. This link between the quality of spousal relationship and parenting style stems from the fact that parents who are more secure in their adult relationships are more likely to adopt a more supportive parenting with their own children. If parents are unable to manage their own adult concerns, this is likely to impinge on the kind of relationship they have with their children. This has in fact been supported by previous studies which found that parent-child relationship is disrupted and impaired as a result of spousal conflict (Colarossi, 2001????). YAFS II reveals that only three quarters of adolescents claimed their parents' relationship to be stable. (Appendix Table 1). Thirteen percent are faced with harsher home environment as indicated by their view that their parents' marriage is somewhat stable, unstable or are separated at the time of the survey. This not-so-rosy picture of the Filipino family finds support in the 2000 McAnn Youth Study which shows about a fifth of the youth saying that one of their parents is hurting the other.

Family control variables: *Fathers are more restrictive than mothers and greater restraints are applied on daughters than sons.*

Filipino parents instill norms and values on their children according to the expectations of society. They do this by direct supervision and control of their children's activities and associations. Children, on the other hand, are expected to be obedient to their parents. Information gathered on the type of parental socialization shows that adolescents generally view their fathers to be more strict compared to their mothers. Moreover, female adolescents are more likely to claim their parents to be more strict than their male counterparts (Appendix Table 1). This mirrors the gender differentials in the upbringing of Filipino children where females are generally more protected. Parents are generally more lenient with their adolescent boys than their girls in their participation in social activities. Such behavior finds support in a culture which continues to give a premium on feminine virtues like virginity implying the need to protect girls more. Philippine society also continues to uphold the value of 'hiya' or shame which impinges more on the women than men. An experience of premarital pregnancy for instance, is more likely to bring shame and loss of face for the woman compared to the man.

The act of praying together has also been employed as another indicator of family control given the dominant role of religion in shaping the values and norms in our society. The Philippines prides itself

as the only Catholic country in Asia and claims adherence to some 85 percent of the entire population. But such figure may prove to be a superficial measure if outcome of the religiosity indicators are to be believed. Data show that almost a third (32.1 percent) of adolescents did not pray together as a family although this can be explained in part by certain circumstances such as the adolescence's physical distance from their family. Another third either prayed regularly (36.1 percent) while the rest reportedly did so at least sometimes (31.8 percent).

B. Adolescent Lifestyle

Mass media consumption: *Adolescents proved to be major consumers of mass media, with patterns of preference vary across mass media types.*

In our modern age, mass media like television or TV, radio, newspapers, and the like have become very powerful agents of socialization. Although, results are not yet quite conclusive, some studies point to the significant effect of media forms, particularly the TV on the behavior and attitudes of children (Panopio and Rolda, 2000). The prominence of the mass media among the youth is confirmed by McCann Erickson study of Metro Manila youth (1992) which notes that teenagers continue to take over 30 hours of broadcast media weekly securing its position of dominance.

At least half of the adolescents claimed to have been regularly exposed to the radio a month prior to the survey. The television or TV registered as second most popular medium reaching about a third of them. This can be explained by higher level of radio compared to TV ownership in the country.

While the Philippines prides itself of a high literacy rate, it does not seem to indicate a reading culture based on the young people's report. Results indicate a low regular exposure rate of 15 percent to reading materials such as newspapers, comic, magazines, pocketbooks and the like. (Appendix Table 2). This figure is even lower than that of the general population (age 10 years and over) for the same period where 23.2 percent reported reading newspapers for recreation (Central Bureau of statistics, Welfare Indicators, 1994). This tends to indicate a picture of passive adolescents who seem disinterested in the events occurring around them.

A modest proportion (12.1 percent) of adolescents showed interest in watching videos regularly while a small number (1.7 percent) claimed to have watched x-rated films regularly and this is more likely to be associated with older, male and urban adolescents (Appendix Table 3).

From a composite index taking into account the five more popular forms of media (radio, TV, newspapers, comics/magazines/pocketbooks and video) the adolescent's relatively low level of regular media exposure seems apparent with about 30 percent of them claiming to have absolutely no regular exposure to all five forms at least three months prior to the survey. The major bulk (54.9 percent) among them had been regularly exposed to just one to two forms of mass media while the rest (15.8 percent), three or more. Reconciling this with the McCann Erickson Metro Manila study of adolescents seems to suggest that media exposure, particularly TV is more of an urban phenomenon.

Generally, it is the teen-agers (15-19 years old), females, single and urban residents who appear to be bigger consumers of different forms of mass media compared with their counterparts. Significant urban-rural differential is particularly evident in the TV and newspaper. Teenagers are also clearly more hooked up with the TV compared with their older (20-24 years of age) counterpart. The declining interest with maturing age can be indicative of their 'availability' as they are expected to shift to a different mode of activity (from students to young professionals/working).

Among the varying TV shows, most appealing to the youth are sitcoms (which in the Philippines are usually comedy shows), news, variety shows and romance/drama programs. Least interesting to them are talk shows (which usually deal with political and other current issues prevailing in the country) as well as educational and documentary shows. Except for 'sports' shows, females generally dominate all types of TV programs which may indicate not only interest but availability to attend to such kind of leisure activity.

Adolescent radio listeners mostly do so for music and to a lesser extent, news. Unlike TV viewership which wanes with age, the reverse is noted for radio listenership which increases with age. Readership is not only low particularly among the males, married and rural residents but is more focused towards less substantive materials such as 'romance', 'love story' and 'variety' comics. Newspapers are less widely read particularly in the rural areas. This implies that the wide circulation of national broadsheets hardly reach the adolescent sector of the population. Given this, it is easy to conclude that the majority of the young sector of the population may not be very much attuned to the events in the bigger environment (national and international events). This seeming parochial perspective of the adolescents when the study was conducted in 1994 may be gradually changing however particularly when viewed in the context of their active involvement in the recent political events of the country. To a large extent, this can be explained by the emergence of new forms of technology like text messaging and internet which has radically redefined the environment of the young.

Interestingly, parents' level of strictness show some protective association with the propensity toward certain forms of mass media exposure such as movies, video and x-rated films. Although videos and movies are generally wholesome, the proliferation of bold and violent films which are accessible to the young makes it a potential source of negative influence. In fact, juvenile rapes perpetuated by those who claimed to have been stimulated by bold video films they watched has been reported in the country. It is thus refreshing to note that parental intervention can influence the adolescent's mass media consumption with those who perceive their parents to be strict less likely to be exposed to such negative media forms compared to those who thought their parents were liberal. (Appendix Table 3).

Results also indicate the strong linkages between certain risk behaviors and the subscription to some negative forms of mass media. Data presented in Appendix Table 4 show how undesirable social behaviors of the young are mutually reinforcing with those who regularly watch X-rated films and other video shows more regularly also more likely to adopt vices such as smoking, drinking, drug use, commercial sex and pms. Adolescent's regular exposure to such forms of media are also associated with some distal and proximal risk behaviors such as going to night clubs and strip shows and hanging out with night clubs. While the causality chain among these variables may be difficult to establish, it nevertheless proves their contaminating effects and connectedness.

Distal Risk Behaviors : *An average Filipino adolescent is socially restrained.*

Results presented in Appendix Table 5 suggests that the average Filipino adolescent is generally socially restrained with more than half of them (51.1 percent) not engaging in any of the six social activities (parties, discos, sports activities, excursions and picnics, fraternity/sorority activities, movies) 3 months prior to the survey. Older cohort (20-24), males, single and the urban adolescents were more likely to engage in the distal risk behaviors compared with their counterparts. Results also reveal that one's main activity has a bearing on one's participation in social activities. Males were least likely to say they did not engage in any of the said social activities, while housebound and idle (not working) females were on the other extreme with about two thirds of them not participating in any of the social activities. Significantly both working and idle males were most socially active which may be explained by the availability of economic resources for the former and time for the latter to afford such activities.

Adolescents who view their parents to be more restrictive are more likely to also show restrain in their social activities. Whereas 15.2 percent of those who claimed their mother is strict did not join any social activity in the period considered, the corresponding figure for those who thought their mother to be liberal is 10.1 percent. This finding also agrees with the fact that discussion of sex at home is associated with greater social behavior (distal risk behavior). This can be explained by the nature of such discussions which to a large extent are largely confined among the adolescent family members which therefore is an indicator of a more liberal attitude rather a more positive family dynamic indicator. This finding surfaces the limitation of using a single measure as an index of a complex process.

Proximal Risk Behaviors: *A sizeable proportion of Filipino adolescents had engaged in social behaviors that have risky influences.*

Engagement in proximal risk behaviors which in this study includes visiting massage parlors; spending night out with friends; going to strip shows/night clubs and beer houses three months prior to the survey is more likely among the teen-agers, males, single and urban adolescents. Although family interaction variables do not lend a definitive result, family structure manifests clearly the possible risks presented by unstable unions on the young members of the family. Adolescents whose parents are separated exhibited the greatest likelihood of engaging in risky social activities. In like manner, the protective effect of parental values is shown in the strong association between perceived mother or father level of strictness and the lesser likelihood to engage in negative social activities (Appendix Table 6).

Risk Behaviors: patterns and determinants

In this study, risk behaviors include smoking, drinking, drug use, commercial sex and pms. Generally, results show the Filipino youth to be more prone to drinking rather than smoking. More than one out of every two adolescent (54.4 percent) have ever tried alcoholic beverage although attrition rate is high with only less than a tenth (8.2 percent) claiming to be currently drinking regularly at the time of the study. While only a third have ever tried smoking, they are less likely to overcome the vice with about a quarter (24.2 percent) claiming to be currently smoking regularly at the time of the survey. Riskier behaviors such as drug use (5.7 percent), commercial sex (7.6 percent) and pms (17.9 percent) have been less preponderant among the young people. For those who ever experienced commercial sex, this was a relatively recent experience with 39.1 percent of them claiming to have engaged in it the year prior to the survey (Appendix Table 7). These risk behaviors are more likely to be associated with the older cohort, males, married and urban adolescents. For the urbanites, the behavior may be explained in part by environmental factors considering the greater proliferation of support facilities for the practice of such risk behaviors in urban areas.

The extent to which certain family structure, control and interaction variables impinge on the risk behaviors of the adolescents is indicated in the study. Particularly, the protective impact of family prayer (as an index of family control) is shown by the lesser likelihood of engaging in four of the five risk behaviors (except commercial sex) among those who claimed their family prays together. Other family control indicators also exhibit well defined association with the adolescent's propensity to engage in harmful social behavior. Parents who are perceived to hold a liberal attitude increases the odds for the adolescents to engage in risky social behaviors. Family interaction effect is positive with those who discuss sex at home associated with higher odds of drinking and having pms. This positive effect of sex discussion is presumably due to the nature of the discussion which are largely done with their brother/sisters and thus are less likely to be helpful in terms of providing the necessary sex information that will help them deal with their sexuality and other sex related concerns (Appendix Table 8).

Family structure indices also indicate that those who grew up under the supervision of their father alone or their father with another partner is associated with greater propensity towards some risk behaviors particularly drug use, commercial sex and pms. For instance, the proportion who claimed to be currently drinking alcoholic beverages regularly is lesser among those who grew up with both parents (8.3 percent) as compared to those who were raised single handedly either by their father (10.3 percent) or mother (9.1 percent). Adolescents not currently living with their parents are also generally more prone to engage in negative health habits compared to their counterparts who are still living within their parental fold. (Appendix Table 7).

Results of the logistic regression shows that a stable parental union (as an indicator of family structure) is a strong predictor of risk behavior (Appendix Table 8). Adolescent who view their parents to have a stable marital union are less likely to engage in the 4 of the 5 risk behaviors (except commercial sex). Results also show that those raised by both parents were least likely to have ever tried drinking alcoholic beverages compared with their counterparts who were in alternative family arrangements. The foregoing outcomes show that family factors expressed in terms of receiving support and positive

feedback from parents during growing up years are central sources of positive self-image for the adolescents which may serve to protect him/her from engaging in risk behaviors.

The significant role that the family plays in the lives of the adolescent is buttressed by the other findings suggesting the possible intergenerational influences (i.e. parental risk behaviors) on the adolescents risk behaviors. Unfortunately, the YAFS II failed to gather information on the parents' smoking and drinking behaviors which could help examine this theory. At any rate, information on the adolescents' perception of their parents' attitude towards these vices are available. It can be hypothesized that parents who smoke or drink are more likely to be viewed by their adolescent children to endorse such behaviors. Given this assumption, one can test the possible intergeneration transmission of health risk behaviors (ie. from parents to adolescent children) given that parents are very strong role models for their children. This assumption is limited by the fact that some adolescents may suggest a parental behavior similar with their own to justify their own practice of risky social behavior.

Results presented in Table 3 indicate a close association between parental risk behaviors and that of the adolescent's. Adolescents who perceive their parent's to favor smoking and drinking are more likely to adopt the vice themselves. About 9 out of 10 adolescents who thought either their father or mother approved of smoking have ever tried smoking as compared with 3 out of 10 among those who thought their parents disapproved. While generally, a significant proportion of these young people eventually dropped the vice (probably after a period of experimentation), significantly more of those who thought their parents to be more tolerant tended to retain the habit.

Table 3. Adolescents' perception of their parents' attitude towards smoking, drinking and early marriage, by adolescents' smoking, drinking and nuptiality behavior and attitude

Adolescent Risk Behaviors	Perceived Parents' Attitudes towards smoking, drinking and early marriage			
	Father		Mother	
	Approve	Disapprove	Approve	Disapprove
Smoking				
• % Ever-smoked	91.2**	30.4	89.6**	31.0
• % Currently smoking regularly	51.8**	13.0	54.0**	13.5
Drinking				
• % Ever-drunk	95.1**	43.6	94.8**	45.0
• % Currently drinking regularly	14.8**	4.4	14.8**	4.4
Early Marriage				
• % Married	45.6**	12.3	45.6**	12.6
• R's expected age at marriage (for unmarried)	24.7**	25.2	24.8	25.2
• R's age at marriage	19.1	19.4	19.0	19.4
• R's husband's/wife's age at marriage	21.7	22.3	21.7	22.2

The intergenerational transmission of attitudes and behaviors likewise finds support in the adolescent's marriage pattern and attitudes. Parents viewed to be more accommodating of early marriage practice are not only associated with married adolescents but also with those who married earlier than their counterparts. For the single adolescents, parental perception approving of early marriage is also associated with a younger expected age at marriage.

Mass media exposure also tends to facilitate adolescent risk behavior. Results of the study shows indicate those who admitted regular exposure to x-rated films are more than twice as likely to have ever smoked compared to those who did not get such exposure. Regular exposure to newspapers and videos are also associated with greater propensity towards commercial sex and pms which proves the possible liberating effect of mass media (Appendix Table 8).

Distal, Proximate and Risk Behaviors: are they linked?

The interconnectedness of the three clusters of social behavior including distal, proximal and risky social behaviors is noted in the study. Those who are more likely to engage in distal behaviors are also more likely to engage in proximate risk behaviors. In like manner, those who scored high in distal and risk behaviors are also more likely to report higher levels of risk behaviors. Significantly higher levels of risk behaviors is manifested among those who engaged in the proximal compared with the distal behaviors. This is quite expected given the more compromising nature of the former thus is more likely to lead to the practice of more risky social behaviors (Table 4).

Table 4. Relationship between distal, proximal and risk behaviors

Risk Behaviors	Social Activities (3 months prior to survey)					
	Distal			Proximal		
	None	Moderate	High	None	Moderate	High
Smoking						
• % Ever-smoked	23.8**	32.8	54.0	25.6**	50.8	78.0
• % Currently smoking regularly	19.6**	23.2	26.4	16.5**	24.5	43.0
Drinking						
• % Ever-drunk	36.2**	49.8	71.6	41.7**	68.8	89.6
• % Currently drinking regularly	4.4**	6.5	11.8	3.8**	10.1	29.2
% ever-used drugs	1.2**	4.0	11.2	2.1**	8.2	36.5
% ever-paid for sex	2.1**	5.3	11.0	3.2**	8.0	38.4
% ever had premarital sex	20.4**	13.7	26.0	7.0**	19.0	59.2

The apparent linkages among these variables is consistent with the finding showing very significant bearing of the distal and proximal risk behaviors on the all 5 indicators of risk behaviors. Results of the logistic regression analysis reveal that the more adolescents engage in these precursor social activities, the more likely they are to manifest all five risk behaviors. This positive effect of distal and proximal risk behaviors is probably because activities like hanging out in the night clubs, strip shows and the like are obviously the kinds of environments where other risk activities are likewise acquired. Social outing of men for instance eventually lead to drinking then smoking and eventually to brothels.

Summary and Conclusion:

The study highlights the following findings:

The Filipino family which serves as the primary social group of the adolescent is showing initial traces of stress, marked by substantial levels of absentee parenting and unstable marital unions. This is largely the result of options taken by parents as they deal with the pressures of a changing environment (such as overseas migration). Such change coupled by the increasing levels of migration by the adolescents have given rise to new forms of living arrangements which have taken the youth away from their family environment----a condition that makes them vulnerable to risk behaviors.

As the family control over the young people recedes in importance during adolescent years, alternative influences particularly the peers and mass media gain prominence. With the increasing westernization of mass media which threaten traditional values inculcated by the family, its increasing appeal to the young poses serious implications. It is worth noting however, that family values and parental guidance continue to show significant influence in trying to neutralize the effects of media and peers. Particularly, strong, stable and intact family environment of the adolescents tend to diminish the impact of outside influences on the adolescent.

In the face of the growing environment threats on the adolescents, it is thus important to further strengthen the family as a primary refuge for the adolescent. Specifically, fathers who are viewed as heads

of the family but functionally distant due to their work outside the home should strive for greater involvement in domestic affairs. As role models for their sons, their presence in the home is necessary.

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Appendix Table 1. Discussion of sex at home, by selected background characteristics

	TOTAL	BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS							
		Sex		Age		Place of Residence		Marital Status	
		Male	Female	15-19	20-24	Urban	Rural	Single	Married
<i>Family Interaction</i>									
1. % ever discussed sex at home	14.8	11.9	17.6	14.3	15.5	15.4	14.0	15.0	13.9
2. Proportion who discussed sex at home with:									
• both parents	21.8	22.2	21.6	22.4	21.0	20.3	24.7	22.5	17.9
• father only	7.1	16.6	1.0	7.6	6.5	7.8	5.9	7.9	3.2
• mother only	28.6	11.3	39.8	31.9	24.6	29.6	26.8	28.9	27.5
• both brothers & sisters	18.8	20.3	17.8	17.6	20.3	18.9	18.5	18.8	18.7
• brother only	14.4	31.6	3.4	12.7	16.7	14.0	15.3	15.7	8.0
• sister only	23.5	4.3	35.8	22.8	24.3	22.9	24.5	23.4	23.9
• other relatives	8.3	5.9	9.3	8.2	7.6	8.3	7.3	7.1	12.7
<i>Family Structure</i>									
1. Person who mostly raised 'R'									
• father only	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.3	1.6	1.3	2.2
• mother only	6.4	6.0	6.8	6.3	6.6	6.9	5.5	6.3	7.0
• both father & mother	84.1	85.6	82.7	84.2	83.9	82.8	86.2	85.1	79.4
• father & another person	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.4	1.0
• mother and another person	1.7	1.4	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.9	1.3	1.6	1.9
• Others	5.9	5.3	6.4	5.9	5.9	6.4	4.9	5.3	8.4
2. % currently living with parents	69.7	76.3	63.4	76.0	61.0	66.7	74.7	77.7	29.8
3. % who view their parents union as stable	74.5	74.2	74.7	76.6	71.6	72.2	77.4	76.1	66.4
<i>Family Control Variables</i>									
1. Perceived father's level of strictness									
• Very strict	26.3	24.2	28.2	29.6	21.7	27.5	24.4	26.3	26.1
• Strict	27.5	29.0	26.1	31.4	22.2	28.1	26.6	28.4	23.0
• Moderately strict	23.3	23.2	23.3	23.6	22.9	22.9	24.0	23.7	21.2
• Liberal	22.9	23.5	22.3	15.4	33.3	21.6	25.1	21.5	29.7
2. Perceived mother's level of strictness									
• Very strict	19.1	18.8	19.5	22.8	14.0	19.3	18.9	19.4	17.9
• Strict	30.0	32.4	27.8	34.0	24.5	30.6	29.0	30.9	25.7
• Moderately strict	25.6	25.0	26.1	25.8	25.2	25.7	25.3	26.0	23.4
• Liberal	25.3	23.9	26.6	17.4	36.3	24.4	26.8	23.7	33.0
3. % who do not pray together	32.1	32.6	31.6	32.0	32.3	33.2	30.4	31.9	33.2

Appendix Table 2: Media exposure and preference according to selected background characteristics

	Age		Gender		Marital Status		Place of Residence		Total
	15-19	20-24	Male	Female	Single	Married	Urban	Rural	
A. % regularly exposed to different forms of mass media in the month prior to survey									
• watch TV									
• listen to radio	39.0	32.5	35.9	36.7	37.9	28.7	45.0	25.6	36.3
• read newspaper	49.3	51.6	47.1	53.3	50.9	47.2	51.9	48.3	50.0
• read comics/mags/pocketbooks	13.1	18.5	14.6	16.1	16.0	12.2	21.7	7.7	15.4
• watch movies	15.2	14.5	11.0	18.6	15.2	13.4	16.6	12.8	14.9
• watch video	6.7	7.1	8.1	5.7	7.5	4.0	8.8	4.5	6.9
• watch x-rated films	13.1	10.6	15.6	8.8	12.9	7.9	12.8	11.2	12.1
	1.7	1.8	2.3	1.2	1.9	0.9	2.0	1.4	1.7
B. Among regular TV watchers, % who watched the following TV shows regularly									
• showbiz talk shows	19.3	15.8	12.7	22.6	18.3	15.6	22.2	12.5	17.8
• romance/drama	21.4	18.2	13.0	26.6	20.2	19.5	24.2	15.0	20.1
• musical variety	22.8	19.8	18.0	24.8	22.3	18.1	26.6	15.3	21.5
• sitcom (situation comedy)	29.1	23.5	27.0	26.6	27.9	21.2	33.7	18.2	26.8
• talk shows	11.4	12.9	11.1	12.8	12.1	11.4	15.7	7.5	12.0
• news	24.3	24.8	24.2	24.8	25.0	21.9	31.5	15.9	24.5
• educational/documentary	12.0	12.0	10.9	13.0	12.3	10.3	15.9	7.2	12.0
• sports	20.8	18.5	27.6	12.6	21.3	12.7	24.0	14.8	19.8
C. Among regular radio listeners, % who regularly listen to the different radio programs									
• News									
• Commentary	26.2	30.9	26.3	29.8	27.8	29.6	27.8	28.5	28.1
• drama/romance	13.4	17.3	13.9	16.1	14.8	16.3	15.1	15.0	15.0
• advice	23.6	22.0	19.1	26.6	21.9	28.1	18.4	28.4	22.9
• dedication	19.2	22.0	16.4	24.0	19.7	23.4	20.0	20.8	20.3
• music	18.4	17.5	13.6	22.0	18.3	16.8	17.6	18.6	18.0
• sports	44.4	45.9	41.9	48.0	46.3	38.9	47.7	42.2	45.1
	17.2	19.6	23.8	12.9	18.8	15.2	79.6	18.8	18.2

Appendix Table 3. Regular media exposure according to background characteristics

	MEDIA EXPOSURE		
	% who watch movies regularly	% who watch video regularly	% who watch X-rated films regularly
I. Individual Characteristics			
<i>Age**</i>			
15-19	6.9	13.3*	1.7**
20-24	7.4	10.8	1.9
<i>Gender**</i>			
Female	5.9**	8.9**	1.3**
Male	8.5	15.9	2.4
Marital Status**			
Single	7.7**	13.1**	2.0**
Married	4.3	8.1	1.0
Place of Residence**			
Urban	8.6**	12.9**	2.0**
Rural	4.6	11.2	1.4
SES (Mother's Education)			
No schooling	6.1	9.1**	0.6**
Elementary	5.9**	11.0	1.8
High School	8.9	13.9	1.8
College+	8.3	14.2	1.8
II. Parent-Youth Interaction			
<i>Ever discussed sex at home**</i>			
Yes	7.8**	14.2**	2.1
No	7.0	11.9	1.7
III. Family Structure			
Person who mostly raised R			
Father only	3.8*	14.0	2.5
Mother only	8.2	11.1	1.6
Both father and mother	7.0	12.1	1.8
Father and another person	3.4	10.3	1.7
Mother and another person	5.5	12.7	1.1
Others	9.5	15.4	2.4
R's perception of the stability of parents marriage			
Stable	7.2	12.4	1.8
Somewhat stable	8.2	13.7	2.8
Not stable	6.1	10.6	2.2
Parents separated	9.4	16.4	2.6
One parent dead	5.9	10.0	1.1
Current living arrangement**			
Not living with both parents	6.7**	11.0**	1.4**
Living with both parents	7.5	12.7	1.9

Appendix Table 3 continued. Regular media exposure according to background characteristics

	MEDIA EXPOSURE		
	% who watch movies regularly	% who watch video regularly	% who watch X-rated films regularly
IV. Family Control Variables			
Perceived father's level of strictness*	7.1**	11.8**	1.7**
Very strict	6.4	12.3	1.4
Strict	7.2	12.8	1.8
Moderately strict	7.9	12.2	2.3
Liberal			
Perceived mother's level of strictness	6.4**	11.8**	1.6**
Very strict	6.6	12.1	1.5
Strict	7.2	12.8	1.6
Moderately strict	8.2	12.4	2.5
Liberal			
Family pray together**	7.9**	13.8**	1.8
Yes	6.0	11.4	1.7
Sometimes	7.4	11.4	1.9
No			

Appendix Table 4. : Distal, proximal and risk behaviors and R's media exposure

	% who watch movies regularly	% who watch video regularly	% who watch X-rated films regularly
A. Distal risk behaviors			
None	2.2**	6.4**	- **
Moderate	5.0	10.1	1.4
High	13.5	19.3	3.1
B. Proximal risk behaviors			
None	5.6**	11.1	1.5**
Moderate	9.7	15.3	2.2
High	21.6	31.9	7.9
C. Risk behaviors			
Ever smoked	9.5**	15.4**	2.9**
Never smoked	5.7	10.3	1.1
Currently smoking regularly	12.2**	17.6**	3.2**
Not currently smoking	9.2	13.4	2.7
Ever tried alcoholic beverage	8.7**	14.3**	2.3**
Never tried alcoholic beverage	5.2	9.9	1.1
Currently drinking alcoholic beverage regularly	12.5**	23.0**	5.1**
Not currently drinking alcoholic bev. regularly	7.4	11.2	1.9
Ever paid girls for sex	13.9**	22.5**	3.0**
Never paid girls for sex	8.0	15.4	2.3
Ever had premarital sex	10.1**	17.0	2.7
Never had premarital sex	6.5	11.3	1.6

Appendix Table 5. Correlates of Proximate risk behavior

	PROXIMAL RISK BEHAVIOR			
	(RISKY SOCIAL BEHAVIOR 3 MONTHS PRIOR SURVEY)			
	NONE	MODERATE	HIGH	TOTAL % (N)
Individual Characteristics				
Age**				
15-19	9.0	61.1	29.9	100.0 (6151)
20-24	14.9	58.9	26.1	100.0 (6365)
Gender**				
Female	18.1	66.8	15.1	100.0 (5401)
Male	4.6	53.3	42.1	100.0 (5170)
Marital Status**				
Single	7.1	60.8	32.1	100.0 (8766)
Married	32.7	57.3	10.0	100.0 (1806)
Place of Residence**				
Urban	10.0	59.8	30.2	100.0 (5797)
Rural	13.3	60.7	26.1	100.0 (4775)
Parent-Youth Interaction				
Ever discussed sex at home**				
Yes	46.0	50.7	3.2	100.0 (1297)
No	52.0	45.9	2.1	100.0 (7131)
Family Structure				
Person who mostly raised R				
Father only	51.8	44.5	3.6	100.0 (110)
Mother only	52.6	45.1	2.4	100.0 (546)
Both father and mother	51.4	46.4	2.2	100.0 (7185)
Father and another person	45.7	43.3	-	100.0 (35)
Mother and another person	42.9	54.9	-	100.0 (133)
Others	46.5	49.7	3.9	100.0 (437)
R's perception of the stability of parent's marriage				
Stable				
Somewhat stable	51.3	46.5	2.2	100.0 (6330)
Not stable	50.3	47.1	2.6	100.0 (535)
Parents separated	60.3	37.7	-	100.0 (151)
One parent dead	45.0	51.1	3.9	100.0 (362)
Current living arrangement**	50.6	47.3	2.1	100.0 (1993)
Not living with both parents				
Living with both parents	52.7	44.1	3.3	100.0 (1713)
Family Control Variables	50.5	47.5	2.0	100.0 (6337)
Perceived father's level of strictness*				
Very strict				
Strict	59.3	39.0	1.7	100.0 (2193)
Moderately strict	54.7	43.7	1.6	100.0 (2378)
Liberal	48.7	48.9	2.5	100.0 (50)
Perceived mother's level of strictness	39.4	57.0	3.6	100.0 (1839)
Very strict				
Strict	62.6	36.1	1.3	100.0 (1603)
Moderately strict	54.3	44.0	1.7	100.0 (2606)
Liberal	48.9	48.9	2.2	100.0 (2226)
Family pray together**	40.1	56.0	3.8	100.0 (2010)
Yes				
Sometimes	54.5	43.3	2.2	100.0 (3001)
No	47.7	50.2	2.1	100.0 (2811)

	50.8	46.7	2.5	100.0 (2630)
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- > 10 cases

Appendix Table 6: Correlates of risk behaviors

	RISK BEHAVIORS						
	% ever smoked	% currently smoking regularly	% ever tried alcoholic drinks	% currently drinking regularly	% ever used drugs	% ever paid girls for sexual int.	Ever had PMS
TOTAL (N)	37.6 (4086)	24.2 (980)	54.4 (5914)	8.2 (481)	5.7 (623)	7.6 (399)	17.9 (1940)
I. Individual Characteristics							
Age**							
15-19	29.4*	16.0**	44.8**	6.5**	3.2**	2.8**	8.1**
20-24	49.0	31.0	67.7	9.8	9.2	14.4	31.5
Gender**							
Female	16.5**	5.1**	36.5**	0.7**	1.0**	-	26.2**
Male	60.1	29.8	73.6	12.3	10.9	7.6	10.2
Marital Status**							
Single	36.8**	22.3**	53.7**	8.2**	5.5**	7.2**	12.9**
Married	41.2	32.5	57.6	8.4	7.1	11.8	42.0
Place of Residence**							
Urban	39.8**	22.4**	56.8**	7.9**	6.5**	9.0**	19.3*
Rural	34.9	26.6	51.5	8.8	4.8	5.9	16.2
SES (Mother's Education)							
No schooling	41.2**	23.8**	53.3*	11.8	6.1	3.8	16.4
Elementary	37.8	26.2	54.6	8.6	5.3	6.7	17.3
High School	35.5	23.4	57.7	8.0	6.2	8.2	18.7
College+	39.4	14.5	55.8	5.6	6.1	10.5	18.9
II. Parent-Youth Interaction**							
Ever discussed sex at home							
Yes	35.9	19.6*	56.2	6.6	5.7	11.5**	19.0
No	37.9	24.9	54.1	8.6	5.8	7.1	17.7
III. Family Structure							
Person who mostly raised R							
Father only	42.9	26.9	51.3	10.3*	10.3**	5.4	21.87
Mother only	37.3	28.1	54.8	9.1	6.1	8.8	18.5
Both father and mother	37.5	23.9	54.2	8.3	5.4	7.6	17.5
Father and another person	37.3	18.2	58.6	*	*	12.5	20.3
Mother and another person	40.0	23.9	57.8	*	6.1	5.4	14.5
Others	37.0	23.6	55.6	7.3	9.0	7.6	23.0

Appendix Table 6 continued: Correlates of risk behaviors

	RISK BEHAVIORS						
	% ever smoked	% currently smoking regularly	% ever tried alcoholic drinks	% currently drinking regularly	% ever used drugs	% ever paid girls for sexual int.	Ever had PMS
R's perception of the stability of parent's marriage							
Stable							
Somewhat stable	35.9**	22.7*	53.1**	7.9*	5.0**	7.2	16.7**
Not stable	42.6	29.2	58.1	8.6	8.0	7.4	21.6
Parents separated	51.3	26.0	60.2	6.8	6.2	6.6	21.8
One parent dead	42.7	21.5	59.8	9.5	10.6	10.9	22.7
	41.3	29.1	57.2	9.8	7.4	8.9	20.9
Current living arrangement**							
Not living with both parents							\
Living with both parents		26.9**	55.7*	8.1**	6.6**	9.7**	
	37.8	22.7	53.9	8.3	5.6	7.0	24.6**
IV. Family Control Variables	37.7						15.1
Perceived father's level of strictness*							
Very strict							
Strict							
Moderately strict	30.8**	20.5**	43.6**	7.6	4.3**	5.3	14.6**
Liberal	32.7	16.7	46.9	5.3	4.3	5.1	14.2
	36.4	19.7	57.0	6.3	5.5	7.5	16.5
Perceived mother's level of strictness	52.1	35.4	72.5	12.5	9.3	13.2	27.5
Very strict							
Strict							
Moderately strict	27.7**	15.4	38.8	8.1	3.6	3.3**	12.6**
Liberal	33.6	17.2	48.3	5.1	4.0	5.5	14.3
	37.5	20.7	36.9	6.1	5.9	7.1	17.0
Family pray together**	49.7	36.0	70.5	12.7	9.3	14.3	27.0
Yes							
Sometimes							
No	31.1**	22.4**	48.6**	7.1**	4.4**	8.0	17.5*
	40.0	24.6	56.4	7.6	6.0	6.5	16.9
	42.7	25.4	59.1	10.1	7.1	8.5	19.5

- > ten cases

Appendix Table7: Logistic regression estimates predicting the likelihood of selected risk behaviors
(odds ratio/statistical significance)

Characteristics	Ever Smoked	Ever Drank	Ever Used drugs	Ever Had Commercial Sex	Ever Had Premarital Sex
Individual Characteristics					
• age (20-24)	2.246**	2.632**	2.344**	4.090**	4.351**
• residence (Urban)	1.146*	1.272**			1.346**
• marital status (Single)					0.122**
• sex (female)	0.132**	0.219**	0.099**		0.093**
Family Interaction					
• (discuss sex at home)		1.237**			1.246*
Family Structure					
• person who mostly raised 'R' from birth to age 15 (both parents)		0.727**			
• current living arrangement (with both parents)					
• perceived stability of parents marital union (Stable)	.708**	0.796**	0.658**		0.789**
Family Control Variables					
• father's level of strictness	1.111**	1.272**	1.088**		1.112*
• mother's level of strictness	1.270**	1.262**	1.216**	1.284**	1.111*
• religiosity (family prays together)	.689**	0.714**	0.683**		0.835*
Mass Media Exposure					
• TV (watch TV regularly)		0.885*		1.359**	
• Radio (listen to radio regularly)		1.242**			1.174*
• newspaper (reads news regularly)	1.228**			1.804**	1.398**
• comics (reads comics regularly)					
• movies (watches movies regularly)					
• video (watches videos regularly)				1.461*	1.548**
• X-rated (watches x-rated films regularly)	2.162**				
Distal Risk Behavior	1.030**	1.056**	1.045**	1.035**	1.057**
Proximal Risk Behavior	1.152**	1.142**	1.198**	1.179**	1.146**

Omitted categories are as follows: age (15-19), residence (rural); marital status (married); sex (male); family interaction (do not discuss sex at home); perceive who mostly raised 'R' from birth to age 15(not by both parents); current living arrangement (not with both parents); perceived stability of parent's marital union (not stable/separated/dead); father and mother's level of strictness are continuous variables with values ranging from 0 to 7 (0 very strict, 7 very liberal); religiosity (family does not pray together); TV (does not watch TV regularly); radio (does not listen to radio regularly); newspaper (does not read newspaper regularly); comics (does not read comics regularly); movies (does not watch movies regularly); video (does not watch video shows regularly); x-rated (does not watch x-rated films regularly); distal and proximal risk behaviors are continuous variables ranging from 0 to 30 and 0 to 18.5, respectively (0 being least risky and highest values being mostly risky behavior).

*P<0:05

**p<.01

