Sexual Attitudes and
Behaviours and Contraceptive
Use of Late Female Adolescents
in Bangkok: A Comparative
Study of Students and
Factory Workers

Amara Soonthorndhada

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Foreword

Recently adolescent sexuality has received increasing attention from the government and other agencies. Prior research into sexual attitudes and behaviour of the population at risk from STDs and AIDS has focused on the adult population. However, adolescents require increased attention and the government has established a prevention programme for the young due to an increase in the number of reported HIV infected cases among them.

This study examines variations in attitudes towards premarital sex and contraceptive use of female students and out of school adolescents. Sexual activity is especially common among male Thai adolescents, much less so among female adolescents. Even though few sexually active young girls was found in this study, practice of safe sex among sexually active adolescents is of major concern. As found in this study, among the sexually active five out of fifteen reported that they did not use any method of birth control due to lack of adequate knowledge about contraception.

On behalf of Mahidol University I would like to express sincere appreciation to the Task Force for Social Science Research on Reproductive Health, World Health Organisation for the support provided to this study. The University hopes that the knowledge gained from this study will be of use to policy makers who wish to assist in promoting the welfare of adolescents.

Professor Athasit Vejjajiva, M.D., B.S., F.R.C.P. President

Atherit Veizioz

Mahidol University

Preface

This study sets out to observe the interrelation between attitudes and behaviour and contraceptive use of female adolescents living in Bangkok. Specific attention is given to the prospects of STDs and AIDS and are the focal point in describing sexual practices and high risk factors. The goal of the research is to suggest a model appropriate for developing STDs and AIDS prevention programmes for adolescents.

In this study the author concluds that socio-cultural factors strongly determine adolescent's sexual behaviour. Behavioral change may be particularly pronounced when young people have social interaction in mixed sex situations in school and work places. A steady increase in premarital sex after the age of sixteen is found and is a new social phenomena which indicates the development and crisis of early sexual maturity.

On behalf of the Institute for Population and Social Research, I would like to congratulate the author for her significant contribution to our knowledge of Thai adolescent sexual behaviour. This knowledge will be of great help in formulating policies in the area of adolescent reproductive health.

Aphichat Chamratrithirong, Ph.D.

Aphichat Chamataly

Director

Institute for Population and Social Research
Mahidol University

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I thank Associate Professor Dr. Aphichat Chamratrithirong, for his moral support.

Lastly, I am indebted to all these individuals named above and if any errors are evident in this report, it is fully my responsibility.

> Amara Soonthorndhada March 1996

Abstract

This study is a small scale survey with a coverage of 500 unmarried female adolescents living in Bangkok. A total sample of 250 female students are drawn from 12 schools from a total of 111 higher secondary schools located in Bangkok based on 10% sampling. To recruit 250 factory girls, a list of factories registered to the Department of Industry is used as a sampling frame. The study covers 18 factories.

This study included 12 focus group discussion sessions with six groups of students and six groups of factory girls which are homogeneous in age range. A total number of 96 young unmarried girls are randomly recruited from six schools and six factories few the focus groups.

Findings showed that unmarried girls perceived that conditional stimuli and environmental factors determined adolescent sexual interactions. Those determinants included drinking alcohol, viewing pornographic books and making friends of the opposite sex. In terms of contraceptive use, adolescents were very much concened about the appropriate place where they can go for service rather than the methods per se. Such findings implied that young unmarried girls would think about confidentiallity and privacy first when in need of family planning services. However, it appeared that students were more aware of the methods concerned than the place for services. This pattern was reversed among the workers.

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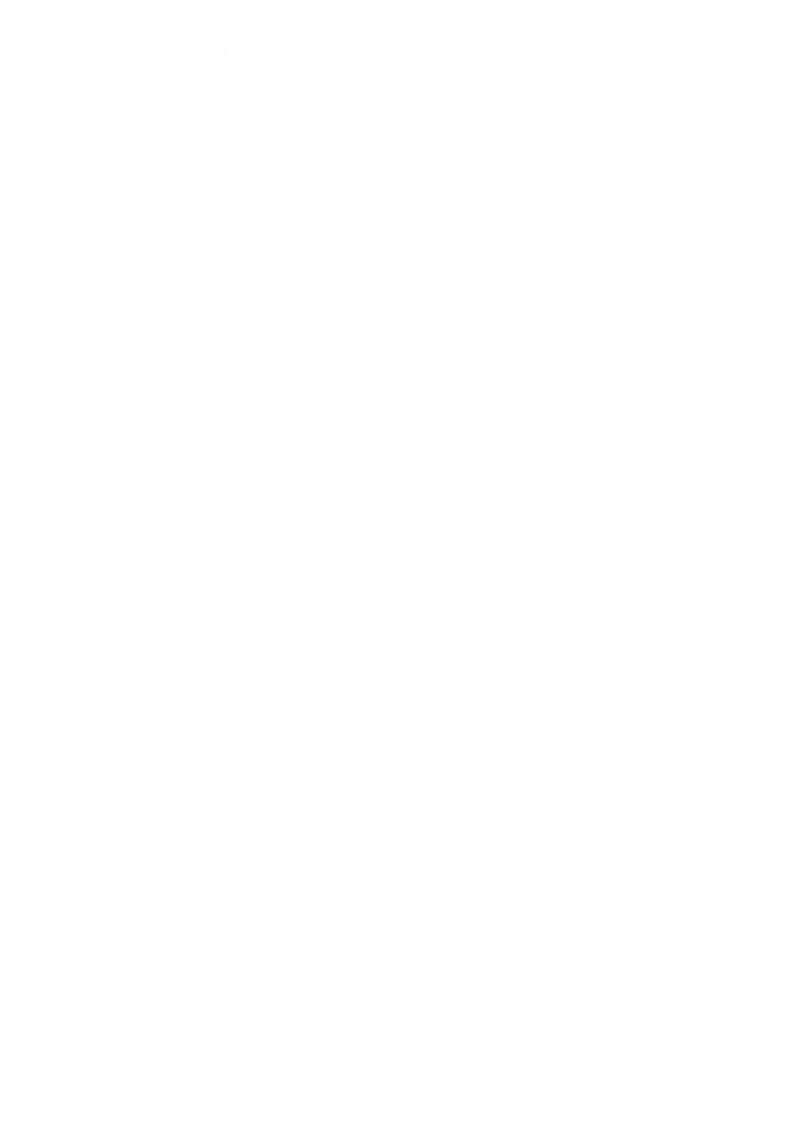
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Sexual Attitudes and Behaviours and Contraceptive Use of Late Female Adolescents in Bangkok: A Comparative Study of Students and Factory Workers.

Chapter One

Introduction

Recently, there has been a noted increase in public concern about the consequences of adolescent sexuality in Thai society (Pitaktepsombati, 1989; Sittitrai et al 1992; Sakontavat et al, 1987). This is primarily due to the spread of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), unwanted pregnancy and abortion. Several studies have shown that changes in norms about adolescent sexuality may be due to a number of interrelated factors including a general loosening of family control over young people's behavior, increased inter-sex interaction of young people in school and work places, and increased access to sexually stimulating materials (Pitaktepsombati 1989; UNICEF 1992; Yoddumnern-Attig 1992). A steady increase in premarital sexuality after the age of sixteen is pronounced as a new social phenomenon which indicates the development of early sexual maturity.

Sexual activity is especially common among male Thai adolescents, much less so than among female Thai adolescents. Nearly one-third of male students in grade 12 reported having been sexually active in a study conducted in 21 private and government secondary schools. Only one-half of the sexually active males reported they had

used a method of protection, largely condoms. In another sample drawn from schools, community centres and organisations in provincial cities, two-thirds of single males aged 15 to 24 reported having had sexual intercourse, as did a similar proportion of male adolescents from low income neighborhoods in Bangkok (UNICEF 1992). Additional school-based surveys have noted that 36-45% of males had their first sexual experience with a commercial sex worker (Devaditep 1992; PDA 1991). The average age at first sexual experience was 16 years, and only 33% practice safe sex when visiting commercial sex workers (Devaditep 1992).

Comparatively, only 1.1% of single females in the school-based study reported having experienced intercourse, opposed to just 10% of the young females drawn from the broader catchment area (UNICEF 1992; Yoddumnern-Attig 1992). Nonetheless, young female adolescents preferred to engage in sexual relationships with partners of a higher socio-economic class, and especially with persons with whom they are not familiar, i.e., strangers. One reason for this was that having sexual contact with such persons provided them with both material and economic supports. In addition, they did not want their peers to know of their sexual activities which may have led to their ostracism or being labeled as "flirtatious" or "loose." They felt that this could be achieved by having sexual relationships with persons outside their friendship and family circles.

Coupled with these socio-cultural forces are personal characteristics of adolescents which promote unsafe sexual practises and place them at greater risk of contracting STDs and AIDS infections.

Recent evidence indicates that adolescents are knowledgeable about contraceptive methods. The condom is the most well-known and is perceived as the most effective method to prevent infection when casual sex is practised (PDA 1991). Nonetheless, adolescents have not changed their sexual practices, and 47% of male adolescents sampled from Thailand's four main regions consider the condom as unpleasurable (Srinichakorn 1990). Adolescents also have a perceived propensity to casual unplanned sex, which is heightened due to peer/reference group pressure, contextual circumstances, e.g., The use of alcohol during group interactions, and a behavioural sequence that makes it hard to plan for safe sex. Moreover, only 53% of male adolescents in-school and 24% of their out-of-school counterparts have an accurate knowledge of STDs and AIDS, while 63% of in-school and 45% of out-of-school female adolescents show a similar pattern respectively (Pitaktepsombati 1989).

In the midst of such social changes, there is little data on the sexual behaviour of female adolescents from different socio-economic backgrounds. Consequently, this study has as its objectives to describe attitudes and patterns of sexual behaviour with an emphasis on female adolescents in-school and out-of-school. The differences between those two groups, some of whom are presumably sexually active, can then be assessed. Due to their different social status, it may be assumed that in-school adolescents belong to a higher social class than those out-of-school, and this may influence their sexual lifestyles, levels of awareness about sexuality and use of contraception. The in-school adolescents may be under greater parental influence than those out-of-

school who are more likely to be influenced by workmates and hence, freer of parental control.

Those differences may help determine sexual lifestyle in terms of pre-marital relationships. This study will provide information about sexual behaviours and contraceptive use of two types of young peoplethose in schools and those in factories. As a result, this study will help policy makers to plan appropriate strategies to reduce socio-health problems associated with unprotected sexual relationships such as unwanted pregnancy, abortion, and sexually transmitted diseases, including AIDS.

Objectives

This study, to be carried out among unmarried female adolescents, has three specific objectives:

- 1. To examine adolescents' attitudes to pre-marital sexual relationships and their sexual behavior,
- 2. To investigate adolescents' knowledge and attitudes to contraception in association with contraceptive use, and
- 3. To compare the differences between female adolescents in school and factory workers about their sexual attitudes, behaviours and contraceptive use.

Similar studies

In fact, one of the driving concerns of Thai policy makers regarding youth sexuality is over the spread of sexually transmitted diseases from the entertainment sector to the general population (Maungman and Nunta, 1980). Results from the 1983 Adolescent Fertility Study, the first such large scale study, caught the attention of both media and policy makers. The findings showed that females inschool and out-of-school living in Bangkok had different knowledge and attitudes about sex (Muangman et al 1983). As expected, the inschool adolescents had higher levels of basic knowledge about reproductive biology and conception than the out-of-school adolescents. This study also indicated that the in-school adolescents had higher levels of awareness about sexuality.

Differences in terms of attitudes towards premarital sex and contraceptive use were also found between the in-school and out-ofschool adolescents. Those out-of-school were more liberal than their inschool counterparts. The out-of-school female adolescents indicated that they had friends who had experienced premarital sex and abortion; a smaller proportion of their in-school counterparts replied the same (Muangman et al 1986). Interestingly, a higher proportion of those inschool used contraceptives compared to their out-of-school counterparts. Moreover, findings from a study conducted in 1987 revealed that over 90% of male students and over 80% of female students knew of certain contraceptive methods. However, many of them did not know exactly how to use the methods correctly and less than half of the males used condoms when having sexual relations with prostitutes (Koetsawang 1987). This evidence suggests a low rate of health awareness and behaviour among Thai adolescents.

6

Among female adolescents, abortion is a major problem and there is very little data to examine concerning trends and the number of abortions. However, findings from studies on sexual experience of school adolescents in Bangkok showed that 35% of sexually active male adolescents stated that their girlfriends became pregnant and 4 out of 5 pregnancies ended by abortion, while 30% of sexually active girls stated that they had had abortions (Porapakkham et al. 1985, Deemar 1980).

The life-course stages of physical maturity prior to marriage of Thai adolescents is long and filled with opportunities for heterosexual contact (Yoddumnern, 1981); thus, sexually active youth must rely on protected sexual relations. For this reason, this study will provide insights that are applicable to Thai adolescents in terms of understanding their sexual attitudes and behaviours and contraceptive prevalence.

Overall design

This study is a small scale survey with a coverage of unmarried female adolescents living in Bangkok. The reason in a support of compiling first-hand data is to enable this study to seek new evidence and wider dimensions of adolescent sexuality since most former studies focused mainly on adolescent sexuality in general. Very few comparative studies have focused on sexual conduct of youth from different economic status. Yet the number of youth (particulary female adolescents) receiving formal education and/or participating in the industrial labour force have continuously increased. It is important to observe changes in sexual lifestyles of these two types of young people

so that social problems regarding adolescent sexuality can be appropriately solved.

Sampling

A total sample of 250 students are drawn from 12 schools located in Bangkok. Those 12 schools are randomly selected from the total of 111 higher secondary schools based on a 10% sampling and 21 students are drawn randomly from each school on the basis of voluntary participation with permission from school instructors.

To recruit 250 factory girls, a list of factories registered to the Department of Interior is used as a sampling frame. Only the garment industry is used for the reason that this industry absorbs young unmarried female workers much more than other industries. A 10% sampling is adopted to recruit 18 factories out of 188 factories. This covers 18 factories for the study and 14 female workers are randomly selected from each factory. Respondents are informed to participate in the study voluntarily.

Conceptual framework

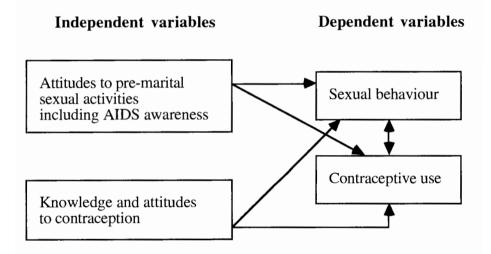
Social problems due to adolescent sexuality have received increasing attention from both the government and institutional agents. This is because pre-marital sexuality is becoming more common among young people particularly in the urban sphere, like Bangkok, where modernization heavily influences heterosexual contact within communities. Young people evaluate sexual expression as deduced

from the principles mediated by social standards. Abramson (1983) proposed that sexual expression in adolescents is shaped by the principles deduced from the input (parental standard, social norms, maturation and previous sexual experience). All subsequent sexual expression and experience become evaluated in terms of principles deduced from such input. Adolescents may be confused between two standards; a) sex should be concealed with regard to peer's standard, and b) sex should be corrupt with regard to parental norms. With these two extreme standards, adolescents find themselves confused and this eventually becomes formalized into a principle which states sex cannot be planned since that would imply thinking about it. Thus, contraceptive neglect happens due to input influence (Abramson 1983).

To predict contraceptive behaviours, Byrne (1983) developed a conceptual framework, named the Sexual Behaviour Sequence, to assess sexual and contraceptive behaviour. In his model, Byrne proposed that the attitude of an individual towards sex can include either a positive or negative judgement about contraception. Lack of interest in obtaining information always leads to less precaution when sex takes place. Adolescents are more likely to have inefficient knowledge about conception and contraception. Information given to them in some respects confuses them when given a range of alternatives. Adolescents may not view contraception as a crucial obligation if they think that they are only involved in non-procreative sex (Byrne 1983). Sexually active adolescents may have their sexual imagination triggered by peers or the media which motivate them to experience sex earlier.

Based on these two concepts as interplaying the relations between concise perspectives of attitudes and behaviours of adolescents toward sexuality and contraception, this study will, in particular, describe adolescents' attitudes to pre-marital sexual relationships and their sexual behaviour. Also, knowledge and attitudes towards contraception will be investigated in association with contraceptive use.

As a result, four sets of variables are conceptualized to identify relationships between pairs of variables. The interrelationship between variables is shown below:



Research tools and field management

The study employed a self-administered questionnaire technique to explore the determinants of adolescent sexuality. The instructing session was given to the respondents by the Principal Investigator and 10

then the respondents filled up the questionnaires individually. A small group of 7-10 respondents was arranged. This plan was more flexible with the factory workers due to time and place provided. Sometimes bigger groups were arranged in the factory site depending on participation offered to the research team. Some sessions were carried out at the dormitories due to appointments made available to the research team.

Field management at schools was smoother and better organised (there was little disturbance during the sessions). The sessions were conducted in the classroom with a maximum number of 20 respondents. It was found that students spent less time to complete the questionnaires when compared with their counterparts in the factory. The average time of 20 minutes was spent by the students while the factory workers, on average, spent 50-55 minutes to complete the questionnaires. This is very common and expected because the factory workers found it hard to comprehend the contents of questions and much more difficult to write their answers for the open-ended questions.

Although the research team wished to allow the group to be on their own for the reason of confidentiality, the factory workers needed closer supervision in between because they were not sure and found it hard to follow the instructions.

Clarification given by the field supervisors on particular questions helped to improve the validity of data and a comparison of results between these two groups of the respondents was made possible.

Questionnaire Organisation

The questionnaire consists of seven sections (See Appendix). Each section concentrated on specific issues. The first section contains questions on the socioeconomic and demographic background of the respondents followed by a section on attitudes and perception toward premarital sexual interactions. The third section concentrated on contraceptive knowledge and practices. Questions about AIDS were set in section four. Section five and section six examined the importance of family life expectation and family relationships. The last section was reserved for types of leisure lifestyles which young people wished to have.

Data Processing and Data Analysis

Coding and data processing was done immediately after the completion of field work. Responses given to open-ended questions were listed and regrouped. A data entry system was used to compile information and SPSS was employed for data analysis and statistic test of significance. To avoid having incomplete questionnaires, field supervisors throughly checked all questionnaires immediately after the respondents had finished.

In part of focus group discussion of the report describes findings from the twelve focus group discussion sessions of students and factory workers aged 15-19 living in Bangkok. An exploration of how young people with different socioeconomic background perceived

and justified the meanings of sexuality, the determinants of premarital sexual practice, and how it formed and shaped their sexual attitudes and behaviour is attempted in this study.

This study consists of twelve sessions of focus group discussions with six groups of students and six groups of factory workers. The composition of the groups include 7-9 participants which are homogeneous in age range, the younger groups (15-17) and the older groups (18-19). A total number of 96 young unmarried women were randomly recruited from six schools and six factories. These schools and factories were drawn from the sampling frame used for the survey. Respondents were selected on the basis of voluntary participation. Organisation of the focus group discussion was flexible. Some sessions were held at schools after formal sessions with the high cooperation of people involved. Private space was provided so that no disturbance would affect the groups. For the factory workers due to their fixed and busy working time the research team found it more convenient to carry out sessions during weekends and at the dormitories and some sessions were carried out at the factory sites. All data were taped using two tape-recorders which were used during the discussion and transcribed after the sessions were completed.

The principal investigator as a moderator, had conducted all the sessions with the assistance of two research assistants, one as a note taker and the other as a facilitator. Having a note-taker is very important in case the participants did not give their verbal expressions in response to the group's opinions on specific issues; then the note-taker can make

a note on the fieldnotes. A semi-structured guideline was used to facilitate the groups to address the subject.

Chapter Two Adolescent Premarital Sexual Behaviour

Chapter two explains general characteristics of the study population and also examines seven components of adolescent sexual attitudes and behaviour. These include: a) self-concept development and premarital sex, b) sex-role identity; c) friendship and peers and sexual practices, and d) the double standard, a sub-culture interpretation, e) perceived determinants of premarital sexual practices, f) perceived rules and actual practices, and g) perceptions on socially approved/disapproved sexual activity. These seven components are used to determine the relationship between sexual attitudes and behaviour and contraceptive use as indicated in the conceptual framework.

General Characteristics of the Study Population

The study consists of 500 samples of young unmarried female adolescents aged 15-19 living in Bangkok. A total number of 500 samples is divided into two groups, 250 in-school and 250 female factory workers.

Table 1 shows general socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the respondents. It was found that a majority of the respondents concentrated in the ages of 17 and 18 years old with a median age of 16.7 years for the total sample. Almost one-third of the factory workers are from bigger families with five or more members living in their households and 74.4% of them have completed only a

primary education. This pattern is quite common among the rural adolescents who move to work in big cities like Bangkok. They migrate to seek jobs shortly after leaving school and it is not unusual to find that 94% of the workers are migrants while only 21.2% of the students are identified as migrants.

In association with migration status, workers and students have different patterns of living arrangement. One-half of the workers live in dormitories and some of them live nearby the factory site where accommodation is provided and about 30% live with their relatives. Among the workers, 25.2% have been working in Bangkok more than one year and 51.6% had previous work experience before joining their current work.

Table 1 Percent distribution of respondents by socio-demographic characteristics

Age	T	otal	Stud	ents	Wo	rkers
15 16 17 18 19 Total	11.0 22.4 30.2 23.8 12.6 100.0	55 112 151 119 63 500	13.2 31.2 32.8 18.4 4.4 100.0	33 78 82 46 11 250	8.8 13.6 27.6 29.2 20.8 100.0	22 34 69 73 52 250
Median Migration Status Migrants Non-migrants	16.7		21.2 78.8	52 198	94.0 6.0	235 15

Table 1 (Continued)

Age	Total	Students		Wo	orkers
Living Arrangement					
Parents		78.4	96	9.3	23
Relatives		19.6	49	30.4	76
Rented house/dormitory		2.0	5	54.8	137
Family Size					
only daughter		9.6	24	2.0	5
one sibling		26.8	67	11.3	28
two siblings		27.2	68	22.6	56
three siblings		18.0	45	18.9	47
four siblings		7.6	19	14.5	36
More than four		10.8	25	30.6	76
Educational Attainment					
Primary				74.4	186
Secondary					
Less than Grade 4				23.6	59
Grade 4 (Class 10)		34.8	85		
Grade 5 (Class 11)		32.0	80		
Grade 6 (Class 12)		33.2	85		
Duration of Employmen	t in Bangkok				
<3 months	ě			4.2	10
3-6 months				8.1	19
7-11 months				15.3	36
1-3 years				52.5	124
More than 3 years				19.9	47
				100.0	236*
Working Experience					
First job				48.4	121
Previous working ex	perience			51.6	129
_				100.0	250

excluding 14 cases of "no" answers

Self-Concept Development and Premarital Sex

In this section, a review of evidence available concerning the adolescents' self-concept in particular, looks at the topic of self concept development and the factors which may be expected to affect this.

The term of self-concept subsumes within it the notion of self-image as well as that of self-esteem. To measure adolescent self-concept, particularly to premarital sexual interactions a seven item self-report scale was used in this study. The degree to which the subjects agreed or disagreed with statements such as "not mature enough to have sex", "fear of pregnancy" and "fear of STDs" were proposed to the respondents for their reaction (See Table 2 and Table 3). Also, open-ended questions were used a complementary part for measurement. The questions included:

- Do you currently have a boyfriend?
- Is he older or younger than you?
- How long had you known him?
- How did you get to know each other?
- What makes you feel that he is special to you?
- What do you think about him?
- If he asks to have sex what would you think first?
- Have both of you ever talked about sex?
- Have you ever had sex with him?

Table 2 Content coded into each category of reason against premarital sex by working status.

	Items		gree s Workers	Unce Students\	ertain Vorkers St	Disag udents Wo	
1)	Not mature enough	94.4	84.8	3.2	4.8	4.4	10.4
	to have sex	(236)	(212)	(8)	(12)	(11)	(26)
2)	Fear of pregnancy	96.8	86.0	0.4	6.0	2.8	8.0
		(242)	(215)	(1)	(15)	(7)	(20)
3)	Fear of parents	94.4	88.4	0.4	4.4	5.2	6.8
		(236)	(221)	(1)	(11)	(13)	(17)
4)	Fear of STDs	91.2	82.4	5.2	8.0	3.6	9.2
		(228)	(206)	(13)	(20)	(9)	(23)
5)	Fear of being labeled	83.2	80.4	7.2	9.6	9.6	10.0
	as "loose" by boyfriends	(208)	(201)	(18)	(24)	(24)	(25)
6)	Sex is for the married only	88.0	76.4	8.4	15.2	3.6	8.4
		(220)	(191)	(21)	(38)	(9)	(21)
7)	Having sex may cause	91.2	70.0	3.6	21.2	5.2	8.8
	physical damage	(228)	(175)	(9)	(53)	(13)	(22)
	(ie, to get pregnant,						
	to get hurt)						

Table 3 T-test value of content coded into each category of reason against premarital sex by working status.

	Item	2	-	t-value
		Students	Workers	
1)	Not mature enough to have sex	4.4120	4.0120	4.97**
2)	Fear of pregnancy	4.5320	4.1240	5.64**
3)	Fear of parents	4.4320	4.1888	3.18**
4)	Fear of STDs	4.3840	3.9880	5.06**
5)	Fear of being labeled	4.2080	3.9960	2.35**
6)	Sex is for the married only	4.300	4.0000	3.75**
7)	Having sex may cause	4.3640	3.8560	6.30**
	physical damages			
	(ie, to get pregnant;			
	to get hurt)			
**	Sig. <.01			
Sco	ore: Strongly agree		5.00 - 4.2	1
	Agree		4.20 - 3.4	-
	Not sure Disagree		3.40 - 2.6 2.59 - 1.8	
	Strongly disagree		1.79 - 1.0	

Table 4 shows the differences in opinions toward premarital sex between the workers and the students. It was found that one-half of the workers and students stated that if their boyfriends asked them to have sex they would think first about preventing themselves from pregnancy. While 18.4% of students and 19.5% of workers were afraid of receiving sexually transmitted diseases from their boyfriends, evidence from the findings may imply that fear of pregnancy (prevention of pregnancy) would be a major reason for avoiding sex. Thus, there is not much evidence to suggest that pregnancy fear inhibits adolescents from engaging in premarital intercourse. Interestingly, when asked about an approval of premarital sex, 94% of students and 88.4% of factory workers disagreed with having sexual intercourse before getting married. A further investigation was attempted to explore their reasons of approval/disapproval of premarital sex. It was revealed that 40.4% of students and 45.2% of the workers thought that having sex before marriage was disgraceful to their parents. In terms of cultural norms, 17.5% of students and 13.1% of workers viewed that premarital sex is culturally forbidden for girls (Table 5).

Table 4 Percentage distribution of respondents by "what they think first" if having sex with boyfriends.

First thought	Stud	dents	Workers		
at having sex	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	
Pregnancy Prevention	58.6	51	67.5	83	
Fear of STDs	18.4	16	19.5	24	
Fear of physical damage	4.6	4	6.5	8	
Fear of parents	9.2	8	5.7	7	
* Others	9.2	8	0.8	1	
** Total	100.0	87	100.0	123	

^{* (}Fear of being labeled by boyfriends as) "loose".

^{**} Total respondents include those who currently have boyfriends.

Table 5 Percentage distribution of respondents' attitudes toward premarital sex for young women by working status.

Approval	To	otal	Stu	dents	Worl	cers
Disapproval	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Approval	44	8.8	15	6.0	29	11.6
Disapproval	456	91.2	235	94.0	221	88.4
Reason for appro	oval					
- Sex is a per	rsonal matter		11	73.4	8	27.6
- Permissible	- Permissible if she/he feels		2	13.3	12	41.4
that she/he	is mature					
- Permissible	with affecti	on	2	13.3	8	27.6
- No reason s	stated				1	3.4
To	otal		15	100.0	29	100.0
Reason for disar	proval					
- Disgraceful	l to parents		95	40.4	100	45.2
- Girls will b	e exploited		95	40.4	86	38.9
- Culturally (unpermitted		41	17.5	29	13.1
- No reason s	stated		4	1.7	6	2.8
To	otal		235	100.0	221	100.0

Among those who agreed with premarital sex, 73.4% of students believed that sex is a personal matter and 13.3% stated that premarital sex is permissible with affection while the workers considered that premarital sex is acceptable if one perceives that he/she

is mature for sex establishment. However, only 6% of students and 11.6% of workers did not consider premarital sex as an objectionable.

Sex-role identity

The term "sex-role identity" is commonly used to refer to a set of standards of perceptions which describe appropriate masculine and feminine behaviour in a particular culture. Thus, from very early childhood, individuals learn what is and what is not acceptable behaviour for each of the sexes. This learning may not necessary take place in an explicit fashion but will more often be absorbed by the child as one aspect of the general guidelines which exist in his or her environment.

Sex-role identity concerns the extent takes which a person feels that his or her behaviour is consistent with the standards which operate in the culture to determine male or female behaviours in general. Such concepts may usefully be distinguished from notions of "gender" and "gender identity" which are usually taken to refer more directly to body image and awareness of male and female sexuality (Douvan, 1979).

Based on the above notion, this study takes into an account the effects of socialisation. Adolescents will come to appreciate that such standards exercise both subtle and not so subtle influences on how men and women act in society, and recently, considerable interest has been expressed in the way these socialisation processes operate. Attention has been focused on social interactions and expectations for the two sexes.

Table 6 shows content coded into each category of determinants of premarital sexual practises. A level of measurement of the perceptions was assessed by 10 self-reported attitude statements. It was found that young people perceived that conditional stimuli and environmental variables had a strong effect inhibiting premarital sexual practises. Abramson (1983) describes conditional stimuli meaning the stimuli which a person associates as erotic (sexual movies and stories, pornography) and environmental variables (involvement with drugs, alcohol or socially permissive environments). Respondents believed that young people tried sex as a consequence of drinking alcohol or being exposed to pornographic books while having a friend of the opposite sex and need of caring or living away from parents were viewed as subtle factors—leading to premarial sex. The level of differences in attitudes of two groups of the respondents are shown in Table 6 and Table 7.

 Table 6
 Content coded into each category of perceived determinants
 of premarital sex by working status.

	Itama		gree		ertain	Disagree s StudentsWorkers	
	Items	Stude	ents worke	ers Student	s workers	s Students	workers
1)	Co-education system	30.4	44.0	19.6	23.2	44.0	32.4
		(91)	(111)	(49)	(58)	(110)	(81)
2)	Having friends of	66.8	58.4	16.4	16.8	16.8	24.8
	the opposite sex	(167)	(146)	(41)	(42)	(42)	(62)
3)	Social gatherings with	41.2	51.2	20.8	20.4	38.0	28.4
	mixed sex company	(103)	(128)	(52)	(51)	(95)	(71)
4)	Drinking alcohol/going to	83.6	60.0	2.8	4.4	13.6	35.6
	pornographic movies	(209)	(150)	(7)	(11)	(34)	(89)
5)	Living away from parents	56.4	45.8	23.6	18.1	20.0	36.1
		(141)	(114)	(59)	(45)	(50)	(90)
6)	Need for material support	50.2	27.2	31.3	28.0	18.5	44.8
		(125)	(68)	(78)	(70)	(46)	(112)
7)	Need to be modernised	48.4	24.8	25.6	18.0	26.0	57.2
		(121)	(62)	(64)	(45)	(65)	(143)
8)	Need for more affection/	53.4	30.0	20.4	26.0	26.0	44.0
	commitment from boyfriends	(133)	(75)	(51)	(65)	(65)	(110)
9)	Need for someone to take	64.8	50.4	18.4	21.2	16.8	28.4
	care of	(162)	(126)	(46)	(53)	(42)	(71)
10)	Need to prove maturity	45.2	24.4	20.8	27.2	34.0	48.4
		(113)	(61)	(52)	(68)	(85)	(121)

 Table 7
 T-test value of content coded into each category of determinants of premarital sex by working status.

	Item		\overline{X}			
	Toni	Students	Workers	t-value		
1)	Co-education system	3.1440	2.9000	2.50**		
2)	Having friends of the opposite sex	2.3760	2.6480	-2.75**		
3)	Social gatherings with mixed sex company	2.9920	2.7520	2.51**		
4)	Drinking alcohol and/or going to pornographic movies	1.8760 2.76		-7.08**		
5)	Living away from parents	2.5520	2.9398	-3.77**		
6)	Need for material support	2.6386	3.2800	-6.54**		
7)	Need to be modernised	2.8120	3.4840	-6.51**		
8)	Need more affection/commitment from boyfriends	2.7189	3.2040	-4.73**		
9)	Need for someone to take care of	2.4440	2.7720	-3.52**		
10)	Need to prove maturity	2.9440	3.3600	-4.12**		
Sig.	at <0.01					
Score	Disagree Not sure Agree	4. 3. 2.	00 - 4.21 20 - 3.41 .40 - 2.60 .59 - 1.80			
	Strongly agree	1.	.79 - 1.00			

Perceived determinants of premarital sexual practices

Young people engage in sexual activity in which social, emotional and physical contexts are taken into account. Details of this process will be examined in this part of the report. At the beginning of the sessions participants were encouraged to discuss freely without prompts how they viewed and justified the meanings of sexuality. Students and workers perceived sexuality as heterosexual practices rather than any other types of sexual conduct i.e., homosexual and bisexual practices. Mixed opinions were expressed when prompted. The followings excerpts showed how young women responded to the subjects.

Participant: Sexuality means one's sexual behaviour.

Participant: Both men and women can be promiscuous

but men always are.

Participant: Some are homosexual and some can be

bisexual.

Participant: Homosexuals are very emotional and can be

dangerous. I know some of them and they are so jealous and overpossessive of their

partners.

Workers and students stated that they knew some people and had friends who are homosexual. When asked for their opinions upon such a practice some of them showed a positive attitude. They stated that those who are interested in the same sex may have their own preference and they may have had a bad experience with men and do not want to repeat that same mistake.

Participant: I think those who are interested in the same

sex do not always have sexual relationships. They might have similar interests, similar

opinions.

Participant: I think close relationships between women is

much better than between men and women. You will never get pregnant or contract a

disease. You are safe and secure.

Participant: I think women liking women is much better

than men liking men. It's disgusting, don't

you think?

(student groups)

Participant: I know some of them in this factory. They

live together and I can't see any harm.

Participant: In this factory, many women behave like a

man. I think it is a good thing so that no one can interfere with you and exploit you,

especially the men.

Participant: I think women liking women is OK. They

look lovely.

(Factory worker groups)

Female closeness, which in the West is often taken to imply a lesbian relationship, is in general accepted by the participants as natural companionship and affection between women. Students noted that homosexual practice is mounting nowadays. They further explained that this is because of the way the parents bring up their children; if they prefer a son to a daughter or the reverse. Some young people adopt it as a fashion, to dress either manly or womanly and gradually are so obsessed that they adopt it as their social conduct.

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A focal point of this part of the report is to explore young women's perceptions towards determinants of adolescent premarital sexual practice. The group made significant points on this issue by expressing that adolescents are curious to learn new things and quickly adopt their group's norms particularly the male adolescents who found themselves sexually aware at an early age. Also, the influence of the media induces young people to get involved in sexual activity. The groups believed that men have a powerful need for sexual gratification and women have to satisfy their need. Their perception of sexual gratification is based on their own observation that men try sex at an early age because they do not have to conceal their sexual need and at the same time they have more alternatives. For example, men release their sexual urge by visiting commercial sex workers and this is a common practice among men, especially for their first sexual experience. The groups viewed that such a sexual conduct is embedded in men's behaviour due to their social interactions. Men treat group's opinions and group wishes as an important commitment and feel less recognised if they disregard the group's will. The groups expresed that young women do experience pre-marital sex but this happens because women feel that their role is to acquire and hold on to a male for the purpose of protection or romance. The groups accepted that women also need companionship and have sexual needs but do not overtly express their feelings. They accepted that it is hard to resist men's demands as men are the one who inititate sexual activity and if women cannot control themselves then things will go beyond control. The groups considered this as a weakness of women and at times women are exploited and then blamed by men that women are loose and that negative consequences are placed on women only.

Participant: Women get a crush on men who speak to

them sweetly and treat them gently.

Participant: Yes, you feel like collapsing when they touch

you.

Participant: Women do take words seriously whatever

men said.

Participant: Yes, many of my friends had boyfriends who

left them so quickly.

Participants agreed that premarital sexual activity occurs under different situations. Emotional and physical contexts exert a strong influence particularly on women. Men always initiate sexual relationships and have a powerful need for sexual gratification and that it is the female's role to satisfy this need. Participants accepted that young women are more emotional and more imaginative than men, and when close relationships are developed, women are more serious about such a relationships while men may treat it as pleasure and have no long-term commitment. Students and workers stated that they would avoid being very physically close to their boyfriends in private places on the reason that they could not imagine how they would resist the advances made by their boyfriends. Participants stated that their male friends always showed overt expression of physical attraction to women and this practice is popular among men. Students stated that their male friends amused themselves by observing women and enjoyed passing suggestive remarks.

Participant: They look at you, at your breast and giggle.

Participant: I know and they are joking at us.

Participant: All men are just like that. I think they have a

lot of sexual urges.

Participant: They look into your eyes with their

meaningful and tricky eyes. I don't like very much the way they do that and I just walk

away.

Moderator: Don't you think that women also initiate

sexual relationships?

Participant: Some do by wearing heavy cosmetic, or

dressing vulgarly. They are even younger

than us.

Participant: I don't like them. Women should not behave

in such a way

Participant: Women express feelings secretly. OK, we

admire men who look clean and good looking but we don't tease them or talk to them right

away.

Excerpts from the discussion reflect how young women perceived the means with which men developed themselves more sexually, e.g., viewing erotic materials or visiting prostitutes. Young women found themselves much more bounded by cultural obligations and expectations, more suppressive and constrained even when they feel like trying rudimentary physical contact. The groups felt that premarital sex is acceptable if the relationship is steady.

In this regard, group members observed that premarital sex has significantly increased among young people. They explained that young people nowadays have changed their attitudes and norms due to changes in social life in which people rely on material opportunities. Young people are so embedded in economic opportunities and find themselves drawn in the economic market. The groups viewed that some young women may be sexually active for the purpose of economic opportunities.

Perceived rules and actual practices

Young people engage in sexual activity at different stages of their age and the development of understanding in sexual involvement should be influenced by prescribed scripts which are learned or acquired from a variety of sources including peers, parents, the media and others. Such sexual scripts alter as people grow older and enter different forms of relationships. Thus young people of the early stages of their sexual careers will have less well-formed scripts than when they are older and more experienced. In support of this argument the starting point should begin at general perspectives, such as definitions of adolescent lifestyle and then move onto more contextual observation.

Participants were asked to define the meanings of adolescent lifestyles, it was expected that their views on this subject will encourage the groups to react when specific behaviours are raised for justification. Students and workers gave almost, if not all, similar expressions regarding adolescent lifestyle ranging from behaviours in general, such as to be free from parental control, be curious in everything, join groups, dress in a fancy way, drink, smoke, to extreme acts, such as trying drugs, joining group violence and trying sex by visiting prostitutes.

Their views were expressed in the way they perceived through gender-role consciousness. They remarked that young men and young women have their own social conduct. Males are more impulsive, reckless, unreliable and less caring about social obligations and expectations; while young women, with all social restrictions, are highly entrenched in social and cultural values. Women are expected to be responsible and reliable and behave in ways that preserve gender role expectations.

Participant: We, young women are under pressure.

Participant: We cannot do whatever we want, roaming,

smoking, drinking.

Moderator: Who said you shouldn't do that? We are brought up in this way.

Participant: They are social expectations. They will look

down you if you go loose.

Participant: We mind our parents and we don't want to

upset them.

The discussion switched onto this subject which over time the participants considered that they should not have behaved in such a way and regretted to themselves their stubborness with their parents for not allowing them evening outings. This question seems hard and too personal which may be reflected in the nature of guarded responses. Discussion showed a small variation of feedback, mainly they stated that it was about the conflict between themselves and their parents. They wanted to go out with friends but their parents disagreed. There is only one case from the factory worker groups who really spoke out about her

experience. She told us that she quarrelled with her mother who she thought never understood her. She left home and roamed and tried drugs and attempted to commit suicide. She recalled her experience and said that she would never do it again.

Beyond this, the issues may be taken in terms of looking at the way young people perceived their needs when they enter different stages of their life and seek freedom. We still do not know much about young people's experiences in different areas of their social conduct and this is very important if interventions were acquired. We only know from the groups that young women do seek freedom for their outings but not total freedom from parental control. Gender differences in socialisation was raised in the focus group discussion sessions. One of the vexing issues is the discussion on freedom for men for premarital sexual practices. They viewed such behaviour as common and socially acceptable not only for young men but men in every age group and if women did the same there would be an uproar.

Participant: Men can go anywhere, do whatever they like

even trying sex because they are not the ones who will be pregnant but the women. You

will be in trouble if you are pregnant.

Participant: I do agree. No one wants a woman who has

had sexual experience.

Participant: It's unfair. Men want to marry a virgin but

they are the one who initiated (premarital)

sex.

Having friends of the opposite sex is also justified as one of the stages of life which adolescents experience and a variety of obligations and expectations were justified. Students remarked that young people are more likely to imitate each other in the manner of looking for someone to be their close friend and men are more likely to do so much more than their female counterparts. They stated that women would not go directly to men who attracted them but quietly observed and normally their friends are the matchmakers.

Participant: We admire our schoolmates who are very

good at study and wish to be their close

friends.

Participant: It's helpful to have a boyfriend. He can help

you a lot in study. We encourage each other

to study.

However, participants did not take this matter seriously and did not perceived that having no boyfriend will make them feel inferior or embarassed and stated that to have a friend of the opposite sex will be an event which gradually develops over time. Among factory workers having a friend of the opposite sex is more challenging due to their localised settings when compared with students. Factory workers interacted with their workmates who come from different places, even though they have similar socioeconomic backgrounds. Many of them are difficult to get along with and women have to appear in acceptable manner and keep their profile in a proper way, especially when they are new to such an environment. Most factory workers are migrants and some are newly employed. They have to adjust themselves to new residences where they share the room with strangers. Female workers usually get in a small group for outings unlike male workers who usually are seen in a bevy. Their relationships normally develop from getting to know each other by chance in public places such as 36

department stores, public parks, bus stands or at the workplace. Employed youth usually go to such places where they can have one day off entertaining themselves after six days of work. They may get together in groups where they invite friends to join.

Participant: We drink and chat when we have a birthday

party.

Moderator: Among women?

Participant: Both men and women, we make friends and

some of us fall in love with each other and

continue the relationship.

Participant: I met him everyday at a bus stop and we

started talking and getting to know each

other.

Some workers have more adventurous experiences in making friends such as, they will join motorcycle racing groups at night time to know each other. Nevertheless, young people do not always want to be on their own way and free from social expectations. They agreed that group opinion is important but one should keep a good balance between social norms and group values. They may go wild but not for long-term commitments when entering older ages. As mentioned in the focus group sessions, factory workers interacted with whatever they called adolescent lifestyle as soon as they left school and joined the labour market, where they made many of friends, and would not be reluctant to learn things and later discovered that those adventurous activities would not bring them any success. Beyond roaming, drinking, smoking, keeping in groups and being free from parental control, which are valued as adolescent lifestyles, the question remained unclear why

young people view premarital sexual practice as a male stereotype. This is very important because it leads to an understanding of how adolescents value their own sex life, it is formed by one's self or others and should they hold any conflicting definitions to what they learn from peers, parents and the media.

Participants stated that they learned about sexual activity from peers and the media much more than any others. Apart from biological knowledge, which they learned from school as part of family life education, the most important issues are the sexual scripts which they learned from peers and the media. Participants revealed that they had access to erotic materials by sharing among the group starting from a small group and spreading out to others. Usually male friends brought in matrials and passed them on to female groups. Women would get together in groups and explore the books or magazines which they took from male friends. These materials amused them not in the sense of sexual arousal but that they were rather funny and ridiculous. When asked whether they used to explore materials alone, some did and some never did. They said they have watched videos or read magazines at home which belonged to either their fathers or their relatives. Young women are also interested in specific columns in women, s magazines. They described that they found it useful at least to know about people's problems such as family problems, sex problems and other things. However, they are reluctant to be exposed to erotic materials in the presence of their family members and would be restrained as it is forbidden for young women.

Students and workers agreed that the media partly influenced their attitudes and behaviour depending on how they took into account the subjects they were exposed to. They stated that young women are very fond of romantic films and have their own imagination. Some accepted that they felt passionate when they watched love scenes. The question is how this would affect their sexual gratification. Discussion from the focus group sessions revealed that young women would not keep that emotional feeling for long. Of course, it makes them feel good and they let them go quickly.

Participant: We like romantic films very much. It makes

us feel good and we release our worries.

Participant: Men feel more and have imaginations. I

know they really need to do something after

watching the film.

Participant: I agree with you. I saw some of them in the

cinema hall touching each other while the film

was going on.

Interestingly, participants from the focus group discussion sessions are more sensitive to information they learn from peers. They told the group that their friends described to them in every detail what they have done with their boyfriends and confessed to them that they really opted for sexual relationships. Some participants told the group how their female friends released their sexual urges.

Participant: My friend, she went to the toilet and splashed

the water on her sex organ.

Participant: Why?

Participant: She feels the urge when she sleeps at night

and she hugs her pillow tightly.

Participant: My friend told me that her uncle intentionally

touched her and she had a strange feeling.

Participant: My mother, she is a nurse. She told me

everything. At my flat I saw many young women have male visitors and my mother

explained it to me.

(Older student group)

Familial and localised settings are important factors causing young people to learn about sex. A broken family is always found to be one of the forces among these. Young women are very sensitive and when lacking well-formed attitudes when dealing with family hardships they found themselves hopeless. A case study drawn from focus group discussions gives a very good example of this issue.

Story one (told by a student)

My friend always quarrels with her mother. Her mother remarried. She mixed with the boys living nearby her place; the bus boy and the hired motorcycle-worker. I asked her to stop doing it but she refused and went with that boy. She became pregnant and left home and I did not see her since.

Story two (Told by a factory worker)

I know a girl who is having an affair with a married businessman. He gives her everything and supports her to study. She did not know that the man had a wife. One day his wife came to see her and they had a big fight but I still see that man comes to see my friend quite often.

Workers also learned about sex from peers. They live either in dormitories provided by factories or in flats nearby the factories. In the factory, dormitories men and women have separate quarters. They recounted that some of their friends sleep with their girlfriends sometimes.

Participant: Boys stay at their places during the daytime

but after midnight they sleep with their

girlfriends upstairs.

Participant: A friend of mine has a boyfriend. He visits

her once a week. They sleep together in my

room.

Participant: You are crazy, how come you allow them to

do it.

Participant: She has no where to go and she is my friend.

What shall I do?

Participant: Your friend should think that you also pay

for the rent not only her. If I were you I

would chase them away.

This may be an extreme case. We can not know for how long the girl will put up with her problem. Workers have a limited access to living arrangements due to their low income. Some of them have to support their families with remittances regularly, especially migrant workers. Excerpts from the discussion may lead to an argument that sexual learning and sexual expression in adolescents is shaped by the principle deduced from the input (parental standards, social norms, peers, maturation). All the subsequent sexual expression and experience becomes evaluated in terms of principles deduced from the input. As an example, those children who were socialised by their parents to avoid open discussion about sex are more likely to perceive that sexuality is not mentionable and obscence. When they grow up and are exposed to externalised standards (peers, social groups or the media), adolescents find themselves involved in sexual activities. Thus adolescents are confused between two standards; a) sex should be concealed with regard to peer's standard, and b) sex should be obscence with regard to parental norms. With these two standards, adolescents find themselves confused and these extremes eventually become formalised into a principle which states sex cannot be planned since that would imply thinking about it.

Perceptions on socially approved/disapproved sexual activity:

In relation to socially approved or disapproved sexual activity a focal point of this study is to look at how gender, age and sexual preference interplay with sexual permissiveness. Four types of permissiveness (Reiss,1960) are relevant; a) premarital sexual intercourse is considered wrong for both males and females, regardless of circumstances, b) premarital intercourse is permitted for both males

and females if it leads to commitment or being engaged in love and in a stable relationship, c) premarital intercourse is permissible for males and females based on physical attraction and, d) premarital intercourse is permissible for males only with an exception for females if they are in love or if they are engaged. These four types of permissiveness were raised in the focus group discussion sessions and participants were asked to justify them. Students and workers contributed many useful and interesting points on this issue. In general, the groups have negative attitudes to premarital sexual activity regardless of sex or age. In that sense premarital sexual intercourse is considered wrong for both males and females regardless of the circumstances. As mentioned earlier social contexts interplay with cultural obligations, at the first instance participants valued abstinence from premarital sexual practice as a gold standard and then realised that there is always a gap between perceived rules and actual life. Differences in socialisation in Thai society leave room for the double standard. This results in the role of gender-powered relations and premarital intercourse is permissible for males only. Students and workers have negative attitudes regarding being sexually active, not only for females but also males. They pointed out that men, no matter what age they will pursue sexual practices at every opportunity and women usually found themselves less resistant to the needs of men.

> Women have less power to bargain, They Participant:

think that if they have sex with their boyfriends they will get them forever and that is a big mistake, Men never want only one;

they want more and more.

Participant: Married men visit prostitutes because their

wives got pregnant.

Participant:

No I disagree with you. They just want to try something new.

(Older worker group)

Mixed opinions were expressed concerning premarital sexual practices. Most conflicts were seen to arise from female worker groups. Some of them considered that premarital sexual practice can happen to anyone and those who earn money and have responsibility should have good judgement. They may wish to establish their family life one day when they are satisfied with their economic stability. They may live with someone who they wish to marry and premarital sex should be socially acceptable and those who do so should not be blamed. If one practises premarital sex for pleasure then such behaviour should be wrong and unacceptable. In response to this notion, it seems that cohabitation is commonly practised among the factory workers. This notion is made from the groups' opinions that to get married one should have enough money for all necsessary arrangements. Factory workers added that a formal marriage is not always affordable to everyone. Some prefer to stay together for sometime and get married later when they have enough money. This may imply that young people with low socioeconomic status have a limited access to family life establishment and cohabitation is an alternative which means that premarital sexual practice is automatically accepted. If this practice becomes socially accepted widely, then this may bring some implications to young people's health risks such as unplanned pregnancy. As a notion on this issue, the observation from the groups provided a crucial point that a significant proportion of couples ended up with unplanned pregnancy and the men left the women.

Students viewed that approval/disapproval of premarital sex should be considered with some exceptions. Young men try sex at an early age and normally with commercial sex workers which is socially acceptable. In this view, students considered that such practices may be a benefit for women; as long as men have other alternatives, then men will not corrupt other women.

Participant: We need education for our future careers.

Participant: If we misbehave we will no longer continue

our education.

Participant: We are still too young. We still have more

chances to meet many people in the

university.

Participant: We must choose the best, high education and

similar social status.

Friendship and peers and sexual practices

In modern society peer groupings may be vitally important to adolescents as a context for acquiring and learning social skills and strategies. Peer groups may become more important in determining interests and influencing the behaviour and the personality of the individual as the importance of the family in transmitting the "appropriate" culture is diminished to some extent.

Peer conversations involve more sharing, explaining and mutual understanding, whereas adolescent parent conversations involve parents explaining their ideas even at the expense of not understanding their children's alternative views (Hunter 1985). The influence of parents

and friends upon adolescents varies according to types of activities and topics of conversation. Friends' influence centre around current events and activities. Peer discussions can provide adolescents with opportunities to experience contest and verify alternative views about interpersonal relationships which then lead to future socialisation (Youniss, 1980). Adolescents find certain conversational topics including the activities of friends.

The strong bonds between peers during adolescence relate to the unique characteristics of adolescents in the social environment. The inschool adolescents' sexual involvement with the opposite sex may be discouraged. They may acquire fairly limited independence and may be required to remain in school and not be employed until age 16, while young factory workers are exposed to different social settings and need self-adjustment which may lead to sexual interactions.

This study shows some findings on a scale of 10 attitude statements of conversational topics which were supposed to be the issues of interest among unmarried girls.

Table 8 shows a variation of topics shared among young people when they get together. Respondents were asked whether they converse with their peers on the following issues like "talking about the ideal type of friend of the opposite sex"; "talking about trying sex" or "talking about family planning acquisition." Ten items of "Yes"/"No" statement technique was used to examine adolescent self-concept development on sexuality.

The most popular topic discussed among the study population was "talking about the ideal type of friend of the opposite sex" About 87% stated so and 67% confessed to their friends that they were falling in love with someone. The less popular topic for discussion was "talking about experiencing sex". Only 2.4% attempted this topic. Such findings probably are not a great surprise because talking about sex is not common for unmarried girls due to many reasons. They may be sexually active but talking explicitly about sex is not common.

By looking at their economic status, findings showed that workers were more interested in family planning as much as twice their in-school counterparts (1.6% for students and 3.2% for workers). When compared with item number seven, "talking about experiencing sex" and item number six, "getting together to go for drinks", 15.2% of workers have ever gone for drinks while 10.0% of students have done so. Item seven showed little difference in response (9.2% of students talked about experiencing sex and 10.4% of workers said so.). The findings may imply that workers feel freer to express themselves differently from social norms and expectations. However, it is too early to assess that the workplace or mixed sex company induced adolescent workers to new norms and value.

Table 8 Percentage distribution of content coded into each category of conversational topic ever discussed with friends by working status.

			Students		Workers	
	Category	Total	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
			-			
1.	Talking about an ideal type					
	of friend of the opposite sex	87.8	227	90.8	212	84.8
2.	Confessing that you are in love					
	with someone	67.9	198	79.2	138	55.2
3.	Talking about whatever you do					
	when you have a date	61.2	157	62.8	149	59.6
4.	Exchanging opinions among friends on					
	how to make yourself attractive to boys	39.8	90	36.0	109	43.6
5.	Getting together to go for entertainment	36.6	89	35.6	94	37.6
6.	Getting together to go for drinks	12.6	25	10.0	38	15.2
7.	Talking about experiencing sex	9.8	23	9.2	26	10.4
8.	Talking about family planning acquisitio	n 0.0	4	1.6	8	3.2
9.	Talking about your friends					
	who have boyfriends	40.0	101	40.4	99	39.8
10.	Talking about men	33.2	85	34.0	81	32.4

The double standard: a sub-culture interpretation

Within research on youth sub-cultures the invisibility of young women's lives and experiences to the main action of the "lads" has been paramount. Recent work has attempted to redress the balance in providing a feminist perspective on sub-cultures which actually starts from the experiences of young women themselves. As Mc. Robbie and Garber (1976) point out, the position of working class young women is structurally different to that of young working class men. The common sense assumption upon which much of the interaction between young men and young women apparently formulates clear boundaries for "acceptable" masculine and feminine behaviour and responses. The boundaries; however, are not derived simply from the shared assumptions of every day life. They are structured in the sense that images of sexuality become institutionalised and legitimatised with the policy responses of agencies such as schools, youth groups, and commercial leisure providers.

The demarcation of boundaries for "acceptable" masculine and feminine behaviour and responses was observed in this study. Respondents were asked to give their opinions toward selected activities which they themselves perceived as "acceptable' or "unacceptable". Table 9 shows different opinions toward premarital sexual activity permissiveness under certain circumstances.

Regarding premarital sexual permissiveness, respondents strongly disagreed with such behaviour and become more strongly against when the age of the girls is limited to under 19. In contrast, premarital sexual permissiveness is more acceptable for boys. Table 9 shows the mean value of opinions toward premarital sex. Differences in opinions toward premarital sexual permissiveness of the groups of respondents were found in every item except item 10, "it is common for boys to have many girlfriends" because both students and workers strongly disagreed.

Table 9 T-Test value of attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness by working status.

	Item	>	X		
		Students	Workers		
1)	Single girls under 19 should not have s	ex 4.3040	3.5920	8.29**	
2)	Single girls should be free to associate with boys	1.9840	2.3440	- 4.36**	
3)	Single girls should not have sex	3.9234	3.5783	3.72**	
4)	Single girls under 19 should not date	2.3800	2.6734	- 3.53**	
5)	Single girls should not kiss or hug boyfriends in public	3.4840	3.2480	2.44**	
6)	Only boys are allowed to have premarital sex	3.6760	3.2720	4.32**	
7)	Premarital sex makes boys mature	4.0880	3.5520	6.36**	
8)	Single boys under 19 should not have sex	2.1320	2.7280	- 6.79**	
9)	It is comon for boys to have many girlfriends	3.1360	3.3000	- 1.60	
** Si	g. at <0.01				
Score	: Strongly agree 5	.00 - 4.21			
50010		.20 - 3.41			
	•	.40 - 2.60			
		.59 - 1.80			
		.79 - 1.00			

A further attempt to ascertain attitudes toward premarital sexual practice was done by giving a condition that if the respondents were asked to have sex with their boyfriends but refused to do so, then to give a rank toward each specific reason. Table 10 revealed that respondents thought that they would not have sex because of "fear of parental disapproval" while the reason "fear of pregnancy" came second. Awareness of STDs was put in as one of the reason to assess respondents' attitudes toward risk behaviour regarding premarital sexual practice. It was found that workers showed a much lower level of opinion toward this matter when compared with students (51.6% for students and 28.9% for workers).

Table 10 Percentage distribution of content codes for each category of reason against premarital sex by working status.

					Students		
	Content	Strongly	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly	
		agree				disagree	
			 				
1.	Too young to have sex	54.8	37.6	3.2	2.8	1.6	
2.	Fear of pregnancy	59.6	37.2	0.4	2.4	0.4	
3.	Fear of parents	55.2	39.2	0.4	4.0	1.2	
4.	Fear of physical damage	51.1	40.0	3.6	4.4	0.8	
	from sexual intercourse						
5.	Fear of parental disapproval	68.4	30.0	-	1.2	0.4	
6.	Sex is for the married couple	46.8	41.2	8.4	2.4	1.2	
	only						
7.	Fear of STDs	51.6	39.6	5.2	2.8	0.8	

Table 10 (Continued)

					Stude	ents
	Content	Strongly	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly
		agree				disagree
8.	Fear of being labeled	49.6	33.6	7.2	7.2	2.4
	as "loose" by boyfriend					
				Workers		
1.	Too young to have sex	30.4	54.4	4.8	6.8	3.6
2.	Fear of pregnancy	36.8	49.2	6.0	5.6	2.4
3.	Fear of parents	39.8	49.0	4.4	4.0	2.8
4.	Fear of physical damage	27.2	42.8	21.2	6.0	2.8
	from sexual intercourse					
5.	Fear of parental disapproval	47.2	46.8	1.2	0.8	4.0
6.	Sex is for the married couple	34.0	42.4	15.2	6.4	2.0
	only					
7.	Fear of STDs	28.9	53.8	8.0	5.6	3.6
8.	Fear of being labeled	32.8	47.6	9.6	6.4	3.6
	as "loose" by boyfriend					

In summary overall, respondents disapproved of premarital sexual practice. The main reasons for disapproval are; "it is disgraceful to parents", and "girls will be exploited". However, findings showed that female workers are more open-minded to some extent to premarital sexual practice. Twelve percent of workers approved the practise of premarital sex while 6 percent of students shared similar opinion. Workers stated that premarital sex is permissible if young unmarried couples feel that they are mature enough while students who have positive attitudes towards premarital sex stated that sex is not anyone else's business and whoever needs to have sex is able to totally use his/her own judgement.

Chapter Three Adolescents and Contraception

This chapter attempts to examine how young adolescents perceive the importance of contraception when they get involved in sexual relationships. Also, barriers to contraception including ideological barriers, emotional barriers and informational barriers developed from a five-step process of contraceptive acquisition postulated by Byrne (1983), was employed for data interpretation.

Contraceptive Knowledge

One of the study objectives is to assess the level of knowledge on contraceptive methods in association with contraceptive behaviour (use/non use and methods used). This assumption was not statistically tested due to very few cases of users (only 8 sexually active respondents stated that they had ever used contraceptives). Discussion pointing to an assessment will concentrate on findings revealed from total respondents. Table 11 shows interesting points for discussion as follows.

Respondents were asked to list contraceptive methods known to them without prompt. It was found that the pill is the most popular method known to both students and workers. Among students, 93.2% mentioned pills followed by condoms while workers mentioned injectables as the second popular method known to them. The methods less known to respondents are rhythm, withdrawal and foam. None of the workers mentioned foam and after pills as contraceptives known to them while 3 cases of students knew these two methods. Regarding

abortion, 6.8% of students and 3.2% of workers considered it as a contraceptive method.

Contraceptive Awareness

The ultimate goal of preventing unplanned pregnancy, abortion, sexually transmitted diseases and AIDS is to make young people aware of safe sex practices. Assumptions built upon psychological determinants of adolescent contraceptive behaviour involve working out with teens just what responsible sex is. Allgeier and Oskamp and Mindick (1983) pointed out that teens who are knowledgeable about sex tend to have intercourse at a later age and to be more effective users of contraception.

Table 11 Percentage distribution of respondents, by contraceptive methods known and working status.

Contraceptive method	Students	(N=250)	Workers	(N=250)
Pill	93.2	(233)	68.8	(172)
Condom	77.6	(194)	27.6	(69)
Injectables	50.0	(125)	50.8	(127)
Female Ster.	69.2	(173)	32.0	(80)
Vasectomy	69.2	(172)	28.4	(71)
IUDs	50.0	(125)	26.0	(65)
Rhythm	16.4	(41)	2.0	(1)
Norplant	8.4	(21)	4.4	(11)
Abortion	6.8	(17)	3.2	(8)
Withdrawal	0.4	(1)	1.6	(4)
Others (Foam, After pills)	1.2	(3)	-	-

In this study, respondents were asked to identify the places where they perceived that people can go for family planning services. The respondents perceived differently. Table 12 shows perceptions about place for services. Three main types of facilities were mentioned; the government sector (health centres, hospitals); the private sector (including clinic, non-government associations, drugstores, department stores) and commercial entertainment (brothels, etc.). The respondents reported that if one looked for modern or permanent methods of birth control he/she would go for services at the government hospitals. It appeared that about 75% of the respondents perceived that people would go to hospitals for female sterilization and vasectomy. When pills and condoms were mentioned to them it is interesting to find that young unmarried girls mentioned drugstores/department stores as the place for service provision much more than any other place. Thus, this finding suggests that adolescents prefer privacy and less consultation with the person in charge if they go for contraception.

Among those who stated that they did not know where to obtain contraceptives, particularly an abortion, seems to be an interesting research agenda. About 50% of the school respondents expressed that they could not identify the place where one can go for an abortion compared with 61.6% of workers.

Table 12 Percentage distribution of respondents, by perceived place where selected contraceptive methods are available.

		Students (N=250)			Workers (N=250)			
Place	Pills	Inj.	Con.	. Abort.	Pills	Inj.	Con. A	bort.
								
Health centre	2.0	3.2	1.2	-	26.0	18.4	10.0	0.8
Government hospitals	22.4	56.0	8.4	38.0	17.2	46.0	22.8	25.6
Private clinic/hospitals	5.6	16.4	2.8	6.8	8.8	13.6	5.2	9.6
Drugstores	55.2	0.8	49.6	0.4	24.8	0.4	11.6	-
Department stores	0.8	-	17.6	-	2.8	0.4	6.4	-
*Other	-	1.2	1.2	1.6	-	-	0.8	9.8
Quacks	-	-	-	3.6	-	-	-	1.6
Do not know	13.2	22.4	19.2	49.6	20.4	21.2	43.2	61.6

^{* (1)} Brothels

The respondents were also asked to mention whether any of their acquaintances used contraceptives. It appeared that 60.8% of total respondents stated that their female friends had used contraception. A further investigation on this by economic status was attempted. It was found that 81% of workers and 31% of students stated that their female friends used contraceptives. In total, 60.8% of respondents had female friends who used contraceptives.

^{* (2)} Quacks

^{* (3)} The Planned Parenthood Association of Thailand (PPAT)

^{* (4)} The Population and Development Association (PDA)

Table 13 Percentage distribution of respondents mentioning friends who used contraceptives, by sex of friends, by working status.

	Total %	(N=128) N	Students %	(N=109) N	Workers %	(N=159) N
Male friends	2.0	5	5	(5)	-	_
Female friends	60.8	163	31	(34)	81	(129)
Both	17.2	46	26	(28)	11	(18)
Not sure	20.0	54	38	(42)	8	(12)

A further investigation on attitude toward an abortion and information seeking behaviour was attempted. About an opinion toward abortion, two groups of respondents were classified; those with boyfriends and those who do not have boyfriends. Table 14 shows that among students with and without boyfriends, little difference of attitudes was found. One-third of them stated that young people should not have an abortion, while 22% of factory workers with boyfriends had no objection to abortion compared to 10.0% of workers without boyfriends, who approved of abortion.

Concerning information seeking behaviours, adolescents were seriously concerned about for an appropriate place for service followed by a concern about suitable methods of birth control for the young. However, a proportion of those who did not need any information gives us a considerable notion. It appeared that 23.6% and 10.4% of student and workers expressed no interest of family planning information. Because of this condition we may assume that those who do not seek information may presume that engaging in sexual interaction is discouraging for teens.

The concern with an appropriate place for service can be explained in the sense that, this attitude is a subset of a more general belief that seeking for contraception labels an individual for life, particularly young unmarried women, on the basis of an act of wrongdoing, since society values virginity and premarital sexual practices are strictly forbidden. Adolescents need a great deal of privacy. Trust and understanding come first when in need of contraception and undoubtedly the majority of the respondents very much relied on appropriate place for service. This means that young people are concerned about people with whom they can talk with. This should be treated as an important factor for intervention strategies.

Table 16 Percent distribution of respondents of their opinion on important information required if contraceptives are needed by working status.

Acquired information		Students (N=250)		Workers (N=250)	
1)	Need to acquire information on the most suitable method for young people	30.0	75	23.6	59
2)	Need to acquire imformation on the most appropriate place for services	24.8	62	49.2	123
3)	Need to know all about necessary information on contraceptives.	3.2	8	3.2	8
4)	Not sure	18.4	46	13.6	34
5)	Do not need	23.6	59	10.4	26

Attitudes toward Contraceptives

The observation on adolescent attitudes towards contraceptives has been attempted in this study. Table 18 shows the mean value of attitudes to contraceptive permissiveness under certain conditions. In terms of frequenting prostitutes, students and workers strongly agreed that condoms must be used if young people go to commercial sex workers. A different opinion regarding condom usage was found

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among students and workers if a condom is used when having sex with girlfriends. Students strongly agreed while workers showed a lower level of agreement. When abortion is raised for judgement, workers and students did not show a definite decision in the case pregnancy is unplanned, but rather agreed with the statement saying "adolescents should not be allowed to go for an abortion". When asked about family planning provision for adolescents, students and workers agreed that family planning services should be made available to unmarried adolescents. Details on the statistical significance of attitudes are shown in Table 17 and Table 18.

Approval/disapproval of abortion was also one of those vexing issues raised in the group discussions. Students and factory workers showed negative attitudes towards abortion. They blamed those who have an abortion as a irresponsible way to get the problem resolved. They argued that those who enjoyed sex should be more responsible and aware of the consequences. When asked who should be blamed, participants expressed different opinions.

Participant: We blame the men because they are the ones

who initiate sex.

Participant: Both of them, (men and women) how

couldthat have happened without consensus?

Participant: I think women should be blamed

because they are not supposed to do it. It's a

sin to kill your own baby.

Notwithstanding a variety of feedback from the groups toward abortion, a majority of group members considered that it is sinful to have an abortion and the practice is regarded as killing someone who is innocent and at the same time, women risk health hazards if the abortion is incomplete. Unexpectedly, students and workers had direct experience from their friends who had abortions. Their judgements made upon this issue implied that if they were in the same situation as their friends they might choose the same resolution. Students told the groups that their friends asked them for money to abortion, and sought advice about the medicine for have an abortion and places for abortion services.

Participant: A girl in this school was pregnant and she

consulted the teacher about having an

abortion.

Participant:

My friend was pregnant. She had a problem with her boyfriend and wanted to hurt him by having sexual affairs with her second boyfriend. She had an abortion and it was her second abortion. Her parents knew all about this and asked her not be loose any

more.

Information obtained from factory worker groups about abortion are also very interesting. We know that students and workers are different in many ways. They have different localised settings which enable them to act differently. Although they shared the disapproval of abortion in common, factory workers are young and have many more opportunities for sexual encounters in their new environment different than in their parental home. They develop their relationships quickly. Factory workers stated that quite a number of their friends working in the same factories or somewhere else had an abortion. They even know about the place to go for abortion services, the price and the procedures.

Participant: I heard a woman screaming from the clinic

nearby my place.

Participant: They will charge you 1000 baht (US\$ 40) for

a one month pregnancy and they will not do it if the woman is more than four months

pregnant.

Participant: My friend used 'hot medicine' to abort her

baby.

When asked how they would cope with the problem if it occurred to them, factory workers stated that they would consult their boyfriends first to get the problem resolved and if there was no resolution they will have an abortion. The reason in response to their decision is that they are not prepared for the stage of taking care of the baby socially and economically. Factory workers further gave more explanations that men usually ignore women when problems come. They will leave the problem to the women and they leave the women. On the other hand, students said that they would consult their parents rather than seek advice from boyfriends or friends from whom they think they would not get any helpful advice. From this point of view, we should bear in mind that whatever young people think they will resolve the problem in the way that they think is the best but in actual practice we would never know whether they would take advice from friends and may end up with an abortion.

The point to be concluded here is that young people do learn about sexual activity from friends and the media. The only thing we have not researched about is how their experience will form and shape their attitudes and behaviours over time.

 Table 17
 Percentage distribution of attitudes toward contraceptives by working status

	Item	Agree	Students Not sure	Disagree	Agree	Worke Not sure	rs Disagree
1)	Adolescents should not be	67.6	17.2	15.2	60.4	18.0	21.6
	allowed to go for abortion	(169)	(43)	(38)	(151)	(45)	(54)
2)	Condoms can prevent	59.4	34.5	6.1	51.2	37.6	10.8
	pregnancy	(148)	(86)	(15)	(128)	(94)	(27)
3)	Family planning services	82.4	12.8	4.8	76.8	9.6	13.2
	should be made available	(206)	(32)	(12)	(192)	(24)	(33)
	to unmarried adolescents						
4)	Sexually active girls	88.4	6.8	4.8	83.6	8.0	8.4
	should use contraceptives	(221)	(17)	(12)	(209)	(20)	(21)
5)	Adolescents should use	98.8	0.8	0.4	95.6	3.2	1.2
	condoms when frequenting	(247)	(2)	(1)	(239)	(8)	(3)
	prostitutes						
6)	Condoms must be used when	95.2	4.4	0.6	80.3	15.3	4.4
	having sex with girlfriends	(238)	(11)	(1)	(200)	(38)	(11)
7)	Abortion should be allowed	44.8	25.6	29.6	42.4	24.0	33.2
	in the case of unplanned	(112)	(64)	(74)	(106)	(60)	(83)
	pregnancy						
8)	Sex education programme	97.2	2.0	0.8	76.4	8.8	14.8
	should be made available	(243)	(5)	(2)	(191)	(22)	(37)
	to adolescents.						

 Table 18
 T-test value of attitude towards contraceptives, by working status.

	Item	Students X	Workers X	t-value
1)	Adolescents should not be allowed to go for an abortion	3.7760	3.5440	2.11**
2)	Condoms can prevent pregnancy	3.6627	3.4578	2.74**
3)	Family planning services should be made available to unmarried adolescents	4.0360	3.8273	2.54*
4)	Sexually active girls should use contraceptives	4.2280	4.0280	2.51*
5)	Adolescents should use condoms when freguenting prostitutes	4.6960	4.4520	4.58**
6)	Condoms must be used when having sex with girlfriends	4.5640	4.0803	7.19**
7)	Abortion should be allowed in the case of unplanned pregnancy	3.1680	3.0361	1.19
8)	Sex education programmes should be made available to adolescents	4.5640	4.0808	7.19**
*	p <0.05; Score:	Strongly ag	gree	5.00-4.21
**	p <0.01; p<0.05	Agree		4.20-3.41
		Not sure		3.40-2.60
		Disagree		2.59-1.80
		Strongly d	isagree	1.79-1.00

Knowledge and Attitudes related to AIDS

An assessment on knowledge and attitudes related to beliefs about the risk of AIDS infection was attempted. Table 19 shows knowledge and attitudes of respondents towards AIDS transmission and risk of infection. In general, respondents have high knowledge about AIDS epidemic. For example, 93.6% of students and 80.8% of workers perceived that the AIDS is an incurable disease and one can be infected through sexual intercourse, sharing needles and through blood transfusion. About the risk of AIDS infection, 100.0% of students and 91.6% of workers believed that those who have multiple sexual partners will contract AIDS infection. In terms of comparing students' knowledge with their worker counterparts, workers showed a lower level of knowledge of the transmission and risk of AIDS infection. An explanation about this could be the different exposure to media and information Also, to be knowledgeable on specific issues, one needs to read and to be exposed to personnel or environment involved with AIDS. Workers have more limit to those environments compared to their in-school counterparts. Evidence to support this argument is that it was found that 99% of students had read about AIDS compared to 64% of workers who had been exposed to written materials about AIDS.

When asked about perceived vulnerability of AIDS risk, 30.9% of students and 42.4% of workers believed that they might have a chance to contact AIDS infection. An exploration of reasons of perceiving that they might have a risk was attempted. It was found that 51.9% of students believed that if they receive blood from an AIDS

donor they might have a risk while 57.6% of workers stated this reason. A much higher proportion of workers believed that they might get infection if they have direct contact with HIV/AIDS patients. Students still perceived that they might contact AIDS infection from dental clinics, while only 17.0% of workers thought so.

Among those who stated that they will not have AIDS risk because they are not sexually active include 92.4% of students and 83.2% of workers (See Table 20).

Table 19 Percentage distribution of Attitudes to risk of AIDS infection by working status

	Knowledge about AIDS	Stuc	lents	Workers	
		%	N	%	N
	1,000				
1)	AIDS is a fatal disease	93.6	234	80.8	202
2)	People can have AIDS through sexual intercourse	94.8	237	84.0	210
3)	Sharing needles causes AIDS infection	99.2	248	90.0	225
4)	Blood transfusion causes AIDS contraction	85.2	213	60.4	151
5)	Those who have multiple sexual	100.0	249	91.6	229
	partners can catch AIDS				
6)	Frequenting prostitutes can cause	97.2	243	89.2	223
	AIDS infection				
7)	Touching AIDS patients can cause	30.4	76	57.6	144
	AIDS infection				
8)	Babies can contact AIDS through mothers	96.8	242	85.6	214

Table 20 Percentage distribution of perceived vulnerability of AIDS risk by working status

	Students		Workers	
	%	N	%	N
Yes	30.9	77	42.4	106
No	68.0	170	52.4	131
No response	1.2	3	5.2	13
Reasons of vulnerability				
- blood transfusion	51.9	40	57,6	61
- direct contact with	3.9	3	22.6	24
HIV/AIDS patients				
- from dental clinic	42.9	33	17.0	18
- No response	1.3	1	28.	3
Reasons of non-vulnerability				
- never have sexual contact	92.4	157	83.2	109
- quite knowledgeable	5.3	9	5.3	7
about AIDS transmission				
* - others	2.3	4	11.5	15

^{*} will use condoms/never tried IVDs

Table 21 Multiple Regression Estimates for perceived risk of AIDS by working status, need of family planning information, place of birth, age, education and living arrangements

Variable				2	Model			4
	В	EXP(B)	В	2 EXP(B)	В	3 EXP(B)	В	4 EXP(B)
QTYPE	.6131**	1.8462	.5083**	1.6625	.4535	1.5738	.3384	1.4027
STAYWITH			.1829	1.2007	.1939	1.2140	.1757	1.1921
NEEDINEP								
NEEDINFP (1)					2199	.8026	1621	.8503
NEEDINFP (2)					2638	.7681	2667	.7659
PBIRTH							.0604	1.0623
AGE							.1648	1,1792
EDU (I)							.1109	1.1172
EDU (2)							.0625	1.0645
Constant	8095		8133		7137		-3.5563	
Chi-square	632.270		631.765		630.429		626.299	
degree of freedom								

^{**} Sig at 0.01

Perceived vulnerability of unplanned pregnancy and HIV infection:

Differing perceptions of vulnerability of risk of unplanned pregnancy and HIV/AIDS contraction were emphasised in the focus

group sessions. It is essential to explore how young people acquire access to contraceptives when sexually active. This is very important because young people engage in sexual practices with uncertainty, fears, and confusion. The points to be raised here are, 1) how young people perceive the importance of contraceptive access, 2) what messages young people are exposed to and how they respond and 3) perceived vulnerability of unwanted pregnancy and HIV/AIDS contraction.

Perceived importance of contraceptive access:

Findings from focus group discussions revealed that participants disapproved of contraceptives for young people particularly women on the grounds that young women should not be sexually active and there is no need for the contraceptives. When probed, different opinions were brought into the groups based on individual experience and settings. Some of them stuck to the conventional view that young people, particularly females, should not try contraceptives as this will encourage them to be more sexually active. Those who kept a balance between advantages and disadvantages of contraceptives in some aspects agreed that young men need to be advised about contraceptive use much more than their female counterparts as men are more prone to sexual practices due to their social interactions which often result in visiting prostitutes. Advantages of contraceptives were viewed useful to those who have a stable relationship especially among working women. They stated that many of their workmates are practising one of the birth control methods for the reason that they are not socially and economically ready for family life.

Participant: Our workmates use birth control methods

because they do not want a baby.

Participant: They need to earn more money and to be

sure that they have enough money to get

married.

Participant: Some of them are not quite sure about their

relationship; it is betterto use contraception to

avoid all the problems.

Messages learned by young people

One of the important procedures to deal with unplanned pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS contraction among the young population is to investigate the nature of the messages which young people are exposed to and how they respond to them. Young people have different sources of information and the quality of information varies across these sources. In one instance, some students told the group that their friends used the pill one hour after having sex to avoid pregnancy and her boyfriend advised her to do so. Findings from survey data showed that young women have a high level of knowledge of contraceptive methods. Qualitative data showed that young women become familiar with the attributes of contraceptives from their mothers who are currently on pills or used to practise some methods of birth control and also some of them learned from their relatives.

Discussion from focus group sessions revealed some interesting points when young people talked about contraceptives. Students stated that their male friends keep condoms in their schoolbags. When asked why they did so, students explained that they just have it in case they go for 'cooking', the word they use among groups which means to visit prostitutes or pornographic films. This study seems weak in terms of the ascertaining whether they really visit prostitutes or if it is only to show that they know about sex or to show that they are manly. To explore this issue, the moderator insisted the group discusse if their male friends just wanted to show off. It was found that the group members were very sure that their friends told them the truth by mentioning that they normally get in groups and enjoy talking about everything and this issue coincidently turns up.

Factory workers also learned about contraceptives from mothers, relatives and from senior workmates when they moved to work in factories. They said that their senior friends often talked about their family life and sometime amused the groups by talking about their sex life. Contraceptive messages from the media are commonly accessible to young people especially during the AIDS campaign. In the factory site space is provided for posters but not all the factories and workers do not pay much attention to those posters because they do not have much time to read it and they only pay attention to those which are colourful and with interesting captions on them. In comparison, students are more exposed to the materials either within schools or in public places. Individuals engaged in sexual activity can be regarded as following prewritten scripts which are learned, or acquired from a variety of sources. The sexual scripts alter as people grow older and enter different forms of relationships. Thus, young people at the early stages of their sexual careers will have less well-formed scripts than when they are older and more experienced. The pertinent point here is whether young people should acquire contraceptives when found

themselves sexually. Participants were encouraged to discuss how they develop relationships with friends of the opposite sex. At this point, the linkage between development of the relationship and contraceptive acquisition will be the key issue. Students and factory workers showed different attitudes dealing with their contraceptive acquisition regardless of having boyfriends or not. The main discussion rested on safe sex practices. It was found that students and workers were faced with two different dilemmas; imaginative and informative. Imaginative dilemmas involved the attitude toward gender-powered relations. They stated that men normally initiated sex and that it was usually an unplanned event. Men should be aware of contraceptives rather than leave it to women because women think about safe sex they are considering sexually active. Moreover, students stated that men usually have stronger sexual urges than women. Women find it difficult to resist if their boyfriends insist on having sex. But as women take a typically long-term view of the relationship, they are unable to come to terms with the demands made by their boyfriends for premarital sex.

Information barriers also play an important role in contraceptive acquisition. Students stated that if they have to use contraceptives to avoid pregnancy they would also think about other factors such as side effects, failure or infertility with long-term use. It seems that factory workers have definite ideas about negotiating for safe sex. They indicated that if they have sex with their boyfriends they would talk to them about taking precautions and men should be the ones who use contraceptives. If this is not agreed to, then they will refuse to have sex.

Perceived vulnerability of unplanned pregnancy and HIV contraction

Participants were asked to assess how they were vulnerable to an unwanted pregnancy and HIV/AIDS contraction. All of them did not imagine that they would be vulnerable to those events as long as they are not involved in sexual relationships. When prompted, participants had second thoughts about being vulnerable to unplanned pregnancy and/or HIV/AIDS infection.

Participant: We might contract HIV/AIDS from the dental

clinics.

Participant: Yes, even from mosquito bites and cats.

Participant: If the doctor forgot to change needles.

Participant: We do not know who has AIDS. We might

touch them in the street, on the bus.

Those excerpts imply to some extent adolescent perceptions about AIDS vulnerability which are not based on scientific knowledge. Even though students and workers have a high level of knowledge about the disease transmission, when discussed in details, it was found that the groups still have some doubts about the disease transmission. They associated blood transmission with HIV and AIDS contraction and asserted that it is a fatal disease and that there is no cure. As a result, the group eloborated that they would keep themselves away from whatever they perceived would cause infection. When asked about contracting AIDS from boyfriends, they explained that they would never

expect that every man is clean and that it is hard to say that premarital sexual relationships would never arise to women. Abstinence seems to be accepted as an alternative. At the same time they noted that nowadays, young women have to interact with all kinds of social change and those changes may lead to incidences of sexual encounters, even if unplanned. At present, they might consider themselves as non active groups and have less chances to get involved in sexual activity. The best way for them is to draw lessons from the consequences which they learn from their friends.

Sexually active adolescents and use of contraceptives

This part of the report deals with sexually active adolescents. It was found that 3% (15 cases) of the total population stated that they had premarital sexual intercourse. Only 2 cases (0.8%) of student samples revealed that they had experienced sexual practice compared to 5.2% of workers. As found in other previous studies, sexual activity is especially common among male Thai adolescents and much less so among female Thai adolescents. Only 1.1% of single females in the school based study reported having experienced intercourse, opposed to just 10% of the young females drawn from the broader catchment area (NUCEF 1992; Yoddumnern Attig, 1992). A proportion of sexually active respondents found in this study may be under reported though the data collection method employed in this study is quite confidential because no identification was requested. However, respondents may feel reluctant to talk about their private life.

Among sexually active girls, eight respondents had sexual intercourse with their current boyfriends. Apart from the number of sexually active adolescents, a further investigation has been attempted on age at first sexual experience and contraceptive use.

Table 22 shows socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of sexually active girls. One out of fifteen had her first sexual experience at age 15 and one-third of the total had experienced their first sexual experience at age of 18. Last sexual relationships were observed in 10 cases stating that they had their last sexual intercourse a month after the time of interview.

In terms of unplanned pregnancy and abortion, this study examines the use of contraceptives among the sexually active girls. The respondents were asked to state whether they used a contraceptive or not when their first sexual experience took place. Six of them reported that they used contraceptives at their first sexual experience. The Natural method was tried by one respondent and three of them used the pill. One respondent tried condoms and another injectable.

Among those who did not use any method of birth control when having first sexual experience, the following reasons were stated. Three of them stated that they did not know any method of birth control. Five were afraid of side-effects and one reported that she did not use a contraceptive as her first sexual experience was unplanned.

 Table 22
 Selected characteristics of sexually active adolescents

Age at first sex	Number
15	
	1
16	4
17	2
18	5
19	2
No response	1
Total	15
Last sexual relationship	
Last month	10
Last three months	3
Last year	2
Contraceptive use	
Users	6
Non users	9
Methods used	
Pills	3
Condoms	1
Injectable	1
Withdrawal	1
Reasons of not using contraceptives	
Do not know any method	3
Fear of side-effects	5
Sex was unplanned	1

In conclusion, findings showed that students held a higher level of contraceptive knowledge than factory workers. This is due to their different level of education and the different environments they are exposed to. Concerning contraceptive acquisition, a comparison between those who currently have boyfriends and those who have no boyfriends was assessed. Among students with boyfriends, one-third of them expressed positive attitudes to family planning provision for adolescents compared to 25.0% of their counterparts without boyfriends. This may imply that students with boyfriends feel that they might be in need of family planning information. The question is raised why workers without boyfriends expressed their concern about family planning planning programmes for young people much more than their counterparts with boyfriends. If this finding is taken as a research agenda, a further research study should concentrate in detail on the norms and values of workers toward sex and contraception.



Chapter Four Adolescence Lifestyles

Perception on adolescence lifestyles is examined is this study. The discussions in the earlier part of the report looked at attitudes and practises of young unmarried girls about sexuality and contraceptive use. In this chapter, a discussion of adolescent lifestyles was attempted. One of the ways to understand adolescents about their needs and their lifestyles is to encourage them to express themselves toward specific events in which they feel they want to imitate or act.

Table 23 shows a set of ten events or activities which adolescents may acquire to fulfill for their youthfulness. The respondents were asked to rank judgments toward those the events. Some of the statements are at the extreme of sexual interacting behaviours. Findings confirm that young unmarried girls strongly disagreed with the events or activities as discouraging behaviours. For example, respondents strongly opposed the statement saying "want to have sex" and "want to try smoking drinking, and sex when getting together with friends"

However, when asked about the influence of peers, workers had different opinions than their in-school counterparts. Workers considered that peers are important to them while students did not follow this norms.

When asked about the need for freedom from parental control, workers showed a stronger opposition to the statement saying "need to

have friends of the opposite sex without parental control". This implies that young unmarried workers to some extent want to be freer if they consider that they behave in line with cultural permissiveness.

The acquisition of sex education was also raised to girls and it was found that workers were uncertain about this need while students did not think that they really needed sex education. The higher proportion of the need for sex education among the respondents was expected due to findings on the higher proportion of girls who wished to keep company with friends of the opposite sex freely while a selfneed for sex education did not reach the same level as the need for mixed sex company.

Apart from attitudes towards adolescent lifestyles, respondents were asked to give opinions on specific behaviours on the condition that if their boyfriends asked the respondents to behave or to approve the ways of their boyfriends. Six conditions were raised for judgement. Table 23 shows that students and workers strongly disapproved if their boyfriends go to commercial sex workers. A strong disapproval also was found in the case of homosexual practices. One-third of the respondents did not mind if their boyfriends had many girlfriends. This approval might be based on the condition that the relationships will not develop to a sexual contact. Regarding premarital sexual practise, respondents were asked to give their opinion to the statement saying "asking you to have sex." It was found that 74% of students and 66.8% of workers were opposed to such an initiation. To this point, if the assumption is that boys always initiate sexual contact then there is a possibility for unmarried young girls to be sexually active if their

boyfriends initiate the sexual act. 19.6% of students and 26.0% of workers could not indicate clearly their reaction to this matter.

Table 23 T-Test value of attitudes towards adolescence life styles by working status

	Item			t-value
		Students X	Workers X	
1)	Need to have friends of the opposite sex without parental control.	3.7711	3.2360	6.12**
2)	Need sex education	1.9680	2.8480	-9.82**
3)	Need to get together with friends freely	1.9680	2.8480	-9.82**
4)	Want to try smoking, drinking and sex when getting together with friends	4.5121	4.3640	2.10
5)	Want to have both male and female frien	ds 1.9760	2.5960	-7.58**
6)	Peers are important to you	2.3920	2.8514	-5.50**
7)	Want to have a good male friend and doe not mind to have sex with him	s 3.9640	3.6960	2.89**
8)	Want to have a male friend who can understand you	3.5040	3.3920	1.34
9)	Want to have more than one male friend to make you more attractive	4.1640	4.1500	0.11
10)	Want to have sex	4.5200	4.3200	3.04**
*	P< 0.05			
**]	P< 0.01, P< 0.05			
Score:	Strongly agree =	1.79-1.0	0	
	Agree =	2.59-1.8	-	
	Not sure =	3.40-2.6	-	
	Disagree =	4.20-3.4	-	
	Strongly disagree =	5.00-4.2	1	

Table 24 Percentage distribution of respondents by approval of boyfriends' behaviour.

	Category	Agree	sure	Students Not Disagree	Agree	Workers Not sure	Disagree
1)	Having many	35.6	30.8	33.6	31.2	31.6	37.2
	girlfriends	(89)	(77)	(84)	(78)	(79)	(93)
2)	Frequenting prostitutes	1.6	7.2	91.2	3.6	12.0	84.4
		(4)	(18)	(228)	(9)	(30)	(211)
3)	Asking you to have sex	6.4	19.6	74.0	7.2	26.0	66.8
		(16)	(49)	(185)	(18)	(65)	(167)
4)	Practising homosexuality	0.8	4.0	95.2	11.2	15.7	73.1
		(2)	(10)	(238)	(28)	(39)	(182)
5)	Wanting you to go for	3.2	9.6	87.1	2.4	13.2	84.4
	pornorgraphic movies	(98)	(24)	(217)	(6)	(33)	(211)
6)	Favouring drinking and	3.6	11.2	85.2	7.2	19.2	73.6
	gambling	(9)	(28)	(213)	(18)	(48)	(184)

In conclusion, students and workers showed different attitudes to adolescence lifestyles though most of them were quite negative to some extremes of sexual interacting behaviours such as "having sex" and "wanting to try smoking, drinking or sex when getting together with friends". Approval/disapproval of specific behaviours of friends of the opposite sex indicated that if boys initiated sexual contact, two-thirds of the respondents would not approve such relationships.

Chapter Five Discussions and Recommendations

The most important points resulting from this study are summarised below. Most of the respondents whether, students or workers, believed that young unmarried girls should not initiate premarital sexual intercourse for the reasons that such behaviour would result in a disgrace of parents and also would be against their cultural code. When asked about the first thing they might think of in case they were asked for sex by their boyfriends, the majority of girls stated that they would think about pregnancy prevention. It was found that unmarried girls perceived that conditional stimuli and environmental determined adolescent sexual interactions. Those factors determinants included drinking alcohol, viewing pornographic books and making friend of the opposite sex.

Further investigation was attempted on conversational topics when they get together. It was found that the most popular topic was discussing the ideal type of friend of the opposite sex while talking about sexual matters were less reported. Toward double standard perceptions about the expectations from males and females, it was revealed that girls reserved themselves for specific activities that may lead to sexual interactions. Promiscuity was strongly considered forbidden for girls but granted some level of approval for men.

In terms of contraceptive acquisition adolescents were very much concerned about the appropriate place where they can go for service rather than the methods per se. Such findings imply that young unmarried girls will think about confidentiality and privacy first when in need of family planning services. However, it appeared that students were more aware of the method concerned than the place for services. This pattern was reversed among the workers.

One of the assumptions made in adolescent sexuality is the level of approval/disapproval of abortion. From the present study it was found that the workers were more likely to accept abortion when compared with their counterparts. This attitude may relate to the characteristics of adolescents of different social environments. The inschool adolescents may acquire fairly limited independence to be involved with the opposite sex while young factory workers were exposed more to the social settings which may lead to sexual interactions. Adolescents may consider having an abortion as the resolution of their unplanned pregnancy.

Even though a small number of sexually active young girls was found in this study (15 cases) and would not be appropriate to test for statistical significance. One of the most important points to discuss here is the practise of safe sex of sexually active adolescents. As found in this present study, only six out of fifteen of them used contraceptives while having sex. Among the non-users, five of them reported that they did not use any method of birth control due to lack of adequate knowledge about contraception while five of them feared side-effects. If we take this as a serious matter, we may claim that both emotional and informational barriers had affected adolescent decision making behaviours.

The qualitative approach explores adolescent women's perceptions towards the determinants of premarital sexual activity. Also, perceived rules and actual practices are examined, and perceived vulnerability of unplanned pregnancy and HIV infection is explored in this study. Views emerging from the group discussions indicated that premarital sex is practised by both young men and young women under different conditions. Among men, curiosity and sexual gratification are valued as significant motivations. These motivations induce men to try sex at an early age. Both male and female adolescents found themselves sexually with the influence of sexual scripts which they learned from peers and the media. Gender-powered relations do affect the demand for close relationships between men and women but with different perspectives. In seeking for the meanings and preferences of sexual relationships, men look upon these in terms of pleasure while women view these in terms of long-term commitment.

Young women became aware of the consequences of premarital sexual activity particularly through the experiences narrated by their female peers. Also, sexual scripts learned from male friends play a major role in shaping young women's sexual attitudes. As found in the group discussions, in-school adolescents talk about sexual matters and exchange views within groups of males and females. Such a discourse may have a strong influence on young women's long-term sexual attitudes.

According to Hollway et al.(1992) premarital sexual activity occurs around different sexual discourses, one in which it is assumed that males have a powerful need for sexual gratification and that it is the

female's role to satisfy this need; the have-hold discourse is another in which the female's role is to acquire and hold onto a male for the purpose of protection and child rearing and; one that recognises sex as pleasurable without any implied long-term commitment attached. The present study reveals that the groups accorded a strong emphasis on male sexual gratification as a determinant of premarital sexual practice and women satisfy this need due to their desire to sustain relationships. Understanding this notion is very important when we talk of empowering young women to negotiate for safe sex. It also is revealed that there is some level of acceptance of permissive discourse. This is indicated by the observations about a significant increase in premarital sexual practice and cohabitation which have become a new norm adopted among young people, especially in urban settings.

Traditionally, cohabitation seems not to exist among adolescents in Thai society (Yoddumnern,1981; Chamratrithirong, 1984) due to social norms which regard the marriage institution as a rite of passage to adulthood, privileges and social recognition (Rabibhadana,1984). Parents expect their daughters to perform this important life event as a standard of good upbringing. Moreover, marriage brings economic benefits to the girl's family in the form of a bride price (Limanond,1979). For Thai adolescents, especially girls, the age of marriage is clearly related to the age of completing education. With economic development, changes in cultural norms are obvious and one evidence of this is that young people are drawn into the economic market much more than in the past. The age of marriage has increased due to an increase in labour participation. This change does not affect only traditional norms but youths' attitudes and behaviours; they have a

longer period of youthfulness and enjoyment including sexual pleasure presently restricted in their social life.

The groups exhibit cultural contexts of sexual behaviour, gender-role expectations and power imbalances that give meanings to actions. Young women are quite positive about their relationships with friend of the opposite sex, but they expect that 'good' men should not ask for sex without long-term commitment. However, many women are likely to accept such relationships under the have-hold discourse and are in a position of weaker power balance. The cultural context of sexual behaviour and gender-role expectations are seen again when contraceptive negotiation is concerned. Contraceptive use is considered the men's business and men are expected to take the responsibility for precaution because sex is usually unplanned and mostly initiated by men.

Recommendations

Based on the findings discussed above the following recommendations are suggested below.

1) Among the sexually active adolescents less than half of them were effective users at time of having sex and if we consider safe sex practices as a preventive strategy to combat unplanned pregnancy, a spread of sexually transmitted diseases and AIDS, we should pay more attention to young people so that if they get involved in sexual interactions precaution should be taken into consideration.

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- 2) Misperceptions on contraception still exist among the young. Of nine non-users, we found that five of them were afraid of side-effects of birth control methods. This kind of misperception frequently happenes to young unmarried girls in African countries as well as in Latin America. Policy strategies should attempt more emphasis on sex education.
- 3) Attention to sex education should begin as early as possible. As found in this present study, premarital sexual practises were found in the youngest group of respondents (15 years old) as well as in the older age groups. This may be a strong support to launch such programmes.
- 4) Individual adolescents may be either unwillingly or unable to reveal their innermost feelings despite their conventional attitudes and practises expressed to the issues introduced to them. Negative attitudes toward premarital sexual behaviours, psychologically does not mean that they will not get involved in sexual interactions. An In-depth study may be helpful in revealing more insights about this matter.
- 5) The influence of sexual scripts: Young women are exposed to sexual scripts which they learn from peers especially among students, they have close interaction not only among their own group but with male friends at the same time. They share the groups opinions, ideas and experience about sexual discourses. Women gradually internalize whatever they learn from their male peers for example they do accept that men normally visit prostitutes or value women as physical attraction or get involved with sexual life as group's norms. The everyday life

discourses are strongly influenced by the power relations between men and women and in particular by men's sexual identity because gender roles are formed in families but constructed by societies. Changing accepted patterns of male behaviour and expected patterns of female behaviour requires collective action to improve the ability of young women to protect themselves from adverse consequences of premarital sexual activity.

6) Changes in power relations: Actions to reduce the adverse consequences of premarital sexual activity and its consequences requires dismantling the power of one social group over another. This calls for an attitudinal change among both men and women. The group discussions revealed that young women accept that men need sex for gratification and internalize the have-hold discourse. As long as women feel subordinate to men they will find it hard to develop their independent sexual identity.

7) Improving access to contraceptive acquisition:

As long as young women remain reluctant to insist upon safe sex practices, they will continue to run the risk of unintended pregnancy or infection. Also, misperceptions about contraceptive use in terms of fears and uncertainty should be taken into account. Young women receive confusing information and are apprehensive about contraceptive effectiveness when adopting for the first time or for long term use. It is necessary to provide women with accurate and timely information about the use of contraceptives if they are to be empowered to protect themselves from health risks.

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