

INVESTIGATING MEN'S PRONATALISM IN SELECTED PROVINCES IN THE PHILIPPINES

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ABSTRACT

This study explores currently married males' pronatalism in selected municipalities in the poorest provinces in the Philippines. Pronatalism is defined as a view or value that is supportive of procreation and is therefore against limiting reproduction. Using the Individual Man's data of the 2006 UNFPA 6th Country Programme Baseline Survey, the study combined the responses of currently married males for the desired number of children, approval of family planning, and contraceptive use to come up with a single measure of the index of pronatalism. Those who score highest in the index are those who desire six or more children, who disapprove of FP, and who have never used any FP method, and are hence considered the most pronatalist.

The study did an analysis of variance and linear regression to determine which among the various characteristics of males (age, education, occupation, religion, and ethnicity) gain high scores in pronatalism. Results of the study show that the level of pronatalism increases with increasing years of age. Pronatalism is lower among males with higher education and among respondents who are working and whose wives/partners are also working. Compared to Catholics and adherents of other religions, Muslim males have higher levels of pronatalism. Moreover, a substantial variation in pronatalism is seen among various ethnic groups in the sample. To sum, those who scored high in the index of pronatalism come from males who are

older, least educated, employed but whose partner is unemployed, of Muslim religion, and members of Jama Mapuns, Samals, Tausugs, or Maranaos. Such findings are important in understanding male fertility, particularly their orientation towards large families, as male partners are also known to influence women's fertility preferences. Since the data is limited to selected municipalities in selected provinces, the results generated from this research do not represent the total population of currently married males in the Philippines.

BACKGROUND

Pronatalism is an orientation towards a large family size or a value that is supportive of procreation and is therefore against limiting reproduction. It is usually assessed using the number of children as a variable with four types: ideal, desired, intended, and the actual number of children (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2010). Such variables for the number of children range from the most normative (ideal number of children) to the actual (actual number of children) (Trent, 1980). The desired and actual family size variables are the two most common types of number-of-children variables in fertility surveys in the Philippines. The desired family size takes on the question, “For you personally, how many children would you really like to have?” (OECD, 2010) and from which personal pronatalism can be obtained if one desires to have a large family (Trent, 1980). Actual fertility, on the other hand, is more often used in fertility surveys. It is equivalent to children ever-born (CEB), or the number of children born to a woman regardless of whether the child was alive or dead at the time of the survey.

While the role of the actual number of children is clear for fertility studies, the importance of personal ideal fertility or desired number of children is often questionable especially for earlier studies (Ryder & Westoff, 1971; Palmore & Concepcion, 1981; Bulatao, 1981; Mason, 1983). Some researchers preferred to use other variables like the actual number of children or desire for additional children instead of desired number of children in their analysis (Palmore & Concepcion, 1981; Bulatao, 1981). Others underscore the limitations of the desired number of children in predicting fertility outcomes (Ryder & Westoff, 1971; Trent 1980) and in describing family-size norms (Mason, 1983). Also, survey respondents prefer answering non-

numerical responses for the number of children desired, which makes personal ideal fertility difficult for cross-cultural comparisons as noted by Bankole & Westoff (1995). Despite such limitations, the desired number of children remains as a question commonly used in fertility surveys and in demographic analyses (e.g., Pullum, 1983; Bankole & Westoff, 1995, Marquez & Westoff, 1999; Westoff, 2010). An earlier study by Pullum (1983) summarizes the correlates of family-size desires into four factors: life-cycle factors, gender preferences, knowledge and use of family planning (FP), and socioeconomic factors. In today's context it is found that the desired number of children is generally decreasing but a number of countries still remain pronatalists. Women in countries in Africa like Chad, Guinea, Mozambique, Niger, and Nigeria desire large family sizes and have low prevalence of contraceptive use and unmet need (Westoff, 2010). A further investigation of such fertility preferences in these countries using multivariate analysis generates the following determinants: experience of child mortality, few years of schooling, residency in a rural area, belief in the Muslim doctrine, low exposure to mass media, and low women's autonomy. Socioeconomic status, however, do not seem to be strongly linked with large family-size desires (Westoff, 2010).

In the Philippine context an emergence of a two-child family preference has been documented for couples with certain characteristics. Using the desired number of children as one of six measures in determining preference for a small family size, Marquez and Westoff (1999) found that the likelihood of wanting two children decreases with increasing years of age. Moreover, a strong distinction in family size desires was found between women in the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) and the National Capital Region (NCR) with the former less likely to prefer two children while the latter are more likely to desire two children. Furthermore, characteristics such as late marriage, urban residency, Cebuano ethnic

affiliation, and awareness of FP messages from newspapers significantly increase one's predisposition towards a small family size (Marquez & Westoff, 1999). A more recent study done by Jaime (2006) also reflects these results (with the exception of one's ethnicity and region). In addition, Jaime (2006) found that education and employment appears as important variables in determining desired number of children. Fewer years of education and one's occupation in the agricultural sector decrease one's preference towards two children. Moreover, married women are more likely to prefer fewer children than married men but among married men, Catholics are more likely to prefer small families than non-Catholics (Jaime, 2006).

Most of these findings regarding desired number of children can also be equated as determinants of pronatalism when the actual number of children is used a variable on the condition that unmet need and infertility are negligible (Day, 1968; Pullum, 1980). High fertility countries are not necessarily pronatalists since some women at higher parities may report their last births as unwanted and therefore, it is usually helpful to include one's use of contraception and desire for more children while examining actual parity to provide a meaningful picture of pronatalism.

Some of the literature that either brush up on or fully discuss pronatalism link the occurrence of high fertility, desire for another child, and non-use of contraception with religion, ethnic variations, and the value of children (VOC). This is because one's beliefs and culture affect one's views and interpretation of procreation and birth control (Skirbekk, et al., 2010). For the following discussions however, it seems that doctrines alone—such as the Bible or Koran—cannot entirely be the reason why pronatalism exists. Earlier studies on Catholic fertility have shown that “fertility, ideal family size, and contraceptive practice of Catholics across the world depend on the milieu in which they live more than the doctrine as such” (Jones & Nortman,

1968). In the case of the Philippines, socioeconomic status is a more important factor when it comes to fertility preferences and outcomes (Day, 1968). A higher total fertility rate (TFR)—that is, the estimated total number of children a woman will give birth to in her lifetime—as well as a higher unmet need for family planning (FP) is registered among the more disadvantaged communities (National Statistics Office [NSO], 2009). This is probably the reason why some municipalities in the poorest provinces in the Philippines experience high fertility. According to the Final Report of the 2006 UNFPA 6th Country Programme Baseline Study of Cruz and Castro-Palaganas (2006), the estimated TFR of the ten poorest provinces in the Philippines is 4.5, a level that is higher compared to the TFR in the entire country for 2003 (3.5) and 2008 (3.3) (NSO, 2009). The TFR registered in the poorest provinces in the Baseline Study are as follows (in descending order): Masbate (5.8), Lanao del Sur (5.7), Ifugao (4.7), Bohol (4.7), Mt. Province (4.4), Eastern Samar (4.4), Sultan Kudarat (4.1), Tawi-Tawi (4.0), Maguindanao (3.4), and Sulu (3.4) (Cruz & Castro-Palaganas, 2006). Also, it seems that large families in the Philippines result not because of pronatalism among couples but because of their poor access to FP resources, a need that has not been resolved to this date because of institutional barriers (e.g., political influences of the Catholic hierarchy) in bringing down comprehensive reproductive health agendas in the legislative and executive parts of the government (Costello & Casterline, 2002).

Moving to Islam, it is noted that the Koran does not entirely promote pronatalism among its believers. In its doctrine, large families are permitted on the condition that men can provide for their desired number of children (Obermeyer, 1992). The Koran is however, patriarchal in its essence (Obermeyer, 1992) and in theory pronatalism can be assumed if women's roles are restricted to childbearing (Mason, 1987). Despite the sound theoretical basis regarding the relationship between women's lack of autonomy and high fertility *with* high unmet need,

evidence suggest that such relationship is not true for Muslims in the Philippines, India, Thailand, and Malaysia (Morgan, et al., 2002). Although Muslim women experience less autonomy—that is their level of freedom, decision-making, and interpersonal controls—than non-Muslim women, Muslim women are more likely to report that their recent child was wanted (Morgan et al., 2002). Further, while the use of non-permanent methods of contraception is not a contention in the Koran (Jeffery & Jeffery, 2002), a study in India showed that Muslims compared to Hindus are more likely to want more children and are less likely to use contraceptives when they do not want to have any children (Dharmalingam & Morgan, 2004). These studies observe that the effect of religion remained strong even when demographic and socio-economic covariates were introduced. Despite such pronatalist attitude among Muslims in different settings, all of these discussions lead to a final note that it may not be so much about being a Muslim *per se* but the experiences of Muslims in specific settings that make them pronatalist (Morgan et al., 2002; Dharmalingam & Morgan, 2004). There are qualitative and quantitative evidence which claim that pronatalist attitudes among Muslims result in settings where Muslims are a marginalized minority (Johnson-Hanks, 2006; Karim, 2005; Jeffery & Jeffery, 2002).

Ethnicity is also important in studying variations in fertility, and earlier studies in the Philippines have documented that fertility desires and outcomes also vary by ethnicity (Alfonso, et al., 1980; Wong & Meng, 1985; Conaco & Jimenez, 1986; Nogra, 1998). Alfonso, et al. (1980) corroborated the earlier-cited findings regarding Muslims using the 1973 Philippine National Demographic Survey (NDS) data when they combined the Muslim-dominated languages to come up with a single ethnicity category for Muslims. This study was also replicated by Nogra (1998) using the 1993 National Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS)

data and observed that Muslims as an ethnic group compared to others showed lower fertility if education, residence, employment status, child mortality experience, age at first marriage, and ideal family size were controlled. Further, Bicolano women exhibited higher fertility than all of the other groups while the Ilocano and Tagalog women had the lowest (Nogra, 1998). Nogra's (1998) findings for Ilocano and Tagalog women are similar results to that reported by Conaco and Jimenez (1986). In addition, they gathered enough data for Maranaos and Chinese women to be included in their analysis. It was found that Maranaos had the highest fertility while Chinese women, the lowest. Conaco and Jimenez (1986) reasoned that this might be so because Maranaos were the most disadvantaged in terms of education and they had less access to FP services and information through media in contrast to other ethnic groups. The Chinese women are just the opposite of the Maranaos, on the other hand, as they enjoy access to education, FP services, and information through media. Further, Chinese women are more personal (affective) while the Maranaos are more practical (economic) when giving reasons for having children. The Maranaos viewed having many children as tools to better their socio-economic and political position (Conaco & Jimenez, 1986). While the Chinese and Maranaos are both minority groups in the Philippines, their context-specific situations prove to also influence the level of their fertility (Wong & Meng, 1985). Clearly, these socio-economic, political, and ethnocultural factors complicate the relationship of ethnicity and pronatalism in the Philippines.

How the Maranaos, the Chinese and other ethnic groups perceive children is the approach that other researchers are looking into. Generally, the value of children (VOC) approach tries to integrate the economic, social, and psychological reasons why individuals may want to have more children following their current parity. A pioneering study done by Bulatao (1981) in the Philippines, Korea, and the United States found that when desires for fifth and sixth children

arise among couples, the value attached to children “is much less for the emotional rewards for family life than for economic rewards,” (Bulatao, 1981). The cost of having children on the other hand is consistently linked to financial burdens (Bulatao, 1981). Much has been written regarding VOC following this study. The more recent ones observe that there are changing values attached to children across generations—younger mothers value children more affectively while grandmothers tend towards non-emotional VOC components—at least in the case of Indonesia and Germany (Mayer, et al., 2005a; Mayer, et al., 2005b). Also, VOC studies agree that settings with high-fertility and low economic status tend to value children as economic assets (Trommsdorf, 2009).

Much of the discourses regarding pronatalism have been based on women’s data. Few studies have been devoted to fertility preferences of males probably because of the lack of data for males in fertility surveys. Among existing studies on male fertility in the Philippines, almost all have underscored the importance of men’s roles in reproductive health (e.g. Bankole & Singh, 1998; Blanc, 2001; Casterline, 1997; Clark, et al., 2007; Gupta & Malhotra, 2006; Lee, 1999; Mason & Smith, 2000; Wegner, et al., 1998). Generally, the desired number of children differs among couples in the Philippines. Males tend to desire more children than do females (Jaime, 2006; Westoff, 2010). This may be so because males see the value of children more in normative and economic rather than affective terms (Perez, 1997; Conaco & Jimenez, 1986; Mayer, et al., 2005b). While it is observed that pronatalism of males is especially attenuated in developing countries with high-fertility settings (Mason & Taj, 1987; Bankole & Ezeh, 1999), studies in the Philippines show that the bearing of gender differences on whether or not to have more children based on current parity decreases where unmet need is high (Casterline, et al., 1997; Mason & Smith, 2000). Despite this, a study on pronatalism of males deserves some attention. Thus, the

main objective of this paper is to examine the fertility preferences of Filipino males particularly their orientation towards pronatalism.

DATA AND MEASURES

This study used the data drawn from the United Nations Populations Fund (UNFPA) 6th Country Programme Baseline Survey conducted from June to July of 2006. The purpose of the survey was to generate “data on the current reproductive health, population and development, and gender and equity status of the Filipino people in terms of selected indicators” (Cruz & Castro-Palaganas, 2006) which include fertility, maternal health, adolescent reproductive health, HIV/AIDS, family planning (FP) and responsible parenthood, violence against women, and health coverage indicators.

The respondents of the survey are composed of men and women of reproductive ages (15-54 and 15-49, respectively) from approximately 100 households from each of the five randomly selected barangays in each municipality. Three municipalities were selected randomly in each of the ten poorest provinces in the Philippines, namely: Ifugao, Mountain Province, and Masbate in Luzon; Bohol and Eastern Samar in Visayas; and Sulu, Tawi-Tawi, Lanao del Sur, Maguindanao, and Sultan Kudarat in Mindanao. These provinces were selected by the Government of the Philippines and the UNFPA based on the following criteria: (1) poverty incidence; (2) maternal mortality ratio; (3) contraceptive prevalence rate; (4) life expectancy at birth; and (5) functional literacy (Cruz & Castro-Palaganas, 2006).

The selection of municipalities and barangays was based on simple random sampling while the selection of households was based on cluster sampling wherein 100 households located near the center of sample barangays were selected. In municipalities with sparsely distributed

communities, other barangays were added to the sample until the target of 100 households was reached. From the interviewed households using the Household Questionnaire the sample of eligible men and women was drawn (Cruz & Castro-Palaganas, 2006). Three separate questionnaires were used in the study, for households, men, and women. A total of 14,812 households were covered, with 18,346 male and 18,578 female respondents (Cruz & Castro-Palaganas, 2006).

The present study uses data based on the Individual Man's questionnaire of the Baseline Survey. However, the study shall be limiting its scope to the 10,707 respondents. Only currently married men—both legally married and cohabiting—are included in the analysis because the study wishes to look at the fertility preferences of those who have higher exposure to having a child. As such, currently married respondents are seen as the ones who have more practical and realistic opinions of pronatalism that shall be described in the next discussion. The study also uses the 2003 NDHS Individual Man's data to compare the respondents of the Baseline Survey to the average Filipino male in some parts of the analysis. Since the data consists of selected municipalities from the ten poorest provinces, the results generated from this research do not represent the total population of currently married males in the Philippines.

Dependent Variable: Index of Pronatalism

Pronatalism in this study is defined as a view or a value that is supportive of procreation or large families and is therefore against limiting reproduction. It is measured as an index constructed from three variables: (1) desired number of children; (2) approval of FP; and (3) use of contraceptive method.

Since data on the actual number of children is not available for males, the study used the desired number of children as a proxy variable. The desired number of children was taken from

the question, “If you could go back to the time you did not have any children and could choose exactly the number of children to have in your whole life, how many would that be?” The range of responses was from 0 to a non-specific upper limit. Numerical responses that were more than 5 were recoded to create a category of “Six or more children.” Non-numerical responses such as, “God’s will/Allah’s will,” “Depends on the economic status,” or “As many as we can,” which comprised 1.9% of the total responses, were labeled as missing. The weights assigned to this variable was from “0” (no children) to “3” (6 or more children) meaning that the values of 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 or more children were multiplied by 0.5 so that desired number of children variable did not have too much bearing on the index of pronatalism when other variables, approval of FP and use of FP, were added in the index.

For the second component of the index, the data for FP disapproval was taken from the question, “Would you say that you approve or disapprove of couples using a method to avoid getting pregnant?” where the possible responses were “Approve,” “Unsure/Don’t know (DK),” or “Disapprove.” Responses were recoded so that a value of “1” was assigned for FP disapproval and a value of “0” was given for those who approved of FP. Those who responded “Unsure/Don’t know (DK)” were coded with a value of “0.5.”

For never-use of any FP method, the study combined the responses from two questions: (1) “Which ways or methods have you heard about?” and (2) “Have you or your partner ever used (method)?” Those who have heard of a particular method but have never used any were coded “1.” Respondents who said they have never heard of any method were assumed to have not used any and were coded “0.5.” Respondents who said they have heard of any method and have ever used any were coded “0.”

The values for these three variables were summed to come up with a single measure of pronatalism. The score on the pronatalism index ranges from 0 to 5.0. Those who scored 5.0 in the index are males who desire six or more children, who disapprove of FP, and who have never used any FP method and hence, are considered the most pronatalist. Conversely the least pronatalists are those who scored 0 in the index—they desire to have no children, they approve of FP, and they have ever used a method.

The interaction of these three variables measures the level of pronatalism of the respondents. More weight has been assigned to the first component of the index because it is the most important of the three variables. Those who desire six or more children may already be considered pronatalist regardless of their stand on family planning and use of contraception. On the other hand, even a score of 2.0 for the second and third variable may not alone indicate a pronatalist attitude since having many children may not be the intention of some who do not approve of family planning and have never used any family planning method. Also, a total score of 1.0 for the combined responses of the second and third variable could possibly mean, (1) unmet need for family planning for those who said they approve of family planning but have never used any contraceptive method; or, (2) contraceptive discontinuation for those who said they disapprove of family planning but have ever used a family planning method. Thus, the index of pronatalism is described more by the desired number of children rather than other dependent variables in the study. However, whether one is considered highly pronatalist depends on the second and third component of the index because the last two variables indicate the extent of one's actions in order to achieve the number of children desired.

Independent Variables: Selected Background Characteristics

The predictors or independent variables used in the study are age, education, employment status of couples, religion, and ethnicity.

Age is the age calculated as of the last birthday of respondents. To describe the index of pronatalism across age groups in the bivariate analysis, the age of respondents is grouped into four: (1) 15-24; (2) 25 to 34; (3) 35 to 44; and (4) 45 to 54. For the multivariate analysis, however, age is treated as a continuous variable.

Education refers to the respondents' highest educational attainment. This variable was originally composed of four categories, as follows: (1) No education; (2) Elementary education; (3) Secondary education; and (4) College education or higher. Since there were only few cases for respondents with no education, the study combined the first two categories. The study therefore uses three categories for education and they are: (1) No education/Elementary; (2) High school education; and (3) College education or higher.

To provide a measure of the economic situation of males, the study uses the current employment status of males and their partners. There are four categories for employment status of couples. These are: (1) Both unemployed; (2) Only the male is employed; (3) Only the female is employed; and (4) Both employed.

Religion is recoded to three categories namely, (1) Catholic; (2) Islam; and (3) Other religions because these are the dominant religions in the study areas.

In the absence of a direct question on ethnicity in the survey, the study makes use of the local language of the respondent as a proxy variable of ethnicity. This approach was also done by Alfonso et al. (1980) on their study on fertility and culture in the Philippines using the 1973 NDS. Language is as important as ethnicity when it comes to studying cultural behaviors and

beliefs. As Anderson & Anderson (2007) puts it, “Such a huge part of every ethnoculture is linguistically expressed that it is not wrong to say that most ethnocultural behaviors would be impossible without their expression via the particular language with which these behaviors have been traditionally associated.” Languages in the sample are included in the analysis depending on the number of cases. In all, 17 language groups were incorporated under the ethnicity variable in the study. These are: (1) Tagalog; (2) Ilocano; (3) Masbateño; (4) Kalanguya, (5) Tuwali; (6) Ayangan; (7) Kankanaey; (8) Bontoc; (9) Cebuano; (10) Waray; (11) Hiligaynon; (12) Tausug; (13) Jama Mapun; (14) Samal; (15) Maguindanao; and (16) Maranao. Also, other ethnic groups with small number of cases were combined to one variable labeled, (17) “Other Ethnic Groups.” Languages coded 4 to 8 are Cordillerans, 9 to 11 are Visayans, and 12 to 16 are Bangsamoro people.

Methods of Analysis

The study used three methods of analysis. The first is a univariate description of the profile of respondents in the study areas. The profile of the males in the Baseline Survey is compared with the profile of Filipino men, in general. Second is a bivariate analysis, particularly an analysis of variance, to describe differences in pronatalism among categories of variables. To test for significance of differences in the mean scores between specific subgroups, Scheffe post hoc tests are employed. Finally, linear regression analysis is used to determine which factors best predict score in the pronatalism index.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Profile of the Respondents in the Study

Selected Background Characteristics. Table 1 shows the comparative profile of currently married males in the Philippines (based on the 2003 NDHS) and in the study areas.

The currently married males totaling 10,707 cases comprise 59 percent of the sample. This proportion is nearly equal to the share of currently married males in the 2003 NDHS.

The mean age of currently married males is 37 years. About a quarter of the respondents (25.5%) have ever gone to college or higher, while a third (31.8%) have reached the high school level. The rest have low education (42.7%)—they have not gone to high school at the time of the survey. Meanwhile, 90 percent of respondents reported that they are currently employed. Comprising this distribution are the 62 percent of men who said they are the only ones working in the family and the 28 percent who have partners who are also employed aside from them. Nearly three percent of males reported having a partner who is the only one working in the family, and the rest (7.3%) reported that he and his wife/partner are both unemployed. It is observed that such distributions for age, education, and employment follow a similar pattern as the characteristics of males in the Philippines. The only noticeable difference is for education, where more males in the study areas (42.7%) have not gone to high school than the average male in the country (39.3%). The currently married respondents in the sample are therefore less educated than the average currently married Filipino male in the age group 15-54.

Table 1: Distribution of male respondents by selected background characteristics: 2003 National Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) and 2006 UNFPA Baseline Survey

	Percent	N of cases	Percent	N of cases
	All Males: NDHS, 2003		All Males: UNFPA Baseline Survey, 2006	
Marital Status				
Never Married (Single)	40.2	1,914	40.1	7,341
Currently Married (Legal, Consensual)	57.6	2,746	58.5	10,707
Formerly Married (Divorced/Separated)	2.2	105	1.4	252
Total	100.0	4,765	100.0	18,299
	Currently Married Males: NDHS, 2003		Currently Married Males: UNFPA Baseline Survey, 2006	
Selected Background Characteristics				
Age Group				
15-19	0.7	20	1.0	103
20-24	7.5	207	7.9	822
25-29	14.5	402	15.0	1,562
30-34	18.1	500	16.9	1,761
35-39	18.0	498	18.1	1,888
40-44	16.0	442	15.8	1,650
45-49	14.0	387	13.9	1,448
50-54	11.2	310	11.4	1,185
Total	100.0	2,766	100.0	10,419
Mean Age	37.3	2,766	37.1	10,419
Educational Attainment				
No Education	2.7	76	0.9	89
Elementary	36.6	1,013	41.8	4,082
High School	35.8	989	31.8	3,104
College or Higher	24.9	688	25.5	2,484
Total	100.0	2,766	100.0	9,759
Employment Status				
Unemployed	10.3	285	10.1	1,077
Employed	89.7	2,481	89.9	9,623
Total	100.0	2,766	100.0	10,700
Employment Status of Couples				
Unemployed, Both	-	-	7.3	781
Employed, Male Only	-	-	62.3	6,647
Employed, Female Only	-	-	2.7	291
Employed, Both	-	-	27.6	2,946
Total	-	-	100.0	10,665

Note: Cells with dashed (-) lines have no data available

Table 1 cont'd: Distribution of male respondents by selected background characteristics: 2003 National Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) and 2006 UNFPA Baseline Survey

Selected Background Characteristics	Percent	N of cases	Percent	N of cases
	Currently Married Males: NDHS, 2003		Currently Married Males: UNFPA Baseline Survey, 2006	
Province				
Luzon	48.2	1,334		
Masbate	-	-	8.9	951
Ifugao	-	-	10.0	1,066
Mt. Province	-	-	9.0	962
Visayas	22.1	611		
Eastern Samar	-	-	7.2	769
Bohol	-	-	10.0	1,067
Mindanao	29.7	821		
Maguindanao	-	-	13.4	1,431
Sultan Kudarat	-	-	11.2	1,199
Sulu	-	-	11.4	1,225
Tawi-Tawi	-	-	13.9	1,488
Lanao del Sur	-	-	5.1	549
Total	100.0	2,766	100.0	10,707
Religion				
Catholic	79.8	2,206	44.4	4,736
Islam	5.8	159	38.4	4,100
Other	14.4	399	17.2	1,834
Total	100.0	2,764	100.0	10,670
Ethnicity				
Tausug	2.1	59	19.7	2,082
Cebuano	28.8	794	15.7	1,660
Maguindanao	1.3	37	8.6	911
Waray	3.2	88	7.2	766
Hiligaynon	5.9	164	5.5	582
Masbate	-	-	5.3	557
Maranao	1.4	40	4.8	504
Ilocano	10.7	294	4.6	488
Kalanguya	-	-	3.7	393
Kankanaey	0.5	13	3.3	347
Jama Mapun	-	-	2.9	309
Tuwali	-	-	2.8	301
Samal	-	-	2.5	269
Bontoc	-	-	2.4	254
Ayangan	-	-	1.6	170
Tagalog	33.7	929	1.1	119
Other Ethnic Groups	12.4	342	8.3	876
Total	100.0	2,760	100.0	10,587

Note: Cells with dashed (-) lines have no data available

Catholics (44.4%) are less prominent in the study areas than at the national level (79.8%) although they still outnumber Muslim respondents (38.4%) and respondents of other religions (17.2%). The reason for the substantial number of Muslim respondents in the survey is that five out of ten provinces selected as poorest in the Philippines come from Muslim Mindanao. More than half of respondents (55.0%) are from this region, mostly from the provinces of Tawi-Tawi (13.9%), Maguindanao (13.4%), Sulu (11.4%), and Sultan Kudarat (11.2%).

For ethnicity, most of the respondents are Tausugs and Cebuanos. The Tausugs (19.7%) form a part of the Bangsamoro group, which also comprises Maguindanaos (8.6%), Maranaos (4.8%), Jama Mapuns (2.9%), and Samals (2.5%) in the sample. Altogether the Bangsamoro are 40 percent of the respondents. Meanwhile, one third (28.4%) of the respondents are Visayans. They are composed of Cebuanos (15.7%), Hiligaynons (5.5%) and Warays (7.2%). The Cordillerans are also present in the study and they share around 14 percent of the sample. The Cordillerans are Kalanguyas (3.7%), Tuwalis (2.8%), Ayangans (1.6%), Kankanaeys, (3.3%), and Bontocs (2.4%). The Tagalogs and Ilocanos, meanwhile, comprise a small proportion (1.1% and 4.6%, respectively). Also present are Masbateños (5.3%) and other ethnic groups (8.3%). The sample then is comprised of a more diverse set of ethnic groups as opposed to the national figures.

Pronatalism Indicators. Table 2 shows the percentage distribution of the indicators used for the index of pronatalism which are the respondents' desired number of children, approval of FP, and use of contraception. In general, sample respondents appear to be more pronatalist when matched with currently married males in the Philippines. For the desired number of children, a

Table 2: Distribution of pronatalism indicators: 2003 National Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) and 2006 UNFPA Baseline Survey

Pronatalism Indicators	Weight	Percent	N cases	Percent	N cases
		Currently Married Males: NDHS 2003		Currently Married Males: UNFPA Baseline Survey, 2006	
Desired Number of Children					
No children	0.0	0.3	8	3.8	391
One child	0.5	1.7	46	1.7	173
Two children	1.0	20.0	545	11.5	1,173
Three children	1.5	31.0	845	21.2	2,160
Four children	2.0	23.4	637	20.7	2,112
Five children	2.5	9.4	255	16.6	1,690
Six or more children	3.0	14.2	387	24.5	2,499
Total		100.0	2,723	100.0	10,197
Mean		3.9	2,723	4.5	10,197
FP Approval					
Approve of FP	0.0	85.2	2,355	63.4	6,080
Unsure/DK of FP	0.5	1.9	53	12.3	1,183
Disapprove of FP	1.0	12.8	355	24.3	2,334
Total		100.0	2,763	100.0	9,597
Use of FP					
Ever-used any method	0.0	75.0	2,074	47.1	5,041
Have not heard of any method	0.5	2.5	69	19.0	2,033
Heard and never used any method	1.0	22.5	623	33.9	3,633
Total		100.0	2,766	100.0	10,707

small proportion of the sample (3.8%) said that if they could decide on the number of children they want in their whole life, they desire no children. This is higher than the average Filipino male (0.3%). However, more currently married males at the national level (76.1%) prefer four children or less in contrast to males in the study (55.1%). It follows that the respondents have a higher mean number of children desired (4.5) compared to their counterparts at the national level (3.9). For other pronatalism indicators, it is noted that the sample is less accepting of FP and less experienced in terms of contraceptive use when compared to the national figures. Twenty four percent of the Baseline Survey respondents say that they disapprove of FP and less than half (53%) reported of never using any FP method. This is in contrast to only 13 percent and 25

percent of Filipino males who disapprove of FP and have never used any FP method, respectively.

Index of Pronatalism. Combining the values assigned to the variables presented above, the study generated an index of pronatalism. The distribution of the index is shown in Table 3. A score of 0.0 indicates absence of pronatalism while a score of 5.0 indicates a high degree of pronatalism. The mean score for the index of pronatalism is 2.8 while its median and mode is 3.0. The distribution of the pronatalism index shows that the lowest score is 0.5 indicating that none of the respondents desire no children, approve of FP, and have practiced FP. The distribution increases up to 15 percent at the score of 2.0 then alternately dips and rises until it reaches a steady decline at the score of 4.0. Four percent of the sample have the highest score of 5.0, which means they desire six or more children, do not approve of FP, and have never-used any FP method.

Table 3: Distribution of pronatalism index of currently married males: 2006 UNFPA Baseline Survey

Index	Percent	N
0.0	0.0	0
0.5	0.7	66
1.0	6.4	604
1.5	12.9	1,195
2.0	15.0	1,365
2.5	14.6	1,309
3.0	15.7	1,459
3.5	11.4	947
4.0	11.4	1,114
4.5	7.6	648
5.0	4.4	832
Total	100.0	9,538
Descriptives	Value	
Mean	2.8	
Median	3.0	
Mode	3.0	
Std. Dev	1.1	
Range (Minimum)	0.5	
Range (Maximum)	5.0	

Pronatalism of Respondents by Selected Characteristics

Table 4 shows the distribution of mean scores in the pronatalism index of the respondents. Starting with age, it is observed that the older age groups, 35-44 and 45-54, score higher (2.86 and 3.02, respectively) than the younger age groups, 15-24 and 25-34 (2.67 and 2.64, respectively). A further analysis of this using Scheffe post-hoc test shows that except between ages below 34, the differences between mean scores of younger and older respondents is highly significant.

Meanwhile for education, those with low education have a significantly higher mean score (2.97) in the index of pronatalism as opposed to those with high school education and college education or higher (both at 2.55).

The mean scores of unemployed husbands with employed wives and employed couples are similar (2.67 and 2.69, respectively) and are significantly lower from the mean score of unemployed couples (2.99). The scores of employed couples are likewise found to significantly differ from employed husbands with unemployed wives (2.85).

Substantial differences are found for scores between religions, on the other hand. In general Muslim males posted the highest score (3.57), followed by respondents with religions other than Islam and Catholicism (2.51). Catholics score lowest in contrast to other religions (2.32).

For ethnicity, Hiligaynons (1.94) have the lowest mean score while Maranaos, the highest (3.87). The results of the bivariate analysis show that the Visayan group, Hiligaynon (1.94), Cebuano (2.28), and Waray (2.31) have comparatively lower mean scores than other ethnic groups. Ilocanos and Tagalogs (2.30 and 2.32, respectively) also show similar scores to that of

Table 4: Mean Scores in Pronatalism Index by Selected Background Characteristics of Males: 2006 UNFPA Baseline Survey

	Mean	Std. Dev.	N Cases
Age Group***			
15-24	2.67	1.10	866
25-34	2.64	1.10	3,155
35-44	2.86	1.09	3,235
45-54	3.02	1.10	2,282
Total	2.81	1.11	9,537
Educational Attainment***			
No Education/Elementary	2.97	1.10	3,654
High School Education	2.60	1.07	2,807
College Education or Higher	2.55	1.07	2,248
Total	2.74	1.10	8,709
Employment Status of Couples***			
Unemployed, Both	2.99	1.06	683
Employed, Male Only	2.85	1.12	5,943
Employed, Female Only	2.67	1.08	249
Employed, Both	2.69	1.08	2,623
Total	2.81	1.11	9,498
Religion***			
Catholic	2.32	0.94	4,390
Islam	3.57	0.94	3,456
Other	2.51	0.97	1,659
Total	2.81	1.11	9,506
Ethnicity***			
Tagalog	2.32	0.90	148
Ilocano	2.30	1.00	444
Masbateño	2.43	0.97	511
Kalanguya	2.33	0.89	314
Tuwali	2.53	0.81	280
Ayangan	2.86	0.91	104
Kananaey	2.95	0.87	317
Bontoc	2.44	0.91	235
Cebuano	2.28	0.97	1,533
Waray	2.31	0.95	751
Hiligaynon	1.94	0.77	562
Tausug	3.70	0.87	1,757
Jama Mapun	3.69	0.82	202
Samal	3.65	0.78	235
Maguindanao	3.16	0.97	815
Maranao	3.87	0.91	418
Others	2.54	0.94	807
Total	2.81	1.11	9,436

*p≤0.05 **p≤0.01 ***p≤0.002

Cebuanos and Warays. Meanwhile, ethnic groups in the Cordillera region that stand out with slightly higher mean scores are Kankanaeys (2.95), Ayangans (2.86), and Tuwalis (2.53). The Bangsamoro people outscore all other ethnic groups in the study. Maranaos score 3.87; Tausugs, 3.70; Jama Mapuns, 3.69; Samals, 3.65; and Maguindanaons, 3.16.

Post-hoc test shows that almost all of the ethnic groups tabulated have shown a significant difference in contrast to Hiligaynons. The Tagalogs are the only exception to this case which is probably due to the small number of its respondents. On the other hand, there is no significant variation between the scores of Jama Mapuns, Samals, Tausugs, and Maranaos. Their scores are significantly higher than that of all other ethnic groups in the survey. Also, although Maguindanao is a part of the Bangsamoro, its score is significantly different from the four ethnic groups mentioned and is more similar with Ayangans and Kankanaeys. This makes the Maguindanaons a unique ethnic group in the Bangsamoro.

In all, the bivariate analyses show that the highest mean scores are found among the oldest respondents, least educated, non-working couples, Muslims, Jama Mapuns, Samals, Tausugs, and Maranaos. In order to see how these and other demographic and socio-economic characteristics simultaneously affect pronatalism among respondents, the study employs a multivariate analysis, particularly linear regression. Table 5 shows the linear regression model generated by using the index of pronatalism as the dependent variable and selected background characteristics as predictors. All of the categories used in the bivariate analysis were transformed to dummy variables, except for years of age, which was treated as a continuous variable.

As expected, age exerts an influence on pronatalism. Every year of increase in a respondent's age significantly increases the pronatalism score by 0.02. Using the equation as an illustrative example, a 54-year old outscores a 15-year old male respondent by 0.76 points in the

index holding the other variables constant. This may imply a maturation effect rather than a pure age effect. For older males who are nearly towards the end of their fertility, any unwanted birth in the course of their lifetime may have already been rationalized as wanted (Pullum, 1983; Bankole & Westoff, 1995; Marquez & Westoff, 1999; Jaime 2006). But it may also be that younger males are more secular than their older counterparts who may be more traditional in their views (Jaime 2006; Commission on Population [POPCOM], 2003). Thus, young adults may be more accepting of having a smaller family size and of using FP services. Pronatalist attitudes are therefore more seen amongst older males.

For education on the other hand, it is found that those who have not gone to high school and those with high school education have higher scores when compared to those who went to college. The result of the regression for education and pronatalism is consistent with the earlier findings in the bivariate analysis and is also reflected in previous studies (Pullum, 1983; Bankole & Westoff, 1995; Marquez & Westoff, 1999; Westoff, 2010; Jaime 2006).

For employment status, with employed couples as a reference category, the regression results show that the score in pronatalism is lower for those who have working wives, albeit insignificant, and is significantly higher for males who said they are the only ones working. This implies that for males who have wives in the labor force, pronatalism is less because a decision to have an additional child or a large family means compromising the household's earnings (Morgan, 2003). It is observed, based from the effects of education and employment, that pronatalism can be explained more by education rather than by a couple's employment status.

For religion, it is found that Muslims consistently have higher scores than Catholics even when other factors are considered as constant. Being a Muslim makes one's pronatalism score higher than Catholics by 0.53.

Table 5: Results of the Linear Regression Equation Model for Pronatalism Index among Males: 2006 UNFPA Baseline Survey

	B	S.E.	Sig.
Constant	1.58	0.10	***
Age of Respondent	0.02	0.00	***
Educational Attainment			
No Education/Elementary	0.34	0.03	***
High School Education	0.16	0.03	***
College Education or Higher (Reference)			
Employment Status of Couples			
Unemployed, Both	0.06	0.04	
Employed, Male Only	0.08	0.02	***
Employed, Female Only	-0.11	0.07	
Employed, Both (Reference)			
Religion			
Catholic (Reference)			
Islam	0.53	0.08	***
Other	0.01	0.03	
Ethnicity			
Maguindanao (Reference)			
Tagalog	-0.25	0.12	*
Ilocano	-0.12	0.10	
Masbateño	-0.12	0.10	
Kalanguya	-0.13	0.10	
Tuwali	0.02	0.84	
Ayangan	0.29	0.11	**
Kananaey	0.42	0.17	***
Bontoc	0.12	0.11	
Hiligaynon	-0.57	0.09	***
Cebuano	-0.30	0.09	***
Waray	-0.24	0.09	**
Tausug	0.64	0.04	***
Jama Mapun	0.61	0.08	***
Samal	0.68	0.07	***
Maranao	0.79	0.04	***
Other Ethnic Groups	0.02	0.08	
R square	0.59		

*p≤0.05 **p≤0.01 ***p≤0.002

The reference group used for ethnicity in the linear regression is Maguindanaons. It is interesting to see how this group fares in the regression since in the bivariate results, the Maguindanaons do not follow a similar pattern to that of the other ethnic groups of the Bangsamoro. Also, the Maguindanaons' score is used in comparison to other ethnicities in the

study because it more likely produces unbiased results than to when a group with the lowest or highest mean score is made as a reference category.

Starting with the most common ethnic groups, the results of the regression indicate that the Visayans—Hiligaynons, Cebuanos, and Warays—and Tagalogs have lower scores than the Maguindanaons. The Ilocanos likewise score lower but its effect is not significant. The bivariate and regression results show that the lowest of the scores is found for Hiligaynons, making the group the least pronatalist amongst other ethnicities in the study. On the other hand, such negative effect in pronatalism for Cebuanos, and Tagalogs are expected based from earlier studies (Marquez & Westoff, 1999; Alfonso et al., 1980; Wong, 1985; Conaco & Jimenez, 1986; Nogra, 1998). One important implication of the regression results is that even in the poorest of settings, Cebuanos and Tagalogs will prefer pronatalism less than others.

While the results of the regression for majority ethnic groups suggest a pattern, the results for Cordillerans show an inconclusive one. The bivariate analysis in the earlier discussion noted that the mean score of the Ayangans and Kankanaeys, although slightly lower, level with the Maguindanaons. The results of the regression, however, indicate the reverse. Ayangans and Kankanaeys are now found to significantly score higher than Maguindanaons in the regression. The reference group is rather more similar than the Tualis when other socio-demographic factors are considered simultaneously. Also, albeit insignificant, Bontocs and Kalanguyas are shown to slightly increase and decrease pronatalism, respectively, than Maguindanaons.

Meanwhile, compared to Maguindanaons, being in one of the four other ethnic groups of the Bangsamoro significantly increases one's score in the pronatalism index. This finding validates the results of the bivariate analysis earlier discussed. It also proves that not all Bangsamoro people are highly pronatalist. The Maguindanaon's difference over other groups of

the Bangsamoro can probably be attributed to its having more interaction with other groups such as Tagalogs, Ilocanos, Cebuanos, and Hiligaynons in the study areas in the provinces of Maguinanao and Sultan Kudarat. This is in contrast to other Bangsamoro respondents in Sulu, Tawi-Tawi, and Lanao del Sur who are mostly Jama Mapuns, Maranaos, Samals, and Tausugs themselves. The Jama Mapuns, for example, live in the Mapun municipality which is geographically isolated from the Philippines and is closer to Malaysia. Apart from unique sets of culture, values, and traditions that is established in this municipality, services for employment, education, and family planning cannot also be easily delivered. As such, it can be expected that Jama Mapuns also form a unique set of fertility preferences than other respondents in the study. The Maranao's significant effect in the pronatalism index, on the other hand, is also expected based on early studies dating back 30 years ago on ethnic variations on fertility and fertility preferences (Alfonso, et al., 1980; Wong & Meng, 1985; Conaco & Jimenez, 1986; Nogra, 1998). This makes one important observation on how fertility preferences for certain ethnic groups remain strong despite the changing times.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper describes pronatalism and its correlates among currently married males in the poorest provinces in the Philippines using the Individual Man's data of the UNFPA 6th Country Programme Baseline Survey. The research stems from earlier studies which observe that pronatalism of males is an important variable to consider when examining fertility preferences. Combining the variables for the desired number of children, disapproval of FP, and non-use of contraception, the study generated an index of pronatalism and related it to selected background

characteristics in the sample using linear regression analysis. Findings from this study cannot be generalized to all currently married males in the Philippines.

Based on the results of the linear regression, age is positively related to pronatalism. Older males will more likely score higher in pronatalism than younger males.

While women's autonomy has not been included in the analysis because of its limited number of cases, women's participation in the labor force has been included. Generally, the pattern for employment status of couples implies that when women have a share on household's earnings, the men will score lower in pronatalism. This is compared to when men are the only ones employed or when both men and their partners are unemployed.

Education has more effect on pronatalism than employment status. In general, pronatalism is lower for males with higher education.

For religion and ethnicity on the other hand, it is found that the effect of being a member of the Muslim religion is to significantly increase the pronatalism score when compared to Catholics. Also a strong predictor of pronatalism is ethnicity. Being a Jama Mapun, Samal, Tausug, or Maranao positively affects pronatalism while belonging to the Visayan groups and Tagalogs negatively affects pronatalism. Despite this, it cannot be entirely concluded as to whether doctrine or culture alone predicts pronatalism because other variables such as religiosity and ethnic identification that could support the evidence are not included in the study.

Among those who will benefit from FP programs are younger men who are more likely to seek for available FP services. Further, continuing to provide basic services such as education and employment not just for men but also for women might decrease the likelihood of pronatalist attitudes. If in the future, the chances for upward mobility are prevalent among minority groups in the Philippines, pronatalism will also likely cease. Meanwhile, some results found in this

study are consistent with findings from previous studies dating back 30 years. This implies that while fertility and fertility preference decreases over time, some groups might still remain pronatalist. In as much as FP programs are concerned, there should also be a way to address the needs of pronatalist communities.

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