RESILIENCE AND FAMILISM

CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES IN FAMILY RESEARCH

Series Editor: Sampson Lee Blair

Previous Volumes:

Volume 4:	Intergenerational Ambivalences New Perspectives on Parent–Child Relations in Later Life – Edited by Karl A. Pillemer and Kurt K. Luscher, 2003
Volume 5:	Families in Eastern Europe – Edited by Mihaela Robila, 2004
Volume 6:	Economic Stress and the Family – Edited by Sampson Lee Blair, 2012
Volume 7:	Visions of the 21st Century Family: Transforming Structures and Identities – Edited by Patricia Neff Claster and Sampson Lee Blair, 2013
Volume 8A:	Family Relationships and Familial Responses to Health Issues – Edited by Jennifer Higgins McCormick and Sampson Lee Blair, 2014
Volume 8B:	Family and Health: Evolving Needs, Responsibilities, and Experiences – Edited by Sampson Lee Blair and Jennifer Higgins McCormick, 2014
Volume 9:	Violence and Crime in the Family: Patterns, Causes, and Consequences – Edited by Sheila Royo Maxwell and Sampson Lee Blair, 2015
Volume 10:	Divorce, Separation, and Remarriage: The Transformation of Family – Edited by Giovanna Gianesini and Sampson Lee Blair, 2017
Volume 11:	Intimate Relationships and Social Change: The Dynamic Nature of Dating, Mating, and Coupling – Edited by Christina L. Scott and Sampson Lee Blair, 2018
Volume 12:	Fathers, Childcare and Work – Edited By Arianna Santero and Rosy Musumeci, 2018
Volume 13:	The Work–Family Interface: Spillover, Complications, and Challenges – Edited by Sampson Lee Blair and Josip Obradović, 2018
Volume 14:	Childbearing and the Changing Nature of Parenting: The Contexts, Actors, and Experiences of Having Children – Edited by Rosalina Pisco Costa and Sampson Lee Blair, 2019
Volume 15:	Transitions into Parenthood: Examining the Complexities of Childrearing – Edited by Sampson Lee Blair and Rosalina Pisco Costa, 2019
Volume 16:	Chinese Families: Tradition, Modernisation, and Change – Edited by Man-Yee Kan and Sampson Le Blair, 2021
Volume 17:	Aging and the Family: Understanding Changes in Structural and Relationship Dynamics – Edited by Patricia Neff Claster and Sampson Lee Blair, 2021
Volume 18:	Families in Nigeria: Understanding their Diversity, Adaptability, and Strengths – Edited by Olufemi Adeniyi Fawole and Sampson Lee Blair, 2022
Volume 19:	Facing Death: Familial Responses to Illness and Death – Edited by Christina L Scott, Heidi M Williams and Siri Wilder, 2022
Volume 20:	The Justice System and the Family: Police, Courts, and Incarceration – Edited by Sheila Royo Maxwell and Sampson Lee Blair, 2022
Volume 21:	Flexible Work and the Family – Edited by Anja-Kristin Abendroth and Laura Lükemann, 2023
Volume 22:	Conjugal Trajectories: Relationship Beginnings, Change, and Dissolutions – Edited by Ana Josefina Cuevas Hernández and Sampson Lee Blair, 2023

EDITORIAL BOARD

This page intentionally left blank

CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES IN FAMILY RESEARCH VOLUME 23

RESILIENCE AND FAMILISM: THE DYNAMIC NATURE OF FAMILIES IN THE PHILIPPINES

EDITED BY

VERONICA L. GREGORIO
National University of Singapore, Singapore

CLARENCE M. BATAN
University of Santo Tomas, Philippines

and

SAMPSON LEE BLAIR
The State University of New York, USA

United Kingdom – North America – Japan
India – Malaysia – China

Emerald Publishing Limited
Howard House, Wagon Lane, Bingley BD16 1WA, UK

First edition 2023

Reprints and permissions service
Contact: permissions@emeraldinsight.com

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-80455-415-9 (Print)
ISBN: 978-1-80455-414-2 (Online)
ISBN: 978-1-80455-416-6 (Epub)

ISSN: 1530-3535 (Series)

ISOQAR certified Management System, awarded to Emerald for adherence to Environmental standard ISO 14001:2004.

Certificate Number 1985
ISO 14001

INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

FIGURES

TABLES

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Jeofrey B. Abalos is a postdoctoral fellow at the National University of Singapore Centre for Family and Population Research. His research interests include population aging and health, marriage and cohabitation, and divorce and separation.

Sunshine Therese S. Alcantara graduated with a bachelor's degree in Sociology, cum laude, in 2015 from the University of the Philippines Los Baños. She finished her master's degree in Sociology with a minor in Development Management and Governance from the same university in 2019. Upon completing her master's, she worked as a Research Associate at the Asian Institute of Management – Rizalino S. Navarro Policy Center for Competitiveness. Currently, she serves as an Assistant Professor at the University of the Philippines Los Baños, teaching various sociology courses. Her research interests include family, youth, remote work, and qualitative research.

Clarence M. Batan is a Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology, and former Director of the Research Center for Culture, Education, and Social Issues (RCCESI) from 2015 to 2016 at the University of Santo Tomas (UST), Manila, Philippines. He was instrumental in reorganizing the RCCESI which led to the establishment of two multi-disciplinal-based centers namely, the Research Center for the Social Sciences and Education and the Research Center for Culture, Arts, and Humanities in 2017. He was President of the Philippine Sociological Society (2017–2018) and Vice President for Asia in the Research Committee on the Sociology of Youth (RC34) (2014–2018) of the International Sociological Association. His research interests are the sociology of childhood and youth, sociology of work and employment, sociology of Filipino Catholicism, Global South scholarship, and qualitative and mixed methods. He obtained his AB in Sociology from UST; MA in Sociology from the University of the Philippines Diliman. Having completed his graduate studies in North America (including a PhD in Sociology at Dalhousie University in Canada and an international research fellowship at Brown University in the USA) he has been challenged through his involvement in the Global South youth studies project to center the works of Southeast Asian theorists and Filipino academics in his sociological research. He actively serves as a policy consultant in the Department of Education, and the Commission on Higher Education of the Philippine Government. He continues his istambay (on standby) research on the phenomenon of "waithood and precarity" through the project, Pilipinong Kabataang Naghahabi ng Buhay (Filipino Youth Weaving Lives) and leads The National Catechetical Study: Pastoral Action Research and Intervention Project in partnership with the Catholic Bishops' Conference in the Philippines – Episcopal Commission on Catechesis

and Catholic Education, which allows him to investigate more closely the present-day dynamics of the Sociology of Catholicism in the Philippines.

Samuel I. Cabbuag is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of the Philippines Diliman where he finished both his bachelor and master's degrees. He is also a PhD student in Sociology at Hong Kong Baptist University. His research interests include digital sociology, cultural sociology, media and cultural studies, digital cultures, popular culture, fan studies, and influencer cultures. He has published in the *Philippine Sociological Review*, *Asian Politics & Policy*, *Plaridel*, *Katipunan*, and *Southeast Asian Media Studies Journal*. His recent co-authored publication is about pseudonymous influencers and media manipulation in the Philippines in understanding the complicities of the influencer industry with disinformation.

Jerome V. Cleofas is an Associate Professor and the Graduate Program Coordinator of the Department of Sociology and Behavioral Sciences (DSBS), De La Salle University, Manila (DLSU), Philippines. He is a registered nurse and health social scientist with a BS Nursing degree from Far Eastern University, graduating cum laude. He earned his MA Nursing major in Clinical Management degree at St. Paul University Manila, where he previously worked as a Senior Research Associate and University Planning Coordinator. He earned his PhD in Sociology, majoring in Family, Health, and Population Dynamics at DSBS-DLSU, where he is currently a full-time Faculty handling social research and health-related courses. Currently, he is a member of the Research Capability Building Committee of the Metro Manila Health and Development Consortium and a member of the Board of Directors of the Philippine Sociological Society. His research interests and publications are in the fields of health social sciences, youth and emerging adulthood, family studies, gender studies, mixed methodology, nursing studies, and social media.

Carla Krishan A. Cuadro is a Medical Speech-language Pathologist at the Memory Center and the Voice and Swallowing Center at St. Luke's Medical Center in the Philippines. She is an adjunct Research Assistant Professor at the Institute of Aging, National Institutes of Health, University of the Philippines-Manila, where she conducts research on dementia care in the Philippines and aims to lend an anthropological eye to investigations on food (in)security among Filipino elderly, particularly in dysphagia management, dysphagia, and dementia, and the use of artificial feeding tubes. She collaborates with colleagues in the country and abroad on studies highlighting Filipino cultural considerations to the life participation approach in aphasia, the role of identity and personhood in the management of aphasia and dementia, and creating select, culturally appropriate testing material for local use. Her advocacy work sees her coordinate actively with the Dementia Society of the Philippines and the Philippine Association of Speech Pathologists. She is presently working on her dissertation investigating cultural concepts of death and dying in end-of-life conversations of older Filipinos with their families, leading toward a Doctorate in Philippine Studies, specializing in anthropology.

Tisha Isabelle M. de Vergara earned her Bachelor of Arts in Sociology (magna cum laude) from the University of Santo Tomas and is currently taking up a Master of Arts in Sociology at the University of the Philippines Diliman. Her research interests include the sociology of Catholicism and religion, social health, and environmental sociology.

Dennis Erasga is a Senior Faculty and Professor of Sociology at the Department of Sociology and Behavioral Sciences, De La Salle University, Manila, Philippines. He was a Visiting Professor at the Mahidol University, Department of Health and Society, Salaya Campus, Thailand (2014); a Salzburg Global Seminar Fellow in Austria (Biography as Mirror of Society, 2012), and a Lecturer in the Quality Management in International Health Program of the University of Heidelberg, Department of Tropical Health and Public Hygiene, Heidelberg, Germany (2017). His range of publications included topics in grassroots sociology, social theory, ecoconstructionism, sociology of literature, science/fiction, futures studies, as well as on qualitative research methodology. His forthcoming book explores (i) the formative issues, (ii) the phenomenological stance, and (iii) methodological affordances of an emerging nativist sociology by Filipinos, the Pilipinong Sosyolohiya. His notion of Pakiramdaman conceives the idiosyncratic features of Filipino interactions as constitutive of a "mutual sense of kapwa." His book – *From Grain to Nature* (2015) narrates an alternative genealogy of the environmental discourse in the Philippines through the biography of rice (palay). He is a Fellow of the university's Social Development Research Center, where several of his major field research was implemented. He is a member and once served as Board Secretary of the Philippine Sociological Society. He is currently a member of the Canadian Sociological Association, the American Sociological Association, the International Sociological Association, and the European Sociological Association. He obtained his BA and MA (Sociology) and PhD (Environmental Science) from the University of the Philippines at Los Baños. He was born in the historic town of Calamba (Laguna) where he lives and plans to spend the rest of his professional life.

Rizason L. Go Tian-Ng started her practice in 1998 as a play therapist under her former mentor, Dr Maria Lourdes A. Carandang. Her practicum work with children had opened her eyes to children who acted out family stresses or personal struggles. She then worked on her graduate thesis on the criterion validation of a Tagasalo personality using the Panunukat ng Pagkataong Pilipino by Dr Annadaisy J. Carlota, a personality test that assesses 19 traits in terms of various Filipino personality trait constructs. Many years later, she taught Theories of Personality to undergraduate students and realized that the Tagasalo personality is a good illustration of Sikolohiyang Pilipino as an indigenous psychology within the Filipino family. She thought of engaging her students on a small project that gave way to her chapter in this volume. As mentioned earlier, she is a part-time Faculty member of the Departments of Psychology at Ateneo de Manila University and at the University of the Philippines Diliman. Her interests in teaching are Theories of Personality, Developmental Psychology, Cognitive Psychology, and Introduction to Counseling. She is also invited to speak on topics

on Parenting and on Child Development. She is also a Clinical Psychologist who works with the adolescent and up to middle adulthood group. In many of her cases, clients manifest Tagasalo behavior and this has inspired her to pursue writing about Tagasalo to give rise to this unique Filipino coping behavior and personality development.

Veronica L. Gregorio received her PhD from the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, National University of Singapore where she is currently a Teaching Assistant. Her research on rural transformation, gender and sexuality, and youth and family relations has been published in journals like the *Asia Pacific Social Sciences Review*, *Current Sociology*, *Review of Women's Studies*, and *Simulacra Jurnal Sosiologi*. In 2021, she was named Sociologist of the Month by the International Sociological Association. In 2018, she was named by the Philippine Sociological Society as the first awardee of the Gelia Tagumpay Castillo Research in Community Engagement. In 2015, she received the 5th Lourdes Lontok-Cruz Award for Best Thesis in Women and Gender Studies.

Carlo S. Gutierrez obtained his PhD in Comparative Asian Studies from the National University of Singapore in 2022. His current research interests include area studies, social theory, institutionalism, rural studies, semiotic analysis, and demography. His PhD dissertation tackles the interactions among institutional actors resulting in current policies (realities) in communities (broadly speaking). His chapter in this volume focused on the role of the family as an institutional actor in the community. He has a multicultural academic background. He obtained academic degrees from different countries: PhD (Singapore), MA (Japan), and BA (Philippines). Furthermore, he has almost a decade of formal experience as a faculty member before his PhD pursuit – teaching sociology and international studies courses. In the future, he wishes to engage in academic careers sharpening his competence in social theory and critical analysis of institutions.

Joselito G. Gutierrez, PhD, is a Faculty member of the University of Santo Tomas (UST) Institute of Religion (IR). He is a Research Associate of the UST – Center for Theology, Religious Studies, and Ethics and the Chair of the Certificate on Religious Education program of UST-IR, which gives free training for the catechists and religious educators of partner dioceses. He finished his PhD in Family Studies at Miriam College and obtained his MA in Theology, majoring in Pastoral Ministry from St. Vincent School of Theology, Adamson University. He is a Bachelor of Science in Management and Industrial Engineering graduate of Mapua Institute of Technology. He is also a Licensed Professional Teacher. Before joining UST, he was the Director of the Office of Student Affairs of Colegio De San Lorenzo. He is also a volunteer parish pastoral worker, marriage and family specialist, retreat facilitator, and resource person in various topics such as catechesis, parenting, leadership training, community organizing, and faith formation. His research interests include fatherhood, parenting, marriage, and family in the field of sociology, as well as Christology and Catholic social teaching in the field of theology.

Derrace Garfield McCallum is an Assistant Professor of English and Cultural Studies in the Department of Global Liberal Arts at Aichi University in Nagoya, Japan. His main research interests include migration, transnationalism, family life, race/ethnicity, multiculturalism, gender, care, and social policy. He is the author of several journal articles and book chapters that examine various aspects of social policy and the experiences of transnational families. He is also the co-editor of the recently published book entitled *Children and Youths' Migration in a Global Landscape*. He is currently conducting research regarding the transition of Japan into a more multicultural society, primarily focusing on the experiences of relatively new migrant groups. His current research focus also includes the individual and collective experiences of members of transnational families.

Belen T. Medina obtained her BA (cum laude) and MA from the University of the Philippines Diliman where she majored in Sociology, after which she took postgraduate courses in sociology/anthropology and Southeast Asian Studies at Cornell University as a Fulbright/Smith-Mundt scholar. She trained in the Sociology of Development at Delhi University as a UNESCO Fellow and obtained a Certificate in Social Research for Developing Societies (With Merit) at the University of London. With a Ford-Rockefeller Grant, she visited the University of California at Los Angeles and Irvine, Wright State University, University of Cincinnati, and Miami University for enrichment studies in the sociology of the family. She also visited the Chulalongkorn and Thammasat Universities, Rangoon University, the University of Malaya, the University of Singapore, and the University of Indonesia on an Asia Foundation Grant for Southeast Asian Studies. She taught for 53 years at the Department of Sociology of the University of the Philippines Diliman where she served as Chairperson twice. She is the recognized expert on the Filipino family and the author of the only textbook on the sociology of the family in the country, *The Filipino Family*, published by the UP Press (1st ed. in 1991, 2nd ed. in 2001, and 3rd ed. in 2015). She has published many articles and books and has read papers at conferences in the Philippines and abroad on this topic. She is an elected member of the Phi Kappa Phi International Honor Society and the Pi Gamma Mu International Honor Society in the Social Sciences. She is a founding member and now a recognized Honorary Member of the Philippine Sociological Society. She is also an elected Regular Member and awarded as Member Emeritus of the National Research Council of the Philippines.

Maria Cecilia T. Medina holds a bachelor's degree in Sociology, cum laude (1983) and Master of Arts in Asian Studies (1991) from the University of the Philippines. She also has a second master's degree in Religious Studies (2020) from the Maryhill School of Theology and a doctoral degree in Sociology from Xavier University (2004). She is an Associate Professor of Philippine and Asian Studies at the Asian Center, University of the Philippines, and previously served as Assistant to the Dean for Administration and Public Affairs, Coordinator of the Tri-College PhD Philippine Studies Program, and Editor-in-Chief of the *Asian Studies: Journal of Critical Perspectives on Asia*. She is currently an Associate Editor of *Social*

Science Diliman: A Philippine Journal of Society and Culture, the flagship journal for the social sciences at the University of the Philippines Diliman. She also served on the board of the Philippine Sociological Society and is an elected member of the International Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi and the International Honor Society of Pi Gamma Mu for excellence in the Social Sciences. She is also a member of the Research Committee on Sociology of Religion (RC 22) and the Research Committee on the Sociology of Disasters (RC 39) as a member of the International Sociological Association. Her publications and research interests are on Asian religions, cultures, and development, indigenous peoples and ethnic relations, disaster studies, and Southeast Asian studies. She is also a regular member of the Division of Social Sciences of the National Research Council of the Philippines.

Romulo Nieva Jr. is a health sociologist, policy researcher, and public health advocate. He is a faculty member at the UP-Manila College of Public Health. His broad teaching and research interests are the intersectionality of health, biopower and health, gender, and health systems, health and social policy, and prison health. He holds a doctoral degree from the University of Otago in New Zealand on an Otago doctoral research scholarship. He also obtained a master's degree in Health Social Science from De La Salle University as a Ford Foundation scholar and a bachelor's degree in Nursing (cum laude graduate) from Bukidnon State University. His PhD research explores the nexus between women's imprisonment and reproductive well-being in the Philippines. In this qualitative study, he applied sociological and feminist criminological approaches to examine the lived experience of reproductive health among Filipino women in prison. Before pursuing a PhD, he worked as a Health Policy Research and Advocacy Officer for the Zuellig Family Foundation in the Philippines. He was chosen as the 2020–2021 Policy Fellow of the Population Reference Bureau (PRB), where he underwent policy development and advocacy training and worked with PRB for policy research and advocacy on the reproductive health of women in prison. He was a finalist in the 2022 International Sociological Association Worldwide Competition for Junior Sociologists engaged in social research for his academic paper discussing Filipino pregnant prisoners' childbearing experience.

Janus Isaac V. Nolasco is University Researcher IV at the Center for Integrative and Development Studies (CIDS), University of the Philippines, where he is also Deputy Editor in Chief of the *Philippine Journal of Public Policy*, which is published by UP CIDS. He dabbles in popular culture, philosophy, political thought, Asian/Area Studies, premodern West Asian history, and literary criticism. His writings have appeared in *Suvannabhumi: Multi-Disciplinary Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, *Asian Politics & Policy*, *Pelikula: A Journal of Philippine Cinema*, *New Mandala*, *Inquirer*, and the *Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia*. He has a BA in Comparative Literature and an MA in Asian Studies (majoring on West Asia), both from the University of the Philippines Diliman.

Ryan Michael F. Oducado is a registered nurse, midwife, guidance counselor, and licensed professional teacher with a PhD in Education major in Psychology and Guidance. He is an Assistant Professor at the College of Nursing, West Visayas State University, Iloilo, Philippines. His research interests are in the fields of nursing education, public health, and mental health.

Enrique G. Oracion is concurrently Professor of Anthropology and Sociology and the Director for Research of Silliman University in Dumaguete City, Negros Oriental. He earned his Bachelor (1980, cum laude) and Master of Arts (1985) degrees majoring in Sociology from Silliman University while he completed his PhD in Anthropology (2006) from the University of San Carlos in Cebu City. He was also a United Board Fellow assigned at The Chinese University of Hong Kong (2011) and Baylor University, Texas, USA (2012). He is a regular member of the National Research Council of the Philippines and a past Board Member of the Anthropological Association of the Philippines or the Ugnayang PangAghamtao and the Philippine Sociological Society. He was a zonal and qualifier recipient of the REPUBLICA (Research and Publication Award) of the Commission on Higher Education in 2005 and 2016, respectively. He is the Community Specialist of the Silliman University South Negros BFAR-USAID Fish Right Program (2018–2023). Specifically, he coordinated the development of the Right Fishing Modules to augment science lessons in basic education, the Fish Tiangge initiative that introduces livelihood to women through fish consolidation and fish processing, and the rapid fish stock assessment tool based on fishers' perception. His disciplinal interest is environmental anthropology and he covers various issues and dimensions related to human–environment interaction. Related to his contribution to this book, he had published about child labor in fishing and intergenerational support to marine conservation. His other publications include Negrito adaptation, gender and women issues, education and service-learning, ecotourism and marine protected area management, cultural heritage management, aging and health, and culture of disaster and resiliency.

A. M. Leal Rodriguez is a PhD candidate currently affiliated with the University of Auckland as a Faculty of Arts doctoral scholar. A product of the Department of Sociology and the School of Critical Studies in Education, her PhD project focuses on masculinities in the global south, gender, and higher education, or universities (University of Auckland Doctoral Research Fund). Working as a feminist activist with almost 10 years of experience in the development and education sector led her to decolonial and post-structuralist theory. She has presented her work to numerous organizations across the globe (the New Zealand Association for Research in Education Conference, the Sociological Association of Aotearoa New Zealand, the Contacts and Continuities: 500 Years of Iberian-Asian Relations Conference, the American Education Research Association, and the Women's and Gender Studies Association of the Philippines). The textbook she co-authored, *Gender and Society: The Whys of Women, Their Oppressions,*

and Paths to Liberation, is being used by higher education institutions for their curriculum on gender studies. She has also worked on projects focusing on ethnicity and youth achievement in education (Performance-Based Research Fund, Tertiary Education Union New Zealand) and exploring political gift-giving in the context of (Marsden Fund, Royal Society of New Zealand). She now resides in Aotearoa New Zealand where she burns rubber through cycling and touches rocks through climbing, to chase inspiration.

Tricia Olea Santos is an adjunct Professor at Baylor University, Robbins College of Health and Human Sciences, Department of Communication Sciences and Disorders. Her primary area of expertise is in healthy aging and adult cognitive-linguistic disorders. Over the past decade, she has been involved in research that explores discourse in healthy aging, dementia, and aphasia, cultural differences in illness narratives, renegotiating identity in aphasia, caregiving in dementia, health literacy in minority populations and stroke patients, and life participation after stroke. In addition to teaching at the undergraduate, graduate, and clinical levels, she also provides professional continuing education webinars for speech-language pathologists. She maintains a clinical caseload in acute care and inpatient rehabilitation hospital settings involving the assessment and intervention of adult neurogenic disorders. She has co-authored journal articles and a book chapter on topics pertinent to discourse in healthy aging, aphasia, and dementia. She has published her works in a variety of peer-reviewed journals, such as *Aphasiology*, *Folia et Phoniatrica*, *Topics in Stroke Rehabilitation*, *Journal of Aging and Social Change*, and *International Journal of Speech-language Pathology*. Her work has been presented nationally and internationally at speech-language pathology and gerontology conventions.

Hanna K. Ulatowska is Professor Emerita at the University of Texas at Dallas, School of Behavioral and Brain Sciences, Callier Center for Communication Disorders. Her primary area of research is neurolinguistics, and more specifically, investigations of discourse in aphasia, dementia, and advanced aging. The focus of her research is the characterization of the communicative competence of these populations and how it relates to preservations and impairments of both linguistic and cognitive functioning. Another research focus deals with the effects of different language types on the disruption of language in aphasia which stems from my investigations of aphasia in Polish. In the past, she has investigated discourse in African American, Hispanic-American, and Filipino American elderly. She has also been involved in studying the representation of camp experiences in narratives told by elderly camp survivors in Poland. Her recent research has involved how communication in testimonies from American World War II veterans can be used in collective memory by examining autobiographical memory, emotional memory, and life review of the veterans in evaluations of war experiences. She is presently studying patterns of recovery from aphasia in writers from different cultures.

Jofel D. Umandap was a marketing professional, with a Management undergraduate degree from Ateneo de Manila University and a post-graduate degree in Commerce from Macquarie University, before deciding to pursue a career as a psychologist. She completed her MA in Psychology from the Ateneo de Manila University and is currently pursuing her PhD in Clinical Psychology, also at the same university. Her areas of interest are marriage and family therapy, personal growth, mindfulness, and self-compassion. She is also involved in developing programs and modules, as well as in facilitating workshops for psychoeducation and brief intervention programs. She is currently a licensed psychologist practicing therapy and training at the Ateneo Bulatao Center for Psychological Services, the research and training arm of the Psychology Department, at UGAT Foundation, an organization with psycho-spiritual interventions for Filipino grassroots families, and at the Life Science Center for Health and Wellness. She is also a part-time Lecturer at the Department of Psychology at Ateneo de Manila University, teaching Abnormal Psychology, Developmental Psychology, and a core formation course, Understanding the Self.

This page intentionally left blank

FOREWORD

The evolving nature of families across the world is continuously subjected to social changes, cultural shifts, and global flows. In our contemporary world, the dynamics and confluence of factors shaping and influencing "families" remain an intriguing facet of both scholarship and policies. This sociological fascination roots in the central interest of/in knowledge and/or the lack of it in understanding the nature, contours, and textures of families, especially in societies that are historically colonized and persistently marred by problematic socio-political and economical tensions such as the Philippines.

The Philippines is a unique country, and its distinct history and culture provide an intriguing context for families. Comprising over 7,000 islands, the Philippines has been visited by numerous groups in its prehistoric times, while over the past five centuries, Spanish colonization influenced the course of Filipino culture, particularly regarding religion. Even after the formal establishment of the Republic of the Philippines in 1946, American cultural influence persisted. Its long history, coupled with its peculiar population distribution across thousands of islands, has resulted in a culture which is decidedly familistic. Filipino families maintain perhaps the strongest family bonds of any culture and have shown a unique ability to persevere, even when faced with the direst of circumstances.

This multidisciplinary volume of CPFR brings into focus a comprehensive collection of the dynamic nature of families in the Philippines. Generally, we ask: Why do Filipino families maintain perhaps the strongest family bonds of any culture? How has this shown a unique ability to persevere, even when faced with the direst of circumstances?

MAIN THEMES OF THE VOLUME

Our journey in soliciting academic responses to these questions led us to this collection covering a broad range of topics including Filipino family's social demography and various dimensions of "familism" in contemporary Filipino families such as parenthood, care provisions, families across sectors (overseas Filipino workers or OFWs, farmers, and fisherfolks), and emerging familial representations. By looking at census and survey data, Jeofrey B. Abalos details his findings in the lead chapter, "A Demographic Portrait of the Filipino Family: A Glimpse from the Recent Past." In this work, he examined the following: marriage, cohabitation, and other types of relationships, rise of non-marriage, fertility and fertility preferences, childlessness, attitudes toward the family and other relationships, and the living arrangements and exchange of support among the elderly. One of Abalos' fitting conclusions for this volume is that

> while the Filipino family may have changed in size and structure and how it is formed and dissolved, it has remained constant in how it values its members, particularly the young and the old.

Drawing from multidisciplinary views, the empirical descriptions in this collection also draw attention to the underlying "resilience" of/in Filipino families relative to the multifaceted issues explored in this volume. We will discuss the four themes in the succeeding subsections.

Narratives of Parenthood

Parenthood is one of the longest stages of one's life. Chapters 2–5 will explore the different experiences of parenthood in the Philippines. Samuel I. Cabbuag, in "The Road to Visibility: IVF and Motherhood Journey of Filipino Influencers," discusses the taboo topic of childbearing via in vitro fertilization (IVF). Through web scraping, he coded 438 comments from YouTube videos of Filipino influencers who opted to bear children via IVF. He argues that through the visibility labor of influencers, the phenomenon of childbearing via IVF is not only promoted as a viable, if not acceptable procreative process, but also perpetuated as an in/accessible procedure in the Philippines.

From YouTube influencers, the volume will then move to a different group in Chapter 3: incarcerated women. Romulo Nieva Jr's work, "Pregnancy, Motherhood, and Family: Stories Behind Bars," is based on his PhD project wherein he conducted face-to-face semi-structured interviews with women who had experienced pregnancy in prison. Nieva suggests that experiences of mothering and childbearing for incarcerated women are negative and complex. He finds that "women's institutionally imposed 'prisoner identity' overshadows their pregnancy status and mothering role, exacerbated by their experiences of systemic scarcity, restricted contact with family, and limited autonomy."

Partnership (or its absence) in connection to parenthood is also an important factor in family formation. In Chapter 4, "Acceptance Is Key: Toward a Framework for Understanding Serial Cohabitation," Veronica L. Gregorio explores how serial cohabiters with children, in response to social stigma, exhibit resiliency toward stepfamily formation and committed sexual relationships. She conceptualizes "family acceptance" which refers to embracing the fluidity, reconfigurations, and "imperfections" of cohabiters' newly formed family and "community acceptance" which covers the same affirmation from friends, neighbors, and extended relatives who are considered as relevant others by serial cohabiters.

The above chapters which focus on women's experiences will be complemented by Chapter 5, "Selected Cases of Teenage Fatherhood in the Philippines: An Analysis of Risks and Resilience," by Joselito G. Gutierrez, Tisha Isabelle M. De Vergara, and Clarence M. Batan. The authors interrogate the consequences of sexual behaviors on the well-being of teenage fathers in the contexts of their families of orientation and families of procreation. The authors argue that the risks of teenage fatherhood in the Philippines are relatively mitigated by conservative culture and religious orientation that leads to the experiences of "natauhan" (realization), "pinangatawanan" (accountability), and "pinanindigan" (owning responsibility).

Care Provisions in/From the Family

As lifespans continue to increase, the chances of facing shocks during middle and old ages also increase. Families face sudden shocks like losing jobs, natural calamities, and health issues, among others. In such times, how do Filipino family members take charge and continue with their lives? The second theme of the volume, Care provisions in/from the family, will explore this question.

In Chapter 6, "ICT-mediated Familial Care in Turbulent Times: Filipinos' Subjectivities, Virtual Intimacy, and Resilience amid Social Change," Derrace Garfield McCallum draws on data collected as part of a multi-sited transnational ethnography. The work revolves around the lives of Filipino migrants who live in Japan and their family members who live in the Philippines. McCallum explains how transnational families preserve and nurture their collective commitments using Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs). He argues that families maximize ICTs not just to (re)enact and (re)create mundane existences but also to recognize, celebrate, and display significant family milestones.

Is it possible to turn "caringness" and "responsibleness" into a personality? Rizason L. Go Tian-Ng and Jofel D. Umandap's chapter, "An Exposition of the Multidimensionality of the Tagasalo Personality," uses Philippine indigenous psychology literature to provide an in-depth theoretical-historical development of the Tagasalo personality. The Tagasalo is the family member who "catches" or "saves" the family from the different shocks as mentioned earlier. Using case study reviews and thematic analysis of reflective essays, Go Tian-Ng and Umandap propose new dimensions of internalizing and externalizing behaviors that serve to alleviate the distress experienced by the Tagasalo.

The next chapter, "Maintaining Personhood and Identity in Dementia: Families as Partners in Care," focuses on informal caregivers of persons with dementia. Tricia Olea Santos, Hanna K. Ulatowska, and Carla Krishan A. Cuadro's work probes into the characteristics and structure of the Filipino family, and the challenges in caring for a loved one with dementia. Aside from turning down career opportunities to stay at home full time, these family caregivers (mostly women) are also designing the day-by-day schedule of their elderly parents using family photo albums, TV shows, prayer meetings, gardening, and even music-related activities. The authors also analyze cultural and relational factors that influence dementia care and the preservation of identity in dementia.

Sexual identities in relation to health status are often analyzed in terms of individual well-being, coping mechanisms, and access to services. The work "Sexual Identity Visibility and Compounding Stigma in the Familial Context: Life Histories Among Filipino MSMs Living with HIV" by Jerome V. Cleofas and Dennis Erasga provides a different perspective by focusing on the family of men living with HIV. The authors partnered with The Project Red Ribbon, a community-based HIV organization, to recruit and conduct key interviews with 31 participants. Based on the results, Cleofas and Erasga conceptualized sexual identity visibility in the family (SIVF) as the nature of the family's consciousness and acceptance of the informants' sexual identity/ies and further posit that SIVF shapes an individual's sexual health across the lifespan.

The last work under the theme on care provisions is "Family Relationship, Mental Well-being, and Life Satisfaction During the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Mediation Study Among Filipino Graduate Students." With school and work moving online for long periods of time, the quality of life within households abruptly and steadily changed. Drawing from an online survey among 337 graduate students enrolled during the second year of the pandemic, Ryan Michael F. Oducado and Jerome V. Cleofas examined the three family relationship domains (cohesion, expressiveness, and conflict), their predictive relationships with life satisfaction, and the mediating role of mental well-being on these relationships.

Families of OFWs, Farmers, and Fisherfolks

The next theme is sectoral, with a focus on families of overseas Filipino workers or OFWs, farmers, and fisherfolks. In the exploratory work, "Response and Coping Mechanism of Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW) Children to Parents' Separation," Sunshine Therese S. Alcantara focused on the social and emotional costs of migration to Filipino families. She analyzed the experiences of OFW children with separated parents due to marital infidelity and found how they process their emotions to eventually accept their parents' decisions. Alcantara also emphasized the role of peers in OFW children's coping process. For future research on the same sample group, she recommends comparing mechanisms between male and female children.

As international migration continues, will farmers continue to work in the fields? In Chapter 12, the contribution of goods to the economy and the reproduction of the next generation of farmers was problematized by Carlo S. Gutierrez. His comparative work, "The Family as a Farm Institution: Cases in Japan and the Philippines," factors in the demographic changes, role of civil society organizations, and pluriactivity of households in the survival of smallholdings. More importantly, Gutierrez emphasized that in the Philippines, "the absence of an effort by the state for a farm industrialization project led to primarily family-based farming."

Fishing livelihood is as important as farming, especially in an island nation like the Philippines. The collective decision of rural families to maintain or sell their farms has similarities with the collective decision of fishing families to stay in the sector or to explore other options. Chapter 13, "Parental Livelihood Preference for Children Among Municipal Fishing Families in South Negros, Philippines" by Enrique G. Oracion, will focus on this issue. Using a survey covering 23 coastal barangays, he found that

> while fishing is perceived now as risky and hard because of the accumulated impacts of climate change and the persisting problem of illegal, unreported, and unregulated (IUU) fishing, it is always a ready option for the livelihood of their children if they would fail to get quality education and secure better employment opportunities.

Representations of the Filipino Family

The last theme in the volume will underscore representations of the Filipino family in three aspects: family-orientedness, masculinity vis-á-vis fatherhood, and filial piety toward the elderly.

The chapter of Janus Isaac V. Nolasco, "Self, Family, and Democracy: Individualism and Collectivism in Two Contemporary Filipino Family Films," provides a refreshing take on democracy and its political resonance in Filipino families. By analyzing hierarchical siblingship dynamics and family relations in the films *Kung Ayaw Mo, Huwag Mo* (1998) and *Four Sisters and a Wedding* (2013), Nolasco argues that such "films seek to articulate, manage, and resolve the tensions between self and family, autonomy and dependence, individualism and collectivism."

By engaging with Sikolohiyang Pilipino or Indigenous Filipino Psychology, A. M. Leal Rodriguez traced the construction of masculinity vis-á-vis fatherhood in the Philippines. The chapter, "*Tunay Na Lalaki*/True Manhood in the Philippines: Historical Development, Identity Formations, and Family Contexts," based on a critical review of literature, factored in colonial history and informal systems that form such manhood. Rodriguez proposes to explore Filipino manhood using the banig (woven mat) as representation. Through this banig, "one can dissect how different facets of manhood are woven together to further the country's machismo, one that pervades different powerful institutions."

Finally, the last and closing chapter of the volume discusses filial piety toward the elderly. The chapter is symbolic on its own as it was co-authored by pioneering Filipino family sociologist Belen T. Medina with her daughter, sociologist and Asian Studies expert Maria Cecilia T. Medina. Chapter 16, "The Elderly in the Filipino Family," reviews the importance of intergenerational solidarity (adult child and elderly parent) for the well-being of the elderly. The authors also explain in the chapter why and how institutionalization of the elderly appears to be a last resort, to complement rather than replace the welfare function of the family.

THE FUTURE OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF FAMILY IN THE PHILIPPINES

The first and sole book on *Filipino Family* (1991, with 3rd ed. in 2015) was written by Belen T. Medina. Prior to its launch, many scholars from various fields have also published articles and book chapters that touch on the issues and challenges that Filipino families have faced. This volume is however the first attempt to put together more recent works that highlight the complex changes and relationships among Filipino families, as mediated by technology, and influenced by cultural shifts, economic conditions, and even by the COVID-19 pandemic.

The collection is multidisciplinary but with most authors (15 out of 23) and all three editors coming from the field of sociology. The authors and editors also came from different academic stages – from graduate students, and recent PhD graduates, to postdoctoral fellows, and professors who are already established in their areas. Hence, the topics of interest are not just diverse but also fresh or even controversial. The empirical works, theoretical contributions, and critical reviews in this volume will be most useful if read as a whole collection. With that, we would like to thank all the contributors and anonymous reviewers for their commitment to this collection.

What do we have to say after the completion of this volume? First, parenting among Filipinos will continue to evolve and be increasingly resilient. Second, more work is needed about sexual minorities in family contexts. Third, generational perspectives in different sectors will persistently be tied to economic conditions. And lastly, while hierarchies and gender inequalities are recognized and questioned, familism among Filipinos is here to stay.

As reflected in this work, the future of the sociology of family in the Philippines is in good hands. There is a lot of work to do in enriching the field. We hope to invite more scholars to write, collaborate, and produce related works – looking forward to the next volume!

CHAPTER 1

A DEMOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT OF THE FILIPINO FAMILY: A GLIMPSE FROM THE RECENT PAST

Jeofrey B. Abalos

ABSTRACT

The Philippines experienced several demographic and socioeconomic changes in the past decades, such as rising urbanization, educational expansion, lengthening life expectancy, and increasing overseas labor migration. These changes will have significant ramifications for families and households. For example, educational expansion may delay union formation and accelerate union dissolution. Meanwhile, the joint effect of declining fertility and increasing life expectancy can lead to population aging, which has important implications for intergenerational support and the provision of care to older adults. Against this backdrop, this chapter aims to sketch a demographic portrait of the Filipino family in the past decades, using different sources, including census and survey data. Specifically, it examines trends in union formation (marriage and cohabitation) and union dissolution (divorce and separation) in the Philippines and explores Filipinos' attitudes toward these behaviors. It also describes trends in fertility, fertility preference, and childlessness among Filipino women. Finally, it investigates changes (or lack thereof) in household size and structure in the Philippines, including the living arrangements and intergenerational support among older Filipinos.

Keywords: Philippines; demography; family; marriage; fertility; aging

Resilience and Familism: The Dynamic Nature of Families in the Philippines
Contemporary Perspectives in Family Research, Volume 23, 1–18

ISSN: 1530-3535/doi:10.1108/S1530-353520230000023001

INTRODUCTION

The family is the most important, most valued, and most enduring institution in Philippine society (Asis, 1994). It offers

> social security, old age pensions …, care for the sick, home for the aged, counsel for the troubled, and most of all, love, affection, emotional sustenance, and social stability without which a Filipino's life is meaningless. (Castillo, 1979, p. 103)

Data from the 2019 World Values Survey showed that almost all adult Filipinos regard their family as very important (98.2%) and agree that one of their main goals is to make their parents proud (97.2%) (Haerpfer et al., 2022). However, while the Filipino family may seem to have endured the test of time, it is not impervious to the waves of change (Asis, 1994). Over the last several decades, the Philippines has been confronted by several demographic and socioeconomic changes, such as rising urbanization, educational expansion, lengthening life expectancy, and increasing overseas labor migration. For example, the percentage of the urban population in the country increased from 51.2% in 2015 to 54.0% in 2020 (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2022b), while life expectancy at birth among Filipino men increased from 57.5 years in 1960 to 66.9 years in 2010, and from 59.0 years to 73.0 years among Filipino women (Cabigon, 2001; Philippine Statistics Authority, 2014). The increase in life expectancy, and to some extent, fertility decline, has contributed to the steady increase of older people in the Philippines from 4.5% in 1970 to 7.5% in 2015 (Abalos, 2020; Abalos & Booth, 2020). Another enduring feature of the Philippine demographic landscape is the intensification of international labor migration. Data from the Commission on Filipino Overseas showed that the stock estimate of overseas Filipinos increased from 6.97 million in 1997 to 10.24 million in 2013 or about 10% of the Philippine population. Consequently, the proportion of households in the Philippines with at least one overseas worker nearly tripled from 3.2% in 1990 to 8.0% in 2015. These changes will have significant ramifications for families and households. For example, educational expansion may delay union formation (Abalos, 2014) and accelerate union dissolution (Abalos, 2017). Meanwhile, overseas migration will lead to the physical separation of families, alter the household composition, and impact the availability of support, particularly for older adults.

Against this backdrop, this chapter aims to sketch a demographic portrait of the Filipino family in the past decades, using various sources, including census and survey data. Specifically, the study examines changes in union formation (marriage and cohabitation) and union dissolution (divorce and separation) in the Philippines and explores Filipinos' attitudes toward these behaviors. It also describes trends in fertility, fertility preference, and childlessness among Filipino women. Finally, it investigates changes (or lack thereof) in household size and structure in the Philippines, including the living arrangements and intergenerational support among older Filipinos.

MARRIAGE, COHABITATION, AND OTHER TYPES OF RELATIONSHIPS IN THE PHILIPPINES

Marriage is a highly revered institution in Philippine society (Gultiano et al., 2009). It is not only a union of two individuals but also a union of their respective

families (Medina, 2015). Thus, parents try to influence their children's mate selection process to ensure the stability of the marriage and upward social mobility of the family, particularly among the more well-off segment of society (Kabamalan, 2006; Xenos & Kabamalan, 2007). Over time, parental influence on their children's choice of spouse persists, particularly among Filipino youth. Based on the 2002 Young Adult and Fertility Study (YAFS), a nationally representative survey of Filipino youth, 2.9% of currently married Filipino youth aged 15–24 years cited arranged marriage as their reason for getting married; this proportion increased to 9.1% in 2013. Parental involvement in selecting their children's spouse can also be gauged in the prevalence of elopement, which is associated with "escaping" or leaving the parental abode without permission (Xenos & Kabamalan, 2007). The YAFS data indicated that the proportion of those currently in union who eloped with their current spouse or partner declined from 20.1% in 2002 to 14.3% in 2013. Based on the 2013 YAFS, their reasons for elopement include "love each other" (43.5%), parents/guardians opposed to marriage/relationship/partner or "parents/guardians are strict" (38.3%), and "got pregnant/got girl pregnant" (10.5%).

The age of marriage among Filipinos is relatively high and has continued to increase over time (Abalos, 2014; Ogena et al., 2008). It increased from 22.8 years in 1970 to 24.6 years in 2015 among women and from 25.4 years to 27.2 years among men (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2019). Increasing educational attainment may be related to the rising marriage age among Filipinos (Abalos, 2014).

Not only is the timing of marriage formation in the country changing, but also its form. Marriage in the Philippines usually takes the form of legal marriage (through a church of civil wedding) or cohabitation, but the majority of marriages are legal (Gultiano et al., 2009; Xenos, 1997). According to the 2015 Philippine census, 81.7% of the population aged 10 years and over who were in union (e.g., legally married or living-in) were legally married, and 18.3% were living together (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2017). Data from the National Demographic Survey (NDS) and National Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) showed that while the total proportion of Filipino women who are in union remains relatively stable at around 60% (except in 2003 and 2008), the proportion of Filipino women aged 15–49 years who are legally married steadily declined from 54.4% in 1993 to 42.4% in 2017 (National Statistics Office [NSO] & Macro International Inc. [MI], 1994; Philippine Statistics Authority [PSA] & ICF, 2018). In contrast, the corresponding share of women who are cohabiting increased from 5.2% to 17.5% (National Statistics Office [NSO] & Macro International Inc. [MI], 1994; Philippine Statistics Authority [PSA] & ICF, 2018).

What are the reasons Filipinos are cohabiting instead of formally marrying? Nearly half (47.8%) of the 2013 YAFS respondents who are currently living-in cited economic reasons for cohabiting. Previous research indicated that these economic reasons may include the expenses to cover the costs of the wedding reception and fees to secure a marriage license and other required documents (Kabamalan, 2004). It may also include the "donation"[1] to officiate the wedding ceremony, and in some cases, there is a minimum amount for

this "donation' that is quite expensive and may not be affordable for the poor (Williams et al., 2007). Other reasons why Filipinos resorted to cohabitation include legal impediments, cultural traditions, and misinterpretation of marriage laws (Kabamalan, 2004, 2011). Some of these legal impediments could be the lack of divorce law in the country, preventing those previously married from marrying again, and the absence of laws that recognize the marriage of same-sex couples (Abalos, 2023).

With the growing phenomenon of cohabitation among Filipinos, the question arises whether cohabitation serves as another path to marriage or an alternative to marriage in the Philippines. Existing evidence implies that it is more of the former than the latter. For example, the 1994 International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) survey showed that 24.8% of married respondents aged 18 years and over lived with their spouse before marriage (ISSP Research Group, 1997). Meanwhile, the 2013 YAFS data showed that 62.3% of currently married non-Muslim respondents aged 15–24 years lived with their partner before formally marrying.

Aside from consensual union or living together, another form of cohabitation is the querida system or the keeping of a second wife (Xenos & Kabamalan, 2007). There is sparse literature on the querida system in the Philippines, but anecdotes about this phenomenon abound (Kabamalan, 2006). A proxy indicator for the prevalence of the querida system is the proportion of Filipinos who have had extramarital sex (EMS). An earlier study based on the 2003 NDHS revealed that 21.6% of Filipino men in 2003 have had EMS; of those who had EMS, 79.8% had regular partners only, 5.3% had occasional partners only, and 3.4% had regular and occasional partners (Abalos, 2011). Moreover, the 2003 NDHS data indicated that the prevalence of EMS among Filipino men was higher among those who are currently cohabiting, those who have no living children, those who are undecided about their fertility preference, or whose wife was sterilized or infecund, those who belong to religions other than Roman Catholic and Islam, and those who have been drunk in the past month.

Meanwhile, the 2013 YAFS data showed that 3.1% of Filipino youth have engaged in EMS; the prevalence of EMS is more than 10 times higher among males (10.1%) than females (0.6%) (Marquez, 2016). Having EMS is strongly frowned upon in Philippine society, with 84.1% of the 2008 ISSP respondents considering this behavior always wrong (ISSP Research Group, 2018). For comparison, 54.6% of respondents in the same survey considered premarital sex (PMS) always wrong (ISSP Research Group, 2018). The strong disapproval against EMS over PMS is because EMS not only disrupts a marriage but also impacts married couples, their children, and other family members (Medina, 2015). For example, the 2013 YAFS data revealed that 23.6% of Filipino youth cited extramarital affairs as the main reason their first marriage ended.

Accompanying the changes in the timing and type of unions in the Philippines is the shift in the type of wedding ceremonies. For example, the proportion of Catholic Church weddings declined from 70.0% in 1960 to 36.2% in 2019, while the corresponding proportion of civil ceremonies increased from 21.4% to 38.6% (Bureau of the Census and Statistics, 1962; Philippine Statistics Authority,

2022a). The cost of having a Church wedding compared to a civil wedding may have contributed to the growing popularity of civil weddings.

Aside from cohabitation, other alternative types of partnerships, such as living apart together (LAT) and commuter marriages that are documented in other countries, may also exist in the Philippines. Couples in a LAT relationship are viewed by themselves and their personal network as a couple, but they do not share a common residence, while those in commuting relationships live in one home, but one (or both of them) have a second apartment where he or she stays when away from home due, to employment or education reasons (Levin, 2004). Qualitative evidence revealed that some Filipinos are in a LAT relationship (Gregorio, 2020), but there are no national estimates of this phenomenon due to limited data. Similarly, estimates of commuter marriages in the Philippines are lacking, but based on the 2017 NDHS, about 8% of Filipino women in a union were not living with their spouse or partner for reasons other than international migration in the past 24 months.

Another emerging type of relationship that has been recently documented in the Philippines is "FUBU" ("fuck buddies") or "FB" ("friends with benefits"). This type of sexual relationship occurs when "two people who are not in a romantic relationship regularly engage in sexual intercourse" (Marquez, 2016, p. 102). Based on the 2013 YAFS data, 3.6% of Filipino youth have engaged in a FUBU; a higher proportion of males (6.6%) than females (0.7%) engaged in this sexual activity (Marquez, 2016). In addition, an earlier study by the University of the Philippines Population Institute in 2009 also showed that a significant proportion of call center (13.6%) and non-call center (7.9%) professionals with sexual experience have had a FUBU (University of the Philippines Population Institute, 2010).

THE RISE OF NON-MARRIAGE AMONG FILIPINOS

Along with the changing character and timing of union formation in the Philippines is the growing aversion toward marriage. This is evidenced by the increasing share of permanent celibacy, measured in terms of the proportion of never-married at ages 40–49 years. Census data indicated that the proportion of Filipinos who have never married in their 40s increased from 4.3% in 1970 to 11.3% in 2015 among men and from 7.0% to 8.8% among women (United Nations Statistics Division, 2022). Non-marriage in the Philippines is more prevalent among low-educated men and highly educated women (Abalos, 2023). These patterns where low-educated men and highly educated women experience difficulty finding partners suggest the presence of a "marriage squeeze" (Williams & Arguillas, 2012). The faster expansion of education among Filipino women relative to men and the cultural expectations that discourage women from "marrying down" or marrying someone with lower education than them may have contributed to this phenomenon. The presence of marriage squeeze, particularly among males, is also observed in China (Jiang et al., 2014). These men are referred to as "bare branches," a term for men in the countryside who are past a

certain age and unable to get married, hence are forced to remain single (Jiang & Sánchez-Barricarte, 2013). However, research also showed that the proportion of unmarried Filipino men in their 40s is almost the same for men with primary and college education (Abalos, 2023). This Philippine pattern deviates from the pattern found in other Asian countries such as South Korea, China, and Singapore, where the share of tertiary-educated men who are unmarried in their 40s is much lower than their counterparts with less than tertiary level education (Jones, 2018).

UNION DISSOLUTION

Under the Family Code of the Philippines, divorce is illegal in the country, except for Filipinos who are married to foreigners and obtain a divorce in another country and Filipino Muslims who are governed by the Code of Muslim Personal Laws of the Philippines (Lopez, 2001). This makes the Philippines the only state in the world, aside from the Vatican City, where divorce is illegal (Emery, 2013). However, the Family Code offers three measures that permit spouses to seek relief from a marriage: (a) legal separation, (b) annulment of marriage, and (c) declaration of nullity of marriage (Gloria, 2007). Civil registration data from the Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) indicated that of the 14,264 cases of marriage dissolution processed from 1968 to 2016, declaration of absolute nullity of marriage was the most common ground for dissolution (83.6%), followed by Islamic divorce (9.1%), foreign decree of divorce (6.3%), and annulment (1.0%) (De Guzman, 2017). However, despite the availability of a legal means to end a marriage in the Philippines, Filipinos seldom resort to them due to the high costs of the procedure, the lengthy legal process involved, and the uncertainty that they will be approved (Calonzo & Cayabyab, 2013; Emery, 2013; Lopez, 2001; Taylor, 1983). Given these constraints, some couples just informally separate and are reported as separated in surveys and official statistics.

Divorce and separation in the Philippines have become more common in recent years (Abalos, 2017). Census data showed that since 1960, the proportions for both men and women have more than trebled, while the absolute numbers have gone up by at least 14 times. Specifically, the number of divorced or separated Filipino men increased from 28,988 in 1960 to 466,953 in 2015, while the corresponding numbers among women were 52,187 in 1960 and 744, 309 in 2015. As in other countries (Dommaraju, 2016), the higher rates of re-partnering among men than women could explain the higher number of women than men who are divorced or separated in the Philippines. Survey data also revealed that the percentage of Filipino women aged 15–49 years who were divorced or separated increased from 1.8% in 1993 to 3.3% in 2017 (National Statistics Office [NSO] & Macro International Inc. [MI], 1994; Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) & ICF, 2018). There are several reasons why Filipinos separate from their partners. As noted earlier, the extramarital affair was the most common reason cited by Filipino youth why their first marriage ended. Other reasons mentioned by the 2013 YAFS respondents include personality issues (10.8%), disapproval by the family (10.0%), physical and sexual abuse (6.6%), vices (5.3%), and financial matters (5.1%).

FERTILITY AND FERTILITY PREFERENCES

The total fertility rate (TFR), or the average number of children a woman would have by the end of her reproductive years if she bore children at the prevailing age-specific fertility rates (Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) & ICF, 2018), remains to be one of the highest in Southeast Asia but has slowly declined from 4.1 children in 1993 to 2.7 in 2017 (Table 1.1). The TFR in the country is generally higher among women in rural areas and those with lower levels of education (Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) & ICF, 2018). Moreover, fertility generally declined in all age groups, except among women aged 15–19 years, particularly between 1998 and 2013 (Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) & ICF, 2018). This is consistent with the country's increasing trend of teenage pregnancy (Gregorio, 2018; Natividad, 2013). Based on the NDS and NDHS, the percentage of Filipino women aged 15–19 years who have begun childbearing rose from 6.5% in 1993 to about 10% in both 2008 and 2013 before dropping slightly to 8.6% in 2017 (National Statistics Office [NSO] & ICF Macro, 2009; National Statistics Office [NSO] & Macro International Inc. [MI], 1994; Philippine Statistics Authority & ICF International, 2014; Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) & ICF, 2018).

However, not all births in the country are "wanted" or within Filipino women's reported ideal number of children. In 1993, only 2.9 children out of the TFR of 4.1 were considered ideal or "wanted" fertility, and 1.2 children were "unwanted" or above Filipino women's ideal number (National Statistics Office [NSO] & Macro International Inc. [MI], 1994). Over time, both wanted and unwanted fertility declined, so much so that in 2017, the total wanted fertility was 2.0 children, and unwanted fertility was 0.7 children (Table 1.1). This implies that the TFR in the Philippines would have declined to 2.0 children or slightly lower than the "replacement" fertility of 2.1 children if unwanted births were prevented (Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) & ICF, 2018).

There is a consensus between couples regarding the number of children they would have. For example, in 2017, 69.0% of currently married women reported that they and their spouse want the same number of children, while 20.3% said that their spouse wants more children than they do, and another 7.5% stated that their spouse wants fewer children than they do (Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) & ICF, 2018). Furthermore, regarding the preferred sex of children, 55.7% of Filipino

Table 1.1. Trends in Wanted and Actual Fertility of Women in the Philippines, 1993–2017.

	TFR	Wanted Fertility	Unwanted Fertility
1993 NDS	4.1	2.9	1.2
1998 NDHS	3.7	2.7	1.0
2003 NDHS	3.5	2.5	1.0
2008 NDHS	3.3	2.4	0.9
2013 NDHS	3.0	2.2	0.8
2017 NDHS	2.7	2.0	0.7

Source: Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) and ICF (2018).
Note: NDS = National Demographic Survey; NDHS = National Demographic and Health Survey

women in 2008 had balanced gender preferences, and 8.9% had no gender preference, while 20.9% and 14.5% had daughter and son preferences, respectively (Fuse, 2010).

CHILDREN AND CHILDLESSNESS IN THE FILIPINO FAMILY

The Filipino family is child-centered, as indicated by the sacrifices and hard work parents make for their children (Castillo, 1979; Medina, 2015). Children are considered a source of joy and support in old age. For example, almost a universal proportion (95.4%) of adult respondents in the 2012 ISSP survey agreed that "watching children grow up is life's greatest joy," while 8 in 10 respondents agreed that "adult children are an important source of help for elderly parents" (ISSP Research Group, 2016). Despite the hardships and challenges associated with childbearing and child-rearing in Philippines, children are hardly considered burdens or obstacles to parents' freedom or career advancement. This is evidenced by a relatively lower proportion of respondents in the 2012 ISSP survey who agreed that "having children restricts the employment and career chances of one or both parents" (22.3%), "children are a financial burden on their parents" (21.5%), and "having children interferes too much with the freedom of parents" (18.6%) (ISSP Research Group, 2016).

The strong value placed on Filipino children begins even before the child is born. For example, the ISSP data indicated that the proportion who agreed that it is always or almost always wrong for a woman to have an abortion "if there is a strong chance of serious defect in the baby" increased from 75.9% in 1991 to 89.3% in 2008 (ISSP Research Group, 1993, 2018). Similarly, the share who agreed that it is always wrong or almost always wrong for a woman to have an abortion if "the family has a very low income and cannot afford any more children" increased from 82.9% in 1991 to 97.9% in 2018 (ISSP Research Group, 1993, 2020). The strong disapproval against abortion among many Filipinos may be due to the influence of the Catholic Church, which 80% of Filipinos adhere to.

While the presence of children is highly celebrated in most Filipino families, their absence can also be a great cause for concern. There is a common assumption that those who get married want to have children, and couples who are childless are considered unlucky and pitied upon because there must be something "wrong" with them (Castillo, 1979). The NDS and NDHS data revealed that the proportion of all Filipino women who are childless at ages 45–49 years slightly increased from 8.5% in 1993 to 9.8% in 2017 (National Statistics Office [NSO] & Macro International Inc. [MI], 1994; Philippine Statistics Authority [PSA] & ICF, 2018). Similarly, the corresponding proportions among women who are currently in union also modestly increased from 3.1% in 1993 to 4.2% in 2017 (National Statistics Office [NSO] & Macro International Inc. [MI], 1994; Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) & ICF, 2018). Childless women in the survey may include those who voluntarily chose to be childless or childfree and those who are infecund or have health conditions that prevent them from getting pregnant.