LIFE CHOICES CONDUCIVE TO NEVER-MARRIED WOMEN'S ILLNESS UNDER THE "HUSK" OF MODERNITY

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I spend full 6 years with this research. It has been 6 years of a woman who has been through various statuses. I started with being “single” who never think far beyond from surrounding responsibilities. I became “wife” who has to adjust to live with “life partner” with new environment and far from home. Besides, it came together with the role of being “mom” of a baby who needs caring and full attention. Those changing of statuses and roles turn to be both obstacles and energies inseparably in producing this research. In these experiences, I spend longer time than expected but, in the way, it becomes vast inspiration to pull me through this journey.

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to explore the health experience and social life of never-married women related to high modernity context and self-reflexivity process by applying Structuration Theory of Anthony Giddens. In-depth interviews were conducted with 45 respondents of never-married women aged 30-50 who have health problems and living or working in Bangkok Metropolitan Area.

It is found out that never-married women in modern society have been ill and troubled in social life because they are pressured by husky modernity to choose their life choices. These choices seem to be free but, in fact, push them to have bipolar self-identity. On one side, they feel strong and do not care about society, mindful to work, enterprising, and do not need marriage. At the same time, they also feel weak, sensitive and care about surrounding people, suffering from work, hesitant, and need to be married. Whichever choice of identity they face, the consequences may lead them to the state of illness, distress, anxiety, paranoid and risk in every context of life such as work, general living and intimacy. This is the result of procuring by husky modernity which changes so rapidly but no core and full of double standards of traditional and new norms that mixed together, and fighting against each other.

The study results have suggested that fostering trust in social principles to facilitate never-married women's good health, together with supporting health-related knowledge and information exchange, will enable them to sensibly decide on a path to good health.

KEYWORDS: NEVER-MARRIED WOMEN/ HEALTH/ SOCIAL LIFE/ MODERNITY/ SELF-REFLEXIVITY

371 pages

ทางเลือกชีวิตที่นำไปสู่ความเจ็บป่วยของผู้หญิงโสดภายใต้ “เปลือก” ของภาวะสมัยใหม่

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บทคัดย่อ

การศึกษาครั้งนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่ออธิบายประสบการณ์สุขภาพและการใช้ชีวิตทางสังคมของผู้หญิงโสดที่เชื่อมโยงกับบริบทของภาวะสมัยใหม่และกระบวนการตอบสนองต่อภาวะดังกล่าว โดยอธิบายปรากฏการณ์ภายใต้กรอบวิธีคิดของ Anthony Giddens เก็บข้อมูลด้วยวิธีการสัมภาษณ์แบบเจาะลึกจากผู้หญิงโสดที่ยังไม่เคยแต่งงาน อายุระหว่าง 30-50 ปี ซึ่งมีปัญหาสุขภาพ และทำงานหรือมีที่พักอาศัยอยู่ในเขตกรุงเทพฯ จำนวน 45 คน

ผลการศึกษาสรุปได้ว่า ผู้หญิงโสดในสังคมสมัยใหม่ต้องเจ็บป่วยและเป็นทุกข์กับการใช้ชีวิตเนื่องจากถูกสังคมที่มีแต่ “เปลือก” ของความทันสมัยกดดันหรือทำให้ต้องตัดสินใจเลือกเส้นทางชีวิตของตัวเองที่ดูเหมือนจะอิสระ แต่จริงๆ แล้วกลับถูกผลักดันให้ต้องตกอยู่ในสภาพอัตลักษณ์สองขั้ว คือ ขั้วของความแข็งแกร่ง ไม่แคร์สังคม มุ่งมั่นแต่งาน กล้าได้กล้าเสีย ไม่สนใจการแต่งงาน แต่ในขณะเดียวกันก็รู้สึกว่าตนเองอ่อนแอ แคร์คนรอบข้าง ทุกข์จากงาน ลังเล และลึกๆ แล้วยังรู้สึกอยากจะแต่งงาน ซึ่งไม่ว่าจะโน้มเอียงไปในขั้วไหนก็ตาม ในที่สุดผลที่ตามมาจากการถูกล่อลวงโดยภาวะสมัยใหม่แต่เพียงเปลือกนอกก็คือ ความเจ็บป่วย ความทุกข์ ความวิตกกังวล ความหวาดระแวง และสภาพการใช้ชีวิตที่เต็มไปด้วยความเสี่ยงในทุกบริบท ทั้งด้านการทำงาน การใช้ชีวิตทั่วไป และสัมพันธภาพอันลึกซึ้ง เนื่องจากสังคมดังกล่าวเป็นสังคมที่มีแต่เปลือกนอกของความทันสมัยที่เปลี่ยนแปลงอย่างรวดเร็ว ฉาบฉวย แต่ภายในไม่มีแก่นและเต็มไปด้วยสองมาตรฐานระหว่างความใหม่กับความเก่าที่ทั้งถูกหลอมรวมและขัดแย้งกันจนผู้หญิงโสดต้องตกอยู่ในสภาวะไร้หลักยึด

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Signification of the research problems

Nowadays study of single life is very interesting and important. In recently, the statistic shows that Thai people decide to be single more than in the former and many researches show that single people will be less healthy than married people. Moreover, female will be more affected from being single than male by social structure. In Thai society, marriage is an expected norm and married couples will get stronger for both financial and social status. To believe that marriage is one of important transitions of women makes women's lives go to two different paths which was an illusion. When we are thinking about the marriage; "Happiness" "Love" "Safety" "Warmth" are very first expectations. In the other way when we think about single life the words we have are "Loneliness" "Insecure" or "unliveliness". Moreover, some people believed a perfect family should start with getting married and having child.

However, modernity affects the change of society and culture, and dilutes this illusion, as well as creates new identity of being single of women. Being single becomes an alternative of living than a must or no choice. The new perception is reflecting an ability of female to live by themselves and the freedom from the former social rule that women have to be under control by men and starts the discussion of norms of the relation between males and female. This can come with against in relation with male from traditional culture. In addition, changing of society comes with unstable in family norm because failure of many married families. And also there are many problems in the marriage lives such as financial problem, how to look after the children, a relation between husband and wife, these problems make people change their belief that the perfect life always have to start with marriage. The marriage life can be a new risk for woman as well as the risk from being single.

In modern society that can be called “high modernity” it has involved in changing of single women life in term of making opportunity, freedom, decision making and options. At the same time women lives become more complicated with many risks. But the risks are accepted by women to exchange to make their self-identity. These things have an effect for single women on their health. Therefore, the attempt to explain in health and social life of single women in risk social is necessary in the meaning of academic matter, social management, as well as policy decision. There is limit knowledge to explain the social life of these people, the detail of this point by the following paragraph.

1.1.1 Change in Singulate Mean Age of Marriage (SMAM) and celibacy

From Population Census of National Statistical Office founded in the past 40 years Thais are prefer to be single more and more and found they are also expand the mean age of married to be older. While proportion of celibacy is increasing (Suthida Chuanchern, 2004) percentage of single people who live in urban are higher than in up-country, in both studies of male and female and in all age (National Statistical Office). Moreover, from Thai’s statistic research shows both of female and male (female or male whose age under 50 years old and still not getting married) who live in urban and up-country are being single tend to increasing. But when we compare in celibacy between male and female found percentage of Thai women are more celibacy than male in the former 40 years. And only women in urban are the group that percentage of being celibacy has increased rapidly when we compare with other groups (Pattama Wapattanawong, 2009). Moreover, the result of surveying percentage of being single of women who lived in Bangkok in 1960 compare with in 2000 found single women age 20-24 be single 55% in 1960 and increased to 75% in 2000. For age 25-29 in 1960 are be single 25% and increased to 51% in 2000. Ages 30-34 are be single 12% in 1960 and increase to 33% in 2000. Last, age 50 and older has only 3% in 1960 and increased to 10% in 2000. While the mean age of first marriage of women in Bangkok has increased from 23.4 years old in 1947 to 27 years old in 1960 (Colleague of Population, 2008).

However, although the statistic showed numbers of unmarried people in Thai society are increasing but the study of life style and behavior of these unmarried people are a few, especially in health. The former research mostly study in number changing, population distribution, image or identity, living style, reasons to be single, single's living style, self-appreciation, attitude of unmarried, satisfaction, social connection and social support etc. From these topics, there are still a few researches that focus in single people's health. In some researches, it talked the health of the single as part of other population. And the resolves in health problems often focus on affliction and risk group. Then, it cannot see a whole picture of the illness of particular group. And this makes lack of association between socio-cultural characteristics of people in each group that reflects health problems. Particularly, the single is a group of diversity in terms of gender, age, education, housing, social economic status, religion, ethnic group, family characteristic or other social and cultural aspects. Then, it is necessary to understand the source of health problems and social life of people in this group. So we can learn the differences within groups of singles. Because of each sub-group may be necessary to have guidelines of sanitation differently.

Moreover, the former problem description of singles, such as health problems or lifestyle issues in various fields, is often related with the illusion of this group. It may not be the entire facts, such as singles had more freedom since they needed not take care of families, some single people paid more attention to themselves, or some singles were self-centered. In addition, some considered that singles might have physical impairments, the exterior, or emotional problems, behavior problems and some people have sexually deviant behavior. These problems can cause to be singles and a result to have problems with their lifestyle and health problems. At last, these illusions will obscure the real cause of problems and cannot be solved or modified anything that related in clearly and correctly.

1.1.2 Health problems of single women

There are many researches which summarized in the same way that marriage is related to health. The singles are likely to have health problems more than married people in terms of physical health and mental health by considering the rate of morbidity and mortality, the proportion of health services and their bed occupancy in a

health facility with higher rates than people who are married. Although it is no clear evidence that any illnesses are likely to be in singles than married people but it is quite clear that marriage have some related to health. From that phenomenon many people are trying to find an explanation of the cause of why singles got an illness often than married. This is because the factor of marriage protection including social support from both emotionally and materials from their spouses, economic security of the income of their spouses. This includes the attempt to reduce risk behaviors such as alcohol drinking, smoking, improper dietary habits and sexual abuse. And also increasing behavior to protect and preserve healthier because of the influence of their spouses (Krause et al., 1995; William and Umberson, 2000; Waldrron et al., 1996; Prior and Hayes, 2001).

While consider in the other aspect. The reason why singles have health problems than married may be from the factor of marriage selection. Because people who are healthy are more likely to be married than those who have health problems and they also have more opportunity to maintain longer relationship in marriage life. While people with health problems are likely to get lesser change married than other group and they also have opportunity to divorce by having problems with spouses than married (Waldrron et al., 1996). Then, single group should have some attention in the field of health promotion. And it should be modified to promote heaths that can solve the health problems caused from determinant.

However, the description in this manner would not sufficient for understanding to the real causes of health problems and lifestyle of singles. Due to the differences in definition of group of singles which includes those who have never married, people who are widowhood, and the divorce or separation group as well. The study also included male and female while each of these groups have different characters. In general, descriptions to the cause of health problems are also mostly description with a view of the medical science, epidemiology and psychology. Then, specifically group of people who have studied and apply sociological theories to explain such phenomena are more likely to see a greater variety of perspectives in understanding singles.

1.1.3 Impact of singlehood between women and men

The difference between genders is one of the factors that making women and men are affected in different single form. Because they have different experiences and different benefits from marriage; Women are more likely to get benefit in financial from marriage more than men. Thus, when a marriage fails or no marriage, women often faced the economic strain than men. And for those who have never been married, women are more likely to have higher social strain than men. This is due to the illusion of marriage in terms of ideal that are practical and treat as the important for a woman's life span. Elderly women who are not married will have negative pressure from social higher than men. They are the victims from social discrimination, and social interaction with other group. Then, remain single will be a stress experience for the single elder women more than men in the same age (Pudrovska et al., 2006). Because of remaining as a single for lifetime, has reflected in a failure in regarding to the goal of women's lives to be wives and mothers.

Women are also affected by the social structure which dominated by men. For example, single woman is a group that is expected in terms of production more than in terms of reproduction. Then, works is a critical issue in single lives rather than families or responsible for producing new members to the society. Nowadays, there are many women in labor market especially singles because of the financial self-reliance. When we consider in terms of production cost, single women are lower cost but more productive than married women, because they can work over time or work in risky jobs while low cost of family's welfare. Because of that reason, single women are more selected to the labor market than married women especially in the manufacturing industry and hospitality. Moreover, wages of women workers are lower than men because women are considered as lesser ability and potential of work than men, thus, single women are the low cost factors of production in the capitalism. It is high possible that a cause of health problems in single women comes from works. Moreover, workplace can become an area that single women can express their full potential and make their valuable self-esteem. On the other hand, workplace can turn to a risk area of exploitation and sexual harassment in both physically and mentally from those who want to exploit. In many societies, marriage and sexuality is still bounded especially in the eastern that sexuality is still taboo for unmarried women.

Moreover, experiences and the appearances of sexuality becomes a factor that has profound effect on the rest of the life and effect on idea of social belief to this women's group.

1.1.4 Health and Social life problem of single women in risk society

Cause of health problems that occur with single women can be associated with the unique lifestyle of singles in terms of family life, work, as well as living in risk society for example health problems from hard working. Because of in these days the life goal of women has changed from creating their families with their couples to be successful in work. They trend to work overload than married colleagues because of agility and ideal of less duty while single women have more accountability. Moreover, in term of family unit, single women have to take more responsibilities, while married member cannot because they have lots of responsibilities from their new families such as child care or elderly people care. At the same time, single women have to work by themselves thus their variety of role conflict can become cause of their health problems in many terms (Cummins, 2005).

While single women are more likely to have health problems due to various obligations, on the other hand they are also a group that tends to be hard to access health resources for example, accessing to health care system between men and women who are married. It was found that men are more likely to get welfare from work under their own names than women because some societies are still under work system, called male-dominate industry. Then women have less opportunity to access health services because of financial matter. Many careers in small business or self-employed are often get these benefits lesser than full benefits, while unmarried women who have high salary may lose some benefits from chances of employment or jobs changing. Moreover, women's income is generally lower than men in the same kind of work and the proportions of income will most have been cut to be the costs of health services. Furthermore, the women's jobs are often being risk and need for health services because they are take time jobs, delicate and work environment leads to stress which may lead to be illness easily such as clerks, sales, finance, services and manufacturing industries. Then, the rate of illness for women is more than men. This results in inequality in employment and health insurance which women did not access

to financial resources that can lead to health services. In addition, there is less opportunity to use private health insurance and also no assurance that support by the spouse (Dewar, 2000).

Moreover, there are many factors affect single women who live in the risk environment, especially in security. Single woman have to live with a sense of instability, insecurity and fear of being raped by men. They will be refined and absorbed through those fear matters. Because these women have to spend time outside and have to take care of their safety. Meanwhile, these women are often being victims of economy and in sexual exploitation. Moreover, Difficulties in the status of single women do not fall under the economy and social structures only, but also about living and working environments (Chasteen, 2004).

All these issues can be seen that the study about health and social life of the unmarried women is remarkable and necessary. However, the aim is not to be compared the health condition or lifestyle of single women with married women because each group has a specific life style which can lead to health problems in different formats. But try to explain the phenomenon, especially of single women, to response the exact situations of that phenomenon. This may be an issue that was oversight or seen together with other phenomena. This aims to answer question why single women have effected in health problems and social life under the social context of high modernity. However, to have the clearly boundary study, the target of this study is only single women who are never-married. Due to many studies use the word "singlehood" to mention people who live without partners. It includes both those are not married and those used to be married but divorced or their spouses have passed away. And each group has different experiences in different characteristics. Moreover, those include terms of health which focus on health issues that connect with the social living such as work, social activity, services, technology, communications and social relationships with people, such as couples, family, friends and community etc.

1.2 Research questions

Main research question of this study is “Why never-married women have health problems and troubled in social life?” and there are specific questions to explain social life of never-married women in high modernity context that investigate 2 questions:

1.2.1 Did high modernity and self-reflexivity of individual related to their problems?

1.2.2 How high modernity and self-reflexivity related to their health and social life?

1.3 Objective

To explore the health experience and social life of never-married-women related to high modernity context and self-reflexivity process.

1.4 Scope of study

This study focus to explain the health experience and social life of never-married women under modernity context and aim to answer the question that why never-married women have health problems and troubled in social life? by applying the theoretical perspective of Anthony Giddens which both agency and structure cannot be explained by separating from each other but tightly together through activity or practice of people in the dialectic process. So, this study tries to explain cause of health problems and social life of never-married women in term of high modernity structure and self-reflexivity process which reflect agency of this group.

The research methodology was a qualitative study. In-depth interviews were conducted with 45 respondents of never-married women aged 30-50 who have health problems and living or working in Bangkok Metropolitan Area.

1.5 Definitions

Definitions used in this study is a guideline for scoping the phenomenon but not the blueprint to fix or limit frame of the phenomenon, so all definitions can change along the study, such as definition of never-married women because of variety and complex of their social relation which could not fix this definition until the result was be stuffed. At the same as the aspect or elements of high modernity and self-reflexivity that emerge from concept of Giddens which is so abstract while the fact phenomenon may be different or context-bond. Some of important definition are described below:

1.5.1 never-married women means women who define their self-identity as never been married person even though they used to cohabitate with someone as husband or not

1.5.2 health problem means illness experience and **health experience related to conditions that obstruct never-married women to be good health**

- **illness experience** refer to the physical and mental disorders and discomfort, such as headaches, chronic insomnia, pain in torso, appendages and other body parts or a chronic illness such as bowel disease, heart disease, cancer, etc.

- **health experience** related to conditions that push never-married women to trouble with illness, such as unconformity health service system and health insurance system.

1.5.3 social life means life experience of never-married women in daily life, such as housing, economic, social, work, travel, and technology, as well as the pattern of using public service such as recreation area, and social security, and including social relationship and intimacy with others

1.5.4 high modernity means the modes of social life or organization which have 3 dominant sources of the dynamism of modernity:

- ***the separation of time and space*** means the condition of time-space distanciation of indefinity scope

- ***the disembedding of social system*** means reorganizing social relation across large time-space distances under the trust in symbolic tokens and expert systems

- ***the institutional reflexivity*** means reflexive of knowledge to evaluate and improve the social systems and widespread lay knowledge of modern risk environment leads to awareness of the limits of enterprise

1.5.5 self-reflexivity means the capacity of agents to reflexively monitor their own conduct and that of others and then actively produce, reproduce and transform the social structure

1.6 Significance of the research and expected benefit

The result of this study is interesting and necessary in terms of academic work, social management, as well as policy decision-making because the explanations of never-married women's health experience and social life in modernity context is specific and might be different from another group of people in modern society.

CHAPTER II
LITERATURE AND THEORITICAL REVIEW

This chapter is divided into two parts, the first part is literature review related to never-married women published in research reports, research articles, academic articles and books which summarized by group of single women, problems of health or living, and causes of problems. The second part is review of sociological theories which are 1) Symbolic interactonism: Erving Goffman; 2) Post-structuralism: Michael Foucault; and 3) Psychoanalytic feminism. The details of literature and theoretical review are described as below.

2.1 Literature review related to never-married women

Health experience and social life of never-married women are diverse, complex, dynamic and context-bound. To explain this phenomenon, it necessary to review about empirical research related to their nature, problems of health and living, and also causes of their problems which shown in Table 2.1

Table 2.1 Research and article related to health and social life problem of single women, since 1976 – present

No.	Title	Group of never-marriage women	What're the problems?	What're the causes of those problems?
1	**Gender, marital status, and aging: linkage between material, health and social resources** *Arber, S. (2004)*	- women aged 16+ in the mid-1990s - women aged 65+ in 1994 and 1998 - women aged 60+ in 1999	- disadvantage in their access to a car in the household - membership of social and sport clubs is low - compensate for lack of family relationships through involvement in social organizations, providing alternative sources of sociability and social connectedness	- structural inequalities - material resource - social organizational resources
2	**Accidents, assaults, and marital status** *Cheung, Y. (1998)*	- women born in 1958	- had overall accident and assault rates higher than married and remarried women, both at work and at home	- marital protection against accidents and assaults

Table 2.1 Research and article related to health and social life problem of single women, since 1976 – present (cont.)

No.	Title	Group of never-marriage women	What're the problems?	What're the causes of those problems?
3	**"The world around me": the environment and single women** *Chasteen, A.L. (1994)*	- women between the aged of 25 and 55	- economic problem: biggest expense in housing - limited their free time activities for monetary reasons - fear in housing selection, transportation use, and leisure activities - found themselves economically, socially, and symbolically pushed out of mainstream culture	- couple culture: most social activities are built around couple
4	**Singlehood: a creative or a lonely experience?** *De Jong-Gierveld, J. & Aalberts, M. (1980)*	- women aged 25-75	- social isolation and feelings of loneliness	- social skills of individual - characteristics of society as the still prevailing norms concerning matrimony and the nuclear family, the emphasis on individual fulfillment, and the downgrading of the importance of commitment to others

Table 2.1 Research and article related to health and social life problem of single women, since 1976 – present (cont.)

No.	Title	Group of never-marriage women	What're the problems?	What're the causes of those problems?
5	**Mommy tracking single women in academia when they are not mommies** *Cummins, H.A. (2005)*	- the single childless academic women	- no support via social policy or administrative support - have less time and less success in the halls of academic - feelings of "powerlessness, insecurity, lack of confidence, social isolation, and flagging motivation	- the system supports a structure of slotting men and women into congruent gender schemas - gender schemas lock individuals into gender-appropriate ways of being - women are often blocked by a marble ceiling/floor, glass ceiling floor or a plexiglass ceiling floor
6	**The unrecognized stereotyping and discrimination against singles** *Depaulo, B.M. & Morris, W.L. (2006)*	- adults women who are single	- singlism: - negative stereotype; to be immature, maladjusted, and self-centered - discrimination; unequal compensation for the same work, housing discrimination	- unfounded stereotypes or accurate perception - a cultural lag in perception - singles as a threat to cultural beliefs

Table 2.1 Research and article related to health and social life problem of single women, since 1976 – present (cont.)

No.	Title	Group of never-marriage women	What're the problems?	What're the causes of those problems?
7	**Gender Impacts on Health Insurance Coverage: Findings for Unmarried Full-Time Employees** *Dewar, D.M. (2000)*	- fully employed unmarried women, aged 18 to 62	- women's financial access to health care is decrease	- gender-related employment segregation
8	**How is mortality affected by money, marriage, and stress?** *Gardner, J. & Oswald, A. (2004)*	- women aged over 40	- unmarried people die younger - being never married increase the risk of death	- marriage has a strong positive effect on longevity because it reduces the risk of mortality - reduce stress and stress-related illness
9	**Marital status and health among the elderly** *Goldman, N., Korenman, S. & Weinstein, R. (1995)*	- women aged 70+	- being unmarried has negative consequences of health	- environmental , social and psychological factors - the protective characteristics of marriage
10	**Hip fractures among older people: do marital status and type of residence matter?** *Hokby, A., Reimers, A. & Laflamme, L. (2003)*	- women aged 65+	- being unmarried increase the risk of hip fracture	- regarding to personal financial resources, lifestyle, living habits, and social network - the form of social support provided by living in partnership

Table 2.1 Research and article related to health and social life problem of single women, since 1976 – present (cont.)

No.	Title	Group of never-marriage women	What're the problems?	What're the causes of those problems?
11	**Life-adjustment of the never-married: a review with implications for counseling** *Johnston, M.W. & Eklund, S.J. (1984)*	- the never-married adults, aged 18 and order	- feelings of guilt and embarrassment, to a fear of loneliness, and to a psychological stress involved in maintaining a life-style that has no support from the culture in general	- the lack of social definition of and support for single life-style
12	**Women, Stress, and Health** *Williams, K., & Umberson, D. (2000)*	- general unmarried women	- women exhibit greater physical morbidity and higher rates of psychological distress	- marriage provides individuals with economic resources and social support, both of which can reduce exposure and vulnerability to stressors - lack of spousal support among women may partially contribute to an explanation of married women's higher rates of physical and psychological morbidity relative to men

Table 2.1 Research and article related to health and social life problem of single women, since 1976 – present (cont.)

No.	Title	Group of never-marriage women	What're the problems?	What're the causes of those problems?
13	**Inequalities in mortality by marital status during socio-economic transition in Lithuania** *Kalediene, R. Petrauskiene, J. & Starkuviene, S. (2007)*	- women aged over 25	- highest risk of mortality - Cardiovascular disease contributed most to excess mortality	- marriage can be considered as a health protecting factor from cardiovascular diseases and external causes - psychological well-being - higher level of physical health - economic advantage - social support - social control of unhealthy behavior
14	**Marital status and mortality in the elderly: a systematic review and meta-analysis** *Manzoli, L., Villari, P., Pirone, G.M. & Boccia, A. (2007)*	- more than of 50% of women aged ≥ 65 (meta- analysis)	- mortality associated with unmarried	- marriage or support from spouse was a significant protective factor for total mortality

Table 2.1 Research and article related to health and social life problem of single women, since 1976 – present (cont.)

No.	Title	Group of never-marriage women	What're the problems?	What're the causes of those problems?
15	**Single women/family ties: life histories of older women** *Allen, Katherine R. (1989)*	- working-class single women born in 1910	- isolation from peers and their overriding family responsibility to work or care for parents - worry about having very small support network - has some regrets because they did not have their own children and felt more alone in old age since many of their lifelong companions had died - devaluation of never-married status	- never-married women fulfilled an auxiliary role of family maintenance - the exclusion of never-married, childless women from the family life course emphasizes their deviance in relation to married mothers - the traditional female life course is normative, socialized, and supported by the ideology of compulsory marriage and motherhood
16	**Never married older women: the life experience** *O'Brien. M. (1991)*	- never-married women aged 80 years and over living in community setting	- the loss of work or the transition from career to retirement was a difficult one - there were some regrets expressed at not having children	- they have been life-long loners and live more isolated lives

Table 2.1 Research and article related to health and social life problem of single women, since 1976 – present (cont.)

No.	Title	Group of never-marriage women	What're the problems?	What're the causes of those problems?
17	**Background factors influencing somatic and psychological symptoms in middle-age women with different hormonal status: a population-based study of Swedish women** *Li, C., Borgfeldt, C., Samsioe, G., Lidfeldt, J. & Nerbrand, C. (2005)*	- unmarried middle aged women aged 50-64	- high risk for somatic and psychological symptoms was independently associated with un married - psychological symptoms: fatigue, sleeping disturbance, irritability, nervousness, restlessness, over-stressed, easy to cry, feeling blue or depressed, difficult to relax and impaired concentration - somatic symptoms: headache, dizziness, impaired hearing, eye problems, breathlessness, coughing, chest pain, abdominal pain, nausea, diarrhea, constipation, loss of appetite, joint problem, back ache, leg pain, felling of chilly, sweats, loss of weight and difficulty in passing urine	- marriage plays an important role in women's physical and mental health

Table 2.1 Research and article related to health and social life problem of single women, since 1976 – present (cont.)

No.	Title	Group of never-marriage women	What're the problems?	What're the causes of those problems?
18	**Cohabitation and marital status as predictors of mortality – an eight year follow-up study** *Lund, R., Due, P., Modvig, J., Holstein, B.E., Damsgaard, T.D. & Andersen, P.K. (2002)*	- women aged 50, 60 and 70 (follow up study)	- individual living alone experienced a significantly increased mortality compared to individual living with somebody	- women living with a partner were healthier due to nuturant responsibilities and adult support - women benefit from the protective effect of a cohabiting person - living alone delays the contact to health services - a spouse or a cohabitating person provides social support and a direct health behaviors like eating habits and smoking

Table 2.1 Research and article related to health and social life problem of single women, since 1976 – present (cont.)

No.	Title	Group of never-marriage women	What're the problems?	What're the causes of those problems?
19	**Solo Pioneers: single-minded rationality** *Primakoff, L. (1988)*	- general single women	- a single women may continue to be considered as "someone who is un-something, someone who has missed out" - they continue to be perceived, and certain aspects, to be treated as members of minority group	- desperate, dependent women endorse irrational beliefs which involve their self-worth being contingent upon the love and approval of men - love relationships can and should provide self-worth, identity, meaning, happiness, and excitement
20	**Linked versus unlinked estimates of mortality and length of life by education and marital status: evidence from the first record linkage study in Lithuania** *Shkolnikov, V.M., Jasilionis, D., Andreev, E.M., Jdanov, D.A., Stankuniene, V. & Ambrozaitiene, D. (2006)*	- non-married women aged 30-69 years	- there are enormous mortality disadvantages in lower educated and non-married population groups which should be considered as a major obstacle for further health progress	- the existence of large and widening health inequalities

Table 2.1 Research and article related to health and social life problem of single women, since 1976 – present (cont.)

No.	Title	Group of never-marriage women	What're the problems?	What're the causes of those problems?
21	**Marital status and bed occupancy in health and social care facilities in the United Kingdom** *Prior P.M. & Hayes, B.C. (2001)*	- non-married women aged 15 years and over	- non-married women demonstrated consistently lower levels of health than the married, as reflected in their higher use of health and social care beds in the three last decades of the twentieth century	- marriage has a positive influence on health and healthy people are more likely to marry and maintain a marriage - an equally plausible alternative explanation may be the presence or absence of a support system - people not selected into marriage are less healthy and consequently have higher morbidity and mortality rates

Table 2.1 Research and article related to health and social life problem of single women, since 1976 – present (cont.)

No.	Title	Group of never-marriage women	What're the problems?	What're the causes of those problems?
22	**Strains of singlehood in later life: do race and gender matter?** *Pudrovska, T., Schieman, S. & Carr, D. (2006)*	- women aged 65 and over	- the never-married appeared less socially integrated than the divorced and the widowed - never-married White women reported significantly higher levels of single strain than White men	- never-married persons had fewer children, were more likely to live alone, and reported the lowest levels of social support among the three groups - marriage is considered a normative and highly desirable state for women, never-marriage older White women may be more likely than their male peers to face negative cultural attitudes, to cope with institutional and interpersonal discrimination, and to be viewed as victims who have defaulted to singlehood

Table 2.1 Research and article related to health and social life problem of single women, since 1976 – present (cont.)

No.	Title	Group of never-marriage women	What're the problems?	What're the causes of those problems?
23	**General and illness-specific adjustment to cancer: relationship to marital status and marital quality** *Rodrigue, J.R. & Park, T.L. (1996)*	- unmarried women with cancer	- unmarried patients reported more dysphoric thoughts and feelings (e.g., sadness, reduced self-esteem, body image problems) directly related to their illness than did married patients - unmarried adults with cancer may be at higher risk for adjustment problems while actively receiving treatment for cancer	- a spouse may be instrumental in assisting the patient to cope adaptively with the exigencies of the illness and its treatments

Table 2.1 Research and article related to health and social life problem of single women, since 1976 – present (cont.)

No.	Title	Group of never-marriage women	What're the problems?	What're the causes of those problems?
24	**Marital status, intergenerational co-residence and cardiovascular and all-cause mortality among middle-aged and older men and women during wartime in Beirut: gains and liabilities** *Sibai, A.M., Yount, K.M. & Fletcher, A. (2007)*	- never-married women aged 50 years and older	- being never married was associated with a higher CVD mortality risk among men and women - higher risks for CVD and all-cause mortality among the unmarried compared to the married	- greater health-related benefits of marriage - the protective social and psychological characteristics of marriage - those who never marry may experience greater social isolation than do their marriage peers - for women, being single may enhance the risk of social isolation, and of economic vulnerability as a result of reduced access to financial resources

Table 2.1 Research and article related to health and social life problem of single women, since 1976 – present (cont.)

No.	Title	Group of never-marriage women	What're the problems?	What're the causes of those problems?
25	**Effects of marital status on the risk of mortality in poor and non-poor neighborhoods** *Smith, K.R. & Waitzman, N.J. (1997)*	- non-married women aged 25-74 years	- nearly all non-married persons have higher rates of mortality than married persons - non-married persons in poor neighborhoods fare worse than their counterparts in non-poor areas, applies to both sexes and for all cause and cause specific mortality - non-married older women in poor neighborhoods have a significant mortality risk while non-married women in other urban areas do not	- the absence of a spouse elevates the risk of mortality but this risk is moderately higher in impoverished neighborhoods, notably in urbanized areas, for non-elderly men and elderly women - poor neighborhoods are more likely to have marriage markets that provide few potential marriageable partners and individuals, especially women, will experience the health gains associated with being married

Table 2.1 Research and article related to health and social life problem of single women, since 1976 – present (cont.)

No.	Title	Group of never-marriage women	What're the problems?	What're the causes of those problems?
26	**Marriage protection and marriage selection – prospective evidence for reciprocal effects of marital status and health** *Waldron, I., Hughes, M.E. & Brooks T.L. (1996)*	- never-married women aged 24-34 years in 1978, 29-39 years in 1983, and 34-44 years in 1988	- married adults are generally healthier than unmarried adults	- marriage is associated with good health because marriage has beneficial effects on health (marriage protection effects) and/or because healthier individuals are more likely to marry and to stay married (marriage selection effects)
27	**Marital status effects on health: are there differences between never married women and divorced and separated women?** *Waldron, I., Weiss, C.C. & Hughes, M.E. (1997)*	- never-married women aged 24-34 years in 1978, 29-39 years in 1983 , and 34-44 years in 1988	- never-married women had more increase than married women in physical impairments, psychosomatic symptoms, and overall health problems - in the first follow-up interval, never married women tended to have more physical impairments and more overall health problems than divorced and separated women	- marriage provides greater financial resources and social support and married women experience less psychological distress and have better health-related behavior - separation and divorce may have particularly harmful health effects during and immediately after the process of marital breakup

Table 2.1 Research and article related to health and social life problem of single women, since 1976 – present (cont.)

No.	Title	Group of never-marriage women	What're the problems?	What're the causes of those problems?
28	**Single women; alone & together** *Bequaert, L. H. (1976)*	- general single women - lesbian women - elderly women - black and minority women	- financial drain (self-sufficiency) - the barriers of wage and job discrimination - loneliness - social isolation - the fears and stigma of an unwanted pregnancy - failed to gain social right - stigmatization - self-image - legal problems and legal rights i.e. credit, housing, and taxes - feeling of powerless and alienated	- this society does not make it easy for women to live without husbands - everything in this community is all couples - invisible women in married communities - effects of the labels "old maid" - the law of man

Table 2.1 Research and article related to health and social life problem of single women, since 1976 – present (cont.)

No.	Title	Group of never-marriage women	What're the problems?	What're the causes of those problems?
29	**Women, Islam and modernity: single women, sexuality and reproductive health in contemporary Indonesia** *Bennett, L. R. (2005)*	- young single women age 11 to 32 years living in the city	- the stigma attached to premarital sex for women - premarital pregnancy and abortion - reproductive morbidity - barriers to adequate reproductive health care and pertinent for all single women, regardless of their virginity status or sexual experience - lack of alternative social and professional support networks for single women who engage in premarital sex or other socially sanctioned behavior	- modernization is implicated in social and ideological change in relation to sexuality and gender - the Islam is embodied and embedded in women's identities, and given meaning through their beliefs and practices - Muslims support the ideal of premarital chastity for both women and men, although the value attributed to female virginity is generally greater - the narrowness and single women's marginalization of government health policies by reducing women's health to maternal health

From the former literature review in the form of making cross-sectional study, longitudinal study, cohort study including the in-depth interview and focus group discussion in single women in early life and older. It is noteworthy that since the early 1990s, there are many epidemiological and psychology studies in many areas such as in Europe, America and Asia that focus on the relationship between health and marital status. In those studies trend to concluded that those who married and living with spouses are tend to be healthier than singles (single person) which are included unmarried or divorced or lost their spouses. This problem can be divided into two sections in health and illness, the other is problems with social life or the social lives of single women. However, those researches have studied with single women in state of unmarried women and single women who used to be married but their spouses died or divorced. Then, this study would like to concentrate on women who are unmarried in order to comply with this study that choose only never-marriage women.

2.1.1 Health and illness

When we consider the unmarried women, we found that these women have to face with many problems as well as illness, death, injuries, accidents and adaptation as well. This is based on using health services as a measure of indicated the health status of each group such as a proportion of bed occupancy. And from the rate of using health service of outpatient, we found that the majority of patients are unmarried people (Prior and Hays, 2001; Johnston and Eklund, 1984). Health problems of them are also physical impairment and somatic symptom which are headache, dizziness, difficulties in hearing, vision, breathing, sore chest, back pain, leg pain and also include psychosomatic symptom such as fatigue, weakness, insomnia, symptoms of psychotropic depression (Waldron et al., 1997; Li et al., 2005). This can reflect that marriage is important for women's health both in physical and mental health. Other than a difference in health, we also found a higher rate of death among those who are not married (Shkolnikov et al., 2006; Gardner and Oswald, 2004). Moreover, we found that women and men who are married will be more likely to have a higher life expectancy than who are not married (Johnston and Eklund, 1984). Especially for the elderly, marriage or getting support from a partner can reduce the risk of all-cause of mortality (Manzoli et al., 2007), including accident and injury

(Hokby et al., 2003). Additionally, unmarried women's health problem is often overlooked, especially teenagers who are of reproductive age that sexual health problems is related to reproductive health matters such as contraception, pregnancy before marriage, abortion and infection of HIV and AIDS (Bennett, 2005). Because in some societies, teenagers are being excluded from these because it was not a proper time that teenagers will experience such matters. In fact, there are many teenagers have to deal with this problem by themselves, but the study of single women's health is quite limited.

Moreover, the ability of adapting or facing with illness is related to marital status as well. For example, in cancer patients who are not-married, there will be a sign of anxiety and sorrow, lower self-esteem and physical image problems from illness more than married patients. This because spouses are key persons who can help patients adjust to their illness and treatments. Cancer patients, who are not married, will have a high risk of problem adjustment while getting treatments (Rodrique and Park, 1996). Additional, people who are married are more likely to have mental health problems and depressed due to stress caused by economic suffering lesser than unmarried patients and they tend to be happier than unmarried patients also (Johnston and Eklund, 1984).

Many studies, which were relying on the social epidemiology perspective, summarized in the same way that marriage makes people healthier in two forms. Those are perspectives on social causation theory, which focuses on marriage protection, and perspectives on selection theory, which focuses on marriage selection, as the factors described below.

1) Social causation theory

Social causation theory explains the difference in the health of those who are married and unmarried by marriage protection factors. Because those who are married will gain benefits by social, emotional, economical, environmental and other health benefits more than unmarried which is including social support both of emotionally and items from their spouses, economic security from spouses' income, trying to reduce risk behaviors such as drinking alcohol, smoking, improper dietary habits, sexual abuse, as well as increasing a behavior of protect and preserve healthier

due to the influence of their spouses. In addition, stress caused by need to be alone also been embedded into the structure of single life and it is hard to be removed even long time has passed (Krause et al., 1995; Waldrron et al., 1996; Prior and Hayes, 2001; Pudrovska et al., 2006; Manzoli et al., 2007; Kalediene et al., 2007). In this marriage protection factors can be classified as economic, social and psychological factors as follows.

Economic factors

Because marriage is viewed as what makes a better living for couple, this is not because of the increment of family income only, but also as a result of using resources together and helping manage their household (Gardner and Oswald, 2004). Marriage is often seen as beneficial in finance, especially for women and can may be help in financial stability (Gardner and Oswald, 2004). As a result of marriage, women can benefit in financial and other resources that come with marriage such as higher of family income, lesser worry and more social support, the result is promoting healthy behavior as well. These are also some benefit for women's health (Waldron et al., 1997), especially for the elderly and women who do not get involved in the labor market, marriage make the stability in economy. Unmarried women have to confront with the social isolation, and find them in an economy vulnerability which leads to restrictions in access to the required financial resources (Sibai et al., 2007).

Social factors

Marriage is an important protector, which helps to reduce stress and stress-related illness. By having spouse also has the opportunity to get the medical care quicker (Gardner and Oswald, 2004). In addition, marriage also helps to encourage healthy behaviors and reduce other health risk behaviors such as drinking alcohol and using drugs. Negative effects of not getting married are including uncontrolled over the risk behavior that is not good for health, both of death from accidents and suicides, heart disease, etc. But in general, the causes of these diseases are related to lifestyle or inappropriate lifestyle (Cheung, 1998). While singles person who have styles of living far away from relatives, will have limited social network. And this caused of having minimal access to information that useful to health, being

socially isolated, hopeless, and lower self-efficacy (Smith and Waitzman, 1997). So singles person who live alone are more likely to have higher death rates when compared with people living with others, or got married because of social support and burden sharing the living costs of goods, services and housing (Lund et al., 2005).

Psychological factors

People who are not married are more likely to have high rates of social isolation, while married people will have better mental state and mental health (Gardner and Oswald, 2004). Living alone or failure in marriage will cause the physical and mental health worse. This can be seen from the increasing in using mental health services of this group, while good relationship in a marriage will bring better sleep patterns, having less emotional symptoms of depression and less using the health services (Li et al., 2005). Social isolation can lead to the increasing of risk of death rates, because social support and social networks affect in health. This can be reflecting the connection between health and social tie. The social tie has an influence for health in older life, especially in countries that have not been prepared for this problem or having social welfare for this group insufficiently. The unmarried is classified as a condition that reflects to the social isolation (Sibai et al., 2007). It is also caused a single strain which lacks active social life, no chance to bond closely with someone to share knowledge and experience together. Moreover, it is including difficulty to expect the future and lack of key necessary resources for life. In addition, unmarried was classified as chronic stressor that can cause a single strain (Pudrovska et al., 2006).

2) Selection theory

The selection theory explains that the singles will have health problems more than married people; this may come from the marriage selection factors. People who have better physical and mental health are more likely to get married than those who have health problems and also have the opportunity to maintain relationship in marriage longer. In the other way, unhealthy people will have less opportunity to get married and also have more chance to get divorced because of the bad relationship with their couples. This called the reciprocal effect between health and marriage status

(Waldron et al., 1996; Prior and Hays, 2001; Manzoli et al., 2007). On the other hand, marriage does not reflect to the good health directly but healthy people have more opportunities to get married (Gardner and Oswald, 2004). This will find in some society, which still have the arranged marriage system or system that parents will choose a spouse for their child. This system will not allow unhealthy people to get married especially the genetic diseases patients such as tuberculosis, diabetes and heart disease (Goldman et al., 1994).

2.1.2 Social life of singles women

More than health problems, the living of singles is different from living of married, by being celibacy will have the rough in living such as be perceived like negative stereotype characteristic from social structure, social discrimination, social inequality, role conflict, and building or protect their self-identity, living with fear in any risk environment and loneliness or social isolation.

1) Negative stereotype

Singles is construes as the singlism which is understood as negative stereotype, such as immature, maladjustment, insecure, unhappy, lonely, ugly and self-centered. In the other hand, the positive that singles have is only independency and this becomes a form of social stigma (Depaulo and Morris, 2006). In general, people will have both positive and negative of being single in the way of information and model such as singlehood that will have freedom from having no responsibility but also feel the emptiness in living (Riker, 1992). No matter what positive or negative, it cannot guarantee that some characteristics of singles will be as expected.

The negative image of singles, which may be a prejudice, is singles have to feel lonely because they cannot share their experiences with someone. That might be a misunderstanding, because single life may be unperfected but loneliness is not a problem for singles who connect closely with their family and for who have good social relationship connectivity also. That is a good side for being single life (Riker, 1992). Another misunderstanding about single life is unperfected and unreliable. Moreover, singles are understood that they are unhealthy, pallid and poor acclimatize to society, because they are money orientated (Seccombe, 1991), so they are richer.

Anywise, married people should have more income, because the income comes from both parties. It is not easy to live in the society that gives precedence to marriage for single. In that social, single will be expected to be couple (Strong, 2005).

Moreover, the singles also often are understood as self-centered or selfish. But in fact, people who want to live independently and fulfill the needs of them should not be viewed as self-centered, because it is not everyone that wants to get married or engaged. Single life can be different meaning for each person and it is not selfish decision. In addition, singles can live happily and can contribute to society also (Riker, 1992). The singles also tend to give priority to friends and public participation more than married (Strong, 2005).

The role theory explains the fact that married people have better mental health because they have clearer social role and be more accepted in their status. The difficult to acclimatize to society for singles is not because of the failure in marriage but it is living in social that believed single is an improper behavior, unstable and imperfect life. Then, unhappy living of singles come from unmarried and do not gain good things from married such as, love, close relationship, joining activity, connecting with spouse's family (Johnston and Eklund, 1984). Moreover, in evolutionary perspective explains that society is emphasizing to married because it has bond with the reproduction, while sex and having baby before married is unacceptable. In addition, women still have to married because stability in financial (Depaulo and Morris, 2006). From this point, marriage is a benefit while be single is not.

2) Social discrimination and social inequality

Singles are often being discriminated in some aspects. For example, married people can get the health welfare from their spouses, while singles cannot. This is an imbalanced of worker welfare. Single worker's family cannot get that welfare or other benefit also. Additional, in some society, married people also have more advantage such as tariff, social stability, promotion from cars insurance, travel packaging, being club member and accommodation also. This due to accommodation agencies get more involved in married clients than singles or cohabitation couple and this make single difficult to buy an accommodation. Moreover, in former research found married people will have better service and are treated in the better way in

restaurant than singles. Generally, people are not reminding of those stigmas for singles (Depaulo and Morris, 2006).

When we study the factor of resources, single women who live in poor families will have to work for life, while married people will have more opportunity to have their own houses. Comparing with married people, group of single women have lesser chance to have their own cars. More chance to get these resources can reflect more opportunities to get involve in social groups. Because the higher income or healthier, the more opportunity to be member of many social groups. In some groups, such as some sport clubs, people would be members because of their husbands. On the other hand, being in social groups can be the way to access to the resources and health. Then, marriage status and difference of gender have strongly effect to the imbalance of getting the resources (Arber, 2004).

3) Role conflict

Single women can be the role conflict period same as married women, which have more responsibilities. Single women have to go out to work and take many responsible as well. Moreover, single women might have to look after their families especially to the elderly. Some families do not want them to get married because it means losing income. (Jones, 2003). These duties are look over by organization that emphasizes in taking care children. Single women have to get more duties from their work mates that have another responsibility such as look after children or family's member. This can make single women have feeling of loneliness, dissimilar and role conflict so that they cannot balance their lives. Women also have lesser neither support nor income while their work quality is higher. For example, there are a few studies said single women in academic work who have no child but have to respond for many duties, but have less support and less protection from social policy and management. These single women have expected to work overload and respond for high level. Single women have to spend a lot of their time work and family in the same time. This make them have less succession in academic while women who have children will be less working expected than singles because of they have to take time to take care their family. From this point, we can say that the family life have more realize and supported. Therefore, single women who have no children will be overlooked in this

status although they have to be responsible for the many things such as duty in class, co-worker, and student in their responsibility. And these duties are often be taking closely care jobs such as student work, social issue, teaching in class of new student and be full of problems and routine work, when male co-worker will mainly receive works in class of policy. This is stick of suitable role for each gender. Moreover, women have to face with many structural barriers which is suspected in their capability while get appointed in high position. This can make women have powerlessness feeling, insecure, lack of confidence, social isolation and flagging motivation.

Academic workers have to seclude from society because this job characteristic have to use a lot of concentration and take a long time to be success of purpose and supporting. But with a lot of duties make the difficult of these women to publish their works and less than their co-worker, which have children. Besides, they have supporting and income less than others, while quality of their works is higher. Then, this is happening from trying to protect individual self from blending of institutional self (Cummins, 2005).

4) Self-identity

Both of personal and social identities of singles were damaged by lacking of social defining, acceptation of single's social identity and supporting to the way of single life. These can be cause of feeling of mistake, depress, fear to be alone and bring about stress to living in their way without neither social nor cultural support (Johnston and Eklund, 1984).

By judging single women from the deception of negative stereotype, which is being social-identity of this group, will be cause to difficulty of living for single women. Some single women believe they are outsiders or be different, especially in a large society; single women will have effect of differential more than men, which have more flexible life because of having more public area and more stability. From these effects, weary is the result for single women. In addition, society always has double standard identity for them. Even government does not understand the need of single women for social life. The difficulty of these single women is not be

disadvantage from financial and social structures but it is identity and significantly of workplace and living place (Chasteen, 2004).

The way to fight against with those deceptions is building their self-identity in opposite way or win over those negative stereotypes. Self-identity in the felid of work is the one of made to remove the negative image of single women, and can increase more value to themselves. The most important thing for the field of work is attitude of women to themselves. Living with freedom is essential for single women in fulfilling their mental by protecting personal dignity and positive self-image in later life. This makes it possible to control their life decisions. To success in building these things, they have to achieve both personal and professional lives, this can reflect by the need to be independent or be useful. However, work is very important for single women because it is a source of income and the way to make positive self-identity as well. To accomplish in that situation, they have to face with stress and difficulty since the beginning of work or from often changing jobs.

Losing job can be more problem for singles than married women. Moreover, transition from work to retirement is very tough time for women because it is the experience of losing. To deal with this circumstance these women choose to join with other public or participating in social organizations for many reasons such as to start a new thing, build their own status in community, fulfill the need to be help others and will not be a state of dependency to others (O'Brien, 1991).

5) Risk environment

The most concern of unmarried women is about their safety in terms of travel, living and having activities with others. Most single women choose to limit their own areas in order to avoid these problems. Residential environment, safe travel is very important because they will affect security of their lives and properties. They will try to do every way, by paying more, driving farther, working longer hours, less mind of their own beauty just to get to live in safe environment. For transportation, women would try to travel during early evening only. If they have to travel in the night, they would be carefully change the route or means of transportation. They will not walk or ride bikes alone, they will not drive at night or try to change directions frequently when driving, or have some fellow travelers. Same as choosing leisure

activities, single women will avoid doing it alone because of safety and try to protect themselves from strange men in public. Then, fear in men becomes main part of women's lives. This fear will never go but single women are wearing all the time through process of refinement. These women look around the environment through the lens of fear. As a result, single women will limit themselves in safety areas, such as their homes and boundary the travel to other areas. But this fear can decrease through the longer of a single life and this make the less restriction of fear on any activities.

Single Women will be under unfavorable economic conditions. Beside that it is also difficult to live in society called couple-oriented society, which the environment was not created for them. In addition, the environment from the view of the feminist is discussed in inequality of economic, rape, sexual violence and also includes other physical surrounding areas such as streets, sidewalks and businesses. This is more than structures that reflect who is more appropriate to use these areas. Each culture will determine the appropriate in different ways. This is due to the different symbolic meaning of these environments. Single women often face with environment that is not fit for their needs but is on ideal of heterosexual couple such as purchasing residential, social activities that based on the couple culture. Unmarried women have to live with feelings of instability, insecurity and fear of men and rape. Then, these women will be refined and absorbed through the fear of these things. (Chasteen, 2004)

6) Loneliness and social isolation

Some women are unable to have important experience because they believe they cannot do it without spouse's coverage such as travelling aboard, having exciting or risk activities. Moreover, women have a sense of the dangers around them all the time if they do not have protection from their spouses and become helplessness. This is partly because relationship with love can lead to self-worth, identity, meaning of living, happiness and excitement. Women will feel useless and valueless. Then, unmarried women are more likely to feel hopeless and also depend on these things. This is partly because women in traditional society were changing to be adult by the institution of marriage (Primakoff, 1988).

Many studies talk about the relationship between the solitary, loneliness with single. Moreover, it also affects the decreasing of average life expectancy as well. This may be due to those singles have no one interested in their activities or thinking, do not have someone to share experiences together. They have to respond for everything by themselves and also have lack of something to repose in. Moreover, singles will be thought that they are not being as social norm in marriage, dissimilar, deviant from social norms. Then it is difficult to live and be obstructing in many ways such as paying more taxes, paying extra when using single-bed rooms in the hotels. Then, it is no wonder to find that these unmarried people will be estimated to be bad, unfriendly, isolation, loneliness and antisocial when compare with the others (De Jong-Gierveld, 1980).

From the review of relevant literature found that being single is related to health and social life of women in terms of morbidity and mortality, as well as the obstacles and difficulties of life in many parts. However, most of researches that study about health and lifestyles of single women are tend to study about medical, epidemiology and psychological points. The main topics of those researches study about statistics, rates of mortality and illness, behavior and personal characters. Then, the analysis of such phenomena is still under a limit and less links with the social dimension. To explain the cause of health problems and lifestyle is still limited in the economy factor such as lack of financial support and benefits from spouses. And for psychological factors the study is also limit to stress, social isolation, lack of social support and unhealthy behavior etc. And, if consider in terms of methodological studies, most of them are using the methods of quantitative data that was newly collected and statistical data that has been collected in the form of cross-sectional data and longitudinal data. That data provides only perspective of this population. It did not provide details about thinking, attitude, vision, social, lifestyle or the main obstacle in the way of life in clearly particularities.

Moreover, it tends to look at single women and married women in opposite side by looking at single women as inferior to married women. This is only one side view. It also has a few information about the other side of single women, such as independency, capable of self-reliance, adaptability, the ability to countermeasures or responds to problems and obstacles in life. These are features of single women

especially in recent modern society. These features have led single women to have more opportunities, choices and success in various fields. On the other hand, it can also bring risks and problems in modern life as well. However, there are few studies that focus on these points.

This study is intended to apply sociological approaches to analyze this phenomenon in Thai society. In order to explain the health and lifestyle of single women that has more associated with social dimension. Moreover, this study used the qualitative methodology for laying out the details of single women's real life. This is including problems and obstacles in life which cannot describe by using numerical and statistics analysis. This will demonstrate the relationship between social structures with the identity of women which are defined each other.

2.2 Theoretical review and critique

To explain the phenomenon of single women's health and lifestyle by perspective in the classical sociology or early, will tend to focus on describing the social structure and focus on actor in one side.

In a perspective which focused on social structure, Structural-functionalism that is emphasize the importance of norms by thinking that the person's life is determined by the social expectations on the role and status of various groups and that was determined by social norms. When a person is unable to meet social expectations or norms or cannot display their role to comply with social expectations, they also have the social sanction in ways that may have effect to their live and include health status as well. As the social norm is still giving priority to the marriage and also suggesting that, whether they are male or female, they would be marriage and have family when it is an appropriate time. It is a responsibility of every member to be involved in the creation of new member and act as a parental training to reproduce a good member for society. Everyone must do this for the society's survival then social members can live happily. Single women are construed as having contrary behavior to social norms, be deviant and cannot serve as a perfect wife and mother. Then, single women will be forced by society in many ways such as construed as being not fully

mature, adaptation problem, self-centered, uncertainty in their lives and this will affect single women's health and lifestyle also.

Moreover, described by Marx perspective in the same phenomenon, it is still focused on the structure as well. It simply highlights on the structure of the economy especially the capitalist economy. It explains unmarried woman's sick or have a difficult time because of the exploitation of capitalism. This may be exploiting unmarried people than married people. Because of in capitalism, single women's labor is an important cost in productivity that have low investment but return on the highly profitable because they do not have to get welfare or care worker payment that different from married workers. They can work overtime and do not waste time with pregnancy and delivery and also they are easier to fleece than men. Moreover, in capitalism, single women are targets of products and services delivery by much propagation such as beauty products, diet products, alcohol, cigarette, entertainments and services. These are difficult to sell to married women, then single women will be victims of these products and services that have affect to the health and living by tricks.

From these ideas, unmarried woman's status is passive for what social requires. They cannot convert, think or against these structures that rule their life at all. They are abused from outsider structures. Then the symbolic-interactionism perspective was used to explain the role of this group. But it is emphasize on the actor and do not see the role of social structure as it should be.

The symbolic-interactionism has turned to emphasize in the meanings and interpretations that will affect the identity of single women in terms of the meaning to a "single" and "marriage" in opposite especially for society that marriage is the answer of happiness and perfection in life. Moreover, the transference and instillation of the importance in having family made people target their life by social value. Single women who perceive themselves cannot sustain their life without marriage or acceptance from others that decide to live together, which confirms and shows the value of them. The meaning will make single women feel they have no joy in life, stress, insecure and no goal. As well as the meaning of singles in terms of losing advantages or lack of opportunities such as nobody pays attention what their doing, feeling, thinking and living alone. Moreover, they have to take responsible for

everything by their own. These have a profound effect on mental health of single women. Moreover women also have been planted and absorb the meaning of perfect life by love and care from men, having children, performing as a mother. This makes the difference between single women in real life and what women ought to be and this will effect on single women life also. Then, the happiness in their lives depends on the interpretation or meaning of single in term of reducing their own value. Single women, who are susceptible to these reactions, will have a living difficulty in society.

However, even the symbolic-interactionism will explain that single women can determine their own lives by ideas and interpretations of their own, but it does not provide clear picture of the context that the single women have influenced in thinking, interpretation and meaning of the various phenomena around them. Then, the sociological methods in former had been critical that described on only one side of the structure and the agency's people only. This is limitations in dualism of former sociology theories.

Trying to explain the phenomenon of unmarried women by those major sociology theories, it found the limitation to explain this complex phenomenon. So, this section will review the concept of sociological theory that try to eliminate the limitations of these theories or suggest a view that can apply for describing the phenomenon of modernity in the current situation.

Symbolic interactionism: Erving Goffman; this perspective tried to explain about social structure more than the previous theorists in this group. The works of Goffman are important knowledge base of many theorists in contemporary, which try to avoid explaining the social phenomenon in two opposite way and the perspective of Anthony Giddens also.

Post-structuralism: Michael Foucault; this perspective will explain the influence of structure in another way that is different from the structure of Structural-functionalism, which will emphasize in the structure in terms of language structure in discourse and explain the process of power that normal happens in this currently society. This will conform to the social phenomenon to explain the modernity situation in form of the changing power relation.

Psychoanalytic feminism: applied from the concept of Freud and Lacan; names of theorists in this group are Juliet Mitchell, Luce Irigarey and Julia Kristiva

etc. The feminism in former emphasizes in the role of social structure especially in social structure dominated by men, while the method of feminism in group of psychoanalysis has changed to explain the oppression type that begin in mind. And it will be deeply settled down because this will not only reflect the oppression from outsider structure but it will point out to the oppression that has begun from their unconscious also.

From three groups of theories as above, there are differences of the interesting point and main point. Each theory has it's essential as follows.

2.2.1 Symbolic interactionism: Erving Goffman

Goffman's concepts have been influenced by the work of Mead and Blumer in creation of their own method by focusing on study face-to-face interaction or micro-sociology. This method is in the group of symbolic interactionism that focuses on everyday life, social action and symbol. There is issue of "self" as a key concept in the study (Ritzer and Goodman, 2003). This theory believes people will express or interact with things around them through the meaning. These meaning are arisen from the interaction between people in society and it can be modified under social interaction as well. Then society is like the center of all social actions. And social life of the people intended to have goal, meaning and coherence (Manning, 1992). People used symbols as means of communication by giving meaning to the symbol and expressed on the basis of the meaning of that symbols. Moreover, it also believed people were able to act with conscious and think and consider about themselves. Moreover, people's actions have their goal, which could be defined and selected by people. So, the society was built through interaction of people. Then it was the made up of actions between individuals.

Additional, Goffman focused on thinking or mind of people in each action for thinking of these actions and tried to answer the questions: why have people done that? Are people expected to express such actions? Do people express actions to be accepted by society? Do people act by knowing and awareness or it is deeply embedded in social life. Even people's self is something that created through interaction and it can be changed by the changing of interaction with other people. Then, each person has no only one identity but has the diversity identities and these

are all our own identity. Goffman was describing the social life by using dramaturgical approach to the study in human social interaction.

Goffman tried to explain process of self presents to social. It was not to change the society. Moreover, Goffman's work focused on analyzing in micro level and emphasizing in social interaction in each situation. However, these analysis units were not only for individual but team also. To be success in each situation, there are many factors more than a player alone. Furthermore, Goffman used the qualitative analysis to analyze social interaction of people in communication. This could be by using dramaturgical perspective as border in sighted and analyze the complicated of each social interaction situation. This analysis was study in micro level to find how people express their self to society and control themselves to impress other people. Goffman called his study method as naturalistic approach, which were not only interviewing, observing, recording but also studying people interaction by using researcher as an object between other people. This was an important example of ethnomethodology that has to focus on Weber's understanding. And there is some of Goffman's concept that was used in explanation as fellow.

1) Dramaturgical perspective

Gofffman extended the work of Mead that people had tension between "I" and "me". That tension came from the difference between expectation from society and desire of our own. Moreover, to maintain a constant image, people tried to express themselves in ways that Goffman called "dramaturgy", which think of social life as a role play. In "The Presentation of Self in Every Day Life" of Goffman, he used a stage and a theater to compare as social life and social action of people by seeing human lives or their expression as a drama. In social situations it is expected to have a social script that actors will express their own actions. Actors or social actors like players or performers that tried to impress people and used every means to make audiences accept their role or image displayed. When people started to have interactions with other, they also wanted to express their appearance and anticipation to be accepted. And also be on watch that audiences would disturb and destroy their self-expression by many ways. Then, they needed to control audiences to be sure that their self-expression would be strong enough to make audience understand the player self as

they wanted to. At the same time they had to make the audience willing to express themselves as the players wanted. (Ritzer and Goodman,2003).

Then, human action depended on time, location, context, and audience. And the way that players used to present their identity also depended on the culture, values, norms and expectation of society. The important goal of expression is to be accepted from the audience or society. Whenever the audience accepted the self of players in a way similar to what they wanted the audience to see that was the success of the player or the actor. We all like the players when we had an interaction with people. Then, social action in the view of Goffman can be called dramaturgical action. That is the social action that was created to make other people see what we want them to see and to create our public self-image through public or to social by interaction with people. The interaction will be seen as a show or performance, which was framed by environment or context and our audience. Moreover, we can say that every one is wearing a mask and the self is under the mask or variety sets of the mask (Manning, 1992).

Goffman's dramaturgical perspective does not explain the source or cause of human behavior but explains the context because of self or entity of people is not constant and dependent but it was created or changed by interaction with other people or environment. Then, social interaction was analyzed as a part of role-play. In everyday life, each one is trying to deal with him/herself and a situation around him/her, both in verbal and non verbal to impress ones who he/she is dealing with through the clothing, appearance, language, and manner. That is the process that Goffman called "Impression management".

2) Impression management

Tension of people is coming from the difference between what people want to do and society expectation which Mead call tension between "I" and "me". And the way that Goffman offered to reduce those tensions in this part is dramaturgy. The process of Goffman is, to prepare the play or create the way to impress people before having role-play or having interaction with others. Moreover, people also have to prepare to deal with some errors that may occur during a show because some behavior may occur, which can reduce people's impression. Then, to prevent some bad

situations, people should prepare to deal with such situations as well. However, to avoid the stigma of society, people have to reduce the difference or the gap between their real self and social expectations. Moreover, the other way to solve the problem is conceal the differentiating by using dramaturgy through the process of impression management. Then, society is the world that filled with that processes (Manning, 1992).

Additional, the impression management is a process that occurs in every social interaction. People try to regulate their expression to make an impression. This is an action that aims to control the perception of others through the data manipulates that sends to the receiver, or people who have interaction with the process of social interaction. This is known as the presentation of self. People will use their own status and role to create the impression to others by having goal as the reward, which in this case is accepted by society or the public perception towards their self. That can describe the motivation behind the social expression of a person in social space. Then, both of performers and audience can have actions that depend on each other. Moreover, the impression management is the habit that we express in the way to impress the other person by familiar or be unconscious activities. That seems like natural of people when having interact with others. Then, they must be careful to express when having interaction with different people. They will present their self differently by people expectation.

Goffman has divided the stage or area of the display in three parts (Ritzer, 2003). Each part will present the image or the role of people's self in different way. Those parts are; front stage, back stage and outside.

Firstly, **front stage** is the part that needs to disclose or reveal to others as a part of the show. Moreover, the portion of the front stage can be classified as first, the ***setting***, which is part of the scene or the place where the show is going on. Second, the ***personal front***, which is consist with items or equipments that used for the play, audience can guess or expect who is the player, what is main, how to do, which can divide to appearance that present social status of those player and present the manner in which a form of expression or proposes of the play that audience has an expectation in the way that a show should be done.

Moreover, the front stage also is the area to hide some secrets that will affect the impression of the audience. Receivers will only see what player want to present and that is important part to create social identity. This is standardization building or collective representation process. Because of the most actions that selected for display on the front stage will be the actions that meet the expectations of society. At the same time it is that action that can be standard or being institution. Because it is what social expects from member's action to express it in that format as "idealized" version of front, which is the norm or social culture. And when people are on the front stage, they have to play under the rules or norms of society, to avoid the social stigma like actor who played the role that was written. Because the audience will expect what actor should play.

Secondly, **the back stage**, it is a part of play but it is no audience or hide it from them. Player can show some characteristic that was hidden in the front stage without affect from audience. Because this part is separated from the front stage and audience cannot enter. Then, player can express some behaviors that are unexpected from audience or society. This is included some behaviors that are not intend to do. Then, the play or performance will happen in the front stage when they present to public and will happen in the back stage in personal area or stay with primary group such as intimate people. But the back stage will be more informal.

The outside is neither the front nor back stage, it can describe as off-stage, which is a space that people cannot involved with the play. It can remove from the normal role or known as role distance. Because of the play has extent of the area to determine the performance between many areas. The player needs to control or look out for the boundary of this section to ensure that which areas are need to be shown.

However, there are no area where is only be one stage for all time but it can be adjusted by according to circumstances. Then, each area is possible to become all of those three areas in different periods. The success of the show is required team that includes every part of the show such as player, minor player and audience also. Thus, the analysis of Goffman is not just an individual but as a team also.

3) Stigma

Stigma is the gap between what people ought to be, which is known as "virtual social identity", and the reality, which is called "actual social identity". And the main issue is interactions in dramaturgical interaction between stigmatized people and common people. This stigma is like symbolic that shows anomaly from ordinary people. People who have fall into stigmatized stage will not know how to make others to accept their identity and also do not understand what people think about themselves. As a result, it feels like being cut off from society and no one recognized in their identity even themselves. This makes these people will seek their specific social group (Goffman, 1963). There are two types of stigma; that is ***discredited stigma***, which is a person who has a clear distinction with the normal people, and the ***discreditable stigma***, which is a person who does not notice the difference in themselves. And they are trying to hide their differences (Ritzer and Goodman, 2003). Moreover, changing of some symbols will lead to stigma such as name changing. It is a process to deal with their stigma called ***"stigma management".*** This process will have the way to deal with tension occurs or tension management and have data management that is called information management. However, persons who are branded that can accept themselves feel not necessary to conceal or divert the attention of others. Goffman called this process as ***"passing"***. At the same time they may get help from others such as friends or intimate people to hide or conceal information that affected by the stigma. This is called ***"covering"***, this is a method that will produce an effect in passing in stigmatized person (Goffman, 1963; Manning, 1992).

The stigmatized person is called ***deviant*** or as Goffman defined is ***rule-breaker***. However, everyone gets a chance to be stigma in any situation. The deviation (deviance) in this case is failure to perform or to comply with social norms (Ritzer and Goodman, 2003; Goffman, 1963). In the point of funtionalists, society must control its members to strict with rules or norms to avoid arising of pathology status. However, in view of the symbolic-interactionists, the target is not just the sociopath behavior but also they are interested in the meaning of people's behavior. In the lifetime people will have opportunity to against the social norms in some ways, especially in modern society. And they experience to deal with symbol or information that will lead them to be stigma. Moreover, people's identity is more likely to reduce value or discredited in

the future even though it does not happen currently because people's social identity depends on interactions with others, which happens all the time (Manning, 1992).

4) Goffman's definition of self

In Goffman's view, self or identity can be created and changed all the time when one interacts with others. Moreover, it can be modified to be different between front stage and back stage, because in the front stage people attempt to show more than the back stage. Additional, Goffman also viewed the self as something that will be more public. It is created from social interaction and people will try every effort to protect their identities from social stigmatize such as using props or elements. That action has a purpose to create good image that meets the expectations of society to make the audience agree and accept in their identities. They also use various methods to conceal a secret that could destroy the good image. As well as create the social distance to allow audience see their secret or questions more difficultly.

In this case, self is a product of theatrical show interaction between player and audience (Ritzer and Goodman, 2003). Then, each person can have variety of formats of self depend on interaction that according to each vary situation. Then, people will have many roles to play with many expressions. The audience in each scenario is also expected in player's identity in different way. So we need to create different identity. This makes people have not only one self, but all of them are all people real self. Then, we can say self is dynamic or it may be a result of social creation as well.

5) Critique of Goffman

Goffman, who focused on micro sociology, turned his attention to focus on process that people deal with their multiple self-identifications through the impression management process. Moreover, Goffman has presented self of people that was against the method of the role that is relatively stable in the functionalism method. However, the role of Goffman will change according to circumstances in interaction situation with others. Then, the self of people will change too. Thus, Goffman proposes to use the dramaturgy in presenting the identity to reduce social stigma, which is a community process that is used in dealing with moral problems. But they

are dealing in different way of thinking because Goffman does not offer social intervention to solve problems in society. However, when compare between the Symbolic-interactionism groups, Goffman's work is presenting the structure or connection between social actor and society quite a lot.

The application of Goffman's perspective in social studies can be combined with the data collection method such as participant observation or document collection. For example, explanation in character of the nature of power in society that these people is trying to present them through the front stage. This proposes to create a good image, which will lead to the reaching for power and maintain their power. Additional, describing the working life of the people such as receptionist or waiter that have to serve customers in front of their shops, will try to express to get the customer's need, even they do not like it but they have to endure the frustration out. They have to force a smile, give willingness expression to serve. Because that is the area of the front stage, which have to express to get customer's impression and hope they will be back for service again. But behind the store or back stage, these employees may be having a chitchat group or express in opposite way. And these expressions cam be generally found in the working life whether professional or otherwise.

However, self-expression in the dramaturgy form is pointed out to person's identity that acts in framework of conventional expectations and ideals as social need. It aims to create an impression to avoid being stigmatized. Then, people need to conceal the conflict feeling inside. But this method does not explain the identity that will recognize in term of subject to have their real potential. Because they express their social identity based on the play, which leads to the question that, if a person tries to impress the other under the social expectation. The patterns of social relations and social institutions which are formed by conventional relationships will be changed in which way. It likes someone tries to behave in the same frame to follow social expectations. There is no resistance or attempt to negotiate or change. This means they express the real identity without caring the satisfaction of social or other people. This approach is contrary to Goffman's dramaturgy method because in reality, people cannot act like the show to impress the other in every situation. From the perspective of Goffman, the action is determined by environment and audience. They have to follow the audience's expectations to avoid the social stigma. Then, it will

become the automatic action without sense. Goffman described all actions were in dramaturgy form, people would do anything that looked good in others' views. But in fact, there are many behaviors that players do without thinking about this reward, which Goffman described as a failure of the show. Player may express the action without regard to satisfaction or expectations of the people whom they interact with. And the border, between the front scene and behind, is not a real clear cut in real social situations.

Moreover, it also has been criticized that Goffman's dramaturgy was a way that was created by describing people's life in total institution, which is an area where people lived in attention and strictly controlled, so they tried to express everything by the expectation of institutions or organizations to be free or be more independent. Because of this point, it may be difficult to apply to use in other areas (Manning, 1992).

However, Goffman was trying to connect the structure together with the agency because both structure and agency are determined in each other and linked the micro and macro structures together. Even though this description focused on person's self but it was a self in the social context. The interaction was seen as a presentation that depended on the environment and the audience by having social interaction as a key in communication process. In the view of Goffman, the person or player has ability to choose many components, which will help to build the impression to others, in forms of behavior or an object such as manner, cloth, hair style, makeup and other symbols. In this case, an actor will be conscious or an active actor. In the meantime, it has been controlled by environmental and group of audiences in each situation. Then, in the long-term, these expressions will be an automatic or a routine action. And also do action by unconsciousness.

At last, Goffman suggested that society had an influence in shaping people. Meanwhile the player would be determined by environment and audience. Moreover, social interaction was seen as a performance that required the audience, and the goal was to impress the audience. Then, the expression would be based on how to make the audience impress with his/her image. Action would be changed upon the audience or environment in which the player had interaction with. In such circumstances, the player must evaluate himself or having self-monitoring process.

Goffman turned his focus to the rule and believe it was something that was outside and control social behavior. Though, the rule had become a resource that people would use in social interaction between them. Goffman's approach on this issue becomes an important method for the Structuration theory of Anthony Giddens (Manning, 1992).

2.2.2 Post-structuralism: Michael Foucault

Foucault's approach is a concept in the post-structuralism group which explains structure in term of language and it tries to deconstruct the structure, critique, and emancipate human from the domination. The post-structuralism is focusing on analysis the structure of language and ideas that influent people. They focus on the discourse, which is the way of thinking and doing with knowledge base by trying to deconstruct to explain how the discourse influents people. Because the discourse is about the knowledge that determines people in the same way that people learn language, which is hard to resist. People learn the language and culture without ever asking through socialization, which is one of the dominant dialogues. Then, discourse is an ideology that is a social construction of reality in the same meaning of the symbolic-interactionism, that base on intellectual in creation of knowledge. When having knowledge, there is compatible with the power of domination and control.

In this part, four concepts of Foucault will be discussed here; discipline, power / knowledge relation, discourse and subjectivity.

1) Discipline

Foucault has pointed out the form of punishment or control currently has changed from physical violence to individually punishment and organizing in form of discipline. That is done by letting people try to control themselves because when they feel they were looked by others, will help them to have discipline and be under the rules. Controlling in modern society seems to be less punishment, but more effectiveness without awareness of people (Chairath Charoensinorarn, 2011). The punishment is doing through discipline, which is a technology of power that is different from negative power such as extortion, detention and persecution. The main issues that related to discipline in this part are docile bodies, the means of corrective training and panopticism.

The aim of using discipline as Foucault's view is to create tame bodies or docile bodies. Power is used through discipline to overwhelm the body to move or act in accordance with the purpose of authorized persons under the scope of space and time. It also reduces or takes power away from the body of a person who is controlled (Foucault, 1979), Foucault called it ***political anatomy*** that does not happen only in situation that needs to be openly control as prison only but this phenomenon can occur in schools, military, facilities and training.

The usage of power in Foucault's view is mostly forcing on the body, which acts through discipline to build the ***docile body***. That is a view that hard to resist. Due to the usage of power through knowledge or discourse, which was in everyday life, must submit to the logic of usage of power. In Foucault's view, power is in everywhere and diversity rather than centralized, and it is positive force (McNay, 1994).

Additional, discipline will work through the means of corrective training, which is a major tool in three parts.

- **Hierarchical observation** is an observation as a system and hierarchy, same as case of controlling in industrial output that is divided into many sections; it is controlled by hierarchy of command.

- **Normalizing judgment** is making decision to distinguish what is normal and abnormal in society. People must be controlled through the normalization process, which is an important tool of usage of power. Because people do not want to be judged as abnormal in society, then, people will act or do in the same way that society wants to or do things on the path to normalization.

- **The examination** is studying the subject and judging in people’s normalization and non-normalization. This will reflect the formation of knowledge, which is another form of power in both of visible and invisible.

In modern society, there are some attempts to deal with the body in different ways to meet the modern capitalist system such as the city planning, traffic routing, the same as the management in workers bodies to provide a benefit to the organization. It is another control with the body through discipline, which all organizations have adopted and workers have to follow in everyday life such as work according to scheduled time work, rest time and signed in – out. Foucault called this is

micro-physic of power, which is a function of power in micro-level. This is a strategy that has been done to the body in daily by various methods. It is a relationship of power that is diversified and spread across society.

Moreover, Foucault also focused on controlling of discipline in another form. That is observing or gazing, people feel that they are being watched closely at all time restricted area, limited movement, supervisory control and taken note carefully. Then, it requires discipline or self-control at all time, because of fearing of being caught in against rules. This is a phenomenon that can be seen everywhere in organizations, by having monitor system for observing their workers. The workers will be careful in their work as much as possible. Those systems are for example using video surveillance, a glass-sided for the commander to watch his men. Then, power is used without distinction, which Foucault called the ***panopticism***. That comes from the form of prison in the past that designed for the guards to watch prisoners at all time, without seeing by the prisoners, but knowing that they were watched. This is called the panopticon, which may be known as architecture (architectural apparatus) that was created as part of using power to human body (Foucault, 1979). Then, people will be effectively controlled, this is not a serious force, but it is a perfect way to control. By using a small number of guards but can control a lot of people at the same time. This system has been adopted in various organizations.

Currently, surveillance techniques have become an important part of life and the most effective of surveillance is self-surveillance. Moreover, the gaze has also become a way that people use, to monitor their own behavior. Women and girls are being targeted to take a look more than others. Women will have valued or give values to themselves, which depends on how women are viewed (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000). Moreover, in the case of the medical gaze that is an influent observation that can control people without notice it. This control is relying on medical knowledge and reliability of expert to monitor the body that becomes the rightful that medical community can do.

Human science have influenced in psychology, sociology or criminology. It makes various criteria to judge who is deviated from normal society in each field of that knowledge. That will determine the classification of people such as psychotic patients are having deviated behavior or being criminal child. That leads to treat each

person differently. Moreover, role or authority in prison system is not only for justice but also include academic such as medical doctor, psychiatrist, social worker, criminology in the system. This is controlled with network to correct the guilty to be the innocent again. Foucault called this system ***"carceral system"***, which is a form of discipline that has highest power to control because it supports with knowledge, thus the usage of power is endless and a network (Foucault, 1979).

2) Power/knowledge relation

Despite the knowledge and power are not the same thing but Foucault believed these two things cannot be separated. In other words, having knowledge will lead to control ability. If we require more control, we will have to apply for knowledge. Despite the power and knowledge are independent to each other, but they must go together (Chairath Charoensinorarn, 2011). The method that influenced a work of Foucault is the relationship between knowledge and power of the Friedrich Nietzhe's work. He believed knowledge was an important base of power. People became the subject of knowledge because we understood about ourselves by referring to some knowledge. Body became an area which was under the influence of power / knowledge, which was observed by an expert or an authority of the righteous (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000). The most important one in work of Foucault is relationship between knowledge and the power, because the power created an awareness of knowledge. On the other hand, knowledge supports empowering, especially human science such as a way to control the prison. That can lead to the development of criminology. This knowledge is took part in making the prison's internal control system and got more reform. Then, powers and procedures of the various punishments are depending on the knowledge which is building distinguish norm in people. That will reflect the relationship between power and knowledge.

Foucault called this phenomenon as the ***body-politic***, which is a set of methods like weapons or being channels to support the relationship between knowledge and power to be able to overcome or control of the human body, and make it becomes an object of knowledge in the end. This power is different from the threat of force or the use of violence in controlling body. But it was created by the modern role of knowledge. Human science is influential because of the authority and

knowledge. The knowledge and technology has become an influence over people's lives and become ***"docile body".*** Moreover, Foucault also pointed out the power will work on two levels. One side has made people to become an object to be monitored, controlled and gazed. The other side allows people to monitor themselves to stay in line and the standards that define "normal" people in society (Chairath Charoensinorarn, 2011).

Additional, power that affect on people's life can be reflected in two forms; first is ***anatomo-politics*** of the human body, which has a goal in organizing the human body. The other is ***bio-politics*** of population that is used in controlling and organizing in many areas such as the population growth, population health and average life expectancy of the population, etc. (Ritzer and Goodman, 2003). Moreover, in the method of Foucault, power is something that does not belong to someone. It is the motion around us from one point to the other point or area. The power that Foucault believed was important and difficult to avoid was power of the state. That brought about to think of governmental, which had affect to the lives in all levels. In additional, the state had tried to build body or characteristic of people to follow the state needs through many policies (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000).

3) Discourse

Foucault believed that the persons were not qualified to be self-governing subject that could do, talk or understand the things that surrounding by themselves manually but it was determined by external structure. The strong structure that determined a person's experience was the languages we use in describing our thoughts and our feelings to others and to explain things. Then, discourse was not only a sentence or language organization but it took action to the language or the language in action. That included the thoughts, beliefs and practices that resulting to a network of relationships in society (McNay, 1994). Because our thoughts and our actions were under influenced and controlled by one discourse or the other, may be in the form of a statement, which had some relationships with that statement. For example, "sexual harassment" is a statement about the relationship between men and women. So everyone is compared as the production of discourse and relationship of power without self-awareness or unrealized in themselves (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000).

Although people feel that they are free to think and do, but in reality they are under some authority which is not controlled directly or clearly. It comes in the form of power that people are not aware such as normalization process, which is discriminated normal and abnormal in society. If something is abnormal, it will be considered as illegal. The other is medicalization process, that means everything was made as an illness that must be under the supervision of the medical institution such as process of sexuality medicalization, which makes sexual that used to be a person's natural or instinct become an object of scientific and medical study by involving with the mental illness or deviation (McNay, 1994).

Methodology of Foucault focused on revealing the source or origin of the discourse that has influence or power over people's lives during different periods in history, especially the discourse that associated with the starting of human science (Ritzer. and Goodman, 2003). Foucault named this method as ***"archaeology of knowledge"***, which is not only the analysis of languages but it includes the institutions, social groups and organizations that are involved with the discourse of power. Moreover, they also found the conceal power that lied within the discourse as well as how to make discursive power works or has influence over a person body, which Foucault called the ***"genealogy of power"*** (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000). The method is run by interest in how people control themselves and others through the creation of knowledge and that knowledge can create power and make person become a subject and control subject with the knowledge. The discourse that Foucault had specially interest was a medical discourse, which is an important factor in the discrimination of patients with normal and abnormal in society (Ritzer and Goodman, 2003).

4) Subjectivity

Foucault's methodology was based on the belief that people had been controlled completely and fallen under the "authority" in some way. People could not fight or resist to that power because they were handled by the state, elite people, capitalism and social institutions that defined and controlled their daily life in all aspects of. Foucault used the base of structuralism perspective, which believed that people had no freedom of thought or action, because these thoughts and actions of

person had been created and defined by the structure, social structure, political and culture. People could not think or say what they meant, but the structures control them through personal. The meaning was constructed by culture and became a controller in thoughts and behaviors of people. This phenomenon is known as ***"the death of the subject"*** or ***"the death of the author"*** as theorists in the structuralism group believed (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000).

Moreover, Foucault did not believe that knowledge, which is the product of the enlightenment era, would free people but it would control and limit the human freedom in thought and action. Moreover, it was a cause of the social relationships in a way that inequality and oppression. Then, Foucault's view seemed an attempt to reveal the dark side of modernity (McNay, 1994). In this case, the body was in term of object and purpose of the power. When body was controlled through the use of power in various ways, it would become the subject of that power. For example, the soldiers who were trained to control the body and could be responded to the order in all forms through the use of discipline. Therefore, in Foucault's method, people's identity was not an agent but it was the result of the power of discourse. The identity of people was a product of language but it is not a seeker or a knowledge investor (Chairath Charoensinorarn, 2011).

5) Critique of Foucault

The key feature in work of Foucault was a demonstration of the relationship between power and knowledge, which there was no one could express it clearly. Moreover, it also clearly demonstrated the power in a positive way. In the past, the education of power had been mostly described in a negative way, such as control, oppression, intimidation, detention and punishment, etc. It had been also showed that knowledge and intellectual curiosity was a subject of violence and destruction rather than a matter of peace. In this case, the knowledge was the utmost importance because even a human being would be reduced to be an object or what was being studied to satisfy the curiously of knowledge only.

Contribution of Foucault's work is the stimulating questions about the key of modernity that is rationality and knowledge that is a product of modernity. It is noticeable that Foucault often used the word "modern age" more than "modernity".

Apart from using it as a product, in turn, this knowledge has become a control in builder as well as people who take advantage with that knowledge also. This will lead to discovery, know to pose questions and understand the society by unwrap, shell casting or break the bondage of discourse. Moreover, Foucault pointed out the link between knowledge and power that influent the lives of people in society in form of various social institutions such as schools, hospitals, prison and this will include the state. This process is controlling over what we know as rationality such as disciplinary power or norm, which is a product of the discourse by method of Foucault that will lead to docile body. Moreover, Foucault's work also critiques the power in macro level such as the power in people class and the state. It also critiques the power in the micro level or in face-to-face interaction relationship. This also reveals the technique and mechanism of power that comes from knowledge. It is the same as Marx's reveal that shows the technique and mechanism to the use of power from both capitalism and socialism exist. Moreover, it shows that group of intellectual people is trying to monopolize the reality presentation. Therewith, it is also a representative of the power in creating the knowledge and the truth and the thing that Foucault needed is cutting the power of the truth from domination or hegemony.

However, Foucault's method has limitations in terms of viewing on one side because it viewed only in aspect that is repressive of rationality or modernity but it does not mention in the progressive of modernity. In the view of Foucault, modernity does not lead to progress in technology, medical, knowledge, politics and model form of modern society in the sense of strengthening of freedom and equality, or equality in a society. There was only the view in the domination of these things and it is focused on the discourse that is above or hidden in the institutions and practices that have influence in lives of people.

Moreover, Foucault's method still has point of view in person or subject as a subject without the agent because it does not have the freedom to think or do anything by himself, because everything has fallen under the influence of knowledge and power in the form of discourse. There will have any discourses that had some influence on a person's life. Although in his later work, his tendency to look at subject in term of agent more than the past but the subject of Foucault is still be the subject of non-autonomous agent (Bevir, 1999). And that point has been criticized that people

are too impotent, because even the later work of Foucault also talked the resistance that people are be able to choose or against some power. Even though power is scattered in everywhere but it cannot control in all things (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000). Then, the repression is causing the resistance because there is no relationship with power that has no against (McNay, 1994). This perspective will lead to question that even person has no agency that can think or against the discourse, then how the existing discourses changed the level of control behavior of people. Because in some periods, there will be one of the discourses that dominates people, but when the time has changed, there will be the other discourse to act on behalf of or influence over people rather than last discourse. Actually, these discourses cannot change their roles without having agency as Foucault emphasized. In the case that Foucault said about persons were controlled by the gaze as a result, persons had to control themselves at all times. But in fact, watching cannot control all behaviors of people. On the other hand, people may try to find a way to evade of staring them in order to express their behaviors with their satisfaction. To do this manner, people must have an agency that has its own willing and try to find a way to meet their requirements by challenging or resisting from the powers that are controlled in many strategies.

Another question about method of Foucault's discourse is, if people are under the influence of the discourse, then how people can do transgression or be against norm violation. Against the norm is reflecting that people are against the power of social control. If a person does not have agency like Foucault said, then they cannot think or decide to do these things. Though, people's independence from the discourse is still found and it does not like as Foucault tried to explain.

It is noteworthy that Foucault talked about the role of social institutions such as political, economic studies but said very little about the family. This unit is highly influential discourse on the life of people. But it is the patriarchy, which has a profound effect on the vice of women in society. And it can lead to the oppression in women and children, which is a major problem in modernity society. And even Foucault was talking about women and gender in some of his work, but rather focused on issues of sexuality and did not link the sexuality with love and romantic love. Changing in the nature and form of love in this day is the cause of sexuality. And most

analysis about the nature of sexuality of Foucault was discussed on the level of discourse only (Giddens, 1992).

However, in view of the feminist, the discussion of the relationship between power with the body and sexuality of Foucault, as well as the body and sexuality, is an operation of social or cultural construct. It does operate on the basis of power, not biological as well. It is given the attention to feminist. On the other hand, Foucault tried to emphasize the role of power, which reduced the identity of people to be docile bodies which there was not a way that subject would be able to resist those powers. It was opposed to feminist efforts that encourage women's autonomy. Because it showed that women would not be able to get away from oppression, which is the goal of liberation of feminism. Moreover, Foucault also rejected the opportunity to contribute the knowledge that is independent from the dominance of the male, which will bring women to the liberation from the oppressed as well (Armstrong, 2010).

In terms of methodology, most of the work of Foucault was analysis of the text or data in a period of history such as medical, sexuality and also include in justice unit such as prisons, etc. To analyze these features, it has a prominent point that is exploring the discourse that has influence over those units as well as the source of power that made the discourse work in that period. On the other hand, it was analysis of only one side and lacks of association with the current state of those phenomenons itself. This has result in lack of remain or change of discourse analysis that will link to the current time that Foucault is critical those things. It is not reflected in the use of these power in control or management those organizations, whether in economic or political such as members of executive-level, representatives, employees of public or private sector, political, scholars and also media. These represents have important roles in reinforcing or reproducing the discourse that dominant social at that time.

2.2.3 Psychoanalytic feminism

Feminist theory is based on the belief that a form of social inequality that happens for long-standing in social is gender inequality. That is men are in position of advantage and women is in the second position in all matters. Women are oppressed by men and must be suffered from social injustice from being a female. Then, it is

necessary to find the root of the oppressed or causes of these inequalities and change the status to make women have better life and free from their misery.

Psychoanalytic feminism is one of feminism which used psychoanalytic concepts to explain the development of women that are inferior to men in deeper levels of mind. The oppression that occurred since the children learn their gender roles through the phallic stage and the Oedipus complex, which is called the Oedipalization process that is according to Freud's ideas. This makes women's sense of being oppressed will be infiltrated in mind and ideology (Leland, 1992). Feminism in this group is divided into two groups: psychoanalytic feminism using Freud and Lacan's psychoanalysis perspective.

1) Psychoanalytic feminism: Freud's perspective

Freud was a psychologist who focused on the mind. The key concept is the drive; especially the sexual drive which is a major force within person making that person behaves in many ways. Freud used psychological analysis more than the others, and then extended to society. Even Freud was not a sociologist, but Freud's concepts have been used to expand the share and comparison with the sociology method such as idea about the id, ego and super-ego which Freud used to describe the cause of the unhappy people in civilization society. Moreover, the Feminist used some of Freud's ideas to explain phenomena related to the gender issue as well, such as Juliet Mitchell, Nancy Chodorow and Carol Gilligan.

Psychoanalytic theory of Freud believed that human behaviors have largely motivated by the sexual instinct as the driving force but it was suppressed in the unconscious mind and "Libido" is the energy that makes people want to live, to create and to love. The goal is happiness and pleasure, and this satisfaction will occur on the parts of the body and it will change with age from infancy through adulthood. It can divide into five stages: oral stage, anal stage, phallic stage, latency stage and genital stage. Theories of Freud are focused on childhood development, which is the foundation of personality in adulthood. It depends on how each child is able to resolve the conflicts that occur in each period.

Freud's psychoanalysis is used by feminist psychoanalytic who believe that ***Oedipus complex*** in boys and the ***Electra complex*** in girls which occurred in the

phallic stage at the 3-5 years will lead to a disadvantage for women. Boys at this age will love and cherish their mothers and want to occupy their mothers by themselves only. It becomes jealous, hatred and hostility with their fathers because they believe their fathers are stealing their mothers' love from them. While they also know that their parents love each other and they know they are worse than their father in everything because fathers are stronger in both the power and authority. It includes having anxiety, fear of being cut off his penis (***castration complex***). Because of boys begin to see the difference between body of male and female, then they may imagine that the girls also have penis but it was cut out. They would be concern and do not want this event happen to them. They begin to understand the power of fathers and their sense of hatred and hostility would be disappeared. Then they turned to be friend and absorb and mimic fathers' identification and trying to suppress feelings that want to own the mother. They are trying to keep everything the same as the father to protect mother's love. This process is called the ***"Resolution of Oedipal Complex"***, which is a process that the boys mimic their fathers, acting like "men". Then, Oedipus complex will disappear and children will emulate their roles that are according to gender.

In turn, the girls will love and cherish their fathers. Then they will feel envy and hostility with their mothers that called Electra complex. The first girls will love their mother like the boys, but when they grow up and found they have different sexual organ from men, they will envy those who have a penis (***Penis Envy***) and feel humiliated that they do not have the boy's genitals, which is the castration complex in every girl who have experience in this point. Then, girls will hate their mothers because they believe because of their mothers, they do not have penis. So, they will turn their love and cherish to fathers because they thought that fathers would give it. At the same time, they will feel as competitors with mothers for the love of their fathers. But after they know that fathers will not give the genitals to them, they felt that mother is a person who has authority over her, and she has no genitals also. Then, they will feel that they are same as mother and know that their parents love each other. Then, they will turn to act like their mothers to receive father's love. They will keep their needs (repression) and the shift from anger to love their mothers (reaction formation). The Electra Complex will disappeared. At the same time, they want to act like their mothers, having mother as a master of the behavior of female or being

mother. This behavior of being a woman can affect a woman's personality and social relations in the end.

As a result, boys will behave like their fathers and girls will behave as their mothers under the unconscious mind. But at first gender did not occur, baby will have a status as bisexual until enter the oedipal moment, which is divided into female or male. Moreover, boys and girls will have mother as the first love object, but when the Oedipus complex and Electra complex happen, it is more difficult for girls than boys because they need to change the first love object from mother to father while boys do not have to change. However, that phenomenon will make the girls become more bisexual than boys because girls have both father and mother as love objects. This makes boys and girls see the world differently. It begins to distinguish clearly between male (masculine), will reflect the active state, and female (feminine) will reflect the passive state and makes masculinity have power over femininity, which have results in inferior condition of women in society. The pressure is not by biological but it is by psychological. It seems women will be passive in every area and every level of society. This shows the fact that the gender, men or women, are created by nature, but as a woman and a man are created by the culture (Mitchell, 1979). According to Freud's perspective, in male-dominate society, females are defined in negative and emptiness or missing, so women are inferior to men (Cavallaro, 2003). From that idea shows the gender or relationship between men and women in society are based on the development of psychosexual and inequality that is occurred in the relationship is coming from an experience or a development during childhood that makes men believe that they are males and make women believe that they are females.

Moreover, during this period, superego of babies will be developed from adopting the moral, values and social norms of their parents. This will tell the babies what they should do or should not do. Most norms are mentioned by many of the rules that taught by parents. This is a result of adaptation of the Oedipus and Electra complex, which will make the boys imitate the behavior of "men" from fathers and girls imitate the behavior of the "women" from mothers, they also adheres the values and standards of their parents' behaviors as their behaviors.

A famous feminist in the Freud's psychoanalyst is Juliet Mitchell. She believed that the vice of women comes from the capitalist system and the ideology of

men is important, which this ideal is existed in the unconscious mind. Then, the cause of the oppression of women is deeply rooted in the human mind. To obtain equality between men and women, we have to change the consciousness of women's mind to be free from the concept that men are important (Warunee Phurisinsit, 2002). In addition, Mitchell also believed that civilization has contributed to be inferior of women. In pre-civilization society, women had the freedom and power (matriarchy) because civilization is a patriarchy, especially in sexuality. It can be seen that women are tend to be regulated or restricted in sex more than men since childhood. The Oedipus complex is reflected in the origin of exogamous incest taboo as well as the role of the father, and the exchange of women that occurs in society. This shows that everywhere in the civilization, women will become second gender (Mitchell, 1979).

Mitchell's view about civilization was same as Freud's view that was in modern society or civilization society, people were unhappy. More civilization brings less happy. It is because in more complicated society, there are more rules to control their members and those controls become the controlling of human nature. Then, people live in a state of depression because they suppress their own needs only if they could be released from the bondage of society (social disembedding) that will make people happy. Civilization in this case is the super-ego that forces the ego to have conflict with itself. Instead of responding to id to have happiness, it responds to social needs by pressing id. That makes people feel guilty when they meet the needs of their own, which is contrary to society. To try to deal with pressures that come from those conflicts in various ways, which is express in other areas such as art, music, sports, work, love or religion. But when there are lots of pressures, they can become neurosis or psychosis, which may cause the pathology (Freud, 1961). Then, civilization put a pressure on women to be under power of men.

2) Psychoanalytic feminism: Lacan's perspective

Feminist in French feminist group, especially psychoanalytic feminism used the ideas of Jacques Lacan as basic by emphasizing the importance of symbols that reflect the influence of gender and sexual relations with the human mind. It is especially a language, which is the center of human psychosexual development (Cavallaro, 2003) or it can be called linguistic turn of Lacan. It is emphasis on the

personal authority in the spiritual and cultural level, especially the effect of the rules of the language is universal, which happened to people since childhood (Flax, 1990). Psychoanalysis for Lacan is not associated with the biology but it is in the mind which reflects how cultural respond for biological needs. Boys and girls will learn and experience the culture of their own in the Oedipus complex. It is especially for the symbolic father, which is the rules that can be called the Law of the father (Mitchell, 1974). The key of psychoanalysis of Lacan is new proposing to read the works of Freud and new interpretation about the Oedipus complex and the idea of the unconscious of Freud. Lacan turned to be interested in language more than stimuli or external stimuli that establish the identity of Freud. Lacan also has interesting ideas about the importance of the father (***The-Name-of-the-Father***) and his first start in creating the identity of the child, That is called the reflection in the mirror (***the Mirror Stage***). Coordinating the work of the language with the idea of sex and the unconscious is major contribution of Lacan.

Lacan's method started from language by expanding the work of Saussure to describe the subject of mind. It is believed that the unconscious of human mind is built like language, working with the same tools as language and survived because of the language. Then, the unconscious mind is the hidden structure that similar with language. For Lacan, the unconscious mind is not a matter of instinct or hallucinations but it is the address of the symbol and the symbols in the sense of Lacan are mean system of rules that define the various elements in that system. Lacan's symbol acts similar to the grammar of the language or the code of the symbol philosophy. That determines the meaning or it is a symbol (Chairath Charoensinorarn, 2011).

Lacan has changed the explanation from anatomy and biology to symbol because cultures were set up the meaning on the parts of body. For Lacan, there is no separation between self and society. Human are integrating to society with the language and language is building a man to be as a person (subject). Then, it should not be separate the individual and society because society exists in individual people. Lacan believed that a man could not live without language but their identity could not be reduced to have only language as well.

Freud and Lacan had different views about the Oedipus complex. Lacan suggested that it was independent from instincts or biological needs but it is about the

word "Father" and "mother". Freud talked about the need that has to get responsiveness to make satisfaction and link to the development in each stage. However, Lacan talked about the desire, which cannot deter or respond to have complacency such as the baby needs milk. This can be respond to please but baby needs their mother's love that would never be satisfied with it.

In the phallic stage, the boys want to occupy their mother and they wish to expose to contact with their mothers and receive mother's care. Perhaps it is a desire without realization. When the boys have to face with the rules of their fathers and fathers have threatened to cut the genitals (castration) in symbolic by separating the boys from their mothers then, the fear of less sexual performance was developed by a process which is the unconscious mind accepted the idea or attitude of the people. The Oedipus complex of Lacan is a state which is the baby becomes a man by learning about themselves, the world and other people. We can see that Oedipal Father of Freud is father in the biology but for Lacan it is ***Name-of-the-father***, which is symbol or language. It is a rule that is the rule of righteousness on behalf of father (father's name). Then, the word "father" and "mother" for Lacan does not mean to parent as shape or body but in this case, "mother" means who is closer to the baby in both of physically and emotionally in the development of early life and the "father" is demonstration of the authority of society and culture, which children must learn and adapt to be adults in the future. Gender differences are not caused by differences of body, but it is created when a person is born into symbolic order in any culture through language and it helps person become male and female. Most of women and female status often fall under the symbolic order that is dominated by the law of the father, and male is important process (Cavallro, 2003). Moreover, Lacan has separated the idea of penis and phallus (sex machine) from each other. Penis in Lacan's idea is the male's thing, but phallus is a feature of power. Both men and women have phallus. Then, it is a signifier, which has positive value that reflects the combination of both genders.

The way to solve the Oedipus complex of Lacan is different from the way of Freud which the baby will be release their independence by providing a name, some spaces in family and promote him/her to aware about his/her identity. This runs through participation in the world of culture, language and civilization. For Lacan, the

Oedipus complex is a concept about dealing with language rather than biological and it is a tool to describe the relationship of the father (patriarchal power relations) (Somkeit Tangmano, 2010). Ego of people is oppressed and undermined by falling under the power of sign, which connects with the meaning rather than being a driving force in biology.

Lacan's work has influence on psychoanalytic feminism, which might be called linguistic feminism. In terms of discrimination in gender that has the origin from the culture and language. This is not men that caused the oppression in women but it is social condition and economic structure about language. Psychoanalysis feminism in Lacan group focuses on the impact of symbol on gender, sexuality and desire of people that will lead to arising of identity, subjectivity and development of the psychosexual of people. It is also emphasis on status in both of male and female those were combined to create a culture (Cavallro, 2003). Lacan described the development of the identity of sex in terms of linguistic or cultural of symbol rather than biological or physical like Freud. Moreover, Lacan emphasize the meaning of cultural in term of symbolic that is in code form because of language is being seen as root of culture while Freud focused on the unconscious mind that controls the identity of men and women. However, Lacan thought the unconscious mind is not the key to format the identity because it is not a strong force, non-regularly. It makes the identity is unstable. Lacan focused on the development of identity through cultural of symbols representing, for example, Lacan thought that the penis is symbol of male that is a symbol of culture and relationships with authority, which is associated with masculinity and representing the "non-mother", there is no gender identity by nature. But it was created by the social through the formation of identity language, which is organized under the standard of masculinity. Male and female is in linguistic rather than biological (Warunee Phurisinsit, 2545). Sexual identity or gender identity is component of social experience, which is resulted of conflict from the Oedipus complex or the castration complex (Flax, 1990). Sexual identity is created through the identification process and through language learning, cultural symbols, which people learn by the unconscious mind, especially sexual symbol and gender relations. The goal of this feminism group is to try to make women understand these things in the

unconscious mind to help women free from oppression, which has been infiltrated in mind, and it makes women seem to be no way to be free (Leland, 1992).

Julia Kristiva and Luce Irigarey. Kristiva, who has used Lacan's idea, believed that the identity does not exist or is created through discourse "The Women", which is created by linguistic. It is an identity which has a potential in changing, so they did not deny the identity like the thinking of post-modernism. However, identity is an un-united at all times and inconsistency but it does not fall under the domination of the discourse, and it can create a new discourse that can lead to change. Moreover, Kristiva focused on language as identity builder and the social power control. Then, the difference of gender means the difference in relation of the power, language and meaning, which is an agreement in symbol or social.

In addition, Irigarey talked about being inferior of women that occurred because women could not think like female under male dominated structure. Women were just a reflection from men and be the voice of women as men (masculine feminine). It was not women as women (feminine feminine). It is different from Freud who proposed, that the woman is lack of masculinity, she has no idea of the difference of gender. However, Irigarey believed that the man dominated structure still has an area that women can make their own meaning. Women will acquire an identity as a woman by living independently in relationship with family, community and themselves. Then, women is created from the outside by relating with social functions instead of created from themselves or identity. This is the cause of being inferior of women in society (Warunee Phurisinsit, 2002). Moreover, Irigarey also used the thinking of Marx in “commodity” to explain the difference in women's own desires and it is a result of reducing the desire of women to be under the desire of men. Under patriarchy, women do not have identities as women and women's sexuality was made to be differing by being a product as well. Women's sexual identity is determined by the interests of women as a share also. In the view of Irigarey, oppression in women that happen in mental level come from the commoditization process, which means the desire of women, is made to be a product. This may be analogous to the Odepalization process of Freud (Leland, 1992).

3) Critique of psychoanalytic feminism

The feminist in Freud's psychoanalysis group often was criticized in the way of viewing the behavior of women as determinate by the conditions of biological because the inferior of female was created by society rather than biological. Moreover, the status of penis envy is a result of culture that reduces the value of women, self-centered view of men, and social oppression on the women. Moreover, this way is make a look of internationalism to all women. This due to women will be looked the same all over the world. That is because women's personality is determined by the mental processes that occur in the same unconscious level by neglect of historical change. This did not consider the influence of social structure on the development of human mind. It was ignored or paid less attention to the social context in the wider family level. However, the feminist in Lacan group is seen as having less in challenging. That can explain the dominance of patriarchy rather than replacing biology with the rules of the language in term of society. That is about father that cannot be changed as well as biology. Actually, it is mean the "father" not "men" that have influence over women.

In addition, this approach is also being criticized in not interested in classes, ethnic groups that are defined male or female in overall. Because they believe that the identity of gender is caused by internal and hidden in human without the difference in culture. To find or describe sexual identity, we should be recognized in the complexity of gender identity and it is not in the same harmony (Somkiet Tangmano, 2010; Warunee Phurisinsit, 2002). Moreover, patriarchy has been described in universal culture. And the society that have economic characteristics in different types will spread this idea in difference way. Freud had made the Oedipus complex to become universal law, but in fact, this rule will happen in the capitalist family and the nuclear family than others and only women in the capitalist society that will fall in such situation (Mitchell, 1974).

According to review of those three sociological perspectives, this can see how the focus and interest in each method and include restrictions to apply to describe various phenomena that have different characteristics. To discuss the phenomenon that is associated with health and living of single women, these ideas can explain the social dimension in order to impact on both of health and social life of single women. That is

unlike with a view to explain the phenomenon by epidemiological and psychological, which hardly mention in the social dimension. It is different from a view of sociological theory in early period on describing the phenomenon in one side between the structure and the individual. Although the theory of those three groups cannot remove all mirror images of opposite polar but it raised the interest issues that were consistent with model of changing society such as the concept of Erving Goffman in Symbolic-interactionism, which explained the social structure or the perspective of Michael Foucault, explained the influence of language structure in the form of discourse and explained power in the different ways and perspective of Psychoanalytic feminism that explained characterize of the oppression that start from inside structure or in the subconscious mind.

However, for describing the phenomena of social life, health of never-married women in this study, these three groups have limitation in explaining such phenomena because it cannot reflect identity of never-married women which has dynamic changed. It includes the change of social structures that cannot be fixed. Even though Goffman's perspective is focused on describe the identity of the person but it is the respond that society would expect to be. While the structure of language or discourse of Foucault is pressured and cannot find the way to be free and even it is a historical structure, but it does not explain detail of changing clearly. It is the same way as perspectives of Psychoanalytic feminism, which believe the identity that, arise from the transfer the male or female from people who cultivate and from culture, it does not mention the change that will affect in the changing identity of people.

In this study, Anthony Giddens' theory and concepts were applied to explain the phenomena of health and social life of never-married women more clearly. The details of theory and concepts will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III
APPLICATION OF ANTHONY GIDDENS' THEORY AND CONCEPTS

In the past, when we described the problem of never-married women, it often focused on the stigma as being a deviant behavior person from social norms or it came from the pressure of the social structure that marriage was important. It is not sufficient to explain the problems of never-married women in the recent day because social structure does not have the integrated influence in never-married women anymore. Also unmarried women are more acceptable, due to the change of structure and interaction.

According to the review of those three perspectives, it was found that each perspective would have their point in explaining the phenomena of health and social life of never-married women in different way. Each perspective has an interest of issue and different in view of phenomenon but it choose to focus on only a portion such as perspective of Goffman that has a view in phenomena as the result of role playing and establishing of identity and include the result of social stigma as well. This implies that people have to think, interpret and respond to phenomena around them to make their identity to be accepted by social all the time. This is a primary focus on the self but focuses on the influence of social structures only little. However, Foucault's perspective focuses on the influence of social structure in the form of discourse that effect on individual. It makes invisible to never-married women and their roles to against social structure that is pressed on them. And also the perspective of psychoanalytic feminism that point the inferior of women in level of mental or ideological through the refinement and culture learning. It makes women cannot fight against their inferior conditions.

Some perspective focused on person's identity very much while another way of method could reduce person's identity too much. So, this study try to use the perspective of Anthony Giddens to explain the phenomena of health and social life of

never-married women in order to demonstrate the role of never-married women and the role of social structure which is associated with such phenomena. This includes raising opportunity to explain the phenomenon in wider view. This can do by looking at the problems of never-married women, whether they are problems in their lives, health as well as other problems that are associated in different perspectives. This can be an alternative choice to explain the phenomena about this group in order to comply with the conditions of social change. This can be done by looking at never-married women as reflexive agent that response the phenomenon around them. They are not always succumb to the structure and can change the social structure also. The various phenomena that are occurred to never-married women have been seen as a result of self-reflexivity process for social structure in high modernity period. In the views of Giddens, this society is full of opportunities and risks.

Giddens can be considered as a theorist in contemporary who was reject and critic the former perspective in many fields, such as rejection of naturalism and positivism by not believing that society could be studied in the same as natural science. He also did not believe that there was a universal law which could explain everything in term of universal. He also denied the dualism in social theory, which is separated from the macro/micro, subject/object, individual/society and subjectivism/objectivism. But he believed that the individual action, interaction and social structure were related to each other and it could not be separated from each other or giving important to a specific part.

Furthermore, Giddens also criticized the thought in the previous period by criticizing the Functionalism that ignored the active agent in the process of interaction and paid too much attention to the social structure in term of imposing from outside. The Evolutionalism tended to explain the development of the society by using only some factors, such as the size of the society, state of war and ways of production. Meanwhile, he discussed the limitation of Interactionism of Goffman that less focused about the social structure. That made we cannot understand the way that social structures are reproduced through social interaction process. It did not mention to the emergence of institutions. Even they were talking about the interaction but they forget about the motivation which is a key part of the cause of social action. The structural role theory views the roles as fundamental part of the structure but Giddens believed

that seeing the structure in terms of systems of role would get ride of some agents that were active, reflexive and creative. Moreover, the group of Structuralism, which is focusing on language structure that led by Levi-Strauss, also ignore the human agency as well. In summary, Giddens suggested that the structure is not an outside part, which has power to control people to be like robot that must follow the order; they could not think and choose to respond but the structure is a relevant thing and it is reproduced by the daily interaction of people in society and it can be the order and passive by the interaction (Turner, 1986).

Giddens suggested that it is necessary to explain the connection between face-to-face interaction with forms of social relations that make the social system or that be known as the link between ***"social integration"*** and ***"system integration"***. The social integration is interaction between people that can lead to the behavior or exchange process. It can be predicted and existence by face-to-face interaction. And the system integration is interaction between many parts of social system, which run the social order. These two parts are produced and reproduced through the work of the "rule" and "resource" (Manning, 1992).

To explain the health and social life phenomena of never-married-women in this study will applied perspective of Giddens as a framework for study. Then, this study will have clear direction. But it is not a framework that will be used to define or prove the theory because the aim of this study is to describe the phenomenon by means of the induction of specific case study. Then, collect the information that appears in the actual area and from the sample studies, to have a general conclusion on this phenomenon. The concepts and theories will be used as guideline. This study will not intend to prove the theory as the method of deduction. The main ideals of Giddens that will be used to describe the phenomenon in this study are the theory of Structuration, concept of high modernity and self-reflexivity. The main frame in each section will describe as below.

3.1 The Theory of Structuration

Giddens argued that both agency and structure cannot be explained by separating from each other because their characteristic is "duality" and these two parts are tightly together through activity or practice of people in the dialectic process. They are not independent from the other and cannot stand without the other. Giddens's idea has focused on social practice which is not the large scale structure or everyday action, or interaction but it is the action that occurred or was observed in everyday life of reflexive actor, which has become a social institution. Giddens also focus on social life in both macro and micro without believe that social life is not determined by social force only This is because social structure can be changed if people start to ignore or deny and it can be replaced by something new, which was created by people. Then, social structures are produced and reproduced by the agency all the time.

In this case the structure means ***"duality of structure"***. In classical period, some sociologists approached the structure as outsider and controlled all actions of people in society. But in this case, the structure is both constraining and enabling the action of people. Then, the structure determines the actions of people and at the same time it is a result of the actions of people also. People are able to produce and reproduce social life of their own. The structure can organize the social rule, but it is not exist out there and has involved with social practice in everyday life. Society was created by actor, but at the same time, actor would be in a position to comply with that rule that was set up also. Then, social structure was used by the active agent, which actor can change and reproduce it. In this, Giddens has described the nature of structure and agency as follows (Ritzer, 2003; Ritzer, 2007; Giddens, 1984).

3.1.1 Structure

Structure in Giddens's view is featuring with ***"rules"*** and ***"resources"***, which are things that actor will use in interaction between time and a space.

- ***"rules"*** are something as a guideline of the actions and interactions of people in society which people will understand and used in different scenarios. Rules are used routinely over and over again until it becomes part of the stock of knowledge. That is what people created and accumulated. Then, it has informal characteristic and unnecessary to be written. But it became the guideline, direction of social interaction

and guide members to know what to do or should not do and people can change these rules also.

- ***"resources"*** are something that helps people to achieve what they want. People require resources to be able to do anything in daily life. They also need resources that are available in a form of material or other capabilities that will make it possible to perform an action or interaction as they want. Then, the resources are lead to the power, but power is not a resource because of using resources is the thing that can lead to the power to succeed what people want. People will use the resources every time when they are having interaction with others. This will give them the power to define the other's actions.

Both rules and resources are important components of the structure to reinforce the social norms and to decide what action is consistent and allowed by society or it is an action of violation and should be punished (***specific rights and obligations***). This can make power which some people or groups can use to control others (facilities to realize goals). Moreover, it can create and can use as symbol to communicate and interpret various situations (***interpretive schemes and stocks of knowledge***). These three parts are related between themselves as the social structure. This structure is used by actor in society and it is not outsider that can drive people to do many things that structure defines but they are rules and resources that can be reproduced and changed and what people have done it in the context of interaction. That is social system, which can be changed and flexible and it is a part of the actor that is used to create patterns of social relationships under the space and time. The social interaction and social structure are related to each other. By summarized, "structuration" in view of Giddens is a dual process and the rules and resources were used to organize the interaction in context of time and space. The agent can reproduce as and change in rules and resources. When rules and resources are being reproduced in a long time and the extent of the space interaction happens clearly, the institution will appear.

3.1.2 Agency

Agent or actor in the view of Giddens is an agent that has agency to be able to realize its own actions and others. It does not follow structure's define without thinking of its action or interaction that occur at all. Actor will pay attention to assess the effect of each action. With this assessment or monitoring of these actions, people need to have consciousness status but it also has some actions that are done by unconscious. Giddens believed the actions that happen from incentive or motivation of the person are most likely to act as unconsciously but all of the majority actions of people do not happen from the motivation. Thus, actor is more tend to detect or respond to the environment around them with consciousness.

Giddens used the idea of Erickson to describe the forces that are behind the actions of the person. That is an unconsciousness to evoke a sense of trust in the actions of people. That sense will help to reduce anxiety and make them feel secure. This sense will be created since being children and earlier than development of language skills, Giddens called this, the ***"ontological security"***. Young people will develop these senses from teaching of parents or someone close and it is maintained through regular interaction over and over under the context of the occur interaction. Giddens called them, ***the routinization and regionalization of interaction***. The ability to reflexive of actor in order to reproduce the form of various social institutions will occur through this process. The routinization will help people to predict the actions and reproduce social structure. At the same time, it will maintain the ontological security also. The regionalization will help to determine the extent or help people to know how to present themselves or how to do in a situation where the interaction occurs. Giddens used the concept of ***"locale"***, which taken from Goffman to describe the physical interaction, which people will take stock of knowledge to interpret the context of the locale in order to decide to have interact with other in which way (Tycker, 1998; Stone 2005).

However, Giddens concentrated on the parts of consciousness or reflexivity of people. He believed that people were able to monitor and provide reason for their own actions, did the opposite actions of what society expects. This is similar to Weber's idea that people were rational. However, in Giddens's view, the rationality was not a universal characteristic but it could change according to the nature of

society. There are no unique or superior for rationality. Then, people could be followers and creators of the rules in the same time. Moreover, the reflexive individual was the reproducer of their society and could adapt themselves to match with social condition. Additionally, people could be social change agent, not the social institute. Then, both of social structure and agency were parts of one process. Even people did not have freedom to choose everything in their lives this was due to the limit of knowledge they had. It was people who could produce the social structure and that would lead to the social change (Jones, 2003).

Changing or emerge of various social phenomena cannot be explained by only one side. The change in the micro level cannot be explained by looking at the personal level. In the macro level, such as state or social organizations, cannot be explained without referring to personal level. For example, changing in the personal relationship of people who got married and divorced, they did not come from the change in the structure level that are changing in law, family, marriage, or a social movement to call for the liberation of women, which is changing in macro level, but it is a result of changing in the daily life of people, changing in sexual relationship, satisfaction and religious beliefs in micro level. Then analysis of macro and micro level should be done at the same time because we cannot choose only one of these levels to understand society.

In summary, the structure in view of Giddens is not inherent in biological of the human body and it is not the idea that is just floating out there. But it is something that is produced, reproduced and changed by the action of active agent. It is bound to the dynamic process of interaction. These actions are reflexive character that cannot think about actions of themselves and others. It is not surrendered to the structure but it does not fully independent from the social norm, which dactor was involved in the reproduction and changing over time.

More than The Theory of Structuration, Giddens has described the nature of recent society as he called the conditions of ***"late modernity"*** or ***"high modernity"***. As well as highlight to people living in that moment, which is like reflexive agency, and also include other phenomena that can reflect the nature of self-identity of people in this era such as characteristic of pure relationship or a change in the intimacy relationship, etc. Giddens transferred this topic in his writings. These are; *The*

consequences of modernity (1990), Modernity and self-identity: self and society in the late modern age (1991), the transformation of intimacy: sexuality, love and eroticism in modern societies (1992), Runaway world: how globalization is reshaping. Our lives, (2002), On the edge: living with global capitalism, (2001), and Reflexive modernization: politics, tradition and aesthetics in the modern social order (1994). From these writings, it can summarize the characters and components of society that has high modernity structure and reflexive agency as follows.

3.2 High modernity

Giddens linked modernity with the Westernization process, which is spreading around the world. And the meaning of modernity is the form of social life or social organizations that is including institutional and behavior patterns of people in society that occurred in Europe since the 17th century. It has been influencing to the world over the globalization. In particularly, the emergence of information and consumption society, which can link between local and global, has effect to the living of people in society at large. At the same time, it can be a connection link between social systems, culture and class of society by providing the new meaning and scoping of those things. It can say that the dimensions of modernity are the surveillance potential, capitalism, industrialism and modern military power.

Giddens believed that recent society is still in the era of modernity and it is not necessarily to be post-modernity. For Giddens, it means society with a new social order and separate from the recent society. Giddens believed that the recent society is not far beyond modernity but it is just different from the early stage of modernity. This comes from the result of recent modernity that has strong effect and spreads throughout the world more than in the past or Giddens called ***"radicalization of modernity"***. Giddens called this modernity the late modernity or high modernity or the post traditional society. This recent modernity is a ***"reflexive modernization"***. Because it helps person or group of people in the increasing of self-consciousness and helps them can critic in both of themselves and society around them. People can liberate themselves from the control of the social structure that has influential in the traditional society in order to have or can choose their lifestyle and identity. This

nature can increase realizing of people and society in order to critic and apply their knowledge to benefit themselves and their society. But at the same time, it can create new forms of conflict, risks and righteousness problems. It can say the industrial society in the late modernity, which falls under the influence of science and technology, has given rise to new social risks that are different from traditional because of the high dynamic modernity which Giddens called the dynamism of modernity, which is based on post-traditional order. Then, living in this period will have uncertainty and multiple choices. This is one of the ways to create equality in society or reduce discrimination and the build the life politic and social movement in new ways.

3.2.1 Dynamism of modernity

Modernity has a characteristic of dynamic that makes modernity and traditional society different. As well as it makes the emergence of new social institutions such as the nation state, modern political system, technological production, wage labor, commodification and urbanization process. There are three processes to build dynamism of modernity as follow.

- separation of time and space

In pre-modernity, time and space have to be connected together all the time, but in the high modernity, the time is changed to be same standard. Both of them have not been connected all time or in the relative of time-space distanciation such as do not have to stay at work place in working time. That is because of the work system and technology that help people to work in anywhere if we have vehicle to connect with. Moreover, learning in the classroom is not necessary but it can happen anywhere at any time. Additional, there is rise of the form of telework, teleconference and telemedicine and this makes non-space and timeless status. Then, time and space that are associated with social life of people will be split of and sometimes they were brought together by the new communication and transportation.

The result is the differential in social relations such as the interactions that must not faced together and it is not necessary to face the true identity when having interaction. Moreover, the link between global and local, which may be easier in the

interaction among groups without being limited by time and space. Moreover, it is spreading the culture, information, knowledge to local more easily and makes the rise of exchange in the economic and cultural between each group. But at the same time, it is a risk that is a difference to face-to-face interaction, which can reveal their identities to those they are interacting with.

- disembedding of social system

In addition, people in this recent society have the difference in social relations from traditional society, particular in involving or interaction with people who has never met It can say that the life in modern society is filled with experiences through indirect social relationships (Manning, 1992). Moreover, the past-interaction may have a scope within only context of local but the role of recent globalization and time-space distanciation is making new social relationships that can connect the whole world. Something that happens in one area is a result from what is happening in remote areas. This is the global impact, which connects the influence of aliases with people's behavior under the influence of the ***"abstract system"***. There are two major themes. The first is ***"symbolic token"*** such as currency exchange, credit system, and ***"expert system"***. This includes system that based on a belief in the power of knowledge-based such as transportation system, communication system, economic system and life insurance, etc. Moreover, living with guidance of experts is crucial by having science-knowledge as fundamentally and these two forms must be based on ***"trust"***. That is not a trust in a person but it is a trust on the ability of system. These important disembedded characteristics of the abstract is that having interaction with the "absent others". Which do not exist, never found out, but these actions will affect the lives of each people.

The abstract system that includes an expert system and the expertise status is become the role of social control. In recent society, people must be under the control by the monetary system. They need to adjust their life with the rate of exchange of currencies, which have US dollar as the most important currency. The abstract system is relying on trust. Confidence and trust were created by social rather than spontaneous. Trust will be built up in the sense of ontological security, which has developed from relationship between infants and their parents, and it is embedded

deep in the unconscious. That is what Erickson called the "basic trust", which is an emotion rather than cognition. People will need to have this unconscious sense of trust. Then, they can act or interact with other people in society. This can be called as a medium for interaction with the abstract system. In the same time, the abstract system has a risk that people are not prepared to meet and also deskill the life of people such as medical and other profession which use their own knowledge as expertise over the others and make action of other become invalid or should not believe, if it is not identical with their idea.

Living in modern society, it is necessary to interact with strangers via the abstract system. This will allow us to interact with strangers on the trust in the abstract system, while we do not familiar with these people before. The new nature of modern society is surrounded with mechanism of trust in the abstract system. This is especially the expert system, which is involved with the life of people such as consumer, medical or even marriage.

Living under the abstract system does need the trust and trust or faith in these things will be a connection with the confidence to live in this society. However, the trust and risk is counterpart to each other. When people lay their trust on something, it means they have to take risks from putting their trust into that system. For example, insurance system attempts to deal with risks that come to life. But at the same time trust in this security system can become a highly risky as well. Moreover, this can make many crisis of morality such as nuclear technology. Although it can give benefit to human, it can be serious consequences as well. Then, the risk in this way is often has high levels of corruption. So, living in recent society means people have to deal with many risks that involved in life also.

- institutional reflexivity

One difference between modern and pre-modern society is the modern society has a relatively high of institutional reflexivity. It is resulting in changing in personal and groups. Because social practices are taken into consideration and created in this process, people in society, which are expert and other, have to rely on reflexive of knowledge to evaluate and improve the social systems that these people need to rely on. This makes modernity has self-reflexive character, which the tradition social does

not have. Then, the process of reflexivity will occur in both levels of personal and institution. For example, negotiation with the abstract system, this shows that people are trying to negotiate with modern institutions. That is surrounding with trust in the abstract system. This is especially for the expert system that people can choose to change the level of reliability and move their reliability in one system to another system. The spreading of knowledge about the risk recently had led to the critic and concern to the mistake or limit of those experts and it will change the characteristic of institute that involved with those expert systems.

However, Giddens used the word ***"sequestration of experience"***, which means people were made to have different feeling from others and this is one of social repression form because the high modernity has separated social life of people from experience and morality, which influenced the lives of people in traditional society. This includes the sexuality that creates meaningless feeling in life that is nothing has valuable for the dedication. Moreover, this can be a major psychic problem of people in this era. Moreover, the dependency in abstract system deskill the other knowledge in society because of their reliable on what experts think and act on the basis of science, technology and skills of experts. This will lead to separate and worthless feelings of people, including health, illness, and sexuality. These are all tied to the knowledge of experts in these matters and something that is being without this knowledge will become the wrong thing. This destroys other knowledge that has gained in traditional society

3.2.2 Post-traditional order

People in the high modernity have to live under post-traditional order, which has more options for people. Person will live in less controlling. This is different from traditional society, which culture has influences in people's actions. It controls people to do and people do not have to concern of how it should be. People do not need to think because there are few options and it was defined by rules and traditions. At the same time, this reduces the importance of the ethic and morality, which was deeply rooted in traditional society. The barriers, which surround people from small communities and traditions, was broken and replaced by impersonal organization. This leads to the lack of reliance or trust in people minds and the

emergence of new pathology form making feeling of unstable life. Then, the culture in this era is characterized by risk culture because it comes with risk. Those cultures are the culture of consumption, leisure, entertainment and many lifestyles and another nature of high modernity is social life that requires having interaction with strangers. This interaction can be achieved through the trust in the abstract system but it is based on the risk as well.

The people in this age also need to live in reflexive way in all parts of society from level of government to the relationship between people. Then, people must think or decide what to do or not to do, because society does not give a decision to walk. There are more options. Then, people need to think, choose, and they have to create variety of ways to be aware of their own self-identity to decide what to do and what they want to be. It does not mean that the tradition is disappeared from the whole society but people have the right to choose what is appropriate or inappropriate, or just choose some of the most important in their lives. Moreover, the old tradition still being questioned or brought back to be rethinking and being more diverse. It is not being familiar that people will follow anymore. At the same time, it was replaced by rational reflexivity, which became the main form of social solidarity in the modern world. However, the main problem of the modern culture is that rationality cannot respond to the current social context and it also has a result in emerge of industrialization of war. That has effect in destruction, which affects many people in the world.

3.2.3 Uncertainty and multiple choices

Living in this high modernity means to live in the environment of opportunities and risks at the same time because the society is filled with options, at the same time, it is based on uncertainty that is not caused by natural disasters but it is men who made it as known as manufacturing uncertainty. It is society of risk or the risk society under the influence of science, technology and expertise. The risks and uncertainties are coming up with unpredictable and it is not the risk in individual level but this risk has effect on the mass such as the collapse of the economy. Then, it must be calculated or aware of these risks at all times but it cannot concern in all of those risks. Moreover, science and technology that could give convenience for people also bring about the unexpected results. This is a high consequence risk that cannot be

absolutely controlled such as nuclear war, the industrialization of war and global warming. Giddens used the word ***"juggernaut"*** which it means like travel that we cannot control what happens along the way. Because this modern society seems can be controlled, but it cannot, or cannot conduct the direction and it can make a lot of advantages and tremendous dangerous at the same time such as nuclear technology or genetic research. This risk often comes with innovation or new invention. No matter how the abstract system, which supports this thing, will be in control or be used carefully, but it is not possible to predict the error that might be occurred.

Additional, Modern life is a life-threatening in a new environment of risk such as in the field of market of product exchange, labor, investments and currency. Lives of people have been associated with these risks in all directions but they have been entrusted with this risk system through socialization since early age. It is not only trust in parents or caretakers only, but it includes abstract system and the various legitimate in society also. Moreover, recognizing and assessing to the risks of the environment is a key feature of living in this society. This is in order to create a sense of secure in the result of those risk activities. Living in this society is being full of stress and anxiety in uncertainty and risk. Moreover, it is having anxiety that caused by trying to calculate and evaluate the risks that may occur. This is something that everyone has to face in daily life and these concerns used to deal by faith or religion because people think about themselves less than at present.

In this high modernity period, globalization is a key that influences the world scale and in the daily lives of people scale. The communication process in the globalization has a major role in restore or enhances the knowledge or wisdom, as well as cultural identity in local level to be recovery as well as to be destroyed. It is a major cause of anxiety and stress. The society becomes a social beyond time and space in which everything can spread quickly without taking the space and time as before. It may say that this recent world is not under the control of human anymore but it is difficult to control. Giddens called this is ***"runaway world"*** because even fundamentalism is a result of globalization. That occurred from developing a new communication system, which is count in the expert system as well.

However, having more options is increasing to the greater freedom but sometimes it may come with more problems, because freedom that can fill the need

but it can come with stress, taking time to think critically and choosing better option that will lead to minimal risk. The obvious example is changing the role of women that have more opportunities to demonstrate their potentials. This will lead to more opportunities in life and this will liberate women from the quo status or the old stereotypes but at this chance can be causes of stress and anxiety in uncertainty life and having more risks. This modern society is full of risk that lead to increase the anxiety all the time, then, people are trying to deal with these situations by creating a social network that can create feeling of ontological security, which is a key part of the trust, because trust can help to reduce anxiety and stress such as trust in the abstract or the expert system. However, it cannot replace the ontological security in intimate relationship between the people, which start with family since childhood and it is an important basic trust.

While modern society has come up with greater variety of options for people, Giddens had an idea which similar to Foucault that modernity can make difference, separation (exclusion) and the marginalization of some groups. Then, social inequality still exists although people have more options but they are options with depending on possession of certain resources also. In recent world, social phenomenon that reflects to discrimination and inequality between men and women still exist, whether men have power over women in both of private and public spheres and also includes double standard that happens in several sectors. The stigma in women was branded as irrationality, focus in both of emotion and action. Gender discrimination in work also made women fall into the vice position, as well as the case of changing the role of women that make women in the middle class in rich countries become having more freedom to enter to the labor market. These women recruited women from third countries to be their children sitters. Both of them have to face with difficult choice, in particular, women in third countries seem to be more difficult than the other. The women in first group have to try to keep balance between family and work, but the other group has to leave their children to send money to look after their families. People in this era are surrounded by a new strain, feeling of rootless and cannot organize their own lives. Moreover, living in a new form also comes with new threat such as new media or technologies that come with some potential hazards and it is difficult to control over it.

3.2.4 Life politic

The modernity has created the life politic issues that cover life style, sexuality and the emergence of a new culture, which are more prominent. Moreover, the life politic is focusing on self-actualization in both individual and collective levels. Giddens believed human liberation or emancipation project, which is expected to happen by thinkers in critical theory group, is not just releasing in political or emancipatory politic such as demanding freedom of individuals and groups to improve various options in life, reducing exploitation, inequality and oppression. It should include life politic, which is an attempt to eliminate unnecessary regulation of some limited in opportunities in some groups of people and should also focus on the level of autonomy action in the same as politic of choice and freedom in their life style. This is also known as self-actualization. This is to give chances to make some decisions and create their lives by their own, which is a politic in the personal level. This is a result of the reflexive project of the self itself. The emancipatory politic must be associated with the life politic, because the autonomy action is the important key of emancipatory politic also. Under the fundamental belief that everyone has an ability to act freely and independently, the life politic has to cover in option issue and opportunity in people's lives, including their sexuality.

3.2.5 Social movement

Due to the increasing and development of communication technology and recognizing to the importance of the cultural differences, it made social movement in this period be related to issues of cultural identity in the context of global social. Giving importance to life politic issue is also giving importance to identity as well. In this case the level of cultural identity is giving value to emotional fulfillment rather than in economic growth. It is not confined in political and economic changes like in traditional. However, it is changing in value that is focusing on culture and lifestyle of people, for example, those are the emergence of self-help group, democratization, the bottom-up decision making, etc. It was believed that a person, who has productive characteristic, must be a person with an autonomous individual also. This is integration between having good life in terms of emotions and objections. Then, society in this era does not focus on productivity like in the past, but it focuses on

human value that is filled with knowledge and the ability to reproduce social structure. It is including the ability to respond to environmental changing to get their lives better.

3.3 Self-reflexivity

Giddens's perspective focus on self by believing that self is not a passive or determined by the influences from outside but it is a reflexive project in which to think and respond to the structure and can be changed or recreated. Then, reflexivity is important feature for self in this modern society, which people can create their self-identities. Living in the late modernity society, which is full of opportunities and risks, makes people have to think and evaluate all the time. People cannot think, speak or being by follow the frame of the tradition without negotiation. However, it can determine to the cause and effect of their actions and others also. So, the mainstream of the high modernity society is reflexivity of self. People will have important roles in determining their self-identities but at the same time, it also creates the dilemma of self because of the self is independent and valuable but it still is very vague or controlled and reduced its value also. Moreover, trying to create self-identity also led to deal their bodies by themselves and a major change in relationship in this society is transformation of intimacy that reflects to the yield of self-reflexivity process of people in this era.

3.3.1 Self-identity

In a post-traditional society, people need to choose their own lifestyle as an unavoidable burden and they need to liberate themselves from the pressure of social structure to control their life style and identity. This could be a choice among various options and it is a duty of all people to build self-identity by them. The identity of self is being gradually built up on a daily life and be continue by thinking and the responsive of people to things around them. It is being above time and space. The self-reflexivity is a continuing process like the lifestyle, which is a regular practice on a daily basis. It reflects to a choice among various options and it is a prime example of the reflexivity of self, which is more cover than only consuming such as dressing,

eating and the actions to the others. In this era, people were forced to choose their lifestyle, which is a part of their own self-identity.

Actor or agent in meaning of Giddens is an agent who has ability to change the society. The word of society which influences people does not mean that actor will not have any options or cannot change anything but people can also action independently from the pressure of the structure. For example, the divorce of women is reflecting a reflexivity form without worry about traditional regulations, traditions that was branded as such inappropriate. Moreover, it is including closely relationship between people, such as sexual relation in modern society is based on the pure relationship. That is based on romantic love and commitment. It is a part of the reflexive project of self also.

Even in this era, self seems to be out of control from structure. On the other side, it is forced by another form. That is people will be encouraged to think of themselves more in particular, the existence of their current and future lives and their sexual behavior. They have to deal with the changing of needs of modern conditions all the time. Even a new social movement of some people may return to be pressing for the lives of the other groups.

At the same time, self-identity can become a problem as well, because there is likely to have meaninglessness feeling, which is an important psychological problem in this society. The moral issue is questioned more and more because it becomes more meaningless as well. The lack of personal restraint, sense of isolation, sense of loss and anxiety are increased in living in a risk society. That is likely to join with high consequence risk or even to try to have self-identity is a problem in modern society also, because the self-identity in modern society will be unstable and be separated into many sections. Self-therapy becomes an important way to solve problems about self-identity. Self has a reflexive character and self-reconstruction is not to deal with anxiety, but it needs to use the reflexivity of self in the phenomenon that has problem again. Rehabilitation treatment cannot be success without the individual reflexivity. Self-development is made by persons rather than by external factors.

Moreover, the reflexivity of self can effect on people body as well as affecting on mental procession. This is because dealing with their own body, becomes

a choice or an option in lifestyle. Then, people body has been integrated with self-identity and becomes a part of self-reflexivity process. So, the body and self are related, because people will try to deal with their own body in all situations in which the interaction has occurred, it is known as regularly body control, and the body is regularly used when they are having interaction. Thus, it becomes a vehicle of self to reflect to people's self, but it cannot reflect people's entire self at all, for example, the dressings that can be counted in one of self-display.

In addition, more than the body, there is another important component. That is personal habit that reflects through the body of people. In this society it becomes collective or has been made into the same pattern, because this was made to be a product or propaganda. Then, it became a habit and the body, which is a targeted market or be expected from expert system such as beautiful and healthy women must be white, thin, tall and clear face, is made people who is under commodification process are try to deal with themselves to match with what the market system and expert system need. This is a result of the institutional reflexivity process as well.

3.3.2 Dilemma of self

Even in the late modern era, people will have freedom and more options, but living in this era is not easy, because they have to face with tension, especially in people's self, which is Giddens called the dilemma of self, which looks as follows.

- unification VS fragmentation

Modernity is fragmented, not unified. At the same time it seems to be unified in some ways. This because recent society has a high level of individual, people have their own different ways. There are many different pattern behaviors; it is not structured like in pre-modern society, which was determined by the same norms but people can have various multiple selves to immediate context in each situation. Goffman believed that the presentation of self will be immediate by each situation. At the same time, they are like the fragmentation of self because people are trying to create their self-identity in this situation. Sometimes it can be a false self, because while they are trying to find self-identity, people need to adjust their self by each situation, then they got confused in their true self. Moreover, it is modernity's result,

which is also uniting character. The world is open to people moreover. Then, lives of local people cannot avoid the influence of global. For example, people need to realize and accept the global warming in the same way. Moreover, the new communication can across the distance and make people can have interaction with each other closely. Sometimes it is closer than their roommate. Thus, the modernity has character of fragment and unites and it has effect to the self of people in the late modern era. Then, the expression of the true self that can reflect the motivation of people becomes difficulty in this era.

- powerlessness VS appropriation

Living in the late modern seems to be more independent from the structure rather than in traditional society. In traditional society, people are under the control of the structure and live by following the formulation of structure whether a family or religious matter. Thus, there are few to be free act but if we are considering seeing that in modern society, we will find people are free to think more but it becomes blind in their power, because control power was sent to agency or organization. As Marx said about emerge of alienation from force of production in capitalism or living that based on influence of machine and market system in which that people have to live in this environment. Then, more social growing people will feel they are deprived their autonomy more. Thus, we can say both of people in traditional and modern society are in the same state of powerlessness but in different forms.

In addition, time-space distanciation and abstract system are key factors that cause people to feel powerless, because the globalization was distribute risk, which is high consequence risk, around the world as well. To reduce the concern about these risks, it needs to rely on the abstract system, and it will deskill of people who are not be expertise in the same time. Then, social life of people becomes less in control themselves such as living on the monetary system, exchange system, investment and banking systems, which are filled with risks, and they cannot control the external situations which have result in self of people more than just daily living. In addition, a part from spreading risk, globalization also contributes anxiety to people who live in the local level by inability to resist or transcend these things. In this era, it seems

people have a lot of choices but they fall in the situation of lack of power in themselves to choose at the same time.

- authority VS uncertainty

In modern society, it does not have absolute power like traditional society. In which of religious and family have power on people in all points. These influences seem to be beyond the control of people, because living in unsafe and dangerous environment, people have to rely on trust in that power. In the modern society, some of these powers still exist, but they become different in many ways. There are some organizations that may have power to predict this insecurity. This is due to more uncertainty of life and more variations. Sometime this variety is led to conflict among these powers itself and this may include the conflict in the expert group also.

Moreover, people who live in this age also need to decide whether it should be and decide what should do among many options. However, there is no right choice anyway because those options are blocked or already defined. Moreover, the choice that can lead to that life style is almost controlled by some factors, which people cannot deal with, because all areas of social activity has been defined or followed by the decision of expert knowledge in some way. This due to in the abstract system, trusts becomes an essential part of daily life.

- personalized VS commodified experience

Capitalism is an important dimension in the era of modernity and it has especially influence for the social life of people. Everything has become a production or commodification which affects to the consumption behavior of people, it makes consumption patterns become the same through propaganda and various methods. The main objective of this process is to make the economic growth. It is a goal for capitalist to determine patterns of consumption on their production patterns. However, people in this age also have high individualism level. Their individual will include their consumer behavior. Each person has a life style of their own and this is a result of response to the propaganda. Moreover, each person has different way in responding because they also have the autonomy of their own. However, capitalism also try to deal with those life style to control them to match with the needs of the market or

producer such as producing package by each life style of each group in the social hierarchy. It becomes the consuming under influence of the market and there are some effects on format of the daily life of people. At the same time, individualization process can reflect to the reflexive project of self that is trying to resist the influence of the commodification process, although it cannot show in all matters. The market system has created a variety of options for costumers but it is not allow them to create their self-identity fully independently.

3.3.3 Transformation of intimacy

Giddens believed that in this era it has dramatic change in the depth of personal relationships, which is different from bonding of people in pre-modern era, especially in sexual relationships. It is the start of the ***"pure relationship"*** that based on foundation of trust. This will base on independence and communication as the major key. Those are independent from force, violence and traditional heterosexual marriage. Moreover, it is occurred with the start of ***"plastic sexuality"***. We can see that it is free to choose partner recently. This is a part of the self-reflexivity that is involved with self-examination process. Thus, the pure relationship cannot be defined or controlled from outside, no matter if it is a social or an economic. It can start with the ***"romantic love"***, which is a process of satisfy or appeal to anyone who can make their life more complete. This relationship is arising from the emotions of two people rather than the external social criteria. This love will have relationship with freedom and women are tending to focus on romantic love. This involves with the vice status of women and it can separate them from outside world but it is an agreement to create a shared commitment between two people. Both of them have their own choice to live together. This includes sexual relationship also. Sexuality in modern society is made to be personal and becomes personal area of the deep relationship. The pure relationship must be set on the basis of mutual trust and it can reflect the balance of power between genders, which are often based on autonomy of women who are more independent from traditional double standard society. Thus, the commitment in marriage is based on satisfaction of both persons than economy as before.

"Intimacy" or deep relationship becomes an important thing for the people of this age, because it can make satisfying emotional and sense of security to people.

Moreover, intimacy can be related to sexuality firmly. Sexuality was linked to the reflexivity of people that involves with freedom in choosing their personal life or democratization of personal life, which is depending on the emergence of the pure relationship itself, and not only sexual relations but also in other relation too. This is due to the fact that women are more freely to think and to do anything. In the past women were tend to be dependent with the domestic role and the expectations of society. This relationship was caused by social building. But in recently, women can be whoever they want instead of the one in which social required. It is a result of having more options in social and more reflexive in people's lives. This release is not an advantage for only women but it is also open to other groups in society such as homosexual. Moreover, the sexuality becomes a personal matter that is different from the society in the pre-modern. In that society, the sexuality is under control and be attention all time. However, while women have become the vice of man, which because of the influence of romantic love, but men have problems in terms of intimacy more than the women, because women have more ability to adapt and prepare for changes in the intimacy. While men tend to rely on or live on the basis of supporting in emotional from women and they will have more problems when having change in intimacy.

Moreover, Giddens talked about the "plastic sexuality" in the meaning of sexuality that is independent from reproduction and the phallus or sex. This is used to especially related to sexuality and it was tied to the marriage in the pre-modern time. That is due to marriage is an important step of life that everyone ought to be done. However, the ongoing transformation of the social order has changed. Women were become equal to men and did not be pressure in sex issue as in the past. Additional, the influence of romantic love that gives the impression when both people love each other, there is no reason to inhibit the expression of their love. Even though sexual relationship or heterosexual marriage is still have an important role in recently social, but there is more exception in other sexual relation more than heterosexual. Moreover, the democratization in the interpersonal sphere that along with democracy in public sphere level is an important variable that can contribute to the change of deeper relationship of people. Recently sexuality has been reflected to the level of personal reflexivity as part of self-identity, it is including the sexuality-identity of people also.

If sexual is more understandable as personal matter, it will be more open to liberation of human sexuality or sexual emancipation. That is a new concept of new social structure. Then, the emergence of plastic sexuality will contribute to the emancipation of feminine sexuality also. To build the process called democratization of private sphere in term of structure is required to create pure relationship not only in the area of sexuality, but also parent-child relationship, a form of kinship or lineage. and includes the relationship of friendship between people also.

3.4 Conceptual framework

To explain the phenomena in terms of health and social of the never-married women, this study apply Anthony Giddens's Structuration theory and concept of high modernity and self-reflexivity as a framework to describe the experience of never-married women in modern times. In addition, the Structuration theory is to look at the structure that still have an influence on people, but it can be modified and reproduced by people in the society. People will be in a position of actor who can think, recognize and respond to acts of themselves and others. It is focusing on describing of the social life in high modernity society, which the person's life is away from being under control of traditional convention. It is a life that full with opportunities, options, but at the same time it also filled with various risks. Then, self-reflexivity becomes the heart of the people in their life today.

The life of never-married women is based on their self-reflexivity to the social context in late modernity era that is full of opportunities and risks even single definition is up to self-reflexivity of individual. Although the social structure is still influencing to the lives of these people, however it can be modified by the interaction of people also. In the past, never-married women had often been branded from society because it was not expected women to be single but society wanted them to be married to be wives and mothers. The identity of the never-married woman became contrary with the social needs. It makes the reaction of people in society be bias to never-married women. This bias was built from the cultivation and expression of these emotions. Especially old never-married women are more often branded more than any others. It is believed that the cause of women who are not getting married come from

their defects, characteristics and manners. It will be linked with the concept of women who were chosen by men for being mates. Moreover, society is transferring power of marriage to be men's duty. It means being single is not enough quality to mate. The reaction of society in this way effects on women to live with the uncomfortable and wary. Be watching all the time, among these women, ones who have high sensitivity in this issue will have unhappy life and poor mental health.

However, in this day, both single and married women have no guarantee or standard of living anymore. Women have freedom from these matters, even sexuality that is used to tie with single. It becomes more personal issue. At present, never-married women's life is depending on the self-reflexivity that has a condition on social in high modernity. Additional, applying perspective of Anthony Giddens to describe the health and social life of never-married women in this study will identify the influence of high modernity social condition and also includes the influence of self-reflexivity to the context around them. It explains in perspective of duality of structure that is still talking about the influence of the structure together with ability of agents to think, recognize, negotiate and change the structure. However, these theory and concepts are used only as a frame to set the direction of this study to have incident direction and more clarity but it is not used for proving that the phenomenon is consistent with the theory or not. The inductive method is used to study this phenomenon. The new concepts can be emerged from empirical data in the field work.

In this study we set the conceptual framework for the study (Figure 3.1) to answer the research question why never-married women have problems in health and living conditions and to find the relation between those problems with high modernity and self-reflexivity process. These are especially health problems that include the symptoms that occur with physical, mental and emotional symptoms that affect the body. Moreover, social life conditions are covered with working, housing, traveling, technology, safety, security. It is including lifestyle such as recreation, leisure, sport, consumption behavior, travel, beauty and entertainment, and also forms of some social relationships between groups of people such as friends, and families.

Health experience and social life of never-married women are related with the modern social structure where these women live in but it does not have strictly influence in the lives of all never-married women, because in today's society people

have more opportunities to make decision, interpretation and respond to interact with environment around them. Moreover, health experience and life pattern of never-married women are a result of decision making. This is a part of modern society and people can participate in choosing a direction or a nature of social institutions.

The study of high modernity that was linked to health and social life of never-married women is covered the channel or social network of never-married women to contact with other people through a variety of communication systems. It is including the abstract system, which is involved with never-married women such as credit system, communication technology, welfare system, enterprise management system and health system. Moreover, options and risks or uncertainties, which could have happened with never-married women, will be considered in context of working, consumption, economy, terms of safety and risk assessments in part of self-reflexivity reflection process. Self-identity of never-married women will be explained. That will focus in never-married women's attitudes, which are toward in various issues. That is involved with lifestyle, dealing with the body and intimacy.

However, this framework will be used as a guide line in this study. There will be other interest issues and new issues that will arise during this data acquisition. This will open for this discover of new information in any forms that can reflect their health status and social conditions, which will be associated with high modernity and self-reflexivity process.

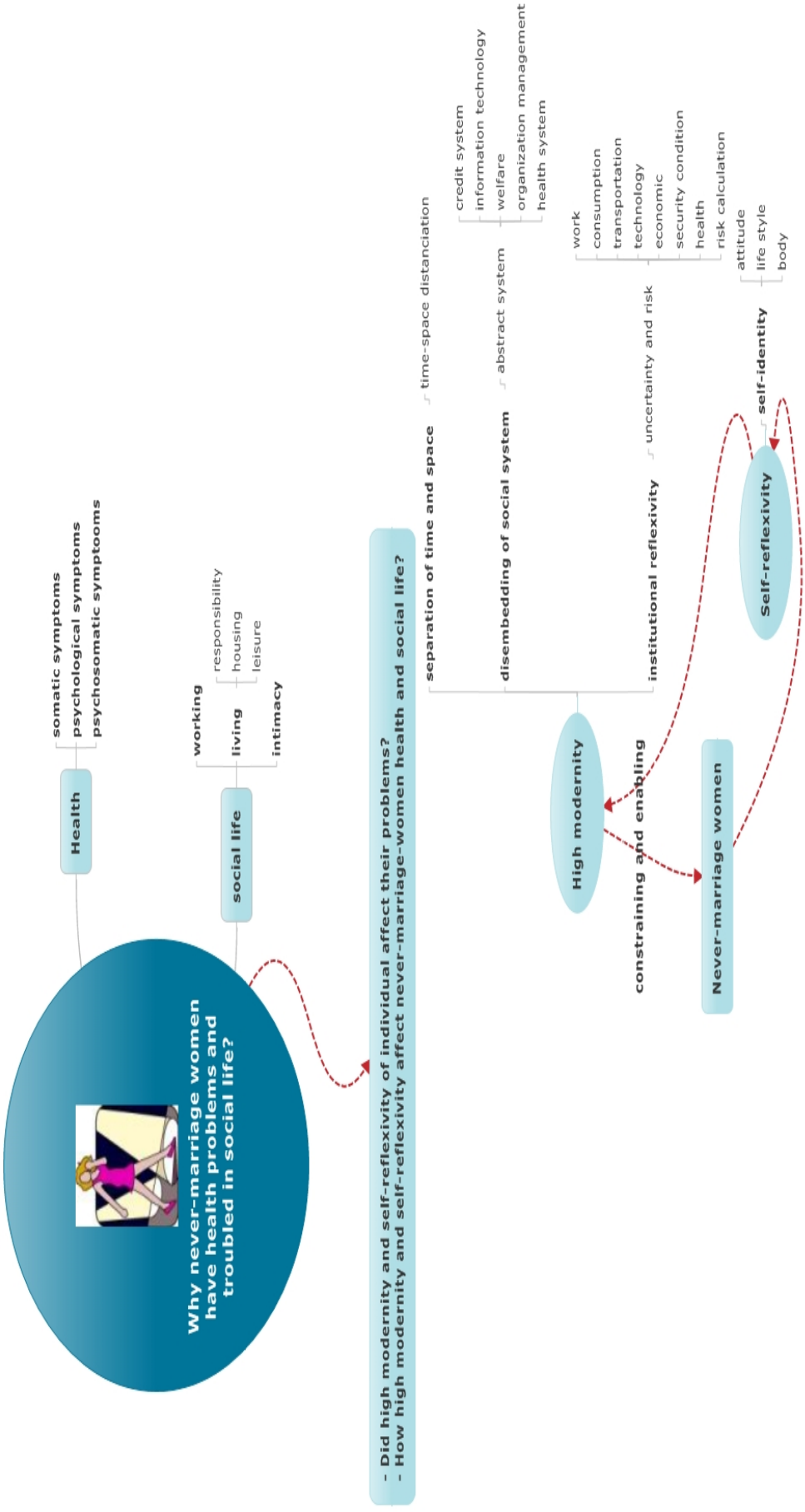

Figure 3.1 Conceptual framework to explain health and social life of never-married-women

3.5 Application of Anthony Giddens' theory and concepts

This research explains health and social life of never-married women by applying the Structuration theory and concepts of modernity and self-reflexivity of Anthony Giddens. It emphasizes on the relationship of structure and agency in the type of duality of structure. It argues that social life of individual cannot be fixed only by social force from structure. Individual can perform as an active agent. Agency allows individual to have reflexive monitoring, rationalization, and interpretation both self and other social interaction before decision made to response the social interaction. Eventually, it leads to produce and reproduce of social structure. This process is known as self-reflexivity. Therefore, structure, in here, leads to constrain and enable and can be the output of an individual action.

Health and social life of never-married women in modernity context reflects the duality of structure. In the present time, this structure becomes high modernity. Giddens argues that modernity in the present time is different from the previous time because of the stronger impact of global influence. Moreover, current modernity allows people to have more right to aware, criticize and apply variety kinds of resources to individual and society than the past one. It creates various lifestyle and self-identity but it also creates new self-conflicts and risks. These risks produce negative impacts caused by dynamism of modernity. The important characteristic of the structure is ***time-space distanciation***. It causes a new social condition. It also creates a new pattern of social interaction and disembedding mechanism which impacts on living condition within ***abstract/expert system***. On one side, it generates more alternative life choices from reflexivity both idividual and institutional reflexivity. On the other side, it effects unintentional and unexpected scenario coming from an ***uncertainty/ risk society***.

High modernity and self-reflexivity determine social life of never-married women in modern society. Individual allows to have different reflexive thinking, examine or rational thinking, interpretation, and response to circumstances. It observes through social life in various aspects such as working, home and living, financial management, and recreation. Social relation in each aspect, which includes health, cannot separate clearly. It has some linkage to each other. A response to different aspect creates pattern change or new system in the modern society (Figure 3.2).

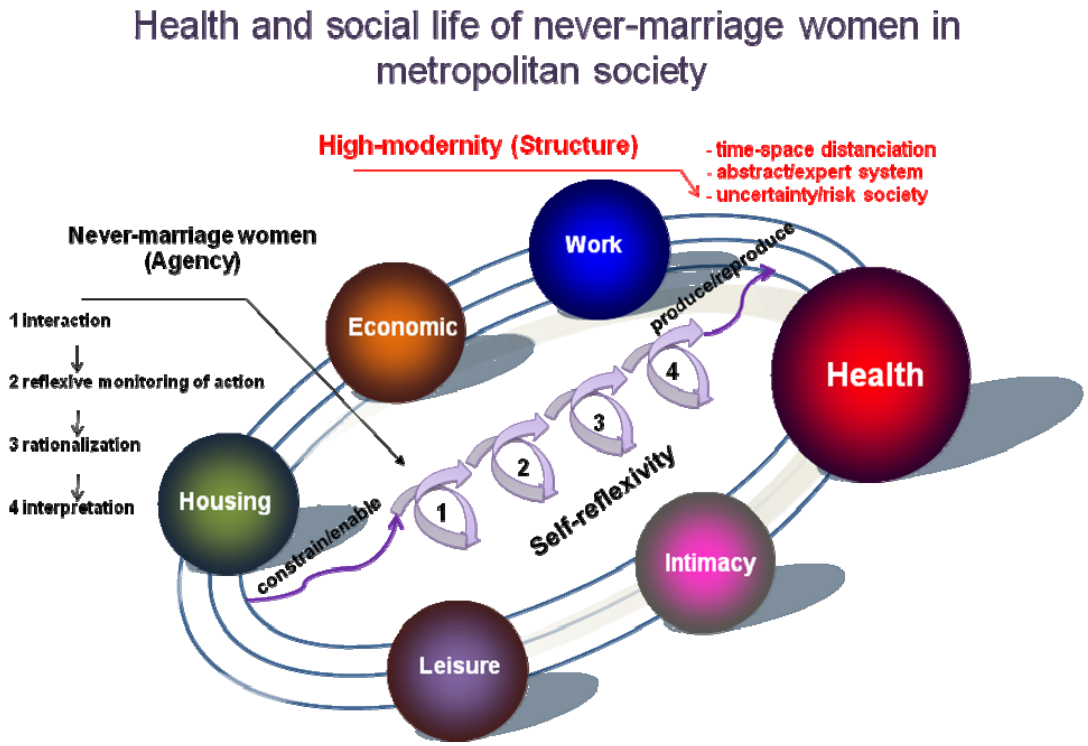

Figure 3.2 Appling Giddens' Structuration theory on health and social life of never-married women in metropolitan society

Social life of never-married women in this study encompasses different aspects of social life related to work, home and living, financial and economics, leisure and recreation, intimacy and friendship, and health. Each aspect has some connection and cannot be clearly segregated. High modernity influences social life of never-married women, their including interpretation and response to phenomenon (Figure 3.3).

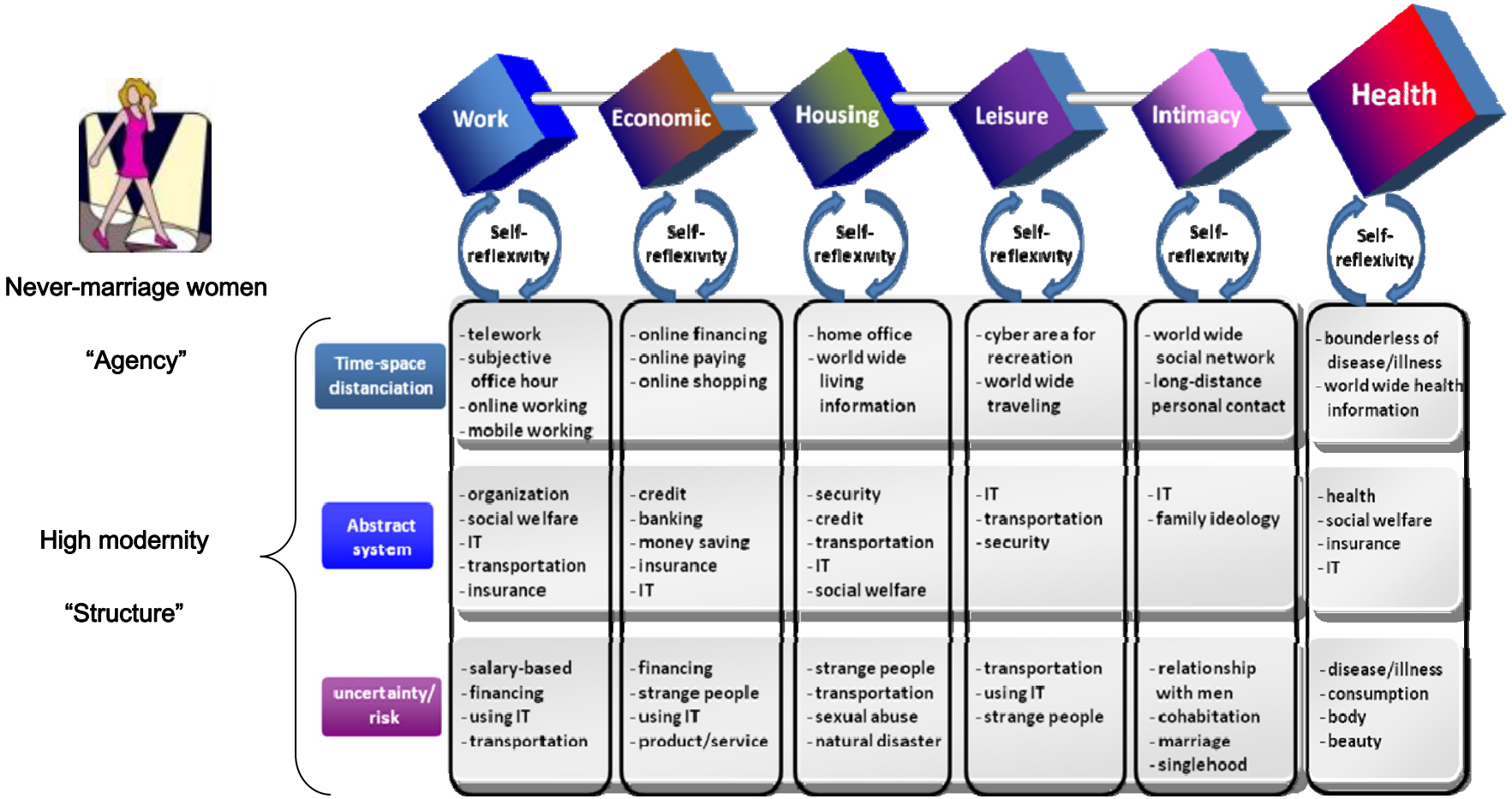

Figure 3.3 Practice of High modernity structure and self-reflexivity on health and social life of never-marriage women in metropolitan society

High modernity influences social life in the form of pattern of time-space distanciation, abstract/expert system and uncertainty/risk society in all aspects. However, it appears in different phenomenon. This structure is also determined by individual decision making through self-reflexivity. More detail about life experience, especially health experience of never-married women under modernity context and self-reflexivity process will be described in the further chapter.

CHAPTER IV
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study explores health and social life of never-married women by employing qualitative method. The study aims to understand specific pattern and various experiences of never-married women lifestyle related to health aspect and to explore those life experiences comprehensively, which allows women to reveal their personal information. This chapter provides research methodology, subject of the study, area of study, data collection, data analysis, and research ethics.

4.1 Research Design: Qualitative research of Structure-Agency study

This study highlights on self-reflexivity and modernity context determinate of never-married women health and social life. It needs to study both self-reflexivity and modernity context in order to better explanation. The study of agency and structure cannot be separated from each other. An agency study of never-married women provides lifestyle details of women and self-reflexivity reflects social response under risk/uncertainty social circumstances. While a structure study provides understanding of social condition or modernity, which affects health and lifestyle. Surrounding condition influences women lifestyle. These two concepts show that it provides a linkage and cannot be separated study. They can study in parallel more information as followed.

4.1.1 Agency study of never-married women

Agency study of never-married women mainly employs case study method. This method provides deep and continuous information through in-depth interview. It explores information of never-married women self-reflexivity clearly so that the research can explicate each case study of women life experiences in details in the aspect of family, work, life security, home & living, economics, social life,

technology use, recreation, leisure time, public service access, various kinds of social welfare, attitude, social interaction, and self-reflexivity etc. It adapts feminist methodology by employing research method under feminism perspective (Reinharz, 1992). The method focuses on individual experiences more than universal explanation. It seeks to link the knowledge related to social life and social reality of this group (Landman, 2006). It intends to explain life experience of never-married women through individual experiences and perspective.

4.1.2 Structure of high Modernity in the case study area

Bangkok Metropolitan Area is selected for the case study because this area reflects the high modernity in a similar way that Anthony Giddens argues. However, there is a possibility that the result of the study may be different to what have been established in literature. It is possible that the result maybe inconsistent and different to the Giddens' characteristics of modernity. This conditions may happen as a result of characteristic of social context which is different and unique only to the case study area. The divergent result will enrich the discussion and will likely to enhance the definition of high modernity. The study is structured in three parts, applying from dynamism of modernity concept, including: ***1) the separation of time and space***, which lead to the time-space distanciation condition, ***2) disembedding of social system***, which lead to abstract system or expect system and ***3) institutional reflexivity***, which lead to uncertainty and risk in modern society.

4.2 Designing and selecting samples: purposive sampling

The main subject of this study is the never-married woman. It means that the sample is selected from women who identify her self as never been married, whether they live together with their spouses or not. This due to the current state in Thai society, where it is more common for cohabitation before marriage and pre-marital sex, it becomes difficult to separate celibacy and marriage, where never-married women can also experience sexual activities. So, in this study, the definition of never-married women is not women who are virgin or do not have a sexual experience, but refers to the current status of "single" by their identity which they

want to present. It also means that women who are married before (widows), are excluded from the study. However, this definition cannot be simply divided into two different groups due to the complex nature of relationship. Therefore, the definition is intended to serve as a guideline in selecting participants and sample for the study. It is possible to define a new completely different group of definition, after analyzing the result of the study. Moreover, there are some criteria which used to select the respondents as follow:

4.2.1 Health criteria

Because the study focuses on health issues, the sample for the study is selected from those who are currently having health problems or illnesses, which refers to the physical and mental disorders and discomfort. For example, women who regularly have headaches, chronic insomnia, pain in torso, appendages and other body parts or a chronic illness such as bowel disease, heart disease, cancer, and other illnesses that can be linked to the lifestyle and reproductive health.

4.2.2 Occupation criteria

To obtain the comprehensive data on the social life of never-married women, the sample selected for the study is the never-married women who have to work and be self-sufficiency. This is because the study also seeks to understand the influence of work context to the health problems of never-married women. Types of work that the sample should have include an office work, whether in private or governmental organization without limiting the level of work. This includes selecting a former as a respondent. For example, it possible to select a respondent that has been just fired or resigned from an organization and now is looking for work or becomes a self-employed worker. The difference of level of work in the sample will enrich the description of never-married women in the current modernity in the study area.

4.2.3 Age criteria

The study considers age as an important variable that determines attitude, perspective, and way of thinking and is a reflection of experience in managing life and adapt to different environment. The respondents selected for the study are never-

married women with the age between 30-50 years old. The selection of the lower bound of 30 years of age is justified because this group of age has the biggest percentage of single women in Thailand. According to 1998 census data, group of age 30-34 has 33% of single women. While the upper bound 50 years of age is selected because 50 years old is considered passed the reproductive age and it is a criterion age for women to be celibacy in Demography. Moreover, it is common in Thai society that women above age of 50 are permanently single (college of population studies of Chulalongkorn University, 2008). The decisions of being single of never-married women in this age are largely influenced by the society. On the other hand, what society thinks of never-married women will eventually influence what never-married women think about the society and themselves.

The aforementioned reasons justify the selection of the respondents in the study. The respondents are selected purposively, using a snowball technique. The followings explain the process of sampling.

- **The preliminary step** is to search and choose a group of samples. The study conducts a questionnaire survey on web sent via e-mail for selected primary samples to collects general information, such as health condition, their job, and their willingness to participate in the study. They are also asked to provide personal information and researcher will call back if they meet the criteria. Moreover, if they know single women who match to the criteria of this study, they are asked to pass over the questionnaire via email to the prospective respondents. The use of Internet is also an important factor, which affect lifestyle, which brings new opportunities as well as risk to both property and life. It plays an important of the social structure of modernity or post-traditional society. There are all ***139 never-married women*** enter to this step of selection.

- **The second step**, after the number of qualified sample is determined, then the telephone screening to obtain the detail information of the prospective samples and ask their willingness to further participate in the research.

- **The third step** is to conduct pilot interviews with samples obtained through a telephone screening and then selects the participants based on the criteria set up and their willingness to participate in the research. However, this process reduces the number of the samples significantly, because many samples selected for the study are not willing to participate. The study then selects ***45 samples of never-married women*** into this study. These samples are called participants who are interviewed for the latter stage of the study.

Another subject group of this study for explaining the structure of modernity is general people who have daily life activities related to study area, especially working or living in Bangkok. They are also purposive selected by snowball technique and did not restrict their sex and age. This group is also ***45 samples***.

4.3 Research area: Bangkok Metropolitan

Bangkok is the capital city of Thailand and is considered as a primate city, which is central to development of the country. In particular, it is the center of business, where companies, shopping centers, hotels and tourist attractions are located side by side. The city has the highest number of population in the country, which means more activities and more people's movement compared to other provinces. The transportation system to support people's activities and movement is also more advanced with both public transportation and infrastructure system in the city. As a result, people in Bangkok experience a distinctive pattern of interaction, which is different from in other area in the country. These conditions are likely to result in Bangkok having the social structure of high modernity. Social relations of people who live in the city are developed through different channels and formats of interaction. These leads to opportunities but at the same time also filled with risks, in terms of insecurity and occupational risks. For example, risk to meet with strangers and risk that comes with various modern amenities. There is also a risk of living in a society that never sleeps, because the activities in society happen at day and night. There are also risks that come with technology, entertainment, and travel patterns, which affect the daily life of never-married women who live or working in this context.

4.4 Data Collection: in-depth interview

The data collected in this study are obtained through the ***in-depth interviews***. The method allows the participants, the never-married women to share their own stories using their own words and to ease the participants to share their experiences without feeling being interviewed. This method also allows the researcher to reflect the image of modern society, which is defined as social risks including health risks. The method chosen follows Oakley (1981) which researcher disclosed their identity in the process of collecting data. Researcher not only collects data, but also share and learn from each participant. Such method will reduce the gap and balance the power relations in the research process (Landman, 2006).

The interviews are also used in conjunction with a ***non-participant observation*** to notice interesting patterns and personalities, such as how they dress, consumption behavior, selection of items, lifestyle, social interactions, etc. Researcher also selects the place for interviews with the consent from participants. It may be a restaurant, mall, sport facilities or an entertainment venue and sometime even at the respondent's residence. Researcher also chooses to conduct an interview through various forms of social networks to reduce travel time and to make the respondents more comfortable and willing to provide the information. Besides, some never-married women selected as the samples declared their intention to be interviewed with their friends or siblings; therefore, other than in-depth interview individually conducted, a ***group interview*** was carried out with some informants who had chosen whom they wanted to join in the interview. Moreover, group interview also used to collect data from another sample group who are general people living or working in Bangkok for exploring the life experience in modernity context.

The study also investigates multi-method of study, the data from literature review are used to determine the form of establishment, financial information about the group or area and using the method of ***participant observation*** to explore the physical condition of the research area such as shops, entertainment and leisure attractions, transportation, and security in the area. The data are used to understand the social structure and character of high modernity in the everyday environment of never-married women.

4.5 Research instrument: guideline of questions

Apart from the questionnaires used in the study, the important part is the in depth interviews to understand the health and the lives of never-married women to answer the research question “why never-married women are faced with health and social life problems and conditions associated with high modernity and the process of self-reflexivity”. It is also important to understand why never-married women choose to be single. To help the data collection, guideline questions which consist of three parts are used:

1) General information on never-married women, which includes questions about history, present lifestyle, way of thinking, and current attitude and behavior on marriage and single and single parenting.

2) Information on health status, which include questions on history of illness, current physical and mental conditions, health problems and how the respondents use the health services.

3) Information on social life, which includes questions on the model used in daily life, such as housing, economic, social, work, travel, and technology, as well as the pattern of using public service such as recreation area, and social security. It also includes questions about relationships and other personal questions such as expectation and experience in love and family.

However, the in-depth interviews questions are in the latter stage of the research. While the general questions are used to screening the participants, the study also conducts a pilot interview to further select the participants for the in-depth interviews.

For another sample group who are general people living or working in Bangkok, three major sections are covered in the in-depth interviews (group interview) to explain the modernity context:

1) Opinions on modern condition, which includes questions on the definition and indicators of current modern condition, especially when compared to the previous era.

2) Opinions about people and life in modern society, which includes questions about the comment on the nature or identity of the people in modern society and the relationship between individuals and group.

3) Reflection on living in a modern society, which includes questions about personal experiences or lifestyle and also uncertainty and multiple choices in modernity society.

4.6 Reliability and validity: triangulation

It seems when qualitative researchers speak of research validity and reliability, they are usually referring to a research that is credible while the credibility of qualitative research depends on the ability and effort of researcher. Although reliability and validity are treated separately in quantitative studied, these terms are not viewed separately in qualitative research. Instead, terminology that encompasses both, such as credibility, transferability, and trustworthiness is used. Reliability and validity are conceptualized as trustworthiness, rigor and quality in qualitative paradigm. Triangulation is typically a strategy (test) for improving the validity and reliability of research or evaluation of findings (Golafshani, 2003, p. 600-604). It can also be achieved by using different research techniques or different sources of information to confirm and to improve the clarity, or precision, of a research finding (Yeasmin and Rahman, 2012, p. 157; Lewis and Ritchie, 2007, p. 275)

In this study, data and methodological triangulation are used for confirmatory and for completeness purpose. To explore the specific context of modernity, data from both 45 never-married women and 45 general people who living or working in Bangkok are collected and compared for summarizing the new context of modernity where never-married women taken their health and life experience. Moreover, to investigate health and life experiences of never-married women, multiple

techniques such as questionnaire interview, in-depth interview, participant observation, non-participant observation are conducted with 45 respondents of never-married women for checking and confirm experience and identity of them.

In addition, in the process of interpreting data, the data will be interpreted under the viewpoint and meaning of participants not the standpoint of researcher or strict theoretical framework. This can be done by concluding main point of the conversation about experience related to single life between researcher and participant after finish the interview and asking participant to response about that conclusion. Additional, the interpretation is well supported by the evidence and shown in quotation. The outlier case, such as never-married women who cohabitated with their spouse or homosexuality, are not forced into classes or ignored but instead used as an important resource in aiding understanding or theory development (Lewis and Ritchie, 2007, p. 275)

4.7 Data analysis: content analysis

The data obtained from the interviews and observations and questionnaires are analyzed qualitatively with regard to data integrity and consistency. The study uses Atlas-Ti software to analyze the data derived from the field both in the form of field notes and audio data. These data are grouped and categorized to understand the patterns and are summarized the key points. The data analysis is performed during the whole process of the study continuously, without waiting for the data collection is completed.

The study carefully considers the data analysis and its interpretation, and the interpretation of data is done without any prejudice. This is because the participants of the study have different status and lifestyle. However, there is a possibility of bias either in data collection and analysis because of the skills of researcher, whether during conducting interview, observation, note taking and summarizing.

4.8 Ethical consideration: protection of identity

The study requires private information such as relationship with people surrounding the participants, including sexual relationship. Therefore, prior to disclosure the data it is essential to ask the consent of related individuals. For example, some names of friend or spouse are kept confidential, and the presentation of data is focused more on the disclosure of individual life story. In general, study complies with the recommendation of ethical committee of the university before disclosing the information collected.

CHAPTER V
MODERNITY CONTEXT

The objective of this study is to explain the cause of health problems and social lifestyle of never-married women relating to modern context. Therefore, it is important to describe modern context in a clearly way, which helps to explain phenomenon and relationship between modernity and health experience of never-married women. The main points that reflect modernity in Bangkok metropolitan are as follows. Moreover, the specific character of this modernity context and its components will be conceptualized and used to explain health and life experience of never-married women under this specific context.

5.1 Modernity and indicator of modernity

“Modernity", according to most understanding, is the changes and developments in material, lifestyle, thinking, and knowledge of the people in society which are very different from the past. It is obvious that “Technology", especially "Information and Communication Technology: ICT" is an important mechanism that causes modernity. The many changes it brings are rapid, broad, and borderless communication; facilitating technology; individual and private lifestyle; lifestyle that is determined by the frame of time; freedom of thoughts and actions; more ways in self-expressions and increased networking; more equal role and status between male and female; increase in mixture and spreading of cultures; and increased ability of people in the society to change and adapt.

1) Rapid, Broad, and Borderless communication

Information and Communication Technology development is an important indicator of modern state because development in this area enables people in the society to communicate, exchange information more rapidly and conveniently as

distance is no longer an obstacle. This then brings rapid changes in other areas as well because of the information and culture that are rapidly spreading.

"…network, hi-speed WiFi internet connection, various applications, Facebook are used to communicate with friends all over the world, twitter..."

"…borderless communication, globalization…everything is really fast, easy-accessed information, not like the days when letters were the way of communication. It is sent in one click, bringing understanding..."

2) Facilitating Technology

Besides communication, technology is also an answer to the needs of people in modern society in many ways, making life in modern society more convenient. Conveniences brought by technology have become another important indicator of modernity especially in the area of transportation which provides fast and convenient lifestyle in modern society.

"… transportation, BTS, High-speed trains …"

"… in the past we telephoned each other. Now we chat through 3G seeing each other's faces. There are time-saver and other modern phone functions… if you don't know something, you use Google search engine…if you get lost, then you can search on Google map..."

3) Individual and Private Lifestyle

Besides being driven by technology, increase in individual and private lifestyle is another important characteristic of modern society. Part of the reasons might come from more possibilities in having individual life, and that people have less need to depend on each other. Technology enables people to choose their desired lifestyle without having to care about what goes on around them, or the frame of society like in the past.

"…individualism…not caring social rules, like everyone feels that they can have their own ways of life and daring to choose, daring to be different..."

"… in the past condominium belonged to single people, but nowadays, families also live in condominium... "

"… feeling that there are many choices, and that in the past people followed certain pattern of life. Nowadays, people dare to be different..."

4) Lifestyle that is determined by "time"

Even though modern lifestyle seems to be less limited and under fewer controls of norms i.e. customs and tradition, in the meanwhile, "time " has become an important factor that determine modern lifestyle because people need to hurry as they try to fit all of their activities in the schedule.

"…there is no time to sit down for breakfast. There are boxed-meal and sandwiches for children to eat in the car..."

5) Freedom of thoughts and actions

Another indicator of modern society is "freedom" and "being free". Modern society is more open to people's ideas, and creativities. Thus, they are able to express their individualities better, and this also results in more innovations being created.

"…in the past, there is more control. Modern parents give freedom to children. Freedom within boundaries does not cause troubles for anyone..."

"…when thinking of new generation, we think of those who have new thinking, different thinking, and those who have creativities inventing things that we have not had in the past..."

6) More ways in self-expressions and increased networking

Besides freedom from boundaries, which enables people to express themselves better, information and communication technology is another factor that stimulates and supports those who have been limited by their locations, or old society frame, to express themselves. This is another important indicator of modern society that is open to any groups of people and suitable for networking. It also gives place for small culture groups, which helps them to be under less social pressure.

"… there are ways for people to express themselves such as social network. There are people with similar interests, those in their own world, and those that think that other will be like them. Then they make groups..."

"…there are more spaces for everyone. There are spaces for the third genders like the cabaret show, where they can express themselves more freely... "

"…It might be because of better communication that helps us to know that in fact in our societies there are sub-societies that think differently. They might have already existed in the past but we didn't know it and the main group of people who were in power make their thinking the way of the society..."

7) Equality between male and female

Another important indicator of modern society is the change in status and role of male and female. It is obvious in modern society that female have increasing roles and status that are equal to men. Part of the reasons results from the change of thinking about male and female. Taking part in work market, female becomes less financially dependent on men, which provides female with more social opportunities.

"… modern women are self-dependent especially financially..."

8) Increase in acculturation and cultural diffusion

Development in information and communication technology enables cultures to spread rapidly and widely because location, distance, and time are no longer obstacles like in the past. The ways of people's thinking that are now more

acceptant to changes create more cultural mixtures in many areas of the world. People learn cross-cultural cultures and at the same time the original cultures are being changed or taken over.

"… it is like melting… it is beginning to be difficult to separate the differences between Thai and the west because we have adopted their culture… Korean came in and Westerners came in. Now it is difficult to know who's who..."

"English language? I can read it! Old generations can't read it… new generations must speak English and must be able to use technology..."

9) Increased ability of people in the society to change and adapt

Another important characteristic of people in modern society is ability to adapt and accept changes. The need to live in changing society and the results of the more rapid and varieties of changes especially through new technology enables people in modern society to be more acceptable to changes.

"…quick adaptability… instant changes. Not thinking too much, when we are bored with something, we change it. "

"…in the past, there are huge oppositions to differences i.e. working women, girls going to school. Those issues will be difficult, but nowadays people are more acceptant i.e. there are more third genders..."

The above information shows that technology is an important indicator of modern society. It is also a part of modernity and changes in individuals. Lifestyles become more individualized and there are more freedom in self-expressions, thinking, and more space for individuality and group networking. Therefore, people in modern society must adapt, prepare and accept those changes and be able to live in a society of many cultures.

5.2 Differences between modernity in capital city and other places

Even though modern state or modern society scatters in many areas, when considered in details, its form of modernity varies. Modernity in the capital city like Bangkok has different characteristics from other modern societies in many cities or areas that share similar indicators of modernity. Capital city society like Bangkok might have different forms and levels when compared with other societies in Thailand. Bangkok lifestyles are more dictated by time, having to rush, full of competitiveness, more individualized and obviously less caring for those around them. Other unique characteristics of Bangkok are that it is a sleepless city, tied to economy, and full of new things all the time.

1) Lifestyle that is dictated by time

Modern life in the city is dictated by time but life in Bangkok is much more so. A number of people come to live in Bangkok because it is a central city. Everyone is tied to the same formal schedule, so the other activities are done in the same slots of time. This causes congestions and delay as each person must meet his/her activity schedules.

"… in Bangkok, you have to race with time. Sometimes one day has already gone, 24 hours already..."

"…you have to look at the clock all the time. It's like life is being controlled by the clock."

"…people here race with time. You hear a lot of horns beeping… often cutting right in front of you, a lot of rushing around... "

2) Rush and Competitive Life

People living in the capital city are under tight time frame. Therefore, they have rush and competitive lifestyles. Even though, Bangkok is full of many resources, many people still strive for the best or for rare resources i.e. high position that will provide them with more income.

"…competitive work life, everyone works like robots. The word life is gone, living with the duty and the mundane. Spirituality and humanity disappear."

"…in Bangkok things are more rush. True that it seems like we get a lot done but we have to rush around and race with others..."

"…having to rush is obvious… we have lived in many places, yet we didn't have to be in such a hurry. When we buy food or travel, we don't have to race with others like this..."

3) High individualism

Society such as Bangkok is famous for individualism, where people care less for each others. They are separated from one another and have very little interactions, only when necessary. However, they have a lot of formal interactions and live among a number of strangers.

"… we decide alone what we are going to think or do, though it seems like people are looking at us or noticing us. But in fact, in Bangkok, no one cares.."

"… individuality in Bangkok… Bangkok and Chiang Mai are the same… except the people… In Bangkok people act very freely..."

4) Sleepless City

Another important characteristic of Bangkok is that the city never sleeps. There are activities going on all the time, days and nights. There is no limit to when the each activity should happen; therefore, life in the city continues all the time. There are also activities that meet the needs for this type of lifestyle, such as 24/7 shops, and working in shifts that support the needs of these 24/7 businesses.

"… in Bangkok 7-11 shops and other minimarts opens 24/7. In other cities, minimarts close at 9 pm..."

"…in Bangkok, things are late… even it is late already, there are still a lot of customers..."

"… there seems to be no days or nights..."

"… everything is dynamic, alert and awakes all the time, no sleep… building lights are still on… never sleep... "

5) Tied to economy

Bangkok is a center of economy, which makes a capital city like Bangkok become driven by economy. Thus, people living here must try harder than those living elsewhere. Every aspect of life needs "money", resulting in high cost of living. People then must try to gather their wealth in order to be able to fully meet their needs.

"…every step of life is driven by economy. The people living here must work. Life then is rush and competitive..."

"…any little thing we do means expenses. Going out means transport expenses..."

6) Symbol of new culture

Bangkok is a place where all kinds of people and profession come to seek better living condition. This makes Bangkok a city full of varieties of cultures and there are obvious mixtures of cultures. Finally, it becomes a city full of many new cultures. Original culture becomes a rare thing to find in capital city society, except when it is needed as representative or symbol of Thai society.

" …Traditions can be found in other cities. There is nothing traditional in Bangkok. Everything is new only..."

This study shows that Bangkok has unique characteristics of a capital city society, with modern indicators that is not different from other cities, but with different level and uniqueness of modernity from other modern cities. These differences are: life that goes on all the time, days or nights; city that is tied to center of economy; and city that is a center of constantly new cultural changes. These are important parts that give people in this modern state unique characteristic that is very

different from those in other cities. This includes lifestyle that is tied to timeframe, having to rush, and individualism.

5.3 Modern Society: society of opportunity and risk

Modern society is a society of opportunity because of development that comes with modernity making modern society a center of resources. Its characteristic is also open to all groups of people and modern generations are open to new things. At the same time, opportunities and choices come with risks. It depends on the person to evaluate and makes the choices that offer the least risk. Sometimes people might jump at an opportunity that has unexpected risk, whether there be opportunity and risk in economy, education, social and health.

5.3.1 Economic opportunity and risk

Economic opportunity in modern society covers resources such as work, capital or credit that enable anyone to invest and build their own business. This gives them opportunity to become successful in a very short time. At the same time, there are risks in investment as well.

1) Opportunity to access economic resources and risk in investment.

Modern society offers economic opportunity to many people. There are many economic resources, work places, funds i.e. loans or credits. These things enable people to make their own business opportunity. At the same time, all the investments are full of risk. The more benefit is expected from the investment, the more the risk is.

"… it is a source of jobs, capital, economy, but also with risk. Every investment is risky. In this context, risk here also mean risk from people around us. Where there are a lot of people, anything can happen."

2) Opportunity to succeed quickly and risk to fail

Modern society is a society that makes it easy for the new generation to become economic leaders or become successful in economy. Besides being a center of

economy resources, modern society is also open and provides equal opportunity to all levels of people. This is another factor that helps people to succeed in business easily. We can see new generation business leaders who are not so old. However, these businesses come with risks. However, economy fluctuation might be another the reason that the successes are not secured and do not last.

"… successful people in the new era are young as it can be seen in the western world. Opportunity comes easily but there are risks involved. Sometimes, they take the opportunity but know nothing about it. This is worse than the older generation. They receive too much information that they know nothing about… risk and opportunity cannot be separated. If you want to take the opportunity, you have to take the risk..."

5.3.2 Educational opportunity and risk

Modern society is open for all levels of education. Capital city society is especially open because it is where all educational resources are. However, it emphasizes systematic education which is in the same form and mostly goes along with only the type of work in modern society or city society.

1) Opportunity for higher education and risk in getting no jobs or undesired jobs

Those that have been through education in modern society have to fall into the same trap. That is having to look for jobs that correspond with their educational qualifications which is limited to only work market in the city that have limited number of positions. This brings risk as people become jobless or they have to decide to take jobs that do not correspond with their education or jobs that offer lower pay than it should be.

"…there are many bachelor graduates, but it is difficult for them get jobs. It might be the attitude, "I don't want jobs that is not in line with my education." There are not enough jobs for everyone that graduates. So this is the risk..."

5.3.3 Social opportunity and risk

Social opportunity and risk in this modern society come from broad and borderless communication. People interact with one another through network, which

brings other opportunities. At the same time, meeting varieties of people bring seductions and crime. Moreover, having space for people to express their opinions reduces privacy and brings conflict and violation of rights.

1) Opportunity to interact with people and risk of being seduced

People in modern society have opportunity to interact with more varieties of people through network. They are unable to screen those people whether they seek to take advantage of them or to harm them or not.

"…there are good chances to meet a lot of people, those that we already know or those that we meet through social network. Sometime, it opens up an opportunity to meet. It is risky to agree to actually meet up. Some people get a boyfriend/girlfriend, but it is risky. In the past, we know each other through friends or respected relatives. It might not offer that many people for us to meet but at least they have already been through the screening process."

"…there are chances to meet a lot of people but there are risks for criminal cases..."

"…with technology nowadays, it is easy to get to know someone. You don't have to make an appointment to meet and talk. Now you just chat.. We don't know whether they come with good intentions or not. Even among friends, we might think they are good but when time passes, things change."

2) Opportunity for easier communication and privacy risk

In modern society, there are ways that people can communicate publicly. People are free to express themselves though these channels, especially on social network. At the same time, this information cannot be kept private. It spreads and is hard to control.

"…when it is easier to communicate, technology, knowledge, education, or health becomes easily accessible, which is an advantage. The disadvantage is that when we make mistakes, it is no longer private. Whatever we do, good or bad, it will shows on

Facebook or Twitter. We have to be more careful in what we do or say. Things are less private… "

"…we can apply for jobs online… we don't have to walk in, which is tiresome. Technology becomes the medium. There are risks also. What is said online will be forwarded fast..."

3) Opportunity to express opinion and risk in creating conflict and violating other people's rights

Borderless communication through network offers space for people in modern society to express themselves more. But it is hard to control and it might lead to violation of other people's rights, though unintentional. This creates conflicts in the society.

"…communication and transportation technology make it easier to create trends, and separations like the political conflict of the Red-Shirts and Yellow-Shirts. People are easily persuaded, because people are more open. ..when they take in information, they should screen it, but some might not and take it all in as it was said..."

"… cyber space… we want to talk about something, but are afraid to do so. When we come home and sit in front of the computer, we dare to do it… but we might forget that it might break the rules or laws, or violate someone's right. Human rights are also a modern thing..."

"…modern society gives room to those who want to do things freely… like typing online. No one knows who types these messages. They can say anything, curse at anything… argue on social network… when people can do that, there is no need to endure each other. It is easier for people to argue and have conflict."

5.3.4 Cultural opportunity and risk

Being modern society and people that open to spreading of cultures, various cultures can comes in and integrate into the existing culture easily and sometimes with little screen process.

1) Opportunity in receiving new things rapidly, and risk of inability to adapt to change in time

The result of receiving new things without consideration is that it is not in line with the existing culture. Some groups of people are not able to adapt fast enough, which will cause cultural conflict between sub groups of people, for example, teenagers taking in western culture versus opposition from adults in the society.

"… they receive things too fast without consideration… because of rapid communication, whether it be western, Korean, or Japanese, people just receive it, unlike in the past when people did consider over everything before receiving it... "

5.3.5 Health opportunity and risk

Modern society is technology driven. This includes medical technology. Medical development is then another indicator of modernity. At the same time, modern society is full of an environment that causes sickness and lifestyles that cause stress, which is a health risk factor.

1) Opportunity for accessing and risk of having stressful and unsafe lifestyle

Conveniences in modern society comes with rush lifestyles. People in modern society live under stress: stress from traffic, stress from economy pressure, and stress from competitiveness. Conveniences in transportation give people more chances to move around or travel more. This brings risks through accident and dangers from those we might meet during our journeys.

"…convenient lifestyle is a guaranteed opportunity…but the disadvantage is the rush lifestyle, having to struggle more… and there might be long-term risks. People in the city rush around, and live under stress… many of them have stress-related health problems..."

"…transportation is more difficult up-country. You have to travel with your family in the car. Here in the city, we can travel easily but you have to accept the risk. You will meet a lot of people and you might be robbed. You have to take care of yourself..."

2) Opportunity to access health resources and more health risk

In modern society, people have easy access to health resources. At the same time, its environment causes sickness easily.

"…there are more opportunities for healing treatments and to meet specialists than up country… but the risk is that there are more pollutions..."

As mentioned above, in modern society there are both "opportunity" and "risk" in every aspect of life. Based on technology and driven by economy, modern society creates opportunity in many areas including work, education, medicine, and public health. Borderless communication enables people to access knowledge, express ideas and opinions, meet others, access information on work, education, and healthcare etc. As many opportunities as it bring, it also bring risk in many ways such as risk in economy, health, rights violation, crimes, and being seduced by many people.

5.4 Freedom and control in modern society

Modern society is a so called society of freedom that frees people from bondage of traditional rules. Thus people can think and express themselves more freely. There are places for them to express themselves. While most people "feel" that they are free from the former tradition, they are living their life within a conditional new society frame. They are unaware of it because it does not follow the same pattern which makes them follow the old rules. However, it comes in a form of idealism that makes people feel that the following items are "necessities" for this new era. These items include modern educational system, modern communication technology, consumer trends of modern society, economy, time frame, and physical and social environment.

1) Being controlled by modern education system

One that lives in modern society must go through modern education. Formal education produces workforce for society in order to build economic wealth. It

seems like there are many choices in this education system, but in fact, the students are trapped in this society frame, which stipulates the curriculum by being focused on economy goal. This doesn't answer the need for freedom of the learners. There are also other forms of learning that have been adapted to correspond with the above system such as tutoring schools, or more use of technology in teaching. It then seems like people need to have those devices in order to study well.

"… the freedom of choice is conditional. In fact, you do not really have a choice. For example, children seem to have choice to study without depending on tutoring school. But why are they still dependent on it? That is not freedom..."

"… it seems the older we get, the more choices we will have. Actually, it will get even more limited. .. If we have real freedom, we can choose to study philosophy because we like it. But what would we do after we graduate?..."

"… buying iPad 3. Parents have to line up to buy it for 1,600 Baht at school as if it's being given for free. If you buy it at school, programs that will be use for school will be installed..."

2) Being controlled by modern communication technology

Technology has become the most important factor for modern life because technology is a part of every dimension of everyday life. People in modern society cannot live without technology.

"… in the past, we felt like we were under a system, system of tradition and we had to follow it. Nowadays, children might feel like they have more freedom. Adults leave them to themselves more. At the same time, they are under a different frame, which is technology. For example, how would it make the children feel, if they don't have an iPhone? They feel like they are under pressure to get one... "

"…people are under invisible social frame. They will use mobile phone even in the bathroom. It is an iPhone with a camera. They will have to be careful. It might just take photos by mistakes… this is an invisible social frame that controls our behaviors... "

Those who are affected by this are the new generation that grows up with these technologies, and feel like it is more a part of their lives than the older generation, especially when communicating through social network is very popular.

"… it is as if my children have withdrawal symptom. When it's Friday, they don't care about anything. They go straight to the computer. It's like heaven for them…"

"… I felt that those things weren't necessary but now I cannot live without it. I get bored without internet connection. I want to be online all the time. If I go up country, I will have to look for WiFi connection..."

"…at first, I thought I would just log on to post a little something…now I am attached to it. I have to see what this person is posting, like I am too emotional about it… I log on every hour all day long. If I turn the computer off, I will soon turn it on and I have to log on and see what's happening..."

3) Being controlled by consumerism of modern society

Besides technology, another thing that dictates modern lifestyle is consumer trend, which also comes with materialism. This dictates everyday life activities including eating, communicating, dressing and recreation activities.

"…I have to be up-to-date with technology, Facebook, Instagram, fashion, Twitter… I have to have anything that is up-to-date, or I won't be able to relate with my friends."

"… I have to follow the trend. When iPhone was popular, I wanted to get one. Now, people want Samsung phone instead of iPhone, I will also get one. "

Some consumerism happens rapidly and it doesn't take long for it to have influence over people in the society for certain amount of time. Through various media, something can become popular over night, i.e. tourist places, restaurants, or songs.

"…you have a lot of freedom to do anything… but something still dictates you. For example, everyone goes to take photos at the popular After You or at Satorino that just opened..."

"… which is more cool, going to Chocolate Ville or local noodle shop? Normal doughnut is not good enough. I have to have Krispy Kreme doughnut. Five baht doughnut is up country style..."

"…this is a society of whatever you do, I do…Gangnam Style entered social network, and 200,000,000 people watched it. In this society, people follow the crowds down the same road..."

Another factor that creates consumerism is social groups. People feel like they have to follow the trend because they want to be part of the groups. Peer pressure also makes them feel like that it is "necessary" for them to do or have certain things.

"…I changed my telephone because I'd like to be like the others…if I don't have what the others have, I cannot communicate with the others. Society pressures me to get it. After I got it, I asked myself, "now what?" ..."

"… eating has to be in shopping malls or elegant places… KFC or MK… sometimes I don't want to go there but all my friends go. I will have to go with them..."

"…I didn't get a smart phone because I felt that I make lots of phone calls or send many messages. In some situations when I need to communicate with someone, it is convenient. Especially when something is bothering me, I feel that it is convenient. Conveniences replace solitude. Conveniences are also being sold. Society and modernity place so much value to conveniences that it becomes necessity. "

4) Being controlled by internationalism

In the modern society, people are not only being controlled by the influences of their local society, but also by international context. Nowadays, we have to also accept the international lifestyles frame. Obvious examples are the need to

speak English, or have universal dress code, or universal colors, even though it does not suite our climate or the meaning of these colors in Thai society.

"…the more modern the society gets, the tighter the social rules become. First you have to be able to speak English well. Now, that is not enough. You will have to learn the third language… Modernity gives us more freedom to speak our thoughts. We dare to express ourselves or speak up more... "

"… freedom of dress code is being limited by profession. I can dress modern, but the colors and styles are limited. Sometimes, I have to wear suite and sometimes not… I have to wear clothes with professional colors. But who says what the professional color is? Professional color is black but for Thailand it is an unlucky color... "

5) Being controlled by image and self-expression

People in the society have to have identities, whereas in the past, identity was already set by traditions that dictate everyone what to do and how to act. In this modern society that is free from those traditions, people have to seek their own identities. There are more personalities than in the past. They have freedom to choose to be anything. However, this freedom is limited by their professions, popularity, and class of people in the society.

"… we have freedom from traditions… we might have more freedom of choice. .. But there is another frame that limits us. For example, we might worry about our image. As a result we have to make certain amount of money. That brings certain behaviors, having to struggle and strive for better jobs, having to hurry..."

"…when we meet a lot of people, we look at them and how they look. They look great… we want to look as nice/beautiful as others. We want to dress like the others…"

"…freedom in fashion? Not sure if there is really freedom in it or not. Still the society directs it. It's up to our perspective. If we think we can wear anything we want, it is freedom..."

"…whether you have money or not, you have to have good image. You have to have a car even though it will take a longer payment plan. You will have to use brand named purse or the copies. Very few salary people will use low-cost cosmetics. They don't even use Mistine. They have to buy expensive cosmetic like what you will find in the malls. The fact is that everything has already been set for you, even your cosmetic brand..."

6) Being controlled by economy

Modern society is economy driven. Thus, economy becomes main factor that indicate their lifestyles. What and how much people are able to do depend on their economy resources.

"…though we have a choice to travel in the country or internationally, money is the limiting factor. If we want more money then we have to work hard. We cannot get away from this system. It is really hard. It's like a mobile; though the little pieces can move freely, they are still attached to the main frame..."

7) Being controlled by the frame of time

Life is modern society will never be free from the frame of time. Even though the people have freedom to any activity they want, they are still under the frame of time as they have to also make sure to finish off their other responsibilities also.

"… we have to plan our days, when we are going to eat or sleep… we have to plan what we will do in one day..."

"…time is our limitations. Time goes by quickly. Everything is fixed for us. We have to be at work by 8 am..."

8) Being controlled by physical and social environment

Even though people in the society seem to have activity choices, it is being limited by space. As each piece of land and any available space is being used for the most benefit, most activities end up in places such as shopping malls, entertainment venues, and exercise places. Most activities end up in similar places.

"… too many people. It is true that we have various means of transportation, but every Friday, we have to race with so many people if we want to go anywhere..."

"… you just feel that you have freedom. In fact, there is no freedom… there are a lot of limitations… These limitations we are not aware of. If we work in a Bank or any private sector, people hang out in the evening. It is unavoidable to join in. Then we have to work harder to pay for those activities..."

From the above, it might seem like modern society offers more freedom than the former society. In fact, it only offers freedom from the old frame and way, but not real freedom from other kinds of bondage. The new conditions seem even tighter than the old, because it works through ideals more than power. As a result, people agree to follow it without feeling like they are being made to do it.

5.5 Characteristics of people in modern society

Modern society with the many rapid changes, which come with both opportunity and risk, makes the people living in it adapt to the new form of society, developing into unique characteristics. Characteristics of people in Bangkok are more unique than those in other modern society because of its specific level and character of the society changes. These particular characteristics are lack of trust, few interactions between one another, high level of formality, high level of individualism, emphasize on identity, giving high importance to material and consumerism, impatient, rush, competitive, selfish, and giving emphasis on reasoning.

1) Lack of trust

Modern society is full of risk and danger through strangers. As a result, people in the society do not have trust for one another. They are so cautious of people around them that they avoid interactions with strangers.

"… on public transport, if I give up my seat for someone, they don't take it. That makes me feel strange and embarrass to do good. Sometimes, I want to offer help, but people

might not trust me. Sometimes I see heavy bags and I want to help but I am afraid that they might not trust me as there might be some valuables inside. So it is better not to help... "

"… people are less friendly… they don't trust each other much anymore..."

"… people are more paranoid… there are many beggar gangs. Should I give them money?... Would it be a good idea?..."

2) Formality and less interaction

People in modern society choose to interact only with those they know well, and avoid interaction with those they don't know except in the unavoidably formal cases for work reason. Besides the lack of trust that is the main cause, the fact that people are less dependent on one another is another main reason. Moreover, there are more public services that meet different needs. Therefore, there are fewer necessary reasons to get to know one another.

"…I have very few interactions with those I don't know..it's none of my business. There is no purpose to get to know them. If I try to get to know them they might be paranoid that I want something from them. I am even afraid to offer to carry a bag for someone on the bus..."

"…there is no need to get to know strangers… everyone has his own life. They don't really have to care for each other..."

"…I have very few friends, even though I meet so many people throughout the day… we have to be careful and we are paranoid. That means we are making boundaries… there are a lot of formalities..."

3) High level of individualism

People in modern society have high level of individualism. They have their private space and try to keep it even in public areas, for example, private space on public transport. Moreover, they give less importance to the eyes of others.

"… people are more private. Notice on BTS, people will use their phones and be on their own world, not caring for those around them..."

"… people don't have anything to do with one another. They live to themselves, take care of themselves. Not many people are involved in their lives… if they live in big city, they don't really care anyone."

"…there are many things I have to tend to. My life is busy enough. I don't have time for anyone. I don't want to talk… leave me alone. Also you have to be more careful when you live in Bangkok..."

4) Emphasis on Identity

People in modern society have to have their individual lifestyles. It is their duty to choose their clothing style, what food they eat, and which activities they do to reflect who they are that will distinguish themselves from others.

"… people are more individualized. They start to have their own lifestyle and stop thinking within the box. Notice people wearing blue top, and orange skirt... "

"…people have to have characters..some do and some try to make it. People try to present their individuality…some are seeking it..."

"people are different..they think in different perspective. They are unique..."

5) Materialism/Consumerism

People in modern society are trapped in materialism and consumerism. Besides being attached to the material they posses, they also are trapped into the value given to those materials. For example, the food they eat shows what class of society they are in, or possessing popular mobile phone put them in the same level as others.

"… everyone is too attached to materials, thinking that it indicates their modernity and level of acceptance in society..."

"…they struggle to survive because present society gives importance to material and money and tempting technology..."

"… there are more things that I want to possess everyday. If I want it, I have to work more. I will do whatever it takes to have it. Others don't matter. No rest…tired..."

"… people look at the way we dress.. I have to be in trend.. I live in the city, I have to dress like it. I can't dress like they do up country..."

6) Impatience

Living under frame of time, and modern lifestyles, people have to rush. Impatience becomes another unique characteristic of people in modern society. They have little patience because of the many facilitating machines that make everything faster. Thus, they expect to be responded to quickly and continue to live hurried lifestyle.

"…being hurried and being shot-tempered are similar. It seems that modern people have the tendency to be short-tempered. .."

"… everyone is in a hurry. No one really cares for anyone else. They are in a hurry when they travel, talk..."

"…people are in a hurry during rush hour… when I was pregnant, someone knocked me down. He didn't even bother to say sorry..."

7) Competitiveness and selfishness

Even though modern society offers a lot of opportunities, they cannot be obtained without competition. Opportunities are quite limited and become rare treasures i.e. job position. Everyone will try to do their best to obtain it. You can also see competitiveness on different stages.

"… people think about themselves more. I have to have this…I have to have all the resources. I have to obtain more power..."

"…people seek their own benefits. It might be too strong to say selfish… you can say capable, wise and able to take care of themselves. Competitiveness is unavoidable here, so you must be quite capable..."

"… being competitive is important… if we waste time by taking care of others, our opportunity will be lost..."

8) Emphasis on reasoning

One thing that people in modern society give importance to is reasoning which is scientific foundation. They will generally base their decisions on scientific knowledge which have been backed up by specialist. People will live according to the type of knowledge they choose to believe in. For example, people choose to have their health taken cared of according to certain health knowledge because it has been approved by modern medicine. Sometimes, they just believe it without any doubts.

"…people like to explain things with too much reasoning, or science. They spend more than 10,000 baht on fitness and Yoga and only attend a few sessions. The sales people often give a lot of reasoning and explanation how much health benefits it gives… People in Bangkok are so scared of many things. Are they too much aware of their health?... Knowledge make them paranoid…"

From the above, we can see that modern society gives people unique characteristic, which was created for the people so that they can live safely in the society. It can be concluded that people in modern society is individualized and their lives are under the frame of time and they must survive in competitive society.

5.6 Relationship between male and female in modern society

Relationship between male and female in modern society is very different from the former traditions in the following ways; their equalities, females are more self-dependent, smaller distance between male and female, dating freedom, shallower relationship, and not staying monogamy.

1) Gender Equality

Nowadays in modern society, equality between male and female is widely accepted. In the past, female were not given as many social opportunities as male. Now female have the opportunity to show their abilities and potentials, until it is accepted in the society that female have equal abilities and roles as male. Freedom to express feelings, ideas and thoughts override the gender differences.

"…whatever men can do, women can also do. There is more freedom in living... "

"… workplace rank is more about the type of work and position, rather than gender issue..."

"… more equality between the two genders… too much in some places, and not as equal in another. In general, female rank has moved up higher than the past..."

"…female are more expressive in what they need i.e. they express their need for men..."

2) Self-dependent of women

Society that opens opportunity for females gives them parts in workforce. This becomes an important factor in economy. It also enable female to be self-dependent. As they feel more self-worth, they don't feel the need to depend on men, which change the marriage attitude in female. They tend to think that they can stay single if they don't find the right match.

"… modern people have more tendency to stay single, if they don't find the right match. Modern society enables them to live by themselves… female doesn't think, "if I don't have a mate, I won't be OK." But, "I can do it alone"..."

"…female doesn't need to depend on male. If they have money, they can hire others to help them..."

"… there are too many choices. I don't know who to choose… we don't have to be stuck with someone. We have choices. Female nowadays only care about themselves. They

don't have to depend on anyone. If there is no right person, I can live by myself. This make them consider others less, less tolerant with others and men... "

3) Smaller distance between male and female

In modern society there seems to be smaller distance between male and female. In the past, they were not supposed to touch each other or show intimacy in public even though they are lovers. They can be close if they are lovers. In modern society, they can show intimacy whether they are friends or lovers.

"… they can become closer… show intimacy in public more..."

"… more expressive… no need to worry as much as in the past. Male and female can walk together in the dark, little street, or into a room as friends. No need to worry..."

"… in the past when females are close to each other, people will think they are something. Nowadays, they might be just friends..."

"…there are no real boundaries, male and female friends can go together easily..."

Moreover, females are less reserved. At the same time, male can touch females without thinking to take advantage or having hidden agenda. This is done under friendship.

"…it's more open. Male and female can play with each other. They don't have to be as reserved..."

"…relationship between male and female are not as awkward. It flows better… being just friends can sleep on each other's laps..."

"… it is not as conservative as in the past, not able to touch each other… it's like there is no gender differences..."

4) Dating freedom

There is more dating and relationship freedom than in the past. Part of it is because there are more communication channels, upon which relationship can be built, especially social network. At the same time, it is a channel where people can have more than one relationship at a time, meaning that there are more choices.

"…more dating freedom. In the past, you only date one person and no one else but now we can talk with others at the same time..."

"…it is easier to get to know others. Strangers can strike up a conversation through social network. Nowadays, people don't like to talk face to face. They think that it is better to talk through social network. They have more courage that way..."

5) Shallow relationship

Relationships between male and female in modern society are shallow, unlike in the past. When people do not take time to learn about each other, or build relationship, it is easier for them to end the relationship easily. More dating choices and opportunity do not support deeper relationship. They also don't have to be patient in building relationship like in the past.

"…it happens so fast, shallower, break up easier and less patient..."

"… short length of time in getting to know each other. If it is a love relationship, it will be short. If it is friendship, it will last... "

"…people decide to date each other easier, faster… they make quick decision, they don't wait..."

6) Polygamy

Various channels in making relationship and dating freedom in modern society result in more opportunities for polygamy. While dating, ones have freedom to date others at the same time, with or without acknowledgement from the other party. This confirms relationship that is so shallow in the present time.

"…people are not stuck with one person. They are able to date and get a new one if the relationship is not satisfactory…female don't think that after dating they are worthless..."

"…complicated…someone might already have a girlfriend/boyfriend but when we chat online, s/he says that there is no girlfriend/boyfriend. It is like they are trying to have more than one girlfriend/boyfriend..."

"…one of my friends dated someone and then they broke up. Then they both found someone else. It turned out that that man is a friend of the ex-boyfriend..."

The above shows that modern relationships are closer but shallower. This results from freedom from the old tradition, and more channels to build relationship which gives them freedom to initiate or end relationship as they like because they don't feel that they need to be patient with relationship that is not according to their expectations.

5.7 Marriage and Married life in modern society

Relationship that is different from the past makes a difference in marriage and married life in modern society. Decision to get married comes from love and satisfaction between each other, rather than other reasons. Therefore, the couples have the freedom to start or end relationship at any time. People begin to live like husband and wife without being legally married, and being so committed. This is because they depend on each other less. At the same time, society do not pressure couples as much. Both parties have freedoms and choice to deal with their marriage and consider their own feeling and worth more. Weddings become only a "symbol" or "ceremony" for formal couple life.

1) Love and personal satisfaction

Decision to get married comes from love and satisfaction between each other, rather than other reasons, unlike in the past where marriage has to do with economy and social reasons. For example, women have to marry because they need

financial help from the men, or for appropriate reasons, or they want to move up in social level. Love and personal satisfaction become main factors in starting and keeping married life.

"… marriage is all about love. That should be enough. It is more tormenting having to marry someone we don't love. It is not natural… in the past, it's about family or reasons… it's against feelings and you had to endure..."

"…it is very rare nowadays to be with someone without love. If there is, it must be business reason..."

2) Freedom to "initiate" and "finish" relationship

Modern society gives more freedom for people to make their own life decisions, which includes marriage. It is freedom for both men and women to decide to "initiate" and "end" relationship whenever they want to. It is easier to date someone and to break up. At the same time, it is more of a choice than pressure.

"… if it doesn't work, we will just break up. It is life freedom. Both parties have opportunity. Try living together first? If it works, we can get married. If not we break up…"

"…it is easy to get together, and break up. No one cares. Life has too much freedom."

"…divorce is a choice for both men and women. They both work and after separation, they can take care of themselves and there is no need to depend on the other party."

3) Living together with no commitment

Cohabitation tends to increase because of decision freedom from the both sides. They give less importance to formal marriage or see that it is too much commitment. Living together without being married gives them more freedom and gives opportunity to choose whether they will continue to be together or break up without having to worry about commitment that comes with marriage.

"…nowadays they just live together…it is not about marriage…marital status is single, though not practically single. They are living with their partner but not legally married. If it doesn't work, they just go their separate way."

"… one of my friends was living with someone before and now she went off and marry another man..."

"…two people dating will live together to learn about each other before they decide to get married. Will we be able to bear with each other? If we can't really bear with each other, getting married is more of a commitment. If we have to separate, we will get more criticism from people. The solution is that we just live together before we get married..."

4) Less dependent on each other

One of the reasons for higher divorce rates in modern society is because the couples have the need to depend on each other, especially on the women's side. Now, they don't have to depend on man financially. They don't have to endure the unhappy marriage.

"…people love each other easily but with less bondage. Their level of endurance and understanding decrease…Because I can take care of myself, I don't need to depend on you… I will not endure this. I can take good care of myself. Having another person in my life should make my life better. If not, I can take care of myself. I have a car and I have money to go shopping..."

"…the knot is not tied, and couple life is not as long as in the past. If I want to end it, I can. The relationship is looser…it is easy to break and tie with a new one... "

"…now people depend on themselves more. It is more individual lifestyle. No need to bond. The relationship fades..."

It doesn't matter whether the couples already have children or not. Women can take care of themselves and take care of the children by themselves. Having to endure the marriage for the sake of the children no longer applies.

"… they don't feel like they have to endure. It is easy to break up…this is because they can care for themselves. Being a single mom becomes normal. Divorce won't bother me for a long time. I can talk to my children. They might not have that many questions as their friends might be in the similar situations. It is very common. Children might learn fast..."

"…in the past, when women get pregnant, the men have to be responsible… Look on the men side, men become less responsible. And women might have modern thinking that is they can raise the children alone. If it is happier not living together, I can be by myself. Things change for both men and women. They don't hold on to family as in the past... "

"…many women want to break up. They don't want to go home and fight… if they can depend on themselves, they will leave… being able to depend on themselves financially is an important factor..."

5) Less sanction from society

Modern society has less power to control couple life. In the past, the couple must really consider social norms and they feel that they don't want to break that standard. For example, they don't get divorce because others will talk bad about them; they don't re-marry because people won't have good thought toward them; or women decide to get married because others will say that they are not wanted by men. Modern couples make these kinds of decisions on the personal basis, rather than social standard.

"… more people living together without being married because society do not force them as much now. Parents have less concern if you will live with someone when you work, especially for women closer to 30 years old or older..."

"…in the past, it seemed there was a rule that said you only date or marry once… now you can do whatever we want..."

"…in the past, if you are a women, it will be difficult not to be married…if you marry many times it is not so good. Women nowadays are more confident..."

6) More freedom of choice

Besides lower social pressure for couples, more varieties of communication channels give people more choices. Thus, they become freer from each other.

"… the relationship doesn't last because it is easier to find somebody else. Nowadays, it is easier to meet women…more people. It's tempting..."

"…both men and women think that they are equal. If they cannot stand something, they will express it. People express themselves more. Sometimes, it is unbearable, so..."

"…everything is more open. Living together before marriage is common. It is OK not to be married. Even after married, women still use Miss and their maiden names. Everything is about freedom..."

7) Value their own feelings

Modern couples seem to care their own feelings more than reasons or other necessities. They don't care about the future results. They only care about the decisions at hands.

"…we live together and if we are not happy, then we break up. They don't care about the children and they don't think that they should try to make it work. They don't think about the family, only about themselves… it is easy to get married but people won't get married..."

"…there is freedom to choose how much you are willing to commit…it is more about feelings than relationship. Compared with the past, if you date for along time, you must get married because life moves on. You have to have children, and family…but nowadays you don't have to get married or close to married. It is more about feelings of the individual… they place value on their feelings more than future... "

"… they don't think long-term. They think about what they feel at that moment. They date, get married and have kids. If it doesn't work, then they separate. It is better than trying to live with each other..."

8) "Wedding" is only a symbol

For modern society, "wedding" is like a symbol or ceremony that indicates the formal marital status but it doesn't indicate or guarantee completion of life like in the past.

"..wedding…ceremony might not be important anymore…it is more for entertainment…it is like a symbol..."

"…it is not necessary to end in marriage…some couples live together for a long time. They only get married when they have children. It is not like in the past. You get married. That's the end..."

The above shows that marriage or couples live in modern society emphasize relationship but not commitment. Both parties still need freedom to think and decide about their couple lives, when to start or end it. This decision depends mostly on the feelings, rather than on other reasons, which results in increase in couples living together before married. They give less importance to formal marriage.

5.8 The most important thing for living in modern society

There are 2 things that people in modern society give importance to. One is "self-development" and the other is "resources" such as money, knowledge and time management.

5.8.1 Preparation for "self-development"

Things that are necessary for self-development preparation to live in modern society are being able to adapt fast enough, careful living, having self-control, living in good morality.

1) Adaptability

People in modern society must have to be able to adapt to the quick changes. Changes in communication technology bring changes to other areas as well. Being ready and open to take these changes will help them to be adaptable to new situations better.

"…adapt to new situation easily and quickly… you have to be able to get back on your feet quickly in every areas, work or daily life. If you do that slowly, life will not be so stable..."

"… the world, the people and technology change fast. We have to move as fast… what is Facebook? What is online shopping? What is online banking?... We have to be up-to-date with technology and people. Now everything changes and technology changes..."

"…adaptability… society changes every day through international culture, or society. It is up to us how we handle these changes and adapt. If we can take the changes, it won't be difficult for us."

2) Careful Living

Living in risky society, one needs to be careful. In one split of a second you might lose your treasures and life. Moreover, this is a society of individualism; it is hard to depend on others for help. People don't want to get themselves involved. It is not their business.

"…we have to know how to survive, know to avoid things… if we have problems with our car, we have to know what to do. Someone might come to trick us, or try to do something to us when we use BTS. When are splashed on by acid, we have to know what to do..."

"… you have to be careful in everything, people, spending, and everything about life..."

3) Having conscious mind and self-control

Living in modern society, you have to have conscious mind and self-control because society trends have become controlling tools in this era. If you don't have conscious mind and self-control, you will be influenced and some trends are not good for you. If you only follow the trends and do not look at your own potential, you might find yourself having to struggle more.

"…control yourself. You have to be able to differentiate between the good and bad. Modernity is good in a way that it brings conveniences. It is easier to access things but it is not good in a way that we get used to conveniences that we cannot do things on our own..."

"…be yourself.. Do not follow others too much… you have to consider others' behaviors whether it is good or bad. You should not just follow them. We also must have integrity to stand on what is right. When you see that a politician is wrong, you should not say that a little corruption is alright..."

"…you have to know what you like and what you want to do. You have to know where you stand. Trends come in fast. There are materials, medias etc. Sometimes, we just get lost among the materials, medias, or trends. We have to know where we stand and not follow others..."

4) Living on good moral

Moral is very important and seems to be lacking in the modern society because of weaker roles of customs and traditions. People live their lives for their own benefits and do not think that they should be giving to others. People in modern society are looked at as having no heart, and being selfish. Thus, living on good moral will bring people out of this way of life, which will be beneficial to themselves and the society.

"… you have to learn to depend on one another in love, bear each other's burden, be caring and understanding. It's not like to each his own…you have to be kind, have good moral, and good conscience..."

5.8.2 "Resources" preparation

Besides preparing yourself, you have to prepare your resources because it is a very important part for modern life. These resources are money, knowledge and time.

1) Money

In economy driven society, it is hard to deny that "money" become the most important resource. Everything can be obtained by money. Wealth becomes an important goal in this age.

"…money is important. It is a very important factor for living. We cannot obtain anything for free… you cannot live without money..."

"… in the city, money is more needed because of the higher cost of living… money can buy the necessity like food, a place to live. This is the most important thing..."

"…money is important because if you don't have money, you cannot go anywhere. You have to earn money. We don't own land here to grow vegetable. We have to buy it. If we don't have money, what are we going to eat?..."

2) Knowledge

Besides money, another important resource is knowledge. It is not only scientific knowledge or academic knowledge but also any knowledge that is suitable for life at the present age.

"…the ability to access knowledge in time. Knowledge is important for everyone's living. It is not knowledge that can be obtained through study, but life knowledge. For examples, venders know where to go, what to sell… you have to know the changes in the society..."

"…knowledge is important. We are not talking about education… it is another kind of knowledge"

3) Time

In modern society "Time" become a valuable asset that anyone want to have enough of, in order to do more activities. In fact, we all possess equal amount of time every day, which is 24 hours. It is up to us to manage our time for our lives to fit perfectly. Time management is an important thing nowadays.

"…time management is complicated…if we can manage time, we might be able to have 5 different jobs because technology and many things in the modern society also support it. If you can't manage your time, it will be difficult to live in the modern society..."

From the above, the most important thing for life in modern society is self-preparation and necessary resource preparation. This is the reason for people in the modern society are in a hurry to prepare and save up for survival.

5.9 "Husky Modernity": specific characteristic of modernity context

Based on the findings, modernity in metropolitan society like Bangkok in which never-married women live has specific characteristics. When compared to Giddens' concept of ***"high modernity"***, it is found that such characteristics of modernity are the same as and different from those of high modernity. Therefore, the researchers have coined modernity in this context as ***"husky modernity"***.

Modernity in this context is surrounded by modernization taken place from external influences of novelty through the medium of globalization and changes in communication technologies, people living within such context constantly go through novel experiences from all over the world, including ways of life within the framework of constantly updated technologies and on global trends. People in the society exposing themselves to entertainment media—songs, films, plays—are more likely to have similar behavior or taste patterns across the world, and seem to speak the same language, albeit they do not use the same language due to the understanding of consumption patterns and working under rules and regulations in the same manner as a result of the regulation of the international management system globally recognized, which has become a standard measurement used in the competition to

increase productivity. Such phenomena are similar to modernity of Giddens' concept of high modernity noting the roles and influences of the separation of time and space effecting a phenomenon of time-space distanciation and patterns of abstract system influencing ways of life in this era.

However, modernity in the context of Thai society, though urban or metropolitan society, seems to be merely a ***"husk" or superficial modernization***. At a glance, it seems to have general characteristics of modernization. Nonetheless, under detailed scrutiny, it can be seen that, ***under the husk of modernization***, people hesitate, wait, and show signs of their ways of life under the influence of old traditions in the contexts of work, life in general, and interactions with others. These old traditions are more deep-rooted than superficial modernization that changes so rapidly that people in the society cannot cling to as firmly as old traditions gradually established in their way of life through gradual process. Thus, it is difficult for them to change, abandon, or have a new replacement of such traditions. Therefore, people in the society have more complicated way of life and perspective on various issues than those in Western society in the context of Giddens' concept of high modernity which is seemingly straightforward to a normative concept. As a result, people living within the context of husky modernity, in here, have to live their lives under double standard fused/mixed together, and simultaneously, fighting against each other, based on an individual's interpretation process, lifestyle choice, and response to various contexts associated with such standards. The impact of such phenomena is confusion, hesitation, uncertainty or "no principles", because individuals cannot firmly cling to dramatically changing new norms for their ways of life, and in the meantime, cannot cling to deep-rooted traditional institutions anymore, because such institutions are inconsistent with lifestyle changes in this era.

Components of "Husky Modernity"

Earlier findings indicated that forms of modernity in social context in which these single women live have specific characteristics due to the influence of modernity in this era that is different from that in previous era as well as international context and being the metropolis of Bangkok. The patterns of modernity considerably influence the self of single women living within such contexts through their own

thinking, interpretation, and response choices in various aspects of social life. Eventually, making such choices about their social life affects their health.

In this study, the components of husky modernity which are important contexts influencing never-married women's life have specific characteristics as follows:

1) Cosmo-Metropolitan Condition

Modernity society at present time has received much influence from change of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) it has caused change in model of interaction of people in society, change in mode of social life regardless of aspect of working, travelling, residing as well as recreation because all activities happened in their lives are not necessary to be bound with time and place as it was in the past, happen in every place and every time through system of modern information and communication technology.

Such phenomena result in the same pattern of social interaction among people across the world being influenced by modernity and make it seem universal. Besides, the characteristics of modernity in each area vary according to its specific contexts. Modernity in this study is influenced by Thai social context in Bangkok, the capital of Thailand and the metropolis, which is the only one center of civilization. The forms of modernity in Bangkok are the same as those in other areas but different in terms of forms, levels, and specific characteristics of being the capital. Thus, the people's life is firmly tied to the time, great haste and considerable competition. They have a high degree of individuality and show little interest in their surroundings. Moreover, Bangkok is the city that never sleeps, closely tied to economy and full of new things changing at all times. Therefore, the condition coined in this study is ***"Cosmo-Metropolitan Condition"*** of which modernity is a mixture of being universal and the metropolis under the influence of the progress of ICT as a center resulting in the change of interaction patterns among people in the society, including single women's lifestyle in the society.

2) Tradition-Modernity Contestation

Modernity society in this generation still reflect model change of explicit social norm, which looks like people in society will have more freedom from both traditional rule or former tradition. But at the same time, they must return to be under influence of the system which most of them are responded or trusted by knowledge or expert which people in society trust and believe and happen in all context of life such as all management system, which controls working, social welfare and health system, which affect life quality and health, financial management system, regardless, of which model of bank's system, credit system, money saving system, investment system, system for guarantee of risk of finance, life and health, which contribute to economic stability, system for protecting safety in all models, which contribute to stability of life and property and system of communication and transportation, which contributes to convenient, speedy and safe communication and travelling etc. These systems are created to provide convenience in daily life of people in society so that execution of all activities will have more feasibility. In opposite way, these things are new type of norm, which come back to control or create new frame for processing life for people in modernity generation, who agree to living under these systems with trust because they think that they are created or invented through experts.

Although Bangkok as an urban society is said to be the most modern city of the country, the influence of traditional institutions and ideologies deeply instilled in Thai society still exist, even in Bangkok as evidently seen in various aspects of life context such as customs relating to family relationships, male-female relationships, patriarchy, patronage system, and so on. All of them have an influence over the life of the people in the society in family, economic, work, and educational contexts as well as the exercise of power, and building intimate relationships among people in the society, especially single women in Thai society who are under the influence of traditional institutions regulating their lifestyle and characteristics different from those of men and married women. Simultaneously, single women in Thai society are influenced by new norms—the by-product of modernity—making them struggle between the influences of the two sets of norms which affect making life choices for themselves. The selection is made under the condition that the values and confidence of which set of norms are assessed as more. In this study, the state of struggle between

the two sets of norms influencing single women's life is called ***"Tradition-Modernity Contestation"***.

3) Modernity-Singlism Risk

Modernity society in this generation can be called as society of opportunity because there are possibility that a person will process all activities with convenience, easily and smoothly and has more choices in living and to have channel, which will lead to better opportunity of life, but at the same time must accept life, which is full of uncertainly and risk, because all opportunities must have more or less risk depending on evaluation of risk of each person and the ways selected by each person to manage those risks and to decide to choose the channel they think having least risk or have the risk in the level that they can accept, which are different in each person, because, even all abstract systems, which were created by expert, can have mistake depending on that person will realize those mistakes or not.

Risks today seem to be different from those in earlier times in terms of risk patterns that seem to be predictable and controllable, making people in the society have trust in systems developed and think that the systems enable them to avoid danger from various forms of risk. Nevertheless, in reality, those risks are uncontrollable, and the aftermath is unpredictable. People in modern society are more likely to have the impact of those risks. However, because of trust, they are not prepared for any mishap such as the impact of natural disasters originally thought to be controllable and manageable, risks or accidents from technologies and innovations developed for convenience, and so on.

Apart from such risks, people across the world today face similar risks. Singlehood in modern society can pose more risks and danger. Moreover, the influence of customs and morality that used to be a protective shield for women in the society, who are interpreted as weak/fragile and deserve/need protection and special care, is decreasing. As a result, women, especially single women, are lonelier, and must rely on and protect themselves for a safer life. In this study, single women's risks in today's society are defined as ***"Modernity-Singlism Risk"***, because never-married women have to live not only under risks from modernity in this era but also in danger that comes from ***"singlism"*** which means prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination

against single people or bias against people who are not married (DePaulo and Morris, 2006).

In this study, never-married women's health experiences and social life under the context of husky modernity are explained under three components to reflect more clearly the details of each component of this group of never-married women's life of specific characteristics.

CHAPTER VI
IDENTITY OF NEVER-MARRIED WOMEN

Modern society in present time is completely different from the former society. It is especially indicated by technology. In addition, modernity in capital city like Bangkok is very different from modern society in other places in both the level and characteristic of modernity. Society of this era is so called a society of both opportunity and risk in all areas of life. Even though people are free from the old traditional frame, they are unconsciously living under new conditions, resulting in unique characteristics. It is obvious that relationship pattern between men and women have changed, closer but shallower. This makes marriage and couple life in modern society become bonding emphasis but not committed. To survive in society nowadays, you have to be prepared both in self-development and resources. So, for never-married women who have to live in this modernity context, they have to prepare and choose their self-identity for survival in this modern society. The next chapter will explore general self-identity of never-married women which are the product of their self-reflexivity to respond with modernity context around them.

In this chapter, general identity of the 45 voluntary never-married women who were willing to provide further information about their lifestyles and experience by personal interview was identified. It possibly makes to understand the various important life aspects to explain the health and social life occurs within the modernity context. There is basically information and identities reflection the earning power of never-married women as follow:

6.1 Never-married women in metropolitan society: Who are them?

This sample group of never-married women age 30 to 50 years, and has worked in the private companies, public agencies, and self-employed in a various fields such as banking and finance, education, research, agriculture, transportation, communications, tourism, insurance, medicine and public health, and fashion, etc. Most of their work required for the coordination and documentation work skill. Any others are the calculation, services, administrative, and consulting. It should be noted that this group of never-married women have average work hour about 10 to 15 (maximize) hours a day, and a minimum of about four hours a day. About a half of them go to work by personal car and public transportation, especially the sky train. Many employees have to start of working from 7 o'clock in the morning and get off work after 8 o'clock at night. Moreover, almost of those never-married women are required to use any of organ parts to work on a regular basis, including to stare to computer screen, sitting in front of a computer, talking on the telephone, carrying the document files, stuffs, and computer notebooks, typing, clicking the computer mouse, walk, and stand.

It was found the most of these singles are living with their family or relatives, but some of them rent or buy for a place and are living alone. Apart from their work life, there are many way to relax such as sleeping for the approximately of 4 to 6 hours a day, or their personal preference such as reading, watching TV, listening to the music or favorite radio station, travel, movies, shopping, go to the department store, rest at home, household chores, hobbies, crafts, computer, game computer, exercise, sports, and other activities. There was rarely found activities like eating out, meeting with friends, meditation, dharma study, spa, face and body massage, and nightlife. There was also found nearly a third of this group never use the internet to make a new friend, while the rest of another make the use of internet to make and find new friends, work coordination, ask for more interested information, to buy and sell products, entertaining, and other purposes such as search for information research, answer the questions, and chat with friend who are far away.

Aside from these basics, to talk about their personal and social life can reflect the lifestyle of modern never-married women, which demonstrates to these following certain identities.

6.2 Identity of never-married women

After talking with these subject groups and touch of their identity, it was found the main identity shared of this era never-married women what may be referred to a representation image of modern never-married woman in this era as ***"the modern confidence women who can stand on their own."*** It qualified with the ability of their self-reliance, leadership, self protection, catch up with the new technology, living with free lifestyle, focus on self-esteem, and devote for the others.

6.2.1 The ability of self-reliance

One of the most important identities of modern never-married women is the self-reliance. Every never-married woman can work and have their earning power, as well as responsibility to their families. Some of them can buy their own place and car, which reflects they are responsible for their own lives and was encouraged to live alone.

- **I can live by my own self**

The self-reliance was supposed to be the presently main reason of key factor that makes many never-married women uninterested or focus to having the partner or marriage as much. Their self-reliance of earning performance from working and has been more social acceptable which made many of them did not feel having a partner much changes their life. Moreover, it mainly because the singles were already satisfies and proud of their performance.

"...Now it sound like women are equally with men, because they are more self-confident and does not need to rely on men. I can earn money and stand by my own. In other hand, there were more choices in the society..."

"...We feel that we live very well. It means we can take a good care of our self and family, which it was great. If a man came to our life, he could enhance us to lives better, but if it worse and make us felt tired, we should not take of it then..."

- **Self-reliance**

Some of never-married women have more than the work ability and earning power, but they have to make self-responsibility for all aspects. They need to deal with thinking and deciding of their own life path, to protect themselves, and resolve of any obstacles.

"...To have self-responsibility that cause of never stay with parents since childhood, it taught me to do everything by myself as I was a child. I had to protect myself and progress from environment enforced. Growing alone forced me to choose the suitable materials for living and being a thoughtful. It does not mean I never had a mistake. Actually, I always found a mistake, but I never let myself down. I can get up with the mistake and that is happiness. I got everything by my life devoted..."

6.2.2 Self-confidence

An identity found in this era's never-married woman was a "confident" or a self-confident look. Some of those reasons may come from their innate sense of pride by self-reliance. It encourages them with the characters of dare to think and voice of their own opinions on various matters.

- **This century confident women**

Many never-married women reflect their confidence through of their personality, expression, talking style, and costumes. The character of dare to think and speak out what they think may push the stranger regard the modern never-married women as too strong, which opposite to the soft and gentle looks of early days women.

"...In my view, I think I am a confident and quite arrogant. Although the others look at my behavior as aggressive, but I think it is non-aggressive confident. I just dare to think and speak out. Of course, I'm strong, but I'm also has a querulous and feminine side..."

"...Anyway, we're not afraid of changing, because we believe we can live by my own in every situation. We get use to the independence life. In my style, if I was invited to wedding ceremony but not ready about clothing to wear, I think it's better not to go...."

6.2.3 Leadership

An identity seen in this era never-married women was the leadership. There were many never-married women who are a head of the family. Some held its work position as a supervisor or executive, which reflected the never-married women are more accepted as a leader.

- **Can't live without me**

Many of never-married women were a head of family, and be relied on in the economic and management of house's duties. They had to decide and pay for any other of their family members.

"...Now, I have to take care of three peoples; my parents and uncle. I paid them for every month and responsibility the entire of house expense. My family has some fight problems and it forced me to buy one more house. Then, I currently became to take care of these three adults along with the responsibility of two houses...."

- **Ask me first**

Sometimes, many never-married women agree that it becomes a burden for them to make a major decision in the family and doing some duties the other or married members of the family could not have done, such as elderly care, control of the family members, and disputes management.

"...As a state of family head, I told everyone they have to ask me before doing anything. I give the monthly expense for my family and it was managed by a family member who is a secretary. Now, we have pay for this house by installment. There are 8 members in my family, including to 3 relatives. I have to pay for all of them every month..."

6.2.4 Self-protection

Aside of self responsibility, an inevitable thing for the never-married women of this era is a self-protection. They have to protect themselves from taking advantage and various harms in the societies. Each of never-married women will have to try the different techniques for safer live such a precaution, focus to the abnormal around, try to get away from the risk places, and be aware of many criminals tactics.

- **Please do not exploit**

A common manner of the never-married women was means they always be a compromise, but there was never accept anyone who likely to be interfering, violate their right, or taking advantage from them. It demonstrates that some fair involved with other people, they will have acceptance interact, but if their identity was violated in the areas of work or social life, they would not be accepted.

"...I have casual character, but irreconcilable. Some people may avoid of a problem, if it is not about the work or important matters. For me, I can't compromise even of a little thing. For example, if someone cut into the line while I queue to buy movie ticket, I would speak out loud as "If you don't want to found a problem, don't do that!", then they might be stop..."

"...I am not considered a client is a king, I will negotiate and arguing with them if it need. I will openly say whether I can serves. I never care for their unsatisfied if I already tried to do the best. Some people paid Bath 100 and I served for value Bath 120, so if they hope to receive for value of Bath 150, it might impossible. Finally, I just don't care and lets it pass..."

"...I'm a simplicity, but irreconcilable. I love to live with easy lifestyle and easy to talk, but I don't like to be taken advantage..."

- **Get away off the risk places**

It looks like the never-married women can't be avoid of facing regular inevitable risks, so they have to find the ways to take care of themselves and escape from those risks. An effective preventive way used by many never-married women is to avoid of the criminal dangers by does not go to the risk areas and endanger time.

"...I try to avoid a vulnerable situation such as go to the nightlife places or get back to home after midnight. This may risk us to be robbed. I try to live as simple as a daytime lifestyle..."

"...When parking my car, I try to avoid the risk places. In a hustle time, I will park in a hotel parking. When drive into a department store, I always choose to possible park

as close as the security guardhouse and avoid to park in the out of sight corner. I quite careful with dangerous people, because it always risk for women..."

"...I think the basically take care of yourself is avoiding to go to the risk places, such as night walking on the dangerous street, go to department store rather than the darks, and locked car while driving. You should only go to the safer place and possibly try to avoid all risks..."

- **Be alert, don't be inactive**

The most of never-married women believe that she may escape from various kinds of danger by trying not to be target. They have to practice some habits like observant, alert, and watchful all the time. They should be careful around when get alone into a wild alley. When, get on a taxi alone, it was recommended to watch out the taxi driver and remember its registered vehicle number or call someone to tell about the taxi detailed with your destination. If you have to stay alone in a hotel, you should avoid any unsafely rooms and dress with covered outfit. Moreover, you should not to have any seduction attitude with people, especially the opposite sex, to avoid of the mistake. So, a part of safe or unsafe situation is depends on your defensive behavior, it is better than hoping for the others help when you are in the danger.

"...When I have to stay in a hotel, if I got a connecting room that my door side has the key lock without a bolt, then I ask to move for another room. In case of I got a hotel room in the first floor, I will always ask to change for another floor room that a bit of difficult to access. I always beware of walking alone, if there is anyone came close and look distrustful, I will let them surpass..."

"...It is hard to make a protection, but it is necessary to be careful in any situation such as get on a taxi, you should see if the way of driving and call someone to tell about taxi detailed, as well as its registration vehicle number..."

"...It does not mean to wall in itself, but it does not to be unrestrained in the same time. I respect the others as well as myself. If I travel abroad with friends or customers, we have drink and chat together, but there is not impolitely behavior. So, I think we have to beware our attitude..."

- **News update**

It is important to update with the news and information about social danger. Many never-married women said they getting news update from many kinds of media and it help to be survives from the various risks, such as the fraud call center gang cheating to transfer the money via ATM machine, driver dangers, or financial services caution, etc.

"...Sometimes, I receive a telephone call about credit card fraud or deceive to ask my identity card number. Luckily, I knew this information from many kinds of media and did not be a victim..."

"...Reading news help me update to a new cheat such as a motorcycle rider came alongside the car and sign that your flat tire, if you stop and get off your car, you might be robbed. This could happen to anyone anytime..."

"...Some specific subject, such as banking, will have to study its advantages and disadvantages. It is worth to read the reviews of who've used to decide how it worth. Although I had studied, I didn't rush to use it. It should take some time to determined how appropriate of it..."

- **Carefulness about your money**

Financial management is an extremely important to safe the never-married women asset. There are many kinds of financial risk cover up the use of credit cards and bank account. It is important to keep a minimum of different credit cards and do not keep too much cash into any account which can be easily withdrawn by ATM card. This help to limit the financial damage if the unexpected mistake was occurs.

"...I use an only financial card to limit the damage within an account attached with to mentioned card..."

"...I do not have too much cards. I have an ATM and a credit card. Moreover, I just opened each account of 2 banks; one for salary receiving and another one for cash flow..."

"...There is need to move the large money from ATM attached to non-ATM account. If you have an ATM saving account with a bank, I'd recommend you have one more saving account without ATM card with the same bank. This is easier to make mobile transfer from ATM attached to non-ATM account, and it better safe for your money..."

6.2.5 Catch up with new technology

This mentioned technology focuses on the communications which was the key to lead and linked the never-married women to another phenomenon. Currently, mobile phone and computer has become an important factor in the urban lifestyle. Nowadays, mobile phone was developed to be a form of smart phone that can meet with various requirements, not only be a voice call device. A smart phone can help to make simultaneously activities such as chat, work, relaxing, video conference, and searching any information. Of course, the never-married women are the main target group of this kind of technology.

- **Personal gadget**

Sometimes these gadgets became a toy or relaxing tool. Some of never-married women have smart phone, iPad and personal computer. They connect to the internet via those gadgets and computer almost of the time for personal and work purposes. Someone accepts they are addict to this technology, because it's a fast and convenience way to communication.

"...I didn't addict to this gadgets and its technology. I have another thing to done around the house when stay home with my family. If we don't separate to own room, we always have a shared activity every day like eat together, watching TV, reading, etc. It means I will use technology gadgets in free time, but didn't feel lost when stay away from it…"

"...Nowadays, I use a voice call by phone very less, but get more connect with social network, mobile chat, and e-mail, because it easier to manage my work, connect with friend, and find something to read for relaxing..."

"...I think I addicted to the smart phone and don't want to stay away from it in any day. Its technology also helpful and may drive our society to the "Work from Home" rule.

Actually, some company already took advantage of work from home via technology while we face to the flood and mob..."

- **Facebook era**

In this era, social network communication is widespread. Many never-married women use social network to share their feelings and comment about valuable situation or events she faced. Most of never-married women are also use social network as a way to connect with friends that not seen for a long time or who are far away. This communication kind seems to be a way to build up a network and new society for this era never-married women.

"...In the Facebook society, you will found someone go to any places, do certain activity, and share a few of favorite songs or quote. Some are found a situation conclusion from facing another event, and share it on their status to meet with others met with the same..."

*"...In my working hours, I always open the Facebook homepage and hide it when someone passing by. Actually, I don't want to know about others life, but I just need to update with friends by using time for 3-4 click a day...***"**

"...At first, I'm not addict to mobile gadget, but taking more time with it and feel it satisfied is the reason to get in touch with it all my breaking time. This gadget help me easily access to check for my official and personal email. It also has an obviously map. Moreover, I can use this gadget for a personal entertainment, including to the Facebook application..."

- **Entertainment**

Currently, entertainments such as games, movies, and music, have been brought together with the virtually communication technology. It's not surprising that the never-married women like to take their entertainment time with these technologies, or take it as the loneliness solves. This may reflect a modern style of relaxation and leisure changing of this era never-married women.

"...I just bought an iPhone, and rarely used in the first place. Later I found it can shoot the photos and connect to the internet to use the search engines. I also love to use this device to read the entertainment news. I think I can afford for this kind of modern entertainment..."

"...I accept to addict with iPhone, I have to use it for Facebook connection and playing games application almost of the time. Furthermore, chat application could easily connect with friends and group of friend. For me, playing game on iPhone is a very happy activity..."

- **Work assistant**

Current technology has become a major work assistant for modern never-married women. Aside of the computer technology agency, the smart phone is seem to be an essential tool for mobility working life of never-married women.

"...I often go to the upcountry and this helped me a lot while travelling..."

*"...I try to make it worth. So I didn't focus on game application, but try to download the useful application for work**..."***

"...I use technology in my daily work life. I sit in front of the computer search the articles via internet connection, typing report, and prepare the other work, even in the 11 at night until 2 o'clock in the morning..."

- **Use technology as it was required**

Many never-married women try to use the worth of technology as it was requires, but will not try to follow the new technology or only focus to the technology, because life is not just a kind of technology. We should be uses any technology just for advantage of a living.

"...I'm not addict to new technology. I never follow up the new arrival of mobile phone. I don't need much function of this device, except its calculator. I suppose to change for smart phone some day it was required..."

"...I never deny the technology, but I will use it for the sake of its worth. Example, I think the resolution of phone camera can't compromise with the separately camera, so I choose to buy a camera to take pictures and a common mobile phone just for voice calling..."

*"...Some of my friends may have iPhone or smart phone because they said that they are busy and have to connect to the internet for work all the time. I admire them for brighten management skill to do many things in the same time. I used to do one thing in a time and checking email for a few days once**..."***

- **Above of the technologies**

If you thinks technology is an assistant to made easier communication, we might have to work harder because it convenient to work all the time, even if emergency case while we get rest at home. This idea would not match with some of the never-married women using style of technology. Their using style is depending on the decision, requirements, and using conditions. Many never-married women are not depend on these technologies, due to it could make a mistake in communication and less of their leisure time.

"...I want to make people get used to my style that I shall not be recognized of important work by modern technology. If someone left me a missed call, it does not mean I have to call back. If someone sent an email to me, it does not confirm that I have to see it. I don't want anyone to expect me to always connect with the technologies. The latest, I fix some conditions to accept only the printed work because read out the virtual document caused me an eye ache. Actually, I think sending worksheet via email should be confirmed by reply, if it was not reply, it seems to find another way to communication..."

"...I cancel the internet service at my hall. I used to have this service and connected to the internet until the lately night. It caused me sleep late. I think it's enough to use internet at the work place, after work should be time to do something else. While browsing on the internet, I always found interesting things to steal all my time..."

"...When I got home at the evening of working day and on the weekend, I will turn off my mobile phone because I do not want to talk to anyone else. If others can't call me,

they might know I'm staying at home. And when I don't go out, I won't turn on my mobile phone. I also do not have Facebook account. I think if we don't have these accounts and cut off devices connection, there is no way to order any job..."

- **Be awareness**

IT lifestyle leads to another danger for never-married women. It is recommend to avoids the risks of danger or limit it as a minimum. The risk to damage from the using social network is a matter. Each of never-married women had her own way to deal with it, such as delete old status from Facebook account, check for others profile or behavior of any requested before accept anyone to be friend, and have to carefully pose any messages. Nowadays, our phone number is not any confidential, someone could call you to sell something or the fraud may call to cheat on you. Many never-married women have more than one mobile phone device to ease of network choosing and to screen the coming calls.

"...Because I was ever meet with the psycho, so I always scare and beware of myself. In addition, some of my friends recommend me to delete old information on Facebook account, as well as be aware of myself while connecting to the virtual world..."

"...While using Facebook page, if we accept requesting of friend added from stranger, they can check all our profile and knew what we talk with friend. Actually, they can offer to sale unwanted products to us. I think we should have to check anyone profiles before accept to be virtual friend, or we can remove them from our lists in anytime. The most important, we shall not share confidential information on any online account..."

"...At first I use two mobile numbers just for switch to the different networks if any of it failed. Later, I started to receive product offering calls. This make me give a number for public application and another number just for friends, relatives, family, and work..."

6.2.6 Living with free lifestyle

An important identity which is a part of this era never-married women is an out of rules lifestyle. They choose to live in casual style and less care of social sanction. They are also less hold the regulations or ordinances matters. They express

of those mentioned by own style casual dress instead of strictly formal clothes. Anyway if they have to live in a strictly situation like working, socialize, they are ready to correct and modify themselves into the properly circumstance.

- **Be yourself**

Sometimes, it's so tired to concern about how others think you are. Many never-married women rather be self-centered than concern about the society watch. It is not quite means society careless, but looks like this will help them leave some status signing behind and to feel comfortable and relaxed to be their own selves in appropriate circumstances.

"...I see that everything must change, so it is useless to fasten on anything. The matter point is to look inside our self. If we feel comfort to do anything, it is not need to concern about what others think about you. It's all up to you..."

"...I do not too concern for the society watch. I can live alone, but it is not meant to be a social threat. I just want to be my own self, it means I will speak what I think and do not care whether you like my talking style. If I need to comment or swear, I will speak out loud and does not concern whether the listener like me. I think be honest is easier to understand than a smiling face you never know what are they really think..."

"...I think I'm a kind of living out of the rules. I am a teacher, but do not hold that role all the time. After finish the classroom, my student can come to chat with me. I will do anything great for myself, but do not care what the others thought of me..."

- **Casual and easy style**

Many never-married women choose the "casual and easy" style rather than following any of social rules. Anyway, some rules might have been taken in certainly occasions such as work regulations or rules of occasional appropriate. But for the lifestyle casual such as clothing, make-up, hair cut, and talking style, they likely to choose imperfections than following the trend.

"...Sometimes, I went to the market in the morning with my crumpled t-shirt and rubber slippers. Later, I go to buy diamond at Central World Department Store, in the same suit. I did not want to get back home just for taking a shower and changing the clothes to coming out to the department store again..."

***"...**I do not set up any perfection image for myself, so I would not have to get perfect makeup or hair style all the time. I preferred to take casual look..."*

"...I do not quite follow the trend because I know that some of it does not really suit to me. It sound non-sense and I choose the suitable way that I preferred..."

- **Multiple identities**

If you ask these sample groups of never-married women about which is their real identity, it might have been hard to specify. Many of them accepted they had multiple identities modified by the situation and people she would have to encounter. Moreover, her multiple identities were also changes by her own emotional needs, such as costumes or appearance. Some never-married women said that she does not have just one clothing style which hard to guessed or realized it was her certain style. They likely to changes for various wearing style to be harsh, sweet, and elegant looks in any day.

"...I do not have single appearance, and have various styles depending on my mood. I never concern how the others. I feel confident to regular change my hair or clothes. Someday I may have straight hair but another day I may have hair waived or other styles. For clothes, sometimes I may dress of my mother clothes..."

"...I may have a bold look because I love to wear pants, but someday I may dress into a sweet or elegant look. Anyway, if I see someone looking smart or beautiful in their clothes, I may love to be like that. I need to have two characters..."

6.2.7 The importance of self-esteem

Another thing reflects the identity of this era never-married women is a sense of pride and appreciation of their own. An important thing which makes them

feel valuable is to prove of her performance and use her talents to work and make a benefit to the organization and society. Many never-married women consider her work ability is the most important of currently life.

- **Prove of achievement**

Goals or achievement expected from never-married women has been many forms. An interesting point is they did not focus on the benefits such as raise of the salary, good welfare, or to be promoted, but prefer to focus on the achievement and to complement a sense of self-esteem. Because of the successful is a proof of never-married women ability.

"...I just want it to be accomplishment work it as good as I can. At the first place, I may work with unconfident and always ask for others advice. Later, I got more confident and would be asked for advice by others..."

"...It is a kind of pleasure that feel the touch of successive. I always tell the new employed younger that working life is not so smooth. This job quite not means to travel, some rewards from customer are a part of our job, but successful is come when the customer sees you as a part of their family..."

"...I work for accomplishment of work. I wish my works will advantage to our society. That's my happiness. I was not intended to work just for myself..."

- **Value brought the happiness**

Never-married women need to prove of their value with the work accomplishment. Many never-married women have a same work goal. They work for develops their own ability and want to be pleasures with it. They choose to do what they love and love what they do. Although these tasks were not paid them the entity benefits such as compensation or promotion as the most of people were expected.

*"...I want to do some good thing. I want to have the opportunity to develop my skill of scholarly work. I think it might be great to do what I love and feel happy about it. My last will is to be happy and I always know that working can fill the happiness to my life**..."***

"...My point of work is to work with happiness. When I know my really working goal, I will try to looking for helping people rather than to make wealth..."

"...At the first time of working, I have several factors to drive me feel the salary is the best to make my life secure. But it should make you feel happy in the same time. I think the intellectual who finished the Bachelor Degree, might not want to sit on the table and just work in front of the computer all day and get back to home after work..."

6.2.8 Dedication for others benefit

Many people may think that never-married women would have to devote for work and compensation for secure life and responsibility for themselves. But actually, there are many never-married women who are not devote to work for themselves and dedicate for others, and it means strangers.

- **Dedicate for others**

Many never-married women are willing to dedicate themselves to serve others by working for a public charity. Although they could not start to do it now, however, they take a chance to help those who suffering. It is a good intention to reflect that living for others is another goal of modern living.

"...I'd ever decided to retire at the age of 50s, but now I changed my mind to retire early. It means retirement from payment work to do the volunteer work after 50 ages. I wish to use my knowledge for charity such as convert into the fund for foundation or help the foundation work without any payment..."

"...In my routine work, I think I can help to share the others work. Every working day has to serve more than 200 people, and I try to do the best of my task as help. I believe that if we do the good and clean business, its quality quite better than consider the quantity..."

All of the information presented are reflects the identity of modern never-married women. It may conclude that the never-married women have a confidence, self-reliance, and able to taking a good care of their own. In the meanwhile, they are relied by the others and dedicated to help for the others. Living in

modern society, the never-married women have to catch up with new technology which became a major factor of this era lifestyle. These values are makes them proud. Anyway, those identities are consistent with the context of metropolitan society which has been driven by technology and individuals in this society which have to live among the opportunity, risk, and new type of controlled. The specific self-identity in each aspect of life such as work identity, living identity, and intimacy identity of never-married women will be described in the further chapter.

CHAPTER VII
HEALTH EXPERIENCE OF NEVER-MARRIED WOMEN UNDER MODERNITY CONTEXT

Never-married women health phenomenon is experience. It is always changes by various determinants and contexts. It links with other phenomenon and experiences including working, general living, and intimacy. In this study, modernity relates personal experience. This modernity which be called ***"husky modernity"***, society under the ***"husk" or superficial modernization*** that changes so rapidly. These contexts affect never-married women more or less depends on self-reflexivity. Although women live in similar social context, they might face health or other experiences differently. Never-married women's health experiences and social lifestyle under the context of modernity are explained, in this study, under three components to reflect more clearly the details of each component of this group of single women's life of specific characteristics. This consists of ***cosmo-metropolitan condition***, ***tradition-modernity contestation***, and ***modernity-singlism risk*** in modernity context.

The term ***"health problem"*** of never-married women in this study refers to illness experience of women and difficult condition or limitations which reduces a chance to access wellbeing improvement such as accessing health welfare and health service. Some women might perceive as a problem while some might think differently since they both have different method to handle situation. More details are described as below.

7.1 Never-married women illness experience and husky modernity

Health and illness of never-married women can be called as “experience”. It occurs in all entire life with different pattern. Sometimes, they can identify disease clearly but sometimes it is only a feeling of illness for both physical and mental health. In conclusion, illness means disorder and uncomfortable feeling to physical and mental condition. It includes all confirm clear diseases from doctor’s diagnosis or only a feeling.

However, in modern era, it is found that the illnesses trend to be more chronic illness than infectious disease and illness or physical disorder caused by behavior or living pattern in modern society. This pattern occurs on many body systems. For Gastrointestinal and digestive system such as gastritis, acid reflux, gastroenteritis, abdominal pain, hemorrhoids, and cystitis. Disorders associated with musculoskeletal pain such as back, neck, shoulder pain, and body sore. And others such as headache, migraine, eyes, body weight from fat or high cholesterol. Moreover, it is unavoidable for mental illness which caused by state of mental and sometimes affects physical health.

This study shows never-married women health experience and modernity which consists of ***cosmo-metropolitan condition***, ***tradition-modernity contestation***, and ***modernity-singlism risk*** in modernity context. The details of study presented as following.

7.1.1 Illness experience of never-married women with the cosmo-metropolitan condition

The development of information technology and communications has made the daily activities are not necessarily attached to the time and space anymore, especially in Bangkok where is the center of information technology. Moreover, influence of information and behavior pattern around the world which is so easy to access today can affect the health phenomenon, in the sense of diffusion spreads of new diseases and illnesses, which mainly associated with the behavior aspect in worldwide modern society. For example, there is an emergence of the office syndrome or IBS disease, psychological and psychosomatic symptom.

In modern society, people have to live with this kind of chronic illnesses, especially in capital city like Bangkok. However, never-married women are also worry that health information that received may be not accurate. This condition has increased their anxiety and fear over their health problem, which eventually worsens their health condition.

1) The expansion of diseases and illnesses associated with modern society behaviors

Transformation of the way of living and social interaction in modern society, where time and place are not always attached together has changed our behavior. For example, office work associated with technology can be done anywhere at any time via communication information technology without people actually present and meet each other. This kind of change in working model can affect health and well-being of people and can expand a new type of illnesses and diseases associated with this behavior.

- **Office Syndrome**

Health syndrome that is common to never-married women is called office syndrome. This syndrome has an indication of muscle pain and ache because of working in the office, such as using computer or sit at the same place for a long time. This symptom can also happen to someone who does not use their muscle properly because of activities such as playing games, reading books or using Internet for a long time without rest. The symptom includes the soreness of muscles throughout body parts such as neck, back, arms, legs, hands, and feet. At first, these pains and aches are negligible and people are unaware of it. Throughout the years, it can be worse, especially for a person working with technology on a daily basis. In this study, many never-married women are experiencing this syndrome.

*"…After sitting for a long time working at the office, my **back pain** started to get worse. And my arms and **hands started to numb**. But I am not sure whether these aches are really related to my work. Sometimes, I can stay in front of computer for the whole day, without moving. There were times when I had to go to hand in files or documents to other*

people, and then I would have time to walk around. But ***mostly my works require me to sit on my workspace****…"*

"…I have a ***chronic shoulder pain*** *and need to go to massage regularly, especially on my right shoulder. Probably it is because* ***I have to work with computer all the time.*** *I notice that when I do not have to use computer I do not have this pain…"*

Beside an effect on neck, back, arms, legs, hands, and feet, eyes pain is another impact from using computer. So, this syndrome mostly occurs with never-married women in every type of working related to computer.

"…I would have problem such as ***headache*** *for just about a month or two, then I started to feel ache on my eyes. After that, I usually would have allergy to certain things all of sudden. I had not gone to see a doctor yet, because I did not want to eat the medicine, and* ***I thought it might be because I work using a computer all day****. I asked around and some of my colleagues in the office had similar symptoms. I realized after I went to see a doctor that I need glasses…"*

*"…****Eye pain*** *is not the only problem…I have to test my eyesight, because I never be aware of this problem. At first my eyesight starts to be blurred, and I cannot see things clearly from a distance. But my biggest concern is because* ***my work is related to computer; I never really walk around****…"*

"…I never know that it affects my eyesight, after I change work and still have to stare computer for long time for reading reports and book drafts. I start to think about my eyesight feels strange, ***everything becomes blurred and my eyes get teary easily. I guess this is because I have been working with computers for too long****…"*

- **IBS Office lady new syndrome**

Irritable bowel syndrome: IBS is a disease of intestine malfunction. It causes abdominal pain with diarrhea or constipation or diarrhea and constipation. It cannot detect any pathology such as no result shows from intestinal endoscopy, no intestinal inflammation, no cuts, no tumors or cancer. The disease is not affected by other organs malfunction such as steroid toxicity, diabetes. IBS is a chronic disease,

which might take up a year to cure or perhaps a lifetime. Although it is a chronic disease for several years many years, the disease does not cause health deterioration or lead to cause of death. It may cause anxiety and suffer to the patient. They may feel very anxious that the medicine cannot cure greatly. In some cases, diarrhea happens very often. It disturbs working and makes them avoid going outside.

In other countries, this disease is commonly found in women more than men about 2:1. In Thailand, it is found in similar number of men and women. Until now, the exact cause still cannot explore yet. The patients are likely to have symptoms after meals or stressful condition. There is a study support this statement (Udom Kachintorn, 2012). In present time, working and living in modern society with full of hustle and pressure affects the tentative of higher number of IBS in never married. Women are not aware of this disease yet because it seems like normal gastrointestinal condition and does not seem severe but it is chronic. One case study, she likes browsing on health information and to try to diagnose her condition. She assumes to have IBS.

*"...Sometimes I have **constipated alternate with diarrhea**. I talked to junior who has IBS. **The syndrome is exact the same to my browsing on office working**...Sometimes I get excited in the meeting and I will have fast urinary bladder. I guess it is not because of stress. It might cause by urine restrain…"*

- Chronic disease…as a part of life

Nowadays, activities in modern lifestyle have possibilities above time and space condition. People are expected to work on multi-task at the time such as work can perform at anytime even during eating time, travelling time, work at home or at office, and work in working hours and weekends. It also comes with the expectations of work quantity, working speed, and quality of work since the working tool is more advance. As a result, people around the world in modern society become same behavior as load of work, hard work, rush work and work all the time. This lifestyle is very much related to the dramatically increase of health condition and chronic diseases. Most of the diseases are positively associated with living behavior.

In the case of never-married women as well, it is not surprising that the majority of health condition is related with living behavior such as gastritis, gastroesophageal reflux, gastroenteritis, abdominal pain, hemorrhoids, bladder inflammation, back pain, shoulder pain, neck pain, migraine, headaches, eyesight problem, body weight, fat and high cholesterol. Most of the women can assume reason of their health conditions, yet they cannot control properly. They cannot adjust to the entire causes. They can only sustain illness in a period of time or mitigate these effects. They cannot cure permanently so they are likely to accept to live with the chronic. Some cases are not considered as a major health problem anymore. It becomes part of life. The mostly chronic illnesses are disease related to alimentary system like gastritis and the new one, gastroesophageal reflux.

*"...that I have a **stomach ache** also indicates that my health is not good. My stomach has too much acid, because **I often eat late**. **Many times I leave office at 8 or 9 PM and the I will have dinner, then go to sleep.** Acid in my stomach also cause my respiration system not good..."*

Overweight is the main factor that causes some chronic illness. Moreover, overweight also causes problem in daily life because it make uncomfortable and tried

*"...I can tell when I am overweight or not. Sometimes, I know that **I am overweight when I walk and feel easily tired.** But when you ask me, can you still walk, I will say I can walk alright..."*

- Am I psychosis?

Mental Illness in some period of time is caused by state of mental and sometimes affects physical such as depression, tired to surrounding environment, insomnia, stress. It may occur in some period of time without clear explanation. Some women feel bored, sad, inactive, insomnia, scared or anxiety.

*"...Well, I have it sometimes but last 3-4 years ago **after my operation; I don't want to live anymore**. I didn't just feel bored to something just bored..."*

*"...I used to have one period that **I become depress**. **I feel not fresh but I don't know from what and after a while it goes away**. I don't know what causes it. I don't feel active with surrounding and not fresh. I used to read book about depression. It may happen from hormone. I wasn't quite sure…"*

In addition, physical health is partly affected by mental health of the moment.

*"...I am like a bi-polar personality. I am **both stress and bad temper and in the meanwhile also very depress. It caused skin rashes clearly**…"*

2) More fear and anxiety about disease

In the present time, information communication is bounder less. It reduces the information limitation accessibility. We are able to search for any kinds of information at fingertips. We do not need to rely on media, publish or experts anymore. This includes health information. Although various kinds of health information provide more information on health, the information does not assure its reliability. Health information receivers feel anxious and insecure about their illnesses.

- The more you know…the more scared you are

The study shows that information receivers on reproductive health checkup can be overwhelming, which may dismay women to conduct a further checkup. This situation puts women at greater risk to health problems.

*"…I have never been doing a medical check-up…at first **I probably think that it's not a problem because I never have bad luck.** But as soon as there persons around you that got this and that, **I start to understand that cancer can also be hereditary**. If your mom has a tumor and your aunt has it too, then 1 generation after that 1 person will get it too. And probably I will be one of the one that will get it…*

*"...I never do it. I want to do it but I am not brave enough. **Sometimes when someone brings this topic in conversation I will start to worry. When no one talks then I completely forget.** My friend went to do it, but I will wait a bit..."*

Several cases demonstrate that women in older age are aware of the importance of reproductive health checkup, and yet they refuse to have a checkup. They feel frightened of the equipment and checkup method. Although they have information on the checkup process, they feel afraid of having a checkup for fear of finding out that they might get sick or finding out about their illness(es). One of the reasons may be that (health) service users or clients receive only partial information; especially their feelings/reactions can be different according to the type of service they have received. Information that should be provided in advance by service providers regarding patterns, methods, and procedures for preparing oneself is somewhat limited.

*"...**I still have not done medical check-up. I am afraid**...I have not reached thirty five years old. If I am that age, I will do the check-up for sure, because I do not know will I still be single or not at that age...**I am also afraid because some friends have done it before and it seems scary.** Then I think if I am 35 and I am still single, I will not do it, because it's scary..."*

*"...I am not that concerned, but I also know that I need to do it, but I am not brave enough...it's like I cannot decide whether I want or do not want to do it...**I am afraid of checking method and what kind of illnesses that I will find after check-up**..."*

- No need to check it ... if we have it, we are going to die anyway

The information disseminates on fatal cancer. In the present time, there are effective treatments but there is information on the high amount of curing cost. One never-married aged 36 year-old said she does not consider going check up especially for cancer surveillance because she feels that it would have died anyway. In sum, it does not make a different. She does not think that health check up would necessary. If any day she has those serious symptoms, she would not cure it. It means something more to save money for family.

*"…**If I actually got it, I will not treat it. With or without treatment, I will die eventually**. I also will lose a lot of money for treatment. I feel it does better when you do not know. Guessing and caring for it will only make you tired. It is better to save the money so you can give it to your close persons when you die…"*

- Oh ...Am I alright?

Health information sometimes makes anxiety and nervous. Whenever women feel that there is something wrong, they feel panic and rush to see doctor. For example, young single woman decided to receive reproductive health check up due to her menstrual disorders. If she does not sense any problems, she would not want have checked up. She thinks she is not married. If she does not have any problems, she would not come for check up regularly.

*"…There was one time that my period came, and it is like, how to call it, at first it was as usual, then it became less and less, it was very little, so I had to check to a doctor. But the doctor said it is usual. It was because of hormonal changes…**at first, I was scared because some said it would be very painful**… **if I am not married, then there is no need to check…so I did not go check-up again**…"*

7.1.2 Illness experience and tradition-modernity contestation

In modern Thai society, modern medicine is more powerful than traditional one. People trend to explain and treat their illness under scientific and modern medicine perspective. Moreover, medical doctor in Thai society stand in high status and high prestige. This reliance on both modern profession and traditional status of people also make people trust in medical expert or modern medicine without doubt. Furthermore, trust in modern medicine makes never-married women suffer from not only diagnosis and curing method but also stress in taking medications.

1) Suffering from diagnosis and curing method by modern medicine

Never-married women experience negative impacts from their own confidence in cure and diagnosis provided by medical doctor in every way. They are willing to follow all healing methods that are up to medical standards. Even though they have to endure the cure and diagnosis, they fully believe that medical experts are only the ones who can help them to relieve their illnesses.

- **Bear with suffering...if you do not believe doctor then whom cans you believe?**

Although medical doctors cannot clearly provide them with the cause of illness at times, they have no other choice but rely on experts in the expectation of getting better. Some never-married women have to endure and suffer from some diagnostic methods, such as inserting some equipment into their body only in the belief that they have made the right decision on following experts' instruction.

"…I look around for to find several doctors who I think the best before going to check for my bladder inflammation. ***When everything was OK, then doctor said it might be related to my uterus. I did not understand why it became like that.*** *So I need to see another doctor, an obstetrician. It seemed that I went to the wrong division, because at first I went to the general medicine division.* ***Until now I still do not understand about this matter. But the doctor was very skillful****…"*

- **Finally, what's happen with me?**

Sometimes medical doctors cannot clearly provide them the cause of illness. They do not have another choice but rely on experts again with the expectation to get better without knowing where else they can turn to.

"...At that time I ***have a lung problem, a pneumonia...Doctor said it was an infection. He also said that he could not find the exact cause.*** *It was probably a virus. It was a cold and my body was not strong enough that it affected my lung.* ***I went back and forth to the hospital for about a month until I got bored. But then again, what else can I do, I have to accept it****..."*

*"...****I am skinny****...then what should I do? It is like to have a symptom of stress. Because many people think that I do not want to eat, and feel bored of food. so* ***I went to see a doctor...They did a blood test and everything, and then check for my liver. after a week or two, the result was normal. everything is normal****..."*

- **Check or not is the same pain**

Besides the additional expenditure and multi-step diagnosis, another circumstance women have to suffer is painful check up and some practitioner who sometimes do not take into account the response of the patient. It causes them a bad experience with the treatment. Some decided not to seek for check up again even them still in the risk state as following example.

*"...**Doctor examined my stomach with some telescopes and it hurted**. He made me sleep on one side and my saliva was flowing all the time during examination…. I thought that what was that all abou. and he told me to come back after 6 months for another check-up. I know how to take care my self. and until now I have not gone there yet. I believe that after check-up I will not have appetite anymore..."*

- **Are there better choices?**

Officer is very important factor that make never-married women more anxiety and pain because they take more concentrate on their treatment than patient like example of this never-married woman.

*"…Even the male nurse did not say anything. He was like using a something looked lika a cable on the feet too…**It was crazy. I was lied down uncomfortably and then he suddenly pulled up my skirt unexpectedly.** Then he just looked back to his telescope withour saying anything.."*

- **Specialist…with an error**

And indeed, medical experts can possibly make a wrong diagnosis or an incorrect diagnostic technique or equipment such as error in reading X-ray film. Although it weakens confidence in medical doctor or modern medicine, never-married women still trust and depend on this curing method especially modern medicine in tertiary care like university hospitals or large general hospitals. This makes never-married women feel miserable and needs to spend more time to cure their illness.

*"…I do x-ray and medical check-up every year. **They said I have lung problem**. **I used to cry in front of the examination room**, asking why I have this problem. But one of*

the operator said ***there might be mistake with the x-ray result****. Some scratches. Then I felt that I did not believe it can happen…"*

"...a year ago i have a severe headache so i went to see a doctor. ***Doctor said it was a high blod pressure.*** *But I do not have history of this illness, and when i did my check-up it did not show that i have.* ***Doctor gave me anti-hypertensive medicine to ease the symptom and to fuse the blood clot. Then I went to a new doctor. The new doctor said I did not have high blood pressure. All i have is a migraine****..."*

"...I know that there are some areas that still have little researches so doctor can be wrong too. ***I used to choose the wrong doctor too. I went to the wrong specialist, so the doctor gave me wrong diagnosis.*** *Once I saw doctor used a very old equipment, so it was hard to believe him..."*

2) Stress and health impact by using medication

Taking medicine or strictly following medical advice can reduce the symptoms; for example, if they have hypertension (high blood pressure), they will have to take antihypertensive medications (blood pressure-lowering medications) forever like those who experience thyroid disease. Although depend on drug is suffering, deicide to go away from drug also make anxiety. Finally, it finishes with living with medication.

- **Take it or not take it…same stressful**

Some women have illness, which needs to take medicine for the rest of their life. They do not want to take medicine because they start to feel drug effect. In one part, they think they cannot stop taking medicine, as it is the only way to relief the pain. They discover that their life is not normal without it. Life needs to depend on drug forever.

*"...mostly it was a stress... **medicine keeps me strong**... and it keeps my nervous system working...maybe I am depressed, but I do not have symptoms of pains...Sometimes I have it, but it is still okay...I take the medicine when I got the stress, **but I wonder why I have to take it regularly. I do not want to take it anymore, but when I stop take it, I feel very stressful**..."*

*"...**I consume it all my life**. Why I am addicted to medicine nobody knows. **But if I stop eating medicine, I feel weak, and my heart is like stop beating**. I feel unwell, so I cannot stop eat my medicine, I have to remind myself, did I take the medicine yet?..."*

- **Finally, can't live without it**

This group of women believes that they cannot live without medication. They believe that this type of cure helps them to feel better. They sense life improvement after illness is cured by this method. They feel stressed and guilty if they forget to take drugs, meanwhile, they are also under stress to take it through their lifetime.

*"…I experience **thyroid disease** and low hormone. Hormone creates energy for working. **I have to take one tablet in the morning and another haft tablet in the afternoon to push me working until 9-10 pm**…"*

*"…I have a **stomachache because of my menstruation period**. **I have to take 3-4 tablet and also Tylenol if it's not getting better.** Others are not doing like this but I'm not patient…"*

- **The more taking…the more drug resistance**

Another impact of continue taking medication and non-rational use of drug are overdose using or drug resistance. Some never-married women confess that they taking some medicine without consulting doctor, especially anti-biotic drug.

*"…I have experienced cold and **take 3-4 time for consulting doctor and spend more than 1,500-1,600 baht per time, but I'm not getting better.** I know…it may be because **I take more and more drugs**, so I experience drug resistance…"*

7.1.3 Illness experience with modernity-singlism risk in metropolitan society

In modern society, especially in Bangkok area, it is full of opportunities. People struggle for those opportunities. It comes with uncertainty and risk. All the opportunity comes with risk. More or less risk depends on individual's perception. This is risk from modernity which never-married cannot avoid. At the same time, they also face with the risk which comes from their singlehood or single identity in modern society. Unsurprisingly, never-married women mostly receive direct and indirect health effects as a result of uncertainty and risk in the changing climate, risk from consuming food, goods, and services, risk from body, beauty and health management, either they aware or unaware of these effects.

1) Risk and uncertainty from changing climate

Environment in the capital city is full of pollution in almost every area and unpredictable weather. Never-married women, especially those who mostly have to spend most of their time outside the house traveling to work regularly, are more vulnerable to this changing weather. Most offices in the city are equipped with air-conditioners, thus becoming a source of dust, germs, and bacteria, which can affect the people in the office, especially when there is no proper ventilation system.

- **Weather went bad**

Many illnesses of never-married women are caused by changing climate or environment. Many women have weather allergy especially those who have to work in air conditioner officer. When they have to leave office outside or meet with climate changing, they tend to have allergic or chronic common cold.

*"... As for **allergies**, the cure is up to me. If it is just allergies, but it is now too late. **If it is too cold, I will have a headache**, it will be enough for me. I need to set Air Conditioning not too cold or too hot... ".*

"... just came out 2-3 years ago, it ***is time to change it when it strikes****, it strikes. it is not available ...* ***when it turns out to be a cold winter as summer****.* ***Bangkok has it changed forever. It started with frequent sneezing****, a lot and I had a sore throat. At first I thought it was enough to see a doctor because the doctor said that I have no fever. I always stick my neck ..."*

- **The city of pollution**

Illness of many never-married cause directly by pollution in Bangkok because it is a capital city, center of transportation and chemical product. Then, it cause many type of allergies.

"...Take care of the food and environment. But you can still get infected at the next opportunity. ***I know that I have a virus****...****it's a disease because of environmental pollution****; point it away because we do not have it. But we have to leave the house every day …"*

"... ***Allergies*** *... I think that the cause of* ***the air in the city is different*** *... it is the month that patients often do not have time..."*

- **Addict to A/C...illness is coming**

Nowadays, urban heat and outside pollution make household and office rely on air –conditioner. Air-conditioner become a source of dust, germs, and bacteria, and can affect the people in the office, especially when there is no proper ventilation system especially in bad air circulation workplace. When women have to work in air-conditioner for long, it brings bad health condition.

*"... A****llergy from the office****. Migraine is an office. The respiratory system is the same as from the office.* ***I sit in front of my air box****.* ***Heater and air is cleaner today condo also has a sore throat****. Is obtained from that office ..."*

"... ***I was initially available*** *... Saturday is my work bench like crazy I know,* ***hot air off the air off the cold air into the suit****.* ***Court to drug effects****…It will fall down right here. I do wake up. Is there anything I can do myself ..."*

2) Risk from consuming food and goods

Important risk factor that directly affects the health of never-married women is their eating habits in modern society. Many never-married women do not have the opportunity to consume foods containing proper nutrients due to the lack of time, selection of places, and type of food. They only eat in order to be able to continue their activities. This unhealthy eating habit causes never-married women to consume supplementary food such as vitamins and calcium to maintain their health conditions and to balance their eating habits.

- **Whatever…just eat**

Important risk factor that directly affects the health of never-married women is the eating habit. It has to be in proper time and type of food. One 31-year-old lady said she just started her career life after continuing study. She does not have time to select healthy and good food since she is too busy with work. So does 32-year-old woman who always has rush work. She cannot give priority to eating time and daily taken food.

*"... **Seven eleven is a bad place choice to eat, it was a little too narrow. I work eight hours, if I do not eat it. Then one is gastritis symptoms gastritis really hard. Cause acid reflux… I had no choice but to take the time to eat** ... I eat very fast. I'll eat all the prep work. I hand hold my hand I do not live like this, I was asked why he took us this. Like a machine ..."*

*"... Even forget you're healthy. Maybe next time it will be a bit late. I did not forget to eat. I had to hurry. I have an appointment that afternoon... I did not eat breakfast at home, but **when I try to eat something every morning. But there was no time. I was reviewing some minor gold to cocoa and bread before** ..."*

- **Everything sound good…I just try**

Living in the city makes risk in food consumption. Women have to be more aware of health by adjusting eating behavior. Some women consume supplementary food as well such as vitamins and calcium to maintain their health condition and to balance with their eating habit. It comes with additional health

expenses and indirect affect in long term. Body might collect too much nutrients than needs and have problem with driving waste out of body.

*"... **Vitamin B Complex** is important so I buy a fridge full of this vitamin. **I want to check up my eyes. Maybe I have this because I eat too much drugs. I know that drugs are drugs that can lead to liver, but if that is really true, it will take long time**. I do not want to be sick..."*

3) Risk from consuming goods and services for beauty

In modern society, self-identity is an important feature because it is a door open onto a variety of opportunities. Never-married women often place beauty and appearance as of higher importance than health. They are determined to take health risks in exchange for having a good or slender figure and being good-looking, such as wearing high heels and applying beauty products to maintain the appearance, not even thinking ahead to such impacts/effects. Additionally, having been influenced by social value with respect to women's good body image in today's society, women must have fair complexion and be slim. They therefore become the important target group for supplementary food and beauty products and have to bear the health side effects from consuming the products.

- **Confidence comes with tall**

Some never-married yield to have back pain or leg pain caused by wearing high heels regularly. Some cases have disease called "plantar fasciitis". They think they enhance their personality by wearing high heels especially those who have to socialize with others. High-heeled shoes become a tool to build confidence.

*"... I think that the pain after driving over... but I do not think about work. I must stand for long time. **High heels are something I need even it hurt because I can't bear to be short**... But since the Internet first... If high, then perhaps it would be a difficult patient. I want more than ... But shoes are not pretty. I highly emphasized on their high... "*

*"... The pain after a long ride, then maybe my work but **I wear high heels, then it would have an impact on my back.** Sometimes we wear high heels to walk our shoes had to run the pain after ... it just gives me a lot to meet people... "*

- **Beside cloths…hair and face are very important**

Besides good personality, look, skin and hair are important elements for women to manage making they look better. In the present time, there are variety kinds of home products and tools. They do not need to go to beauty salon. Some of those products are filled with chemicals and residue. It takes long time and costly. Some beauty salon seduces with modern technology and discount packages. Some women get negative affect from products unexpectedly.

*"... **What is the disease causing the hair loss?** I do not see why not ... I guess the substance itself, because no one answered ... I do. I had not seen before ... It may be because I tried twice. **The second time I took the syringe and injected under the skin…**I try to do the same again and I fell into..."*

*"... **It would be a pain when I go to the doctor…From hair… I had to tweak the drive.** Now the morning to late at night when I have to drive, then tweak it. But he said that maybe it was not completely dry. It's not like our hair in the morning and work all day ... I had a friend come to Korea. **With a full makeup I used to sleep two nights in a blister appeared on the face**..."*

*"... **I would be bankrupt. At that page there is a lot of broken skin.... I have a feeling that's why we have to waste one thousand and two thousand baht.** It appears to have nothing with which to draw on. That can burn. But we are not just satisfied. Because it is a slam dunk ... I stopped for about a year and feel. We take care of our own kinds. I was going to give it a crack at it ..."*

- **This is the generation of slender girl**

The pressure of society that requires woman must have slim shape. It is not surprising that women need follow that statement. Some women try several methods before they got their ways to be slim. Some women choose to fast until the

systems in the body such as metabolism in the body, and eating pattern changes. It creates health impact and nutrient digestion in long term.

"... I saw the food and I want to eat again ...but ***I do not feel hungry then I stopped because I did not want it at all. I fear that if I did not eat, I will die****... "*

"... ***I try to be skinny****, but failed. Maybe* ***it will not eat the rice in the evening****, but sometimes it does not, it will not be feeding it milk every evening ..."*

"... ***When it's overly fat, I do not eat dinner at all****…but I eat a piece of cake. I eat ice cream ... maybe the Rapture. But it was not fat… Breakfast was a milk carton with a piece of dessert. I think it was less, but there are some real meat here....Preservative is bad and I know but I still need to eat ...".*

- **Fair Skin as a trendy**

Beside slimy body, fair skin is also value of beauty in this generation. They have been through lots of affect such as allergy, lost appetizer from long experiments.

*"…****White perfect drug****, my friend tell me that it success. I just try, only 1 pack may not give effect…It's better and* ***I usually use for more than 10 years, but when I try to stop, then I just know the impact of steroids****…"*

*"…****I eat my skin supplement. It's not too bright****. But it is not that way. I do not feel better. Just one day ... it did not really help much****. It is better than not eating anything at all.*** *Then we eat the right foods. It would help. If it would not have much left over..."*

7.2 Health experience related to conditions that obstruct never-married women to be in good health

Never-married women's health problems in this context mean not only illnesses they have to experience but also conditions, obstacles or factors affecting their good health; for example, health service system never-married women need when they are ill. If services of good quality and proper standard are easily and conveniently accessible, women will be in the state of well-being.

7.2.1 Inconsistency in Health Service System and singlehood

Example of inconsistency health service system is reproductive health service system which not concern specific characteristic of and service for never-married women. Women avoid using the service although they are also in risk group. From the medical doctor or service provider perspective, the reproductive service seems a normal practice for them to treat and tend never-married women in the same manner as they do to married women, whereas never-married women who have had different experiences from married women's think they should receive different or more specific medical care and treatment in terms of privacy, officer approaching, and gender of doctor.

Besides fear, shame, and invasion of privacy, one of the important reasons they decide not to have a pelvic examination is that they do not want to confront sexuality-related questions inquired by health care personnel. For them, such questions are sensitive issues, though they are general questions that must be addressed, having the feeling of being judged for wrong doing or engaging in risk sexual behaviors, thus in need of a checkup.

- **It's embarrassing**

Besides of fear, another main reason, which makes women avoid receiving unnecessary reproductive health service, is embarrassed. Most women request to have female doctor. It is not only reproductive health service, but also other kinds of examine which require body touching. Never-married feels more comfortable with female doctor.

"...My friend at the officeis is also single. and when she needs to have check up, she always refuses...I know that mostly when we go to see a doctor, it is going to be a male doctor. Looking for female doctors is difficult nowadays..."

"...she will recommend us to go for a check up, but I am not brave enough and too shy...If I knew that the doctor would do something like this, then maybe I would not be so embarrased. But I did not know, so I have to feel bad about it. I do not think doctor knows what we feel..."

This instance is not only valid for general never-married women whose work involved with medical and public health feel similar to the case.

*"...**I never go to a doctor, no, never at all**. I know, I should do it. My friend checked her reproductive organs, but I did not go. check for breast, did not go. **I am not brave enough. it is embarassing for me**..."*

Many never-married women feel shy and do not want to have reproductive health check up. It might be because they never experience married life and never have sexuality experience before. For never-married woman who is cohabitating with her spouse also feel shy and fear of checking up. They concern of risk as well.

*"...still have not done examining my internal reproductive organ. **I will do it when I will get married.** If you have family, this is important. **If I do chek-up it would be made fun in the office.** But some people say that it is better to do that early, at least we know that we are okay. If the doctor is a woman, it would be great. But I will not do it now...not right now..."*

- **Am I a bad girl?**

Another reason for avoiding getting a service, never-married has to face with related sexuality questions from medical officer. It may sound general to be asked but it senses judgment in a way that they have been doing something wrong or having a risk sexuality behavior and causing them to come for a checkup.

"...I soundt likse when you went to check-up then it means you are a bad woman. ***Even doctor ask me have I slept with someone yet? Or you make something wrong? It looks like I am a bad woman who break norm****... I think we need to make a public campaign that yearly medical check-up is necessary for everyone and have a specific clinic and benefits for that... And when a single woman go for a check-up, then people criticize that it is because we had sex with someone. It is really degrading and incriminating."*

The attitude of the service providers also affects the feelings of the single. For example, one woman decides receive the reproductive check up from private hospital but after she answers about her sexuality experience with women. She senses some judgment gesture on her.

"…there was one time at (name of hospital) that asked me, do you have sex often? ***at first I did not want to answer, but then I said yes, but not with man. Then the doctor seemed that he did not want to check anymore****. He said nevermind, you probably have nothing wrong. You have no risk.* ***I think that was absurd.*** *Then suddenly the check-up was finished..."*

- **More privacy…Please**

The reproductive health of women consider as private matters. It should be conceal or confidential. In the view of the medical staff might see this as a general health to treat with the same principle of other health areas. Health staff may treat against with patient's feeling. This is another reason to avoid receiving healthcare system. Some companies invite healthcare service to the office but it also drives women away from the privacy issue. Some cases come to have general check up while choose to have special check up with their own cost.

"...sometimes not only doctor who asked the patient's history. nurse too. They asked as if they did not care about me. ***The nurse asked me casually whether I have sex with someone regularly or not while there are others patient around me*** *..."*

"…there is also a doctor who offers a place for check-up, and including reproductive one too at our office. ***I do not know who will brave for it****..."*

"...the company has welfare for reproductive check-up total of 1,800 baht. ***It is mobile car...We could not choose the doctor and there is only male doctor that we were not familiar with****...aftre that I did not go anymore.* ***I know it was cheaper compared to do it yourself*** *which around 2,800 baht, 1000 baht difference...but* ***I prefer to check outside the company where you can choose your doctor.*** *If you coose to do that at the company, it will be in a medical car, and I do not think that it is throroughly done..."*

- **It's so sensitive for me**

For medical officer, medical examination either breast examination or reproductive check up is all the same however for never-married women, it is a very sensitive subject. They feel that they deserve special treatment than normal patient such as counseling, friendly gesture, and understanding from service provider whether a doctor or nurse. For example, a single woman experienced miserable feeling of reproductive check up and mammography. The incident makes her refuse not to get tested again if not necessary. She will be very careful every time receiving these tests. Another single woman lives with illness in order to avoid reproductive check up.

"... ***the surrounding is so disclose****, then I go to examination bed and spread my legs,* ***then the male nurse...I feel strange.****..I do not know whether similar things happen in other countries.* ***Maybe doctor does not care too much for people who are not accustomed with the environment.*** *He only thinks that this is a patient and feels normal..."*

*"****…I went to check for breast cancer, but the doctor who diag me isn't specialist on this case. When I said I want to check my breast he looked happy or something like that****. You know how I feel right?* ***Then I took off my clothes so he could examine and let him touched my breast. I was very bored…then doctor said to open my eyes and looked at him, but I did not want to,*** *you get it right?* ***I think the way the doctor examine would be different with married female…****but I do not know that because I am not the doctor, but do you have to hold my breast like that?..."*

*"...****I think my breast is so-so. It is just a part of my body. I do not have to be embarrased by it. But my uterus****...I do not want to have any risks happen because of my action whatsoever****. I am still single****...I still have stomachache when my period comes, and I need to see a doctor for it.* ***Doctor said I need to check my reproductive organs...but I did not***

want to. *Even I did not eat the medicine he gave me because it's birth control pills. I do not care with what doctor said..."*

7.2.2 Double standard of Social Security System

Most of never-married woman can access to social security system since it is by working law. Social security system automatically withdraws from monthly salary in maximum 750 Baht and same amount paid by employer. The benefits cover medical expenses according to regulation indicated, unemployment welfare, and retirement welfare. Some welfare does not gain any benefit to never-married such as maternity expenses, child care expenditure.

Nevertheless, most of never-married women feel that social security system cannot provide up to standard of healthcare service. The examination and treatment are different from normal procedure. It makes women stay in illness state longer. Eventually, they decide to rely less to this system or choose to pay more for a better service and more convenience. When take into consideration of women's interview, they prefer to pay more in order to receive better treatment that makes her feel more comfortable. The existing system seems to provide lower standard than normal system such as medicine standard, doctor, long waiting until they have to take leave or have to pay extra to avoid waiting, difficulties in selecting and changing hospital. There are so many comments regarding to this issues. They decide to depend less to the system. The examples are as following.

- **Could you make it faster…Please**

One constraint of social security system is **very long waiting for services**. It is not only waiting for a medical care but also have to wait for a medicine. Although they are private hospitals, they separate social security zone in receiving health care for the management purpose. It points out to the comparison service time duration especially for those women who receive a service from the normal process before. Some decide to pay it themselves. They do not want to take leave since their organizations are quite strict.

*"...I remember I went once, and **I felt very bad**...The patient with social health Insurance has a separate entrance and there were a lot of people there...**I waited for more than 3 hours...it is better to pay yourself, easier**..."*

*"...also there is a time problem because **you have to wait**. Many people use it too...if at (name of private hospital) it will be very different. Health insurance have to wait too...but when you come to think of it, it is not that difficult. **I have to wait for two hours for examination or return on the next day. So, I prefer to lose the benefits. It is better this way**..."*

*"... 2 times only, and I did not use it anymore. I feel to change to (name of state hospital) and use cash money, since I never use my social security. **I have to wait for a long if I use it.** I need to do it fast, and I do not like to be around sick people. When I go to another private hospital, it will be finished very fast..."*

- **I paid...deserve a good treatment as well**

Service Standards all including doctor, treatment method, medicine become a reason that women avoid to receive social security system. They assess that the standard is lower than normal patient care. It is partly due to the information dissemination which allows women to receive more medicine knowledge. Besides, some used to experience as normal patient before from same hospital or other hospitals. Women think if they receive good medicine or carefully check up, or good care from medical doctor, it could have made faster recovery. Many women have to receive series of treatment. It makes them feel they do not get up to standard treatment. They have been forced to pay for social security system every month so they think they deserve better healthcare than existing.

*"...if using social security then **the medicine will not be in good quality and the check-up will be just shallow, and give a general prescription. It is not enough to guarantee your health condition.** So mostly you need to add it yourself... sometimes they even do not check where my pain is. But **when you pay yourself, doctor will pay more attention to you.** They even will order many test like an X-ray test, They really take good care of you..."*

*"...**never use my social security. It is so terrible**...it is better to get medicine from outside. **Using it will not heal you symptoms,** if have cough it will heal in a month...if you have a general symptom, then you can use it. but if you are really sick, then it is better to use other things...**I do not really trust it,** to be honest..."*

*"...once I went to (name of private hospital), and **they treat me like a mistress**. I remember I used my social security and they send me via back door. It is like that when we use social security. **They treat use like we did not have money. The prescription is very different too.** I need to ask for added package that separate from social security one. They have different division who take care of patient with social security, even in (name of hospital)...so I used it one time only.I usually go to (name of private hospital). In (name of hospital) you can try to use your social secutiy, then you will find different treatment. Even the doctor will not pay attention to you..."*

- **Give me a chance to select for myself**

Many women have difficulties in relocating hospital. It is partly because some hospital cancelled the social security service. Women have to indicate new hospital but some does not have a chance to select new hospital. Their names have been distributed to other hospital as the system find appropriate, therefore some women ended up in the unknown hospitals or very far from home and office. They receive less or never receive a service. Some does not want to make a trouble of it. They prefer to pay themselves to other hospital with more convenient service.

*"... I feel the latter. (Name of hospital) was not clear to him that **we will change automatically to the hospital. (A public hospital) where we did not choose.** Because it is difficult to find hospitals, so I decide to use another one..."*

*"... And then try to choose a social security hospital is close to the hospital, but it was not a choice (hospital name) on it (hospital name) to me it does not. **I have to go to a hospital (name), I do not know where it is.** It's something like a hospital...some say that it's awesome. I do not like it. I used the group insurance instead.. "*

"... It is time for a social security net, ***it was forced to break even, but we can not choose a hospital.*** *We do not have to choose the famous private hospital name, but we want to choose a state hospital, it is not uncommon to restrictions ..."*

- **Always inconsistent with actual cost**

Some women relies only one social service on dental care. It comes with the limitation since the coverage is very little compare to actual cost from both government and private healthcare services. The maximum coverage is inconsistent with the actual. Women have to cover the additional by themselves.

"... I have used it and I don't really like dental care. I feel uncomfortable here. ***It has a ceiling.*** *There is something about a technical issue here. Maybe it was that we did not have to exercise, which really is not good for health, we should be able to use.*

- **Prevention before curing please**

Another reason women think it is not worth to deduct for social security every month, they can gain benefits only when they got sick. The existing benefit is not covered health checkup. It is necessary as well to allocate some benefit for annual health checkup. It makes them feel useless to pay every month but no return in accordance to their needs.

"... ***Or how easy such as annual check-ups and not cover it,*** *so I think it makes perhaps a way to check up on it ... If it is felt that it did not cover the check more health ... ".*

7.2.3 Role of private health insurance system

One factor of wellbeing is security system, some never-married women decides to use other source of service with additional cost since the National health security provide lower standard than normal system and all those above mentioned difficulties. Private health security system becomes alternative for never-married. Women tend to choose this service since it is more convenient and better standard. Although sometimes it costs extra payment, they are willing to pay.

- **Different Social status**

Private health security system allows more than existing system especially group health insurance applicable from their office. It provides variety options up to claimer and insurance company packages. The general benefit allows them to receive medical care as outpatient which fixes coverage per time or per year amount. They can also access as inpatient in one amount as agreed. Some packages cover annual healthcare checkup if applicable. It becomes interesting alternative for women who work in these companies. Women tend to choose this service since it is more convenient and better standard. Although sometimes it costs extra payment, they are willing to pay.

*"... **Social Security was never used but it already there.** Medical fee for my private group has a limitation 130,000 per year….Some is drawn to the unlimited insurance group..."*

*"... **I've not used my social security**. **My private group insurance limits the use of the two thousand baht per year** but not all of them went for check up because it does not use. I have enough money. Each patient was not possible. I have five thousand to six thousand for dental ..."*

- **It is like a new born**

Additional option for women, they can apply both National Social Security and private security benefit at National Social Security hospital so they can receive a better service. Many feel happier and think they do not need additional insurance anymore.

*"... The two cards together at the hospital, private insurance and social security ... **We had to upgrade…Doctor will give you medicine to make it better**; we think it's enough. I want good medicine. I just do not want to wait any longer…It covers the treatment of moderate level ..."*

*"... **He gave me a thousand a year for dental work and can join with social security system.** But the issue with Social Security is if I go to a doctor outside the clinics, which are not at a state hospital, it will not be enough. So I never used it. Okay, that's it ..."*

*"...**I prefer using my health insurance company. I did not want to go to using my social security waiting half a day.** But I use to the private hospitals, it is better than general medicine…"*

- **We are family**

Furthermore, some women can receive health benefit from their family member if the benefit covers for family member. They may have to pay but in a lower rate payment. There is one woman whose mother works as a teacher. She holds only social security system and she feels the difficulties like other cases. Luckily, she can access additional service from her mother in lower rate. She can receive a health service more convenient.

*"... If I have to go to hospital I have to pay. But luckily, **my mother's insurance also can cover my health expenses. As a teacher, she has better insurance and the monthly payment will be much cheaper.** It does not limit the type of treatment. But at a private hospital it is limited to the treatment of disease. If my symptom of the headache is severe or I have menstrual cramp, I will go to hospital and I have to pay. But if this was an accident ... I did not have to pay money to the hospital, because my mother's insurance covers for me…"*

- **Pay for myself for more comfortable**

For those never-married who do not have private security service from office, they may consider that it is effective for social security system. Private health security becomes alternative. This group usually is moderate class to cover this insurance.

*"... I used my private health insurance. **It's more comfortable even though I have to pay by myself,** and I also use the same hospital of my Social Security Insurance. I have never used it by my social security insurance credit because I have ever seen that section*

in the same hospital which makes me decide to use my private one instead. I think ***if I use the first one my illness will be more severe****… "*

- **I wanted to…but I cannot**

Although private health insurance service seems to be a convenient choice for never-married women, sometimes come with the limitation for women who currently experiencing illness and wanted to access more care. Private company refuses them as it is general regulation of company to avoid risk. There is a case of government officer who can apply only life insurance but cannot apply health insurance due to her illness at a moment, and another one who is overweight also face the same situation.

"... Buy the insurance. ***I do not buy health insurance because I am not healthy as well.*** *I was told that I am risk. My illness cannot be cured, so it is up to me. But I have to have the insurance, so I at least I have my life insurance..."*

"... Sometimes you are not sure why you need Social Security. I do not have insurance. ***The company refuses give me a health insurance. They said I have the risk of obesity.*** *They check out the photo and said that it is not only my weight. So I did not make it. I wanted to find a good doctor. Of course, we do not want to see a doctor… "*

From presented information in this chapter, it may indicate that husky modernity in Bangkok area is associated with never-married women's health. It causes by daily life activities and can happen anytime in any place through information system and modern communication. The cosmo-metropolitan condition links illness experience of never-married women with information and behavior pattern around the world and living pattern in capital city like Bangkok metropolitan. This brings about to the expansion of diseases and illnesses associated with modern society behaviors such as office syndrome, chronic disease, psychological illness, and psychosomatic symptom. In addition, it creates more fear and anxiety about disease which come from variety sources of health information around the world.

Moreover, this study reveals that never-married-women have to live under the context of modernity contest with some value which root in tradition such as trust

in modern medicine and medical health profession status that make never-married women suffer from diagnosis and curing method by modern medicine and also have stress and health impact by using medication. Besides, women have to live in uncertainty and risk, both risk from modernity context and risk from their singlehood status, such as risk and uncertainty in changing climate, risks from consuming foods, goods and services, risk from beauty, body, and health management. These risks lead to various illnesses and become constraints to wellbeing.

Besides illness experience, never-married women also face with the conditions that push them to suffer from illness, such as inconsistency in health service system and health insurance system. This make them avoid using the service although they are also in risk group and stay in illness state longer.

Additional, direct impact of modernity and women's responses, never-married women's health are linked with other life aspects such as working, financial and economics, accommodation, recreation, and intimacy. These life patterns are under modernity and women's response as well. In other chapter of this study, it will explore the impact of modernity and responses to other aspects. It will imply linkage with women's health as well. Nevertheless, individual reflexivity has to take into the consideration. The ability of an individual to manage that can cause an individual to perform and effect differently to the circumstances.

CHAPTER VIII
SOCIAL LIFE OF NEVER-MARRIED WOMEN UNDER MODERNITY CONTEXT

Life of never-married women in Bangkok is very colorful. It not only painted by multi-color of lifestyle influenced by cosmopolitan but also metropolitan society. While modern life style is mostly major pattern in this era, traditional norm still influence their life, something can acculturate but some values or beliefs are contest to the new one. Moreover, modernity also creates new risk for living, and their single status also pushes them to trouble in social life. This occurs in every sector of their lives; working, general living, and intimacy. In this chapter, life experience of never-married women related to modernity will be described and classified by three major components of husky modernity.

8.1 The Work Life of Never-Married Women

Many people say that never-married women are married to their work. This is because they do not have family or someone to take care and spend most of her life at work. This part investigates the working life of never-married women. This includes their responsibilities at work, their professional carrier goal, and their problems and difficulties in their work. In modern society, working environment has a significant effect to personal life, and health condition in particular. The details are as follows.

8.1.1 Work of Never-married Women in Metropolitan Society

This group is for never-married women who work in private company and other institutions such as government, finance, banking, education, research, agriculture, tourism, health and medical insurance and other sectors in urban society. Most of their work requires coordination and management and paperwork and a

scholarly work, such as management service, consulting to clients. Although their works seem to be different, these women have a similar behavior, which called a 3H: 1) Hard work, 2) Homework, 3) dependent on technology (Hi-tech work).

1) Hard Work

There is an opinion in the society that the existence of never-married women in modern society is to do hard work, because of their working hours and the high expectation from their working organizations. This expectation causes never-married women devote all of their time and efforts to deal with the work until they do not have time to do other activities or neglecting other aspect of their life. In some cases, never-married women work too hard but still do not understand their purpose of working strenuously and see it as a responsibility. While for some other respondents, work is also seen as a solution to loneliness.

"…Work was too much at that time, and I did not even have time to take a rest or have a vacation. ***I worked from early morning until very late in the evening, everyday, even on public holiday, non-stop.****.. I worked in front of computer until I wanted to throw up…"*

2) Homework

One of the characteristics of never-married women in this time is a very heavy workload. There is no indication that the work will be completed within the workplace. To separate work life from personal life seem utterly impossible for a single woman or man for the task that never seems to end for once. Never-married women have to put the work back at home in the evenings or on weekends. They are trying to finish the work, but might be extended into the office to get some rest and come back home happily.

*"...****have to take home because if the work is not finished, it will be bad for me. And it is urgent...on weekend if I have work then I need to do it, even with grumbles****. After finished then I can take a rest. A friend asks me why I need to work very hard like that? If something happens who will take care of you? But I can only take care of myself..."*

Nowadays, never-married women are turned up to work independently. These are never-married women who worked in the corporate organization. But in the end, they decided to work out the goals they desire. The modern workplace is their home itself, which changed their life drastically.

"... I'll have to send my dead line is different from the traditional to the office. ***It stressed that the work we have to finish it.*** *But it does not stress the system..."*

3) Hi-tech work

Scope in the nowadays works clearly is a task that must rely on all the technology. Be it in any field. The computer has become an essential tool for the job. In one corner, it makes the work easier and more comfortable. The current mobile phone is in a format that can be used over a wide range of phone communication. Also known as smart phone technology has become important to the modern never-married woman. Many works of them are currently working related with computer technology. But in addition to the technology, especially in the smart phone has become an essential tool to make the life of never-married women have a higher mobility. But at the same time it can be a major cause for never-married women to work hard. And they must continue to do it at home where I can run through the network at any time.

"…as soon as arrived works are already on my desk. Paper works. And then ***I check email to see e-doc.*** *I need to read them all. Every day it is like this…since working I have no connection to other worlds. My workplace is my community…"*

There are also never-married women who want to get some extra work in addition to the routine. It is whether in the form of work to do at home or finding other works to increase income, such as the open shop. For example, there is a never-married woman at the store to earn money to supplement her part-time job in a shop, or selling things through the Internet and social network.

"... On the back nine are sold every day. Back then I was up early to go to work ... I opened a shop. But now I do it just like that the department had not signed a contract to purchase a booth, though female and it's gone now I do not have it for sale on the net is to the

*net, then it comes**. Retail sales are on facebook, but I have not opened a store ... sales through facebook is easier**. Maybe there's something I can get from it ... ".*

8.1.2 Work of never-married women in relation with modernity

Modern never-married women, if asked what is the most important thing in their life, most of the answers will be the job. This is because people tend to spend more time in each day of life with the majority of the work. Some people take the time to work more than 8 hours per day, or a day, split between work and personal life from the other side. It seems to be working all the time at work, at home or on the go. Employee is forced to work to coordinate and deliver it through various forms of technology. Ii is not limited to computers. It can be connected via a communication device such as a mobile smart phone, i-pad, which makes the operation more convenient, it's true. On the other hand, it makes never-married women requires more work. Life and work are inseparable from life on the other side without knowing it.

However, even under a similar structure, never-married women have one single response structure function in modern society, which makes them different is the variety of life forms. The result of their work is in a variety of ways as well. The key elements of the husky modernity are the cosmo-metropolitan condition; tradition-modernity contestation; and the conditions of modernity-singlism risk in modern society, along with how to respond to such conditions can affect the performance of never-married women as follows.

8.1.2.1 Work of Never-married Women with the cosmo-metropolitan condition

The conditions of cosmo-metropolitan are arising from the development of information technology and communications. This phenomenon resulting never-married women face that are not attached to the workplace and working hours, which resulted in further increasing the workload and increase the duration of the work. The conditions triggers competition in the enterprise and increase the distribution of information. The pressure and expectations that are higher, and also the patterns of interaction in the workplace are changed. A face-to-face communication is unnecessary.

1) Changing of definition of "office hour".

The development of modern information technology in the lives of never-married women has changed the definition of office hour. Works do not need to be attached to a place and time-the word "office hour" in this definition has changed considerably from the original. In terms of the characteristics and subjective office hour is not necessarily happen at the office or work place always. It makes the job a few singles to extend the working out of the box. All never-married women have resulted in increased workload and take on more work as well.

- **Subjective office hour**

For the duration of the work or "office hour" earlier as objective office hour is the time required by the agency or organization. The current requirements of the agency must continue to set the time explicitly. But in practice, never-married women often work on their own schedule without having to take the organization to start or end at any time. The majority of never-married women focus on the completion of the work and work overtime without the payment of overtime in any way. They just want to manage to finish their work on time. Therefore, it is not surprising that some never-married women to work more than 8 hours per day. Especially, if it is a unique or intensive work, or a period of work in a range of academic tasks, such as finance and accounting or media related works.

*"... **It does not stick to the objective office hour. It is up to the task or duty to do more.** What we have to do even when you do not want to ..."*

*"...I start working at 9 AM and finish at 6PM. but **the working hours is flexible, as long as you finish your work**...when I arrive at 10 AM I already know what kind of work that I must do...usually when the working hours starts at 9 AM, the it is not really exact time, around 9.30 or 10.00. Depends on your work...if you can finish your work early, then you can leave office early too, like aroun 2PM...I try so hard not to sleep at the office..."*

- **Office hour out of office**

For a new generation of never-married women, the word "office hour" will not occur only at the "office" or place of work. It happens wherever

possible, especially with the current work of never-married women who need high mobility. Being attached to the work place and then work through the Internet also allows never-married women to work at any time. That makes the working and private lives are not separated by the technology.

*"...**technology makes us work even harder**... lately I changed from blackberry to and Iphone. Before my boss also usess it so we need to use to to chat with the others...**we did not sleep well because blackberry message comes at 10-11 PM, sometimes at 5 AM**...during the flood, he even called in the middle of the night..."*

*"...**consume my time a lot**. Usually we work for 4-5 hours and the go home.but now I cannot even go home. **If my boss ask me to work, the we have to work at anytime**. He will asks what time I arrive at office? when will I go home? When he wants something he will call right away. I cannot turn off my phone...I have to stand by everytime...even on weekends I have to do it too..."*

Never-married woman even has to invest in buying an iphone even the price is high. This is because of work. Sometimes persons she works together with send data and information this way. and if you do not invest you will risk losing contact or information, so finally you need to use the similar devices to eliminate the problem.

*"...regarding buying smartphone in the office, **it is because the communication in office mostly use email. and sometimes I got email and I am not in front of computer, and I cannot answer instantly.** sometimes I got email at night and it is urgent. And everyone has it...I do not want to be blamed for being slow just because I am outside of office when email comes...after i have it then nobody is mad at me anymore..."*

2) Increasing competition in the organization

Working under information society causes the competition to increase. The Passing of information becomes faster and well known and stimulates the comparison and competition to advance in order to become the best, never mind the organization and the business area. They all try to step forward to the number one rank and try to increase the fame and capital for the institution. This competition

influences officers who work in the organization. The never-married women also infected by this competition. These women have to work under the pressure and live under competition assigned by the institution.

- **Everything is "Business"**

The difficulties of never-married women in doing work also correspond to the policy of the institution that oppresses the workers for the survival of turnover and business profits. Never-married women in many cases have to live under the pressure and have to follow orders and get the effect from the company activities. For example, there are cutting off of bonus and monthly salary. Workers also are expected to be ready for the competition to bring profits for the company. Everything in the work has become business to achieve profit.

*"…**I am so stress, sometimes I cannot take it anymore. But it is the company policy**…the company policy is sometime unrelated to my team but they want us to help the operation team. They abuse us every day. And we cannot make mistake. I am the front face that has to communicate to others, and to inform other people's mistakes but we also need to solve them…"*

*"… **The next, it is a matter of ideology**. **Now and then it starts to insert it into the business. But before, we had the freedom to work**. Not anymore. I want to change it. But most people have no idea it is to resist. It is enough to say that it will reform the rules. We feel that it's ridiculous…throughout the years, I always want to work here, and maybe until one day I realized that I do not know anymore ..."*

- **Everyone needs to develop**

Competition in the organization brings out the competition among the individuals as well. Tasks in the organization require the officer to develop all the time. This competition happens since the first time someone is recruited into the company. Recruitments have a certain standard and applicants have to pass so many tests. For example, where language is a primary requirement for work, there will be a language test. A test of computer usage is needed for the work related to computers. This condition completely changes the modernity.

"… It would be usual that ***the TOEIC TOEFL exam is required before we interview and then suddenly selected.*** *You need excellent English for work..."*

"… It's easier now. We can do it with current Technology. People need to develop their abilities. Before, we did not have computers. We just took a few years ago; ***we had to develop ICDL exam and must be passed every test.*** *Nowadays, people are required to put it to the test word, power point, excel ..."*

- **We need to adapt to international environment**

Because social being cannot live without lack of border, it causes the transnational quality of organization needs to be developed. Majority of these transnational organizations requires certain standards of administration depends on the organization foundation or main company. The person in this organization needs to improve their skills to be standard with the culture of working of the organization. However, working together with different culture sometimes can cause a misunderstanding. Different cultural quality joins together in a workplace can also poses a problem. For example, never-married women who work in Multinational Corporation have to adjust their working pattern to suit the work system the organization.

"…the company would have only MD and GM a foreigner, and others would be Thai. It is good that we can work in this environment… ***The chain management is very systematic and it is the same with every branch in the world…at first it was like to be forced to imitate western style.*** *It is like working at ford motor company. We need to obey the worldwide policy…"*

3) Changing of interaction pattern in organization

Doing job under the communication system and network causes changing in the pattern of working interaction. At present, the interaction is not done by face to face and the location is not a problem for interaction. It can be done between the regions in the country and between countries so the work process flows continuously. On the other hand, this format can also cause a mistake in communication procedure.

- **Easy but confused**

Difficult in interaction with IT without face-to-face interaction is error and misunderstanding, especially if you have to work with the foreigner.

*"... My boss is a foreigner. How he works is that **he sent a command in email to tell you what to do without explaining anything** ..."*

8.1.2.2 The work of never-married women with tradition-modernity contestation

Doing work at present is easier because of the advancement in technology. But the work nowadays is more and more attached into the formal and informal system in the sense of this system has a regulation to follow and standard to engage business that will increase efficiency. Doing work will need to make profits. But the system also can check and control the work all the time, such as workload, time usage of working in reward of progress of job achievement. The system has a clear working division in organization. There is a division of labor in human resource development administration manages and control and checking and examines the work of never-married women. On the other hand, the system is able to cause a problem because workers cannot conform to the system work and cooperation. Beside modern working system, never-married women also cannot escape from working tradition that root in Thai society such as patronage system and seniority system.

1) Inconsistent division of labor in organization

Division of work in organization is an important factor that can affect the success of the organization. It also affects the never-married women in terms of determination, workload, time usage and responsibility as well. The major problem of never-married women is that the division of labor affects their work because they also have to responsible of other people's work. Assigned more work should be done based on where you are in charge of the division of labor in organizations, in practice it has not stepped away from the division of labor by sex and marital status. The division of labor is done according to the specialization and the division of labor with

the seniority system, which makes people fall in workload as a never-married woman. But there is little chance of a breakthrough because it does not have the opportunity to develop their skills and build a portfolio.

- **Is this my job?**

Initially there is a job description for each position. In order to determine the details of the work to be responsible, but the problem is what written in the job description is different to the actual, in terms of burden of work and type of work to be done. This may partly be the result of the classification and definition of the type of work that is not obvious from the beginning. It is unique as a secretary for the fuss seems to have little to do other than what they should be doing more. Many never-married women find it is quite difficult to set aside time for personal matters.

"... My work has a plan to follow. But there are many responsibilities than originally set out in the first place, ***it is not clear what I should do. So I do not have time to do my main work*** *..."*

"… Nine to 5 o'clock in the day, I do not take a lunch break ... If going on with people is I eat inside, I eat next to the fridge. We are always together all the time until out of office ... ***I feel that this is not a job, but we are responsible for this*** *..."*

- **"Other work assigned"**

The term "other assignments" that are contained in the last line of the job description is the one thing that is beyond the control of the never-married women. This is because they had no way of knowing that there will be others that what you will have in each day. Some people feel that work in this section rather than in the main function you will be responsible. Or work in this part of the game to take over the tasks they are responsible for completing. This leads to a very long time to work up.

"… I have been hired as a staff to analyze policy and plan… but ***the work is not the same with the position****…but I cannot really understand it...and the work is*

more of arranging a meeting or doing a minute of meeting as well as administration work…It is easy but it is confusing…"

" … it changes into worse work that I take.. ***There are so many different works and nothing is finished and nothing is done.*** *I know almost everything but also know nothing…"*

- **Women and Men are different**

Although the position is determined, however, in practice, these differences are often used as the main cause of the division of labor, even in the position is the same. The majority of the respondents are female. The never-married women are often assigned to work for with people and majority said that women are more likely skilled in this field than men. In the meantime, work to coordinate with them is that people often want to avoid because it's quite bothered. Women are often given the responsibility of documents work that because that is their job profile. It is a task that requires concentration and can easily cause stress.

"... Customers like to talk to the women I talk to more than most men, ***The document work is done by the office lady look here****. Men do not like it; they would like the code to do the actual work. I need to design a system that will do more than the men..."*

- **Never-married women are always available**

Although, in general, functions is defined by a job description for each position, but in actual practice, of course, that there will be other jobs. Some tasks are assigned more, while one would not deny that this is the divisions within the support one another. It happens especially when peers have incidents particularly with families who have an emergency to deal with that. Never-married women are often vested in the workload of these associates with those needs. But most of them would be happy to help willingly.

*"…****if a person has a family matter I can understand****. Sometime works can also be more complicated and urgent and they need help. But they cannot just leave the work to somebody else…"*

"…in time like this ***there are group of women that are already married and need to do another thing.*** *Then someone else needs to do their work although they do not really want it…"*

- **Because you can do it well**

Many recognize that never-married women are responsible persons who can work well. It seems that many works have become the responsibility of never-married women. It's even harder for them to bear. It works well for people who have a greater workload than others. People who are not consistent with the workload turn to never-married women have to bear the excess workload.

*"…****I am not robot. You will not load everything down and think that I can take care of it.*** *I cannot do it. Everyone knows the problem but do not care enough to fix it…"*

- **Job specialization**

Positions in most organizations are determined by the specialization of the position. Therefore, one will be assigned a specific expertise with regard to the matter. One may be better in terms of not only the ability to fully but on the other hand, it results in excessive workload and monotonous sometimes do not have the opportunity to create something new. As an example of a single woman, one who decided to walk away from a job that many people may have seen a specialist than a job to do many things together, some of which may be viewed as the need to work and how to deal with it every day, which is the value of the work, seems to be less so. While the other one had to bear because of the expectations of the organization "experts".

*"…****we train for the whole year, which is boring****…one or two years, so boring, so I want to move, instead of working the same way…I got the salary and can estimate the bonus…it is fine…but it is like not solving a problem…this is because* ***my previous work is not really doing important work…I did not get anything from the work****…"*

"…after finished PhD the expectation is high but also ***the only person who is specialist on this field.*** *As a result,* ***everything is fall to me completely****…"*

- **Cannot avoid the seniority**

The division of labor to the enterprise, sometimes is not depending on the loft's unique position as it depends on who the leader. It was stamped on by default, to be a people laden with many complicated reasons, only to have to "learn", "training", which is something that may not work on the actual job. They need to do it because there are senior people who came before. It also because that a new job cannot be transferred into someone else. But while it needs to be promoted or rewarded some of the "seniors" will cause people to get them to return. New people need to wait until the proper sequence in particular of a government job.

"… No matter the conditions, that is the rule to be done. ***Now is the age that matters, it's even more****… I feel that our generation was taught that denial is incorrect. So did many others. I do not have to be provided...*"

2) Advancement depending on diploma and portfolio

Never-married women are still limited in terms of enhancing the attachment to the qualification or diploma which is not consistent with the workload. The welfare model also does not take into account the characteristics of never-married women. They do not fully benefit from the development of human resources of the organization.

- **Degree is necessary nowadays**

At present, human resource development does not only conduct to the assessment of competence in the workplace. They also stress the importance of having a degree. This is one of the most important factors in getting a promotion or welfare benefits. This is why many never-married women prefer to pursue higher degree than having a baby or family, which has higher value in life. Never-married women must seek a degree or higher degree in the specific way that corresponds to a

given position to ensure a security in work. While some understand that they will not be able to move in the higher, because they are late entering the job market.

"…now it start to begin… now my age has only 10 more years for government service. I have this feeling that I am going to be the same in more than 10 years. Nowadays, ***if you walk into any ministry office, you will find only 1 person with bachelor degree in 10 persons there****. Others are mostly having doctoral degree. I do not think I can do it…"*

*"…in the sense that I am more comfortable and does not have any problems...****when you only have bachelor degree, your knowledge is not that good.*** *You start to feel that you need more knowledge, because* ***after work for a while you will feel that what you have learned is completely disappear. I also want more than this****..."*

Never-married women rather place importance to work life than others. Although after graduate from master degree, they feel that when the work is not related to what they studied, they need to improve knowledge to improve their carrier in works. Then many decide to pursue further study.

"...when I am older, ***I want more stability****...I just will want to increase salary...at other times there is also when* ***I need to improve my qualification****, or there is another opportunity, I waill take it for sure as long as the salary is better..."*

- **Why I do not go anywhere**

There is a limited progress made to never-married women who do not have a degree consistent with the requirements of the job. For never-married women to have these things and they may have other conditions that make it impossible to move further, especially in academic or government agency because the diploma qualification is a must to progress in career. Many never-married women who have been working but cannot advance, they will be moved to other job. Such as the case of the two singles, a scholar who has been a need to manage the workload while the other one had to be moved to the Home Secretary.

*"...**All I have to do is stand up my academic positions... it's not easy.** If I could I would have to advance in one year. I do not like this. Only time will test whether I can advance. It is emotionally difficult to advance…"*

*"... **What is important is repeatedly used throughout this period. Especially at this stage...It's time for me to evaluate our position**, I know it does not work ... it's not about me. It is the work.... "*

3) Inconsistency in compensation

Inconsistency in compensation is a major factor that diminishes work motivation of never-married women and also causes resignation. Even experience in organization is not guaranteed their salary and advancement.

- **It is not worth it**

One significant factor that makes never-married women under appreciated is the subject of compensation, both monetary and non-monetary sense. It is because many agencies do not fully yet to focus to the work of never-married women's effort. As never-married women, they are faced with some quite debilitating change in the management and affect their economic support.

*"...it feels not fun anymore. It is not the same as before when I first start to work. **After the system is changed, I become lazy to work**...before I am willing to give my everything for work, but now, I only work according to my salary...Sometimes some people ask me to work on weekend, but I will not do it. If they want me to work more, they should increase my salary. They have not done it because the business is not good...but I have responsibility to myself, so I can live my life..."*

- **Time is not guarantee**

There are still never-married women that fall in the seniority and their workload and experience are not equal to their compensation. At some points, this is related to the type of organization where they work or the type of work. The difference in expectation and compensation of work makes they have to manage their own situation.

*"... **I would have paid it for the duration of the work. I think it's a lot. pared with the original.** But when I grew up, I think maybe it's the same…We did not have the luxuries that it is okay to talk to your friends, but if they do not have the private or not our generation, we will get less, but now everything has changed..."*

4) Inconsistency in welfare

The management system is the same for both corporate welfare and welfare systems need some time in the same format. But it is rarely beneficial to young children as well. For those who would benefit from the welfare system, these are the ones that are fully or family say is that you must have both your husband and children to be exploited cost-effectively as possible.

- **Specifically "the family"**

One example of these phenomena is reflected on the definition of the word "Family person", that they are not having advantage of the benefits. While other benefits are not additional or replacement for rights cases, such as medical expenses are accessible, but are only available for some people. "Family" means husband and children only. But for never-married women then most of her family is parents.

*"…**My family means my mother but for them family means husband/wife and children.** It makes me annoyed...it should cover more than that. it should be the one with same family name too..."*

- **Equality...but inequity**

The general pattern of welfare does not give full benefit for never-married women because they cannot get some benefit, for example compensation for childbearing and also the welfare of the child is never the right for never-married women in this regard as well. Moreover, never-married women cannot get other benefit beyond this welfare like more charges for health service or retirement.

“...compensation for government officer will be cover for retirement, then it cannot also cover the other things. ***I can cover only my medical expenses. It is completely nothing for single woman****...”*

5) Policy which changed by board

One key to the further work that resulted in the organization of the never-married women is the management system and form of command in the department. This is because these determine the progress of the work and workload advancement in the workplace, the working relationship between supervisors and subordinates and between practitioners together. These affect the happiness and suffering of the work directly. Model management and superiors are still limited and affect both physical and mental health of never-married women, including direct management of change in organizations, cultural work with the subordinates and management system that simplifies and streamlines.

- **It is never in your hand**

Many never-married women asking why is her life's work to be leave it in the hands of administrators. When the administration changed, vision or policy and regulatory system is operational in many changes at once, so it seems that their fate depends on the boss or management team is good or not. Instead of the exact and stable regulatory system constant, you think of their own executives to try and modify the system or something to benefit themselves and their cronies. This system has a profound effect on mental health in the workplace and creating incentives and ideology in the works of many never-married women.

"... I worked really hard. Do everything. But now, it is not really happy. It is about the way we change the system administrators. When another group of administrators retire, it will change everything. There's a lot here. The work itself is not always practical to do that ... There are already 10 people quitting ... "

6) Master-servant organization culture

The work culture in some organizations, the relationship between boss and subordinates do not depend on the power of command by position

only. But the power relations expand into a boss is a master and a slave, where master's authority is over subordinates.

- **Like a servant**

It means that subordinates to follow the command of everything, both in work and personal matters. In particular, most of which have occurred either in the bureaucracy. But in the private sector, it is seen as the need to "be" is the relationship of such a result, never-married women who are in a position subordinate to the need for personal time to the subject of quite a lot, sometimes more than the boss's time for their own gardens.

*"... **With the culture here, we have to go to work before the boss. Take care of everything from the moment he enters our office.** What will immediately come to the table to eat, we have to do until he returns. Pay credit card bills for utilities. I used to do what he needs to do every once in front of the boss... I do not understand people at the higher position. He would not do it. Sometime I need to bring his shirt... "*

*"...**We have to follow and do everything our superior says, we cannot argue. Even when they are wrong, it is us who are wrong**. Even I can argue with my fater and mother. But as a subordinate in office, we always wrong..."*

7) Political interference in organization

For work in the public sector or private sectors that are closely linked to the state, political interference is difficult to avoid. This is because of the management style in the organization. Even at the highest levels in an organization, it falls under the national political majority.

- **Politics is around you**

Agencies which work in this way makes many never-married women have to come and try to accept the change of political power over time. Cabinet to accept the consequences that will affect the work patterns are never stable. There is also avoided tough partisan system is another that comes to modifying the political executive.

*"... **The Secretary of the new structure was revised.** We got caught by the official secretary to the move ... **political organizations to send people into a political consultant.** To monitor the person adjust the position of the man himself. I do not understand. **I will have to work under a lot of problems**..."*

*"...problem or obstacle is related to the person. I think that executives also. There are external factors such as **political affairs interfering the organization.** But I cannot speak this problem loudly..."*

8) Complicated and not flexible organization management

Complicated and not flexible organization management is another factor, which affects the performance of never-married women. This happens especially with younger persons who had worked for a while. Working in the public sector has clear limitations in terms of mobility and flexibility of the system. And the compensation is less. But on the other hand, it has better advantages in terms of welfare and stability. Some never-married women need to choose to work in spite of the government institution disadvantages. Many prefer these restrictions in exchange for a stable life.

- **This is Thai bureaucracy system**

Some never-married women need to work in government sector in exchange for stability. Additional, some women have to work in private sector which also uses the same pattern of Thai bureaucracy system in organization management. This all lead to boring and uncomfortable in working there.

*"..**The day is the same over and over** ... but the document does not streamline the existing interactive applications. **Routinely work with documents from training camp activities.** Previously I worked in private sector before... But now I am in public sector. If it is the government, I do not do half the work, and the salary is equal..."*

*"...**even it is a private, but the system is government...some cases cannot be approved fast. If there is something needs to be fast, I will be tired of it**. But regarding people come to office late, we need to solve it together..."*

9) Burdensome monitoring system and quality assurance

The current system of quality assurance is becoming the cornerstone of the organization to ensure that this organization is the quality and reliability as a tool for ranking of the organization. Each agency is trying to push to get their point or points of quality assurance system in the very first. To be able to compete with other agencies, which becomes a new work culture affect the level of the operating point or points directly because they did not come with the implementation of these personnel. The high command is to motivate and encourage the creation of such works whether such a system can lead to the quality of the organization or not. But every never-married woman who works in the organization's culture to be directly affected by the obvious is the increased workload; enhance workflows, and more time to work. For some never-married women who are involved in the monitoring system, such as directly responsible for the system and as an executive at each level because they feel pressured into a new liability, which impact in the relationship with the others.

- **Window dressing**

Many never-married women agree that quality assurance systems that show. No matter what the industry would call it whatever the ISO QA or HA, but what makes them suffer the same fate is that they have to be the biggest event of the year window dressing to come around for another term. Because each of the quality assurance will be a period during which they were encouraged to accelerate the production or collection of documents to keep up with the inspection and complete the cycle. This is because the management prefers to check the document rather than to assess the behavior. This is the heavy workload and they have to spend more time at work longer.

*"...now there is ISO which is only happen in the last 2-3 years...**it is like window dressing, we help each other for preparing documents for that. it does not make sense because we have other works to do**..."*

“...have to change much more, need to evaluate the eaccomplishment and self-critic too...each unit will need to work for success. ***Boss also forces subordinates to present their productive. Window dressing time happens in all organization****...”*

- **More documents mean more burden**

The verification for quality assurance checks on the basis of evidence from a document, thus increasing access to these documents is to increase the workload to the worker directly. Although these documents can be seen as something necessary, but in the view of practitioners of certain documents is not necessary. And sometimes it is not a guarantee that the work will be done with quality and not the lack of those documents. But what more noticeable is the workload and the process of increasing the number of workers and the never-married women. They have been directly affected by such a system without a chance to refuse.

"... ***Four o'clock midnight, I still have to sit at the head of it to be made into a book and then a summary sheet of the public and will have to check again.*** *There are criteria that you have to make it up for score. It is the need for information. Perhaps we have a table to fill out to get me back...I do not know... "*

"... ***I feel a lot more and more complicated tasks such as non-material evaluation and performance indicators KPI for various ISO****, but it has come a long time ago. I do not see how much I need to make up the work that is already good ... it's a job, and now the latest is that the FAP system,* ***it is which makes the task more complicated and more difficult to do****... "*

- **Monitoring is the same as caviling**

For never-married women who are involved with monitoring systems and quality assurance directly, they have difficulty working under these systems still need to be twice as hard to bear on the investigation because of the increased workload, more than others. They also need to risk the relationship with colleagues who understand and do not understand all of them, because it really works.

Then she needs to do the duties assigned by the inevitable as well. These systems are not intended to affect the conflict in the relationship between the agencies clearly.

"... Internal Audit is required…it would be a problem as we do not promptly correct the disorder. It was not, it would have to be reported to those who understand and do not understand. ***This report may affect their working relationship****... "*

"... The people we represent, we need a senior representative to just need to read to the others to understand the flow of our works. ***It's like the caviling. It gives pressure and boring*** *..."*

- **I just told…it is not appropriate**

System may be the same to assess the work quality, but the difference is that how we conform with it. For example, there are a person who will make mistake or does not conform, and there is another person who report the mistake that will reduce the score in quality assurance. Therefore, it is a worrying situation for never-married women, because they have to keep up with a certain of work quality everyday, in the sense that the work is not flexible enough to be done.

"...It is organized as for what we do have evidence on certified customers. ***Some documents do not need to have all the signatures, but this was a little bit too much to get customer signatures****.. It is our job to fast ... Last year it was around that same internal first be prepared before external to 2 times a year internal so many around me ...there are a lot of work... "*

10) Inconsistencies between workers and the systems

Many agree that a never-married woman's difficulty of the work, many times does not happen from the system, but it is due to the compatibility of the organization itself in terms of the disruption caused by the individual's different needs and misunderstandings. Sometimes it is due to trying to serve the people best. It is difficult to avoid the conflict, whether the organization is under a system that is well designed, It must be coordinated so that the overall driving possible. Built up without a

consistent view on the task with the system is the problem. This is the main cause of the overwhelming pressure and stress in the work of never-married women.

"...if you ask me what is the obstacle, ***honestly there is always a problem of coordination in work. Sometimes it is just a misunderstanding among colleagues****...if working systems have problem with coordination, then the work can be very bad..."*

*"...****mostly it is a problem because lack of understanding of the work****...some parts because they never learn and never try to understand the problem...****so they fight each other. So boring****..."*

8.1.2.3 The work of never-married women with modernity-singlism risk in modern society

Modern society opens more opportunity to allow more women to work. But never-married women are also vulnerable to uncertainties in terms of income. There are not only risks with the character of modernity but also the character of their singlehood: risks in the use of technology in the workplace, risk to travel for work, risk of job changes, the risk of job and place of work.

1) The uncertainty of income

Risk in the income is another issue that many modern people are concerned, not only because they need to meet of own needs, but the needs of the other person, such as family. The risk of this happening to both never-married women with regular salary deposited with jobs for life and the stability of the organization. While never-married women have to work independent also have uncertainty regarding the continuation of the work, which is a source of income.

- **The risk of being a salaryman**

Most never-married women are working as a "Salary man" whose income from salary each month from the work of the agency is without other sources of income. Stability in the work, it is a measure of the survival of the never-married woman. Especially if they are older, they will start to worry about because

you have to get out of the original work while others do not, it will affect the lives of her certainly with economic, social and political movements in which they fear will affect the stability of the agency, including their employment.

"...it is too late for my age. I cannot look for a new work anymore. To some point, you will be questioning your future, ***but when my income only comes from salary, then when I do not have work anymore I do not know what will happen to me****..."*

*"****there is a risk from the national economic situation which I used to be scared of.*** *There is nothing certain in working in companies.* ***I saw so many companies collapse. I have to subsist the risk****..."*

- **Choosing freedom means choosing to take a risk**

Some never-married women decide to turn her back on life and work within the framework of the organization in order to choose work freely. They do not have to be bothered with the complexity of the system and the people in the organization. But while these are like a freedom, then that would be a risk to the stability of the revenue. There will be also stress in the uncertain income. These are different from a routine work, because in terms of revenue that does not have a regular and predictable like a salary from the organization.

"...I talk to my friend and she said that I can be a freelancer. ***But I am afraid that I will not earn enough.*** *What should I do then, I would ask for my dad's help..."*

"... ***Working freelance is a major change. We will not know a certainty****. Some months may not have the money. We just need to put a plan ... if it comes out that it must have something to support... "*

2) The risk of getting technology in work

Risks that come with the technology come with a mounting bracket or to rely on more technology in everyday life, especially in her work. Of course, there are also errors involved. Both operating systems are supported as many

people experiencing a hank or error during the process something, or errors caused by the system itself, or intend to use the technology to distort information and elicit useful information to yourself until impact with the owner of the data.

- **Technology is fallible**

Functions that rely on technology in almost every subject and every branch is in the relative risk is sometimes difficult to avoid because of the need to use. But some of them never-married women know how to handle these problems, such as being careful to fill in some personal information. The use of technology can also be used to manage the risk arising from the use of technology as well.

"...Talking about the Internet, when we enter the website this site. ***We need to fill a lot of forms for it to load the information...I feel it is not safe sometimes.*** *We have probably seen the news and there are bad things in Internet.* ***I know it's risky, but sometimes we still have to use it...****"*

"... ***I ordered online via the Internet and it turns out that it has to change the message tag.*** *But that mistake was unintended. It is the same; there are mistakes too. I once made the time to look up information into evidence a copy of the email. Or perhaps if it is shared in Facebook...that is,* ***it can go wrong with the technology****..."*

3) The risk and uncertainties of traveling to work

Modern never-married women must rely on their own by working outside the home. Therefore it is inevitable that the day would have to leave the house to go to work, which was considered to be on life at risk every day because of the kind of trip, whether by car or even walk, it is a risk. There are risk of accidents and other unforeseen disasters. Travel is also conjectured that it takes to travel each day much, especially travel in Bangkok. Although there is a modern rapid transit system, but sometime they are not always punctual. Many never-married women have plenty of time for more to avoid mistakes in the work. Some people would take the time to work longer to avoid the frustration of traffic jams.

- **Step out from home is already a risk**

The first risk that almost everyone feels that the risk is the most obvious one such as incidents of travel-related work. But most will feel risky to travel using public transportation whether it's a bus, van or taxi. For never-married women, it is necessary to rely on these services in the lifestyle. Made to know the risk, but they must take risks and to try to manage these risks by themselves.

*"... **Our public service system, whether it is a bus or taxi, it was not a hundred percent safety.** If the driver is good, it's okay. Fortunately, not most are okay ... it's quite strange that there may be cases where the speed began to feel that this is not okay. **Some say we need to be careful when using public transport...we all need to be aware of the public car accidents**... "*

- **Drive it yourself is also risk**

Apart from the traveling using public transportation, some never-married women will choose to drive by herself to be safe and comfortable. It's not that they will escape from the risks on the road. Some never-married women accept the risk of their driving behavior. But even their own driving behavior to some extent is responsible, but they cannot control or predict the behavior of fellow road user. Other people are exposed into the exploitation of the people using the road at them.

*"... Heard from other people from a trip and then travel by taxi, I do not think it is great. I sometimes fear I am scared to travel. **Sometimes I drive at night in the dark. We do not have traffic discipline, and drunk drivers, I do not know**... "*

4) The risk of changing job

Modern society seems to have more options for women to work. Even the men associated work, such as computer programmers, technical support, but also the work that requires graduate degree level in various fields. But things are complicated when never-married women want to change jobs or need a better work. This is mostly due to the uncertainty in income welfare jobs, especially if age began to increase. They become more and more anxious about job changes.

Never-married women seek not only just a matter of income and stability, but also a matter of esteem. So, never-married women feel that they have the opportunity to use their abilities fully.

- **We are valuable...so we must have value**

Never-married women have goals to work in a place that they can also to improve the knowledge and capacity, so it would make sense that they have value. Although the change is not sure they will be in this direction. But they also know that it would be risky to try even once.

*"... On work and self improvement, **I want work that I can improve my knowledge.** But I know it is difficult to find such job. **Work now does not really make me smarter. So I want to change...But I will be very anxious about it.** Because I never change job before and I do not like changes..."*

- **Who said age is not important**

The idea to change work happen with never-married women in different stage of life and age. Even in the age of 46 years old. Many think that when changing job means that you need to start again from the beginning. Even they know that they need to change but still they hesitate or uncertain because of the age. They prefer to stay at the same life until to the point that there are opportunities to create new things or to develop one self. Until that time, many never-married women have to resist the change.

*"...some people told me that **too old for changing job**. Sometime I want a better job, but I want to stay stable, and I think the current work is stable. **I also do not want to be subordinate at the new workplace and afraid that the new job is not better than now**..."*

5) The risk of characteristics of job and the workplace

There is a risk that some functions are difficult to avoid because of the nature of the work is to be exposed to such a risk is already regularly. For example, work can be late and the risk of disease and illness in the workplace. So

if you choose to work in such a manner as if it were a never-married woman, then that will be faced with the risk of all forms that come with the job.

- **The night...is still young**

In the case of never-married women who have to work very late at night, then they will try to protect themselves from the risk. Some women need to purchase a private car because they think it will make them safer. They also need to choose a different route home to avoid bigger risks. Even though many never-married women take precautionary measures, it does not mean there is no risk.

*"...sometimes I go out from office at 2 AM, so **I wait until morning to go home before I have a car or wait for other co-worker to go home together.** But it is difficult for time to do it, so I decided to buy a car..."*

*"... **Someone said to me that once a person got raped because she always take the same route everyday. So I always try to change my route everyday, especially when I have to go home late.** I always observe whether someone is following me...I read that someone got rape at 4 AM, so I better call from office for a taxi. It is more convenient..."*

- **Some things are unavoidable**

For some professions that have special particularities, some risks are unavoidable. The only thing that never-married women can do is to preserve themselves when there is a risk at work. For example, there are never-married women who work taking care persons or animals, which cannot avoid to got the disease. They need to find a wat to look after and manage to live with the disease that maybe happening.

*"...I understand that **being a nurse there is a risk of getting the disease from patients and the environment. Now I have this allergy because of working here...some are because of weather too**..."*

*"...**work with animal has a very high risk as well**...I have to manage the contacts with the ill animals...**mostly it is from the animal bites**...some people who work here got the disease from the animal..."*

- **I'm familiar with risk**

The risk from type of work is something cannot avoid. The important thing they can do is taking care of yourself. Finally, risk will be turned to habitude, even though context of risk does not change.

*"...it is a risk for a woman to travel late at night by herself...**I do not drive. I take taxi. whether leave from home or from office. I'm familiar with this choice** because I'm an air clerk. But some people maybe not brave enough to do this..."*

In summary, working life of never-married women under modernity context has changed by the role of communication technology. This made these women have a similar working behavior like hard work, work at home and work depending on technology (hi-tech work). Never-married women have to work under atmosphere of changing the definition of "office hour", increasing competition in the organization and changing of interaction pattern in organization.

Moreover, never-married-women also face with the contestation between modern related-work systems which created to improve more productivity in the organization and traditional norms which still deep-rooted in working culture. This reflect in inconsistent division of labor in organization, advancement depending on diploma and portfolio, inconsistency in compensation and welfare, policy which changed by board, master-servant organization culture, political interference in organization, complicated and not flexible organization management, burdensome monitoring system and quality assurance**,** and inconsistenc**y** between workers and the systems**.**

In addition, never-married women are also vulnerable to uncertainty and risk which are not only risks with the character of modernity but also the character of their singlehood. They have to face with uncertainty of income**,** risk of getting technology in work**,** traveling to work**,** risk of changing job, and risk by characteristics of their specific job and the workplace**.** All of this phenomenon affect on overload of work, taking more time for working and also unhappy with their job, then finally lead to their illness.

8.2 Living of Never-Married Women in modern society

In modern society, never-married women's living can be defined as ***"Stand on your feet".*** Most of women have to rely on themselves. Moreover, some women have to take responsible for their family. Modernity has greatly affected to the life pattern of women such as housing, time consuming in activities, and all responsibilities of never-married women. The details are presenting as following.

8.2.1 Living Pattern of Never-married women

Apart from the working space which can be functioned as public sphere for never-married women, there is another space as private spheres. In this study consists of responsibility, housing, and personal leisure time in each day.

1) Responsibility of Never-Married Women

Some women in modern society only have responsibility on themselves because they live alone. Parents can take care of themselves. At the same time women becomes head of their family and have responsibility to take care of things as a "single". They have obligation to take care their own living.

- My duty is to cover all things by myself

Main task of never-married women is responsible for their life. They have to cover their daily expenses. Some women have to bear additional expenses such as car payment, home payment/ rental, and expenses related to insurance. In this group, mostly do not have to remit parents. They still can work or have other source of support such as government officer pension.

"…I may consider as lucky single woman. ***I can spend my single life as the way I want to be****. Others might have to pay this and that.* ***I only take care of myself.*** *Since I started work, mom said "you don't need to send me money. I am happy already that you can cover all things for yourself and don't need to disturb". That is her main point. I remembered precisely…"*

As above mentioned, some single do not need to remit their parents. Some even receive financial support from their parents regularly. Their salary might be only adequate for personal expenses. They do not have much of luxury expenses and they live with parents. They can share some amount with parents. On the other hand, parents also assist when income is not enough.

*"...**Mostly parents will support me more because it is insufficient.** I am trying to control. Overall **dad might not support in money form but he will cover car payment** or other expenses. I will give them one amount…They are okay. They make good plan and have support money…"*

*"…Mom said she doesn't need, **just cover you** and don't ask for more. I remit every month like everyone else but mom said no. She has already…room rental, credit card…car. I used car since graduated. **First two years I paid and next two year's dad helps.** So it finished fast…"*

- **Single's Duty**

Some family business often transfers to never-married women after other family members married and built their own family. However, some women are willing to take all responsibilities since they feel sympathy to other family members who got married and have their own family to take care of.

*"...I am the youngest. **I have to cover all in the house since food, electricity, tap water, furniture, bathroom….Other single sibling also help take care of mom.** We have to share responsible…Beyond that if no one do it, I will cover it all…"*

*"…I have to do family service. On Father's and Mother's day, I have to reserve restaurant or book hotel for New Year's holiday. **I am single and others have family. They claimed that I'm single so I should handle all family activities**…When parents get older, it could my responsibility.*

*"...**Now I only have dad. In the past, I had to take care of mom on food, diaper, and sanitary.** For the cost of nursing center officer, dad and brother covered it. I took care of*

*food. Now mom passed away and I still have to cover food for dad…**My brother now has his family**…"*

- **I'm head of the household**

Some women have become "Head of the household" which requires making all decisions relevant to home. Sometimes it leads to stress and decreasing personal time.

*" …**I am head of family…I would say who should do what. I will give them amount of money. I have fix rate monthly and have home secretary to manage**…We have to pay for home. We set up fix rate all 4 members have to help…car payment is also central money…"*

*" . . . Now **I become head of household**. I have to take care of 3 family members…**When my sister get married and moved out, I have to take care everything**…I don't have problem with money but management issue such as all grocery shopping…all relies on me. Even in flooding time, I have to take care all since my sister moved out far away…**I feel life is so different with when my sister was still around**…"*

*" . . .**I take main responsibility at home**…Dad, mom, and aunt…**I give them money every month and all to cover house expenses**…I have to pay new home payment and this home. It is an apartment and needs to cover rental, electricity, and tap water…"*

2) Housing of Never-Married Women

In case studies, there are several women who live alone or separated from their families from reasons of education, work and independence. It becomes common living form in the present time. Mostly they have to take responsible all their own expenses, while there are some women who still live with their families. It reduces the cost of this housing expense.

- This castle ... I choose

There are some women who have to bear with housing cost by themselves whether in the form of purchase or rental. It may be purchasing for themselves or

provide for their family. Some single used to rent before but after decided to settle down they prefer to shift rental money to purchase their own housing.

*"…**Now I bought a condo. It near sky train so it is convenient…I'm willing to pay because I can.** I think about it too late because of comfortable life. I don't need to buy house and not necessary to give money to parents. They can take care of themselves. I am a little bit too conformation therefore it makes me plan this kind of thing too late…"*

*" …At first I didn't make a plan to buy this house since I have boyfriend or family. I bought it because **I paid 4,000-5,000 baht for monthly rental. I'd better buy it**…"*

- **Inherit**

Some women live with their parents as a resident without any housing burden. It is likely to remain with this situation. Although they will not consider of getting married, they can rely on family.

*"...I have a house, **my mom's house. I have to stay there as I never think about living alone. I have lots of relatives.** It always has someone around me. They live quite near…not together but quite near. **Nowadays, we still rely and take good care of each other. I'm not worry**…"*

3) Leisure time of Never-Married Women

Leisure time of never-married women can be classified as 3 types. They can be big or small up to women's lifestyle. These 3 types are personal corner, friendship corner, and family corner.

- **My personal Corner**

One of the women's activities in the leisure times is getting rest on weekend or spends time alone. Some women have to work very hard whole week. On the weekend they want to relax their body in order to charge up energy and continue working on Monday.

*"…**I will just lie down and do nothing because I work outside for whole week. It is very exhausted with travel.** If weekend I don't have appointment, I would stay home jus sitting and lying down…"*

Some women fond of beauty, taking care of their beauty consider as the leisure time. It could be facial massage, body massage, manicure, hair salon, or spa. It is a pleasant of beauty.

*"..**I think modern women spend more money with beauty**…I spend with product more such as cloths and manicure. Before I spent with massage a lot such as spa, massage, manicure…hair salon, hair rebounding, hair coloring, change hair style…"*

More way to relax is watching television, watching soap opera, reading novel instead of watching news or reading news which may cause more stress.

*"…**My hobbies are watching TV, reading book, reading novels.** I can enjoy my world. I don't want to know serious news…I like politics but I don't like homicide news. I feel depressed. I walk around to check on plants or do some knitting…"*

One of women's favorite activities in the leisure time is shopping activity. Mostly women do shopping during lunch break near workplace which common have flea market. It creates opportunity for those who love shopping to spend their time. In addition, they may shop after work, which may be on the way home at shopping mall. During weekend, they may shop to take care of home business and it is their way to relief stress from work.

*"…When I was 30 years old, I had to work on weekend but now I don't have to. I **will go shopping on Saturday. I would find my way to be happy**…I will be stress on work only Monday to Friday, not on weekend…"*

- Women's Club

Socialize with friends is a popular leisure activity of women. They normally do not have free time to socialize as often as people think due to time limitations and friends business. Many friends may have family. It might be less chance to meet up because of time schedule. Form of friend association might be change due to older age.

*"…**My friend has family and she has to spend time with family. I'm also busy with work**. I will hang out with colleagues. Occasionally, I can meet old friends on weekend. Mostly I will go with colleagues to find something to eat…"*

*"...**I may be extreme on teenager. I went out for drink on Friday and Saturday**. When I turn 33, it started to change. I got bored of that kind of life. Until now I stop drinking. **Now it becomes finding something to eat, chit chat with soft music.** Mostly we talk about life, work, and family and then go home…"*

One benefit of being single is the freedom to travel around without any string attach. Unsurprisingly, many never-married choose to relax by travelling domestic and aboard destination. Normally, they will travel at least once a year in order to relax. In most cases, they travel with a group of friends as a chance to hang out. Some even make plan in advance.

*"…**I travel to other province all the time**. It is quite often at least once a month especially when someone invite…If we cannot go far, we will choose somewhere near like Hua-Hin or Pattaya. We will find new restaurant and find activity…**This is real life of single…must go…can't stay in one place. It's too uncomfortable whether far or near. I have to travel**…"*

- **Family...Home Sweet Home**

Many women who origin from other provinces and come to live in Bangkok while the family still located in other province, they feel warm and happy every time they can go back home. Although they make decision to live permanently in Bangkok instead of their origin, they always desire to go home and meet with

beloved family. Even during short time on holiday or season, this makes them feel way better than any kind of rest.

" …If Northeastern people really don't have to work, ***they must go home on holiday. Sometimes I don't want to because of traffic. I know it's difficult. But when thinking of parents' waiting, I have to go even with half day travel****…When came back to Bangkok, I miss home and miss environment…"*

8.2.2 Living of never-married women under modernity context

Living of never-married in this century especially in the capital city is so complicate because of modernization and globalization which created variety of life styles from cosmopolitan society and also metropolitan society and diffuse through communication technology. However, not only new modern pattern of living like financing, housing, saving, shopping or relaxing activity which influence women life, but also traditional norm like value of wealth and social stratification still appear. Moreover, modern society today is more danger and hazard both come from modern environment and living with single status. More details are as follow.

8.2.2.1 General living of never-married women under cosmo-metropolitan condition

Development of information and communication technology in the present time affects never-married women living in terms of changing family form. It is difficult to distinguish clearly between personal life and other social life aspects. Moreover, individual sense of privacy is increasing.

1) New Definition of "Family"

The traditional of family often means the coexistence of members which bound with marriage or relatives. The family should live in some certain area together. The term "home" is a dwelling unit as residence. Nevertheless, in the present time, family members can be anybody who consents to live together not necessary to be relatives such as friends who live together as a family. Besides, home

is not essential to tie up with certain area permanently. Some may have several real homes and freely to move. It is up to consistent to other aspects of life.

- Friends are family

Some women choose to live with friends more than family, although they do not live very far from family. It is partly because of work rushing lifestyle. Friends become important family members same as real family.

*" …**I stay with friend**…My home is in Bangkok but no one stays there. I got bored to stay alone. **It was lonely, so I moved out to live with friend at condo. It saves time to go to work** because of less traffic. It is very traffic from home and It makes me don't want to stay…"*

- **Mobile life…mobile home**

In the present time, living is full with more mobility. The remaining still becomes less. It is observable that many women want to have home or plan to several places in Bangkok, other provinces, domestic, or international area. Currently, travel or communication does not have obstacles. Communication tools can shorten the distance and remove the borders. It is unsurprising it becomes factor many people choose to take a journey to adapt with other life aspects.

*"...I didn't think about permanent leaving from Bangkok. **I bought a condo for living in Bangkok but I'm certain to spend life in other province**…"*

*"…**He has house there, I will just come and go every 6 months at Sweden and Thailand.** My boyfriend will early retire so he does not need to wait for vacation. He can have more time. After married, he will go back for early retire…"*

2) Undistinguished of personal life and other social aspects

The dissociation between the space and time cause the combination of daily activities such as working time, leisure time. It can be mixed up on the working space or same activity on different time and space. In the positive side, people can perform various activities in the same time. In another way around,

undistinguished time and space on personal and public space decrease the real personal time. For example, leisure time is mixing with working time until we cannot remove stress.

- I will stay nearby my work

One of the housing selection conditions is convenient to work. Women who stay far from workplace tend to choose nearby office place in order to facilitate their transportation. Truly, they may want to stay home.

" . . . I stay at dorm since I came to work here in the time they constructed sky train and it was very traffic. My parents are okay, they visited sometimes…At first it was so different. ***I don't feel confident, can't sleep, anxiety, sleep crying, but I really can't travel that far to work****…"*

On the good side, it is convenient for transportation; however, it is indifferent in terms of personal life and working environment. This leads to continue stressing of work. They do not feel relax after working hour as following case study.

*"...****I am stress because I live and work in the same place****. ..I have to home at other province once a week…Sometimes I need to get out and find something to eat in order to feel relax…"*

3) Changing of interaction pattern

In the present, communication technology plays vital role to new form of social interaction. Commonly, face-to-face interaction becomes less option since it can rely on other form of communication devices. It may shorten the distance communication; however, over consume these technologies affects close relationship. Besides, communication without face-to-face, gesture, eyes contact, or voice tone, it easily leads to misinterpretation which might cause social conflict such as social network communications.

- Sorry, I'm careless you

Some never-married women accept that they addict with social network on mobile phone until careless close people surround them and then affect their relation. Sometimes they may forget to put priority to close person.

*" . . . **Sometimes distance makes me and boyfriend hardly talks because of my addiction**…We were separate for a while. One day I don't feel like playing phone anymore. I want to get rest on weekend so we were back to talk…"*

*"...I'm extremely addicted. At first I addicted to game not chatting…I use it all the time and start to **get scolded. With family also, I won't talk, I will just chatting and don't care. My family would ask me to spare time for them**…in car as well…"*

- Far seems close…close seems far away

On the other hand, many never-married women are neglected by close people who addicted to communication through devices with people far away.

*"...In seminar, all friends bring iphone on the table; I am very upset. We came together so who am I suppose to talk to? Stop playing? I don't know what is so important to chat? **And why we came together and not talk? I went with 3 friends waiting at the airport. Friends were chatting all the time.** Why we won't look around to check on other people…"*

*"…There are people who are really addicted. I sit with neighbor but **she keeps playing. I want to knock her head. We were chatting!**...My friend told me that **husband came to pick her up, she was posting in the car while husband driving. Didn't talk**…"*

*" …**It stops human interaction**. I am so mad at my sister. Why she has to use that often. She's chatting all the time. It makes me realize that technology change social interaction to be this way. I don't like it…In my opinion; **it downgrades communication and communication skill in talking to real person**…"*

- **Social network… It won't work**

While social network is the trend in the present, many women do not perceive it as an essential of living. It cannot replace the traditional interaction. Furthermore, some has seen it as the bad affect of personal interaction.

"…We don't know who are they? We don't know how many people read? I don't understand. ***We don't know who can see us? Outside, people can see face-to-face. People who read may not know a thing, if it's personal****…"*

*"...****Last time I have problem with facebook. I said something and it became a big deal****…I am a middle man. I tell friend verbally but she posted it. It was so bad. I don't know what their problem is and why have to drag me inside…"*

- **It's just a virtual world**

Some never-married women have never been affected by social network, but refuse to use it because they feel it is not their lifestyle.

" …Actually, I don't like social network. ***I prefer personal contact like this and set appointment to meet. Face-to-face feels livelier*** *except some emergency work. Personally I prefer talking…"*

" …I don't really get nonsense talking with too many comments as I'm maybe too old. ***For me, talk is talk, I won't do small chit chat****…At the office, and friend came to chat. Should I talk to them? What are you doing? I will come in a bit. What should we eat? My friend said I'm lame…"*

4) Increasing of sense of privacy and individualism

Separation of time and space attaches individuals to activity and engaged less in the same activity. It allows more sense of privacy as people feel less necessary to rely on each other. Actually, they still rely on each other through communications devices as a tool. Therefore, people seem to spend more private time. They cherish their privacy and sense that surrounding people become less influence.

- I want private life

Some never-married get used to being alone since they have been responsible their life for long until they are unsure about living with other people. They are too attaching with freedom.

*"…**Once you live alone, it is more difficult to live with others.** The person, who stays with you, has to sacrifice have forgive…My sister used to stay with me. I take good care of her. But when thinking about taking care for long, my privacy will be less. I stay alone for too long to care about anyone. I want to lie down and do nothing. If there is someone around, I have to care for that person…"*

*"…It is good when I go out. I don't have anything to talk to **unclose person. I would just pretend to use it. It creates your personal time that I don't want to talk to you.** It is rude but I don't know what to talk…They also play with it and I play mine. I'm not only person like this. **Everyone is like this. I have this thing to keep me in privacy and don't have to talk**…"*

- **Metropolitan life addiction**

Many people might perceive metropolitan living as high isolation and less caring with each other, some never-married takes it as positive aspect. It is an uncared society. It allows you to have individualism. Although Bangkok is dangerous city, they choose to live here. It is familiar and comfortable than other places. There are also various job opportunities for educated.

*"…**It has more colorful**. **I don't have anything to do if I go back to district in hometown**. It takes very long to shopping mall…Everyone knows each other. Only small things become a gossip. I don't like it that way. **In here, no one knows each other. I have freedom. Nobody stares. I can do or wear whatever I want**…"*

*"…**I know Bangkok is dangerous** but I'm Bangkok people. I see it all convenient in here. **In other province it would be this comfortable**…"*

*" …Society is not that much different. I live in urban area and its same traffic in the morning. The big difference is **more job opportunities in Bangkok**. I graduated here and find a job. **What will I do at hometown**…"*

- **Individual is the best**

Main characteristics urban life is individual business. They do not socialize often. It is not because offensive or paranoid but they do not feel importance of interact. It is clearly seen in the condo living which common living style of never-married.

"…I am not socializing. ***I stay only inside my condo****. I went out for work or see friends. I have been stay here for 5 years and don't know anyone. I'm not arrogant but* ***I don't know what to talk and why to talk. It is unnecessary****…"*

" …I don't know about other condo, for me, ***I got back home and shut the door.*** *I remember face but I don't know any name. I know they are my neighbor but I never talk. We just smile when we met. It doesn't need to be close and invite them to come visiting my room. I think* ***you stay in condo because you want privacy****. I don't care how messy my room would be…"*

8.2.2.2 Living of Never-Married Woman and modernity-tradition contestation

Living of never-married women in modern society seems to escape from traditional custom. Unmarried used to be social stigma as false living but nowadays it is more common. In the present time, "never-married women" can be seen self-reliance, independence, freedom, and high capability to live without men. Nevertheless, it has to take into consideration that women still cannot get away from social norm or new form of controlling. It dictates the living pattern from several controllers such as credit card system, saving loan system, transportation system. The role of technology and social security systems affected living and security of women. Meanwhile, this pattern of living is also influenced by traditional value or beliefs especially, value on wealth and social stratification which push them into the same trap of living.

1) Credit and loan towards living of never-married

Nowadays, it is not difficult anymore to occupy high price property or luxury expenses because of the availability of credit and loan system. It allows women to own a house, private car, and other facilities. They can purchase various products as they need. It is easily access and variety options. On the other hand, these systems are easy to access, it also implies for easy to be in debt. Some women have to live with big debt for long due to post-paid of goods system.

- Credit…means debt

Women have various alternatives to their spending. Instead of cash, using credit cards is one flexible and more convenient option for women spending. It is easier due to a form of credit. Unsurprisingly, almost every woman would occupy at least one credit card. It creates more chance to have debt. Many women are struggling with credit card debt, while some choose to cut off this problem by not having any card. They cited that the word "debt" drive them off. These credit cards are not facilitating life but creates more chaotic.

"...I try not to use it because I used to ***forget and exceed maximum rate. I don't have money to pay.*** *I can only partially pay…One bag is almost 20,000 Bath…"*

" …I used credit cards a lot when I just started working. Then I realized around 3 years ago. Now I cleared it already. ***I was taught dark side of it and I stop using****. Now I only use for mom's medicine. Others I hardly use…"*

" …Before, someone paid my credit card bill. ***I was so shocked. It became minus. But now I manage better. When it is a lot, I will save more from other part until it can cover.*** *I don't use for unnecessary things…"*

- **Queen of installment**

There are a lot of women who are in the stage of "Queen of Installment". Mostly it is high price or luxury products such as house, car. Their income has to be cut off automatically to cover it. Sometimes they do not have enough income to spend for whole month.

*" …If I don't buy a lot, it will enough for a month. Unless some month I spend too much, I would have to borrow my sister…**I have to pay for car. I get loan under my department. They paid in cash but I have to pay back to department**…"*

*" …**I have to pay 13,000 Baht for condo, Another 12,000 Baht to pay loan back 13,000 Baht and more 8,000 Baht for car. My salary is 30,000 Baht and actual received is 27,000 Baht…**I only have total of 7,000 Baht and I have to take responsible as head of section…"*

*" …**I have to pay for home. It's my brother's home but I help him**…Monthly service costs 800 Baht but infrastructure my brother pays that. When mom passed away, financial seems to be better. I can help him pay for a house…"*

2) Saving as life security

Most of the single agreed that saving is necessary for future life alone. Women rely on various kinds of saving system. They were presented with incentive in terms of profitability. This makes women feel secure with their future life with self-reliance. On the other hand, this saving system comes with risk because it is profit form of investment. The more they expect the more risk it gets. Many women are willing to risk or spare some budget for this kind of investment. The reliable systems are bank system, insurance system, funding investment, and other forms of investment. Each system will provide different benefits and constraints to their perception.

- Need to rely on Bank

Money Deposit with banks is basic way of saving for never-married, although there are many other alternatives in the present time with provide more profitability. Many trust on bank service system. Sometimes they may fall into propaganda which is bank's strategy to compete with other saving systems.

*" …For banking system, **fix deposit provides high interest rate**; I will deposit with this bank…"*

" …I feel like I have been tricked to do it. I open account to save money and I know amount I want to save monthly. ***They said it can reduce tax payment****. Tax payment is a lot per year so I follow them. It's only 8 years…"*

- **Saving…plus life insurance**

Saving form of insurance seems to be more popular than banking system. It is insurance in the form of saving which set clear payment period. It is attractive since it can be used to reduce taxation rate. Women, who experience high rate of taxation, choose this method for their saving because of co-benefits such as insurance rate, saving, money return rate, and taxation reduction.

*" …****I choose life insurance as saving. I didn't choose for health insurance. It is a saving and use to reduce tax****…this is my plan because I don't know who will take care in future…"*

*"…****I cannot depend on anyone since I'm single. I have to earn and save for myself…I apply life insurance as saving as well.*** *I plan to purchase step by step. When this one finished, it will have others. In the end I will have some amount on my retired time…"*

*" …I have to cover insurance…****10 years period. I fall for their propaganda and bought 2 insurances****…I don't know who to give to.* ***If I don't care about benefit, I can just stay like this. Nothing needs to be insured. People's word makes me uncertain****…"*

- **Trendy are LTF and RMF**

Now attention form of saving is Long Term Equity Fund (LTF) and Retirement Mutual Fund (RMF). It considers as an investment. Many think profitable is faster within 5 years. It can also use for tax deduction. Nevertheless, it comes with the risk as well.

*" …****I bought LTF every year for tax deduction****…It's like 4 years saving. It feels like only 3 years and a half. If you bought end of year, it is going to count as 5 years. This date 31, 28 will reach one year and it can be sold on 4th year…"*

*" …**LTF helps with tax deduction. You can put as tax deduction after deposit.** We have to deposit at bank for 5 years but actually 3 years and a bit. I deposit full 3 years and early of this year make 3 years and a bit…"*

*" …I also **invest with LTF funding because it's related to tax**…I choose low risk and distribute risk 70/30. If it provides high risk and high risk, I wouldn't risk. I want to be safe. It won't be that big lost…"*

- **Co-operative...the worthiest**

Many never-married women work in government and semi-government organizations where co-operative tends to be welfare system. They mainly agreed that co-operative saving is worthier than banking system due to higher interest and lower loan interest. Another positive, the co-operative process, in deposit and withdraw, is more complicated so it allows them to spend this money less and let them have saving. In another around, some might see it as obstacle when they are in need. Co-operative saving is only benefit after resigned. They cannot withdraw without resigning. It becomes their constraint when in need of these saving.

*"…**Co-op shares big interest at 6.5**…Before banking cut off interest but now they try so hard to compete. **Co-op is better without cutting tax and giving loan such as car loan.** I won't use banking since they allows shorter time to pay back. **Co-op allows longer** and returns interest…"*

*" …**I prefer co-operative saving because of complexity process**. I have ATM from bank but cooperation operated with manual system. I have to go there to fill the form. It's difficult but it can withdraw. I will invest more stocks more than just leave it. I want to get big amount. It is difficult to withdraw from there…"*

- **High Risk but high profit**

For never-married women who willing to take the risk in high profitable such as stock market, business investment, they expected high returns. It exchanges with high risk. Some fail to those investments because of low returns or deficit.

"…My friend invites to join business. I invested 100,000 Baht and I got the share. ***Now business is some good and some bad. I'm not serious as I come it think of it that I got enough in returns.*** *Some part my sister uses it for giving loan and buy gold. I deposit at other place and receive interest. I give to mom and some to grandchildren, and some for saving…"*

" …I don't really know about investment. I'm too lazy to follow. I have some stocks for many years. ***They sell stocks to employee to put in stock market. I asked junior to follow and now it becomes deficit. It never moves up very far****…"*

"...I can't take it anymore. It is too tired to follow it up and down all the time. ***It is risk like purchasing gold stock. After bought, it clashed for long. After sold, it went up. I got enough. It would just save money because I think it doesn't suit me****…"*

- **With their Strength**

Many never-married women are proud of earning all belongings by themselves such as car, house, and other properties. They aware on savings and emergency savings by their own collected. They do not have outside system to pressure their spending habit. This method works best for women who have financial discipline. They can control spending. Besides they save in the form of cash, they may collect in the form gold as well.

" …I have my own house, car, and ***properties such as gold****…All 100% earned by myself. None from parents…****I work and save*** *…Partly when I'm sick and need to stay in hospital…"*

*" …****I purchases gold from time to time****. I have other saving and insurance like everyone has…"*

*"...****I am not kind of person who saves all the money****…I* ***don't like to buy insurance****…why I have to pay by period? Why have to force me? I prefer co-operative. I can save whenever I have money. Some month I don't want to save, I won't have and spend.* ***I want to manage by myself.*** *Insurance is not right concept for me…"*

- **Plan for the one you love**

While some single make saving plan for their future life, some women make plan for their family. They pay for insurance to cover the amount for their family spending or use cremation welfare.

*"…**How my parents would do without me? I cover all expenses at home.** They cannot work anymore. I only have one option to find a way to cover their living. **I choose insurance**…I am quite well planed regarding financial. If there is something happens to me, they will have life insurance. In sum, it's okay if I died, everyone can live…"*

*"...I keep myself saving. Others will want to live with you if you have money. I plan to make teacher cremation welfare…**for my grandchildren. They can take care of me when I'm old. Now it's more than 900,000 Baht**…"*

*"...I have personal insurance…life insurance…and co-operative. It's worth 1.2 million Baht when I died…**just in case there is something happens to me. Grandchildren would get it. Mostly single won't do but some has to. I afraid no one will do cremation.** I don't mind, someone asked me to do and it's only 5,000-6,000 Baht a year…"*

3) Choosing convenient and safety transportation system

There are 2 main transportation sources of never-married women which as private care and public transportation system. The selection is not the subject of income but more for lifestyle, agility and safety. Some single willing to pay more for safety and choose to purchase a private car. Some are still risk using public transportation because they do not create debt and find is unnecessary at a time.

- It's time to spend

Many never-married women have to work late or commute very far to workplace. They feel that private car is easier and safer than public transportation. Some are willing to have debt to exchange with more comfortable and safe. Some perceive that private car is the safest option for women

" …I have to transit van at 6 o'clock because it has direct van to office. One time, there is no van at all so ***I have to take taxi-motorcycle. It was too fast and I feel like fainted out.*** *Only that time and I didn't do it again.* ***At first I bought a car, I feel scared. Now it has to drive so I make decision*** *…"*

In addition, some never-married women need to travel long distances between other provinces and Bangkok due to work and returning home. Private car makes them feel more control things than public transportation. They drive carefully and well preparation such as rest adequately before a long trip, stay conscious behind the wheel, and choose a safe route.

" …It is all about driving. If we are careful enough, it won't be risk…behind the wheel and speed control, ***we can control our risk. It we choose a bus, we authorize to control and we don't know their readiness****…"*

- **It is unnecessary yet**

Nevertheless, there are many never-married women who did not feel in trouble with public transport and afraid to have burden from car occupying such as pay off, repairing cost. Private car is not essential for them yet. They rely on various public transportations. They try to manage the safest and most convenient transportation option for their living.

*" …****I take bus, not normal one, only with air conditioner. I am scared of normal bus. They drive too fast****….If I have to go other places, I will use taxi…I think about buying it as well but my office is near sky train.* ***It is risky to buy. I will use on weekend and I think about its worthy****..."*

*"…****I use sky train and sub way more than public bus.*** *Taxi uses to go to airport.* ***Normally, I try to use public transportation as much as I can.*** *Ever think of driving?...No, it feel more comfortable this way.* ***The more you have property the more you're worry.*** *I'm doing fine. It is not difficult. It would be different case to go other province because of more risk…"*

4) Technology and convenient living

In this study, technology focuses on communication since it leads never-married to various kinds of life experiences. In the present time, it is undeniable that mobile phone and computer plays important role to urban living. Currently mobile phone provides versatile function than just a phone or so call 'smart phone'. It allows variety kinds of activities through one smart phone such as chatting, working, recreation, and browsing information. Never-married group becomes main target of using this technology. It affects to personal time, technology dependency, and social interactions. They have to accept the consequences and the errors which may occur from the use of technology.

- **Personal Belonging**

These devices became relax toy whether in the form of a smart phone, tablet, and a desktop computer. Many women accept that they are "addicted" and they cannot live without it. They get used to the feeling that it has to be around or indispensable especially with new games or phone application. Partly, technology facilitates single lifestyle in working and human interaction such as outside office working, life colorful, or something to keep they occupy when waiting. Some said it can reduce loneliness feeling but it is unlike actual seeing friends.

*" …**I think a lot. I never realize I will be addicted.** At first it's blackberry. I know I'm addicted. **I consume lots of IT**…"*

*" …At first I'm not addicted **but I start to enjoy after using for a while. I grab it every time I have nothing to do**…"*

*" …**I was addicted in one period. I don't care about anything. I have to play all the time at home.** It opens a chance to chat with different friend groups. These couple months I'm lazy to use it…I get bored. **I feel in trouble to get into other people's business. It is chaotic with more people. Knowing some is okay, no need to know all**…"*

- **Just try...internet shopping**

Shopping is favorite activity for every woman. Nowadays shopping has many channels. Internet shopping is one of the options for urban women. Almost all never-married women experienced in internet or social network shopping through facebook. It considers internet shopping as time saving and more convenient. It comes with same risk with using cash or credit card in terms of personal information spreading and product delivery. Women, who experience this type of shopping, said it is trial and error. Some products are not applicable in outside market or require long waiting. They may try with not so expensive product. It will be not much lose, it there is any error.

" …I used to order this ipad. It is very long queue…I went to shop and I got queue number 100. In online, it has to wait for 2 weeks…with some limitation. ***If it went wrong, I can get over it…it's not more than 20,000 Baht…I will think as lesson learned payment because it is cheap.*** *If it's more than this, I will tear of card…"*

"...I think about it but the need is more. That time I bought a book. I want this book for long but cannot find from any book store… ***It is not that costly so it's worth to take a shot.*** *In the end, it turned out I got it…****I assess that it's not a big money and it won't cost a big damage****…"*

*" …I start to buy clothes but only once. I saw from friends like in facebook…****Life comes with risk. I don't feel scared. I feel it's a trial and error****…I will be worry if it's late delivery…"*

Some never-married women do not choose to try internet shopping since they do not trust credit card and online system. They prefer tangible products instead of view from a computer screen. It is different from some type of product such as airplane ticket, hotel reservation which can directly use online method. There are more chances to receive products which do not meet expectation.

*" …****I won't buy online products because I don't know shop and seller. I am doubtful that they will give us same product as its qualification.*** *Unlike big organizations, such as baking and airline, are credible. I feel more secure…"*

"…I never buy a lot especially ***cosmetic. It is too scary. I think it's not safe. Where we can check for consumer protection sign?*** *Where it has been through? It may be different from advertisement…"*

*"...****I used to buy and it didn't work very well****. I like cloth shopping a lot. I bought and it's not what I like.* ***I feel like I have been tricked. The fabric and pattern are not correct. I'm enough with it****…It is color adjustment…I prefer real shopping. No more internet shopping…"*

- **Can we trust?**

Some never-married women rarely use technology especially regarding financial payment technology. Some has frightening experiences using communications device to purchase goods and services.

"…I book an airplane ticket though online system. ***It has possibility to be error during transmission. I don't know it went through yet****…It has an error. Suddenly the information black out. Where to find evidence? It is possible that computer hangs. It brings viruses so can't work whole day…"*

*"...****It used to error but at that time I am sure did it cut money yet.*** *It was my false as well that I didn't check my account first...there is nothing 100% sure system. We need to learn its limitation and precaution…"*

5) Social welfare and stability in living

Many never-married women are not worry of their future life without married. They are quite certain of social security system of government. They can rely on this system when they are getting old or after retirement such as elderly caring system, government officer welfare, and social security system.

- Preparing for "Ageing Society"

Many never-married women put their hope on future life with government social security system. In near future, Thai society is turning to be aging society. Therefore they believe that Thailand is going to develop system to follow that trend. It is not only on social allowance but also general living quality of life. It is difficult to rely on family members only due to high competitive and economics survival.

*"…I concern of **elderly caring system**… **I see it's developing**… they try to develop system for long term self-reliance. It is not like there is nothing left after retirement. Government can't support all so they have to come up with the system. **I think there will be supportive system for single people**…"*

*"..Thailand is going to be aging society, right? There will be lots of elderly and would like to have a nurse. We will just pay for nurse. I didn't think through it yet but I was hoping. **Government should provide something more for the elderly. The social security system should focus on modern technology system. If we fell down, it should link with the central and send an ambulance**.*

- **The new community**

In addition, many single did not against the idea of staying in elderly nursing home as abandon person. It becomes a new society to live near friends and receive a good care. This type of housing creates elderly environment same as normal housing in the society. It may be different from now in the way to build up elderly community.

*"...When I have to stay alone after retirement, I think it is all right to assign myself in elderly nursing home. I have salary to pay. Now it provides facilities. It is not necessary anymore to stay in there because of lack of relatives…**I used to visit elderly nursing home. Some of them are not suffering. They said they make friends in here. At home, they have grandchildren bit nobody cares. In here, there is someone to talk to**…"*

"…I was thinking of ***staying in elderly nursing home. I think I will have friends. It is good that I don't have family and stay there when I am old****…"*

"…I was joking with mom that when I am old, ***I will stay in Bang Kae. I am going to be lonely so I should stay with lots of people. Someone can take care of me. I don't feel being abandoned****…I have family and I understand their burden. It is not that they don't want to take care but everyone has their own business. I could make friends and activities. I could find something comfortable to do each day. I don't have any health problem. I think I don't have any problem…"*

- **I can depend on National Social Security System**

Besides further development of elderly care system, never-married women expect from existing social security such as government officer welfare system. They trust this system as their reliable source for future life such as pension, work insurance, and elderly welfare. It is government organization so it should provide some benefit in returns. This should keep them survive in some period.

*"…****I save with social security. When I turn 60 years old, I will get around 3,000 Baht a month. It is like small pension.*** *I would think of something to invest more. It is scary as a single. I saw old grandmother who never-married but at least has grandchildren. She has someone to take care but it's sad to see…"*

*"…****I am kind of trust with funding. It is under government agency.*** *They forced me to pay. I trust but not 100 percent because anything can happen. At least they should give me something…"*

8.2.2.3 Never-married women and modernity-singlism risk in modern society

In people's point of view, capital city like Bangkok considered as society of opportunity where people has to rely on own dependence and ability to survive. Besides, they have to protect themselves from surrounding various kinds of dangers. Moreover, modern society where traditional orders have less influence on people's moral behaviors also creates the risk for never-married women because of

their single status. This makes them feel unsafely, fear, anxiety and troubles in living. Society of opportunity comes with risk at the same time in interactive with strangers and an opposite sex, risk of housing selection, risk of transportation choice, risk of sexual abuse and other criminal.

1) Risk of interactive with strangers and an opposite sex

The common risk of never-married women comes along with strangers, whether experiencing in person or not. Sometimes it comes in the form of calling to deceive or exploit to the property or sexual abuse. It becomes difficult for seeing opposite sex. It comes with risk from social judgment and risk of scam as well.

- **Strangers...who are you?**

The unavoidable risk for never-married women is dangerous from strangers. It can be diversity forms. They can come as in person or not necessary as a person. They are ready to seek for benefit every time as women might be careless.

*"..**Regarding safety from stranger, I have experience. When I first bought a new car, my car logo was stolen. I think it's not safe…** I was parking in traffic light. Someone bumped in the back. They haven't put in good gear position…"*

*" …If I travel or somewhere else and meet stranger, I will be very careful. **I am scared. When I travel to other province and I have to take bus alone, I don't dare to sit. I will look how the people like**…"*

- **It comes from phone call scam**

Another kind of risk from stranger, which many have experienced, is phone call scam. Mostly it will be scam on their financial issue. Nevertheless, the precaution from news spreading keeps them safe from this fraud.

*" …I used to experience calling. I told the information and realize that it might be scamming…**They claimed calling from bank said someone using my credit card and I'm using that card**…I told name-surname, citizen number. I started to realize so I said to them to directly check with bank and hung up…"*

" …They called you use credit card this and that. There is more on news. When I experience by myself, ***at first I am confuses and tell them citizen number. Then I start to know.*** *It is not true and I just let them talk…"*

2) Risk from opposite sex

Risk in this case is not insecurity from the opposite sex; it becomes rumor from surrounding people especially on associating with married man.

- **Single women and rumor**

Mostly, never-married women actually do not have any affair relationship with some married men, but others might gossip about them. It makes them feel awkward to be in this situation. They have been questioned by surrounding when interacting with a married man, although it is not an affair relationship.

" …I used to experience. Once I went with senior at work. ***We just hung out. There is nothing happen. Someone try to told me that he already has a girlfriend****…"*

" …In fact I am going to transfer to another organization. Come to think again, ***I'm close with married guy friend. I think I shouldn't go. It might create a problem. We may look too close****…After that I heard that his wife is very jealous person. I don't think so. She might be too stressful…"*

" …When I went to seminar and met a lot of people. In this age, mostly have family and I'm single. Some might not be serious to talk like a friend. ***Some are very careful. They don't want to sit and talk to me when I was alone. They tried to avoid not talking to me in private. It is more like awkward****…I have problem when I am close with married person. There will be someone* ***come asking do I know he is married****. I got a lot like this. Someone looks unfriendly at me and specially ask directly…"*

- **I know…what do you want?**

Seeing opposite sex is not comforting as someone might try to take advantage or has other purposes. Normally, women would have warning signal and sense the unusual sign. They would try to escape especially from married guy.

This case normally occurs to never-married women whose work requires communicating and coordinating with people. They have to be very careful not to create negative image.

"…I'm single so I always have someone came hit on me. I used to scold at them. ***I have a lot from time to time with married man…I keep more distance and mind with speaking more.*** *I am more careful…"*

" … ***Mostly guy, who is with me, is older. It is scary that he is married****…They came from time to time and I have to keep checking their record. I am quite silent so I don't have a lot. Sometimes I can see its coming. I become exclusion person and try to cut off. I will act neutral when I heard teasing…"*

3) Risk of Housing Selection

Nowadays, women require self-reliance to be able to live in society. They seek to find their own housing and some have to stay alone. They become risk due to accommodation selection which seems to have limitations in terms of suitability and safety. Besides, there is a risk from taking responsible since they cannot rely on men in the household.

- **It doesn't seem to have many choices**

For never-married women, money is not the only factor in finding suitable accommodation. The important thing is housing design. It should consistent with the lifestyle of the single. Some women dream to occupy their own "home". It requires some area for leisure time activities. In reality, when taking into account of their status, it might be too much living alone as never-married women in such a big house. They concern on life and property safety. The last option becomes a town home or condominium near workplace. It is suitable and compatible with lifestyle the most. Sometimes they invest additionally on good location and safety purpose.

*"..**I want to stay in home but its limited choice as a woman. It's too much to stay in house. For town home, I was thinking in the day time how is it going to be with my property.** I want to stay on ground and want to grow some trees. I try to bring trees in dorm. I want to have space but it's really can't. **I ended up with buying condo**…"*

*"...At first I want to buy house. It sounds rich. It looks good and suits me. My mom said town home would be better. It is near road but opposite to grocery shop…Even I am not home, it would be all right…**House is too big for me. I always stay alone**…"*

*" …Condo can be considered of safety place. **We chose expensive condo to screen on neighbor.** It has another type of condo in moderate price. Everyone can buy…"*

- **Living with panic**

Many never-married women always concern about safety. It is unpredictable whether to meet with unexpected incident. When bad things come, they are unsure to be rescued. They try to be extra careful or finding safety and security equipment. Some pay extra money to security guard.

*"…At first I am very nervous when my sister got married. I want to stay at condo but my dad asked to stay together. He wants sibling to stay together. …**It used to have thief and stole my notebook. That time is the scariest. I have security system but still scared…Now I live alone… if I fell down or sick since no one can come check on me**…"*

*"...I live alone…I feel like psychopathic. I open the door and leave it unlock first. I have to check up stair before. I can run out if there is something. Doors have to keep it open so other people can hear my screaming sound. I have to check up stair, check all doors and windows, and even closet. **I live alone so I have to be careful. At that time no one can help me.** Every morning I have to check every room to make sure nobody's inside. It becomes routine…"*

*"…I always feel safe just these 3-4 days. There is memo attached on elevator and finger scan said now it has fraud pretend to forget a key and would ask to get inside and press the room floor. They could get into your room….**I can't sleep for many nights. I am sacred**…"*

- **I have to manage everything**

For never-married women who live alone or live with a family full of woman, they have to experience difficulties not only on safety or financial constraint, but also home and equipment repair. Previously, they never take into account and have not prepared in this regards. Some find solution with saving more to prepare of this matter. They have to cover to buy equipment and pay for handy man since women always have limitation in fixing these equipments.

*" …**I think there is another problem in fixing home or damage tool. It is a big problem**. I can't do anything on flooding time. I don't know what tool to buy. Now there are lots of damages items. I should buy or should fix…I need to spare money because everything requires money. I can't do it myself. I can but it takes very long like one cupboard it took me a week to lock it…"*

4) Risk of Transportation

For women, the most difficult unavoidable risk happens during transportation. In the present, society opens wider for women to expose more spaces. It requires more transportation from both private vehicle and public transportation system. It seems that women depend on transportation luck because of unpredictable circumstances. Their life relies on their road users.

- **Leave it to the luck**

The most common and observable risk is road accident from private vehicle and public transportation. Mostly feel tenser with public transportation such as van, bus, or taxi. Women depend on this system on their daily life. They try to manage risk by themselves. Many feel that life depends on luck such as unsafe from road accident, and unsafe from car users.

*"…**Now I feel more risk because I have to use taxi-motorcycle very often**. I am not scared of taxi or public bus because I don't normally use it alone…I get used to it. **If there is something, it would my bad luck and karma.** Taxi-motorcycle is the most dangerous…"*

*"…**I am scared** every time I am the last passenger left in the van or taxi. **I'd rather get off from van if there is no passenger left.** For taxi, I use service from driver I know. In the past, I had to travel to other place and had to go to airport very early morning. I chose to call taxi that I know. It won't use public transport that I am uncertain. How can we make sure they won't take us to other places? It's dangerous…"*

- **I cannot control others**

Besides public transportation system, some never-married choose to drive as it's safe and comfortable. Private car does not mean that they can avoid the transportation risk. To some extent, they can control their driving behavior; they cannot control or predict other road users. There are some strangers want to take advantage of women.

*"…My risk starts with transportation and people. Definitely I won't use taxi. Sometimes I am scared of travelling. I drive at night. I can't trust people these days. **I can't trust other car uses with their discipline. Some might be drunk**…"*

*" . . . **We put our life in somebody's hand**…We can't trust even pedestrian, they might come shoot us some day. About late come home, I think **irregular came home late is safer than regular came home late**…"*

- **Let pay more for safety**

Some never-married women are willing to pay more for safety. In one case she has to stay in other province hotel, she is willing to pay additional cost to more secure service.

*" …Sometimes I had to stay in hotel. It's risky. At night, someone may knock on door. **I chose safer hotel. It may be more dangerous if its cheaper rate…Most of the single pays for safety.** Like I say, we should pay more for safer room…"*

- Want to go alone ... but too scared

One limitation of the never-married women is the chance to travel alone. Some may want to travel alone or take a vacation. As never-married women, they feel anxiety of safety reason. It limits them to pursue only some certain activities at some certain time.

*"...**It is risk when go to other province alone**…I want to travel alone 5 days may be go abroad. I only think about it. I want to but I don't dare. **I consider it as risk because I can't go anywhere alone**. Sometimes I have to take 3-4 friends. Sometimes we can't mutual time so trip was cancelled…"*

*"…Mostly I go to shopping mall. **For travel in other province, I'm alone. I don't have a boyfriend to take me around.** I don't go home late. I am quite careful. I don't like driving at night. I know I'm single and I never know anything might happen. I am like psychopathic…"*

5) Risk of sexual abuse and various forms of crimes

Risk of sexual abuse and various forms of crimes are the biggest fear of never-married women. It makes their living with paranoid since they are "women", which common seen as weaker gender and easily exploit.

- **It is risk since the day born to be woman**

Risk of crime is not another form of risk but it consider as a fear. The single aware that risk comes with their gender. Women always perceive as weaker, easily exploit, and able to take advantage of. Normally, they have been refined to be fear and careful in this respect. As a result, women live their life with caution, paranoid feeling, insecure, and unsafe. They cannot rely on anyone but self-reliance. Some single have experienced and adapt it as lifetime lesson learned. Some might never experience directly but they also have to live with paranoia and anxiety.

*"...**It starts with being woman, right? Single guy won't be this risk. It is more risk to girl. We have to be very careful** …I feel unsafe because I'm woman…I don't*

dare using taxi-motorcycle anywhere. I don't want to know or talk them. I don't want to get close with them. It makes me feel unsafe. There are many unsafe aspects as being a woman…"

*"…Anything can happen even when you're with friends or boyfriend…**I don't understand why it is so easy to be raped and killed. Most of the women feel scared of this, me as well.** I don't understand why it can happen so easily. Can't guy stop themselves? It is too easy. We should pay more respect to male and female. Men are too spoiled. They become life threaten..."*

*" . . . **As a woman, it is dangerous to go outside at night alone** wherever that place is. It is dangerous to go out alone as **fraud people always target on a woman**…It is dangerous everywhere even at the mall. We would never know who and when it's going to approach on us…"*

- **Because you are "single"**

Some never-married believe that if they are not single but have husband who can give them more protection, they will feel more safety. Even though they are still unsafe because of they are also female, but it will be better if you do not go alone.

*"…I am sacred of crime. I am really scared from news. I am scared of crime when driving alone at night and going alone to the shopping mall. **It would be scary for married women as well but at least they wouldn't have to go alone. They must have friend, children, husband, relatives to keep them companion. For women, it is scary to go around**…I don't think having a boyfriend would help but it is different with married…"*

- **Bangkok…dangerous city**

Mostly never-married women say the same that living in Bangkok is start to risk, especially you are single, because Bangkok is dangerous city and they have never known that anything will be happen.

*" . . . **Living in Bangkok is truly a risk. It is dangerous city everywhere.** At least I drive a car. It is more dangerous for pedestrian. It is risk for crime and transportation. In my opinion, Bangkok is more dangerous than other capital cities. Safety is on the same line with risk…I think other province is safer than Bangkok…"*

*" …**I am afraid of going outside to the fraud people.** I get out of home and psychological insecure. **I always feel paranoid. At the mall, I am scared someone might wipe poison liquid on me.** I am scared. **In the past, I can go out alone, but it makes me too scared to go out alone from the news.** Who knows what will happen?…"*

*"…I parked at the shopping mall. I walked to my car and found one guy sit on the side. He bends my side mirror. I saw the unusual so I didn't dare to go near car. I called someone to help move blocking car. He escaped after that...**It is not always this lucky** …"*

In summary, never-married women who live in metropolitan society in present time need to be more adaptive. They have to face with the condition which acculturates between cosmopolitan life and metropolitan living pattern such as new definition of " Family" , undistinguished of personal life and other social aspects, changing of interaction pattern, and increasing of sense of privacy and individualism.

In addition, living under tradition-modernity contestation, never-married women' life are influenced by credit and loan system, saving system, transportation system, development of new technology and also social welfare system. Even these systems are created in modernity context, but they are supported and pushed by wealth value and form of social stratification in Thai society.

Moreover, never-married women have to face with multiple risks both from context of modernity and their single status, especially when they are single women, such as risk of interactive with strangers and an opposite sex, risk from opposite sex, risk of housing selection, risk of transportation, and risk of sexual abuse and various forms of crimes.

8.3 Intimacy of never-married women in modern society

Modernity changes relationships of people in society. From the past, relationship usually starts from the pressure of social norm. In the section of intimacy, they may start living together for the reason of economics and social constraint. The main condition is marriage and child. It seems common that women have been pushed to follow the social path. Nevertheless, in the present time, modernity has affected to women status and perception. Women's intimacy changes from the above mentioned condition. It tends to highlight on self satisfaction, love, willingness, and independence. It is self-reflexivity. Intimacy in this definition means deep feeling to any person that never married wants to be intimated or lived together as "life partner". It could be individual, social group, or living alone. It can cross the condition of marriage, sexuality, child production, or gender.

8.3.1 Pattern of never-married women's intimacy

From interviewed with never-married regarding their experiences and how they think about love and life partner, It shows diverse perspectives and more understanding of the ideas and decisions of women. Some parts related to the meaning or definition on being never-married women in modernity. Although they are all never-married, they have various patterns of experiences in love. The various patterns can shape different personalities such as **"confident women"** who does not rely on life partner, **"adventure women"** who never close themselves for relationship and seeking for Mr. Right guy, **"modestly women"** who does not require anything in return, **"experiment women"** who willing to risk bounding in a relationship and difficult to get off.

1) Confident Women

Some women live their lives until the present time with never take it serious about relationship. They realize life is not too difficult alone. Their lives are still filled with overwhelm love from family, friends. In sum, it does not matter for them anymore to be or not to be in a relationship.

This group of women enjoys life with friends and family rather than being with someone. Partly, they believe that there is no need to have a boyfriend or lover.

They were able to live without the feeling of having someone. They always surrounding by friends, family and relatives. They can take good care of themselves and family. Actually, they do not close or against idea of life partner. Nevertheless, they do not believe that having partner is the important life process. It is not a judgment of perfection life. Many single see an error example from surrounding people. They decided not to seek or struggle, or hunger for life partner. They are not worry about themselves in aging time. At that point, they still have friends, family, and relatives which they can rely on.

*"...**I don't have prejudice or extreme desire.** I just think have or don't have is the same to me…If I don't have my parents anymore, I still have my relatives and friends. **We don't live in such a competitive society. We can rely on each other.** My surrounding people are also single. I can help take care of grandchild…"*

2) Adventure Women

Another type of never-married can be classified as adventure. They are willing to go through experiences fulfilled with happiness or miserable. They want to collect these experiences to benefit future incident. They hope to find what actual suitable for them. In the same perspective with above mentioned group, they do not against or high expect to have "soul mate". Until the present time, they still find someone to be "the right guy". They indicated the same feeling that "If it's not good…I'd rather not have it". These women still spend time on the finding but not struggle. They let everything happen naturally without any pressure.

***"…I'm not close for married or not married. It is up to the fact that can I find the right one for myself?**...I always have someone crush on me. I always have someone to talk to. It is just up to me whether I want to talk to them or I want to choose them…I think there is beauty in couple living, it is not all dark side. **Personally, I have bad experience but it did not block me. It just makes me see the negative of it**…"*

3) Modestly Women

In this number of women, there are some women who love experience become important lesson learned for others to learn about "bonding" without

commitment. Outsiders might not be able to understand their reason. Their goal is not "married commitment" but may be called "life partner".

Some women is in bonding status but perceived from outsider as friendship. Deeply, for their partner and themselves, there is something more than that. It really cannot call husband and wife status since there is nothing related with sexuality and will not be changed. Their relationship has been kept in personal. Nevertheless, they know that they will not commit and intimate to anybody like this. The other side may treat them as a normal friend or coworker with no extra caring. It seems to them that they are "life partner".

*" . . .**Couple does not need to live together**…life partner can be changed by heart…Now we are like friend…it is already ended as a couple. It is more caring to each other…**It is heart commitment.** They can give as they want to and no need to demand…"*

Some women have homosexual relationship. They understand this kind of relationship and can accept. They know that relationship might not be sustainability. Nowadays, they are not committed and no one wants to commit with them. They continue to pursue life.

*"…**If you mean anyone who can continue staying together…I have but it is changing from time to time**…Actually, I didn't really look for but if it's frustrating to live together, **I won't be that patient like a married.** Just girlfriend, it is easy to change. I have lots of gay friends. They are happy at 40 year-old. They have friends and social life…"*

4) Experiment girl

For the last group, they are during "Trial and error time" and overlap between one to another status. They are not quite stepped away. They are starting "life partners" with whom they chose to be a "partner" and stepping into "new family". They are not yet a "husband and wife" as society called. This group is unsure or uncertain about their selected status.

*" …**Now I don't feel like want to have privacy or want to be alone.** Now, I'm happy to have him all the time. We can talk about anything. It changed from being lonely. I*

have him accompany anywhere. ***I still have my personal life but it is better. I have him now and cannot go back to be alone****…"*

*"...****It is like we are family. We create small family.*** *In the past, I spend salary all month by month.* ***Now we discuss about future****. I have to find extra work in order to save money…****Sometimes thinking what should I do, if one day he leaves me?****..."*

8.3.2 Never- married women's intimacy under modernity context

Determinant factors for starting intimacy in present time are different form the past because of changing in women status. Moreover, it's decision under modernity context which influence both by cosmopolitan life around the world and living pattern in metropolitan Thai society like Bangkok. Additional, traditional family ideology contest with ideology of self-survival or self-reliance created from modern education system, make never-married women confused with their choice of intimacy. Meanwhile, even they single or cohabitation or going to marry with someone, they are also the risk ways of life in modern society.

8.3.2.1 Never- married women's intimacy under cosmo-metropolitan condition

In the present time, time and space do not limit people anymore. It is affect directly to open the public area for never-married women. The form of communication and dissemination widen the world and open an opportunity to express their knowledge in education and work. It leads to self-dependency ability. Moreover, living in capital city pushes people to be more active and scrabble for survival. It eventually leads to a change in the relationship between women and men. It reduces the need of women and men to rely on each other. The relationship overcomes the age difference. The scope and privacy area for women are increasing. The relationship is not bound with space and distance anymore.

1) Decreased of gender difference and necessary to rely on each other

One of the major reasons unmarried women in modern society, in addition to status changing, women are significantly increasing ability of self-

dependency. In the present, it becomes far from the idealism to find a real gentleman. In the end, they feel that men and women do not have an advantage. Society opens wider for women to show their full capacity equally with men. Therefore, it is a major reason caused women to be quite assured in being unmarried. Sometimes "need" to be single because they do not have a good option, she decided to move into a new status.

- **Male and female is equal**

Changing of social status of women in present time decreases gap between male and female in the world society and also Thai society. This makes never-married women proud to live on their own and believe that they have ability to work or create something equal to male. Then, if they decide to start intimacy with someone, they will decide on their self satisfaction more than dependency.

*"...**In the present time, we are equal to men fundamentally.** Family is more fragile in society because women have more self-dependency and do not need to rely on men. We can find our own income without men. **I can stand up on my own…It does not matter for me to find someone or not. If he is not good, I'd rather live alone**…"*

*"...I have everything already so there is no reason I have to struggle. **Unlike the old time, women have to get married soon to rely on men to earn income while they take care of house.** Nowadays, women can work and save for themselves easily. **We don't need to rely on anyone so why bother finding someone**… Society allows to change partners and **it is all right to be never-married women nowadays**…"*

- **I can rely on myself**

Main reason to be never-married is women's self-dependency in financially from decent work and socially of social perception to never-married women. They do not feel that the partner will change their life much in terms of complementing since mostly they can rely on their own already in all aspects.

*"…If he is good guy, I am okay. If he is not, I'd better be alone. My life is okay. **I can take care of myself and family. It is all okay. If there is someone comes as supplementary, it would be nice. But if he comes to degrade my life, I don't want.** I already feel tired…"*

*" …**I don't care people gossiping about no guy would want me**. I know it's not. It needs to stay together for long. I don't care if I don't have anyone. My family also supports. No one gives pressure. **I can take care of my life**…"*

*"…**I can rely on myself. Sometimes I just work very hard without interested on anyone. Actually, I'm interested but not enough.** I have someone came in but not long because of lack of interesting. I never met anyone who I feel right for me to live together for long…"*

- **Rare to find gentleman**

Nowadays, it is not valid for many women to believe in the idea that husband or lover would protect and take good care of women. They feel that ideal gentlemen are very rare in this world. Instead of waiting, women tend to rely on themselves. Some gentlemen with a white horse may transform into a demon. Many women learn from self and surrounding experiences.

*"…It is not easy to live as a family. **Nowadays, men are unlike the old time with responsibility. They think we are equal and no need to take care of women and family. No need to take care of each other like in the past.** Men used to respect and protect women…I see it as old time imagination…I would be disappointed, if there is nothing like my expectation…"*

*" …I have seen from friend's boyfriend and guy who are married with kid. **I feel that women have to take burden**…take care of kid. From what I seen…I can't do it and better not have…"*

*"…Recently I met a friend. She said **don't think about no one helps you carry stuffs. I have husband yet I have to do it all myself. Sometimes it depends on mood.** It depends on different couple. Some husbands help everything. My friend said I would never know how it is like to have husband. She has to clear with her husband before came out for dinner. If she goes with another group he doesn't like, he doesn't want her to go…"*

- **Not a boyfriend…but can substitute**

Many people may think that boyfriend can facilitate women's life since they do not have to perform all things for themselves. Many women have their limitations such as replace or repair home equipment. In another way around, some women know they may not be able to take care of all things but it is unnecessary to rely only on a "boyfriend". They can always ask a favor from others. It could be friends, family, or paid person. The lifestyle of women reduces their dependence on men because they can seek an assist from other source of services which available in almost all aspects of life.

*"...I cried a lot when I broke up with boyfriend. My friend asked why I have to cry. I said I used to have boyfriend to help doing things. Now who is going to help? My friend suggested I can ask taxi-motorcycle on this. What else? I was thinking…**actually, I can hire anyone and don't need to wait**. For a lifting or bathroom repairing, I asked taxi-motorcycle to help. He can cover all. I realized there is nothing that I can't…"*

*" …**When there is a problem,** It could be anything such as broken light, broken pump. **Sometimes I call motorcycle men to help me and paid them**…"*

2) Relationship which overcome age differences

One of the consequences worldwide information society, it opens the channels of communication that provide women an opportunity to meet and share experiences with the opposite sex. It overlooks some kind of relationship that should be started and ended in life period. For never-married who turns into "plus forty", it is still possible to start relationship with someone new.

- **"Forty" is still not hopeless**

Some women are deciding to get married in nearly age 50 year-old. Some women plan to start a serious couple life after retirement. Age is not a limitation of the deep intimacy in modern society since the couple living pattern is also changed. The older women, the tendency of social expectation and pressure also get lower. It reduces a pressure and expectation of women to get married as well.

" …I have someone to talk to. ***I'm opened up****…but I won't think of married.* ***I'm not a teenager****… I'm seeing him for 10 years. We stay on our own.* ***We see each other with understanding. It's not like he is to be mine. We both know how to stay together****…"*

*" …****He wants to go aboard and have someone to accompany and live together****. I want to take care of my health so we can stay together for long. We should have met 25 years old. At first I have a crush on his look but he likes my personality…"*

*" …****Now I get older, my parent seems strict lesser with me****…I feel that* ***it is acceptable in society to live with guy especially with old couple****…I'm 40+ years old. We live together. People should understand that we are learning about each other. It will be good to avoid mistake…"*

3) Increased of scope and area of women as individual

Due to the freedom of women increasing, it creates more privacy of women as well. Unsurprisingly, many never-married women feel cherish to privacy. They set their scope and area clearly and not allow anyone to intrude. Although they open up for someone into their world, they do not allow in their privacy space. Women hesitate on building deep intimacy with someone as they are not sure about giving up on their privacy and devote freedom to life partner.

- My private tenacious world

Besides the decision not to get married from the characteristic of men, part of the reason is also never-married personality. Many women accepted that she is uncertain about giving up on their privacy, freedom, and self responsibility.

*" ..****I like to be alone because I get used to go anywhere by myself****. People who have boyfriend can't eat or live alone…When I'm walking and want to make turn, I can do right away. I like it this way better.* ***I don't have a reason to have a boyfriend****. I don't like jealous guy. I think guy won't be happy with me…"*

"...Now married is not important to me. I accept to have this isolated life. ***Sometimes I like to have my privacy****. Some people might think that I should get married in this age. I want to live with my parents so I overlook it…."*

*"…It is good to be single…****I would just spoil my life…I'm kind of lost my privacy when there is someone around****. Even my friends stay with me on weekend, they want to wake up late but I can't…Sometimes I'm too strict such as I won't get in to bed if it is not the bedtime yet. It becomes a rule…"*

- Only one hungry…only one full

Some never-married admit also that they are not sure on "sharing" or "caring" since they get used to live and eat alone and look after only themselves. They do not think they can change for anyone. If someone really think about marry them, they have to spare some privacy. Not everything needs to be shared.

"…What is sharing? ***I'm scared because I'm selfish. I eat alone so I'm full alone. I spoil myself maximum****. So I scared when I have boyfriend. I'm not sure I can do it. I think that is the point.* ***It makes people on my age scared the most****…"*

*" …****My life probably suits to be single as I am not responsibility person****. I don't know how to take care anyone. I just live my life without worrying about anyone. I am not worrying even with myself…"*

4) Relationship with no boundary and distance.

Some said true love defeats distance, this phrase is not valid to some never-married women. They can make it work with expected to be life partner. Modern society allows alternative channels to maintain relationship through various forms of communication technology. It can shorten the distance relationship. Nevertheless, women in this state suffer from along waiting. It creates a chance to the other side to extent tied relationship that women cannot demand for anything and continue the relationship patiently.

- **True love…conquer distance**

This kind of love would be questioned by surrounding people. At the same time make them feel uncertain about relationship. Love can be separated from time and space. For those who think lover has to be together all the time, it is not the case for this time. Some couples have to work in different place. Love is through several kinds of testing. Sometimes it may fail or shining. They continue walking to this route with the hope of being together after created a stable life for both. Communication technology plays the vital role to keep them closer.

*" …**We don't see each other much, only once a week. He lives in other province. We call each other or meet up on long holiday**…8 years already for this relationship…and keep loving and breaking up all the time…I think we are going to be like this…"*

8.3.2.2 Never-married women's intimacy under tradition-modernity contestation

Although modern society reduces the controlling norm and tradition to be less strict to women, it seems like a battle between traditional norm and modern norm created by abstract systems such as education, occupation, and new style parenting. It captures women with the tradition together with new norm which try to change the way of thinking and living perspective. It depends on how they choose to respond or how to deal with these norms. Sometimes it comes in the form of "ideology" and which ideology has a power to control them.

1) Role of family ideology which affected to marriage perspective

Traditional family ideology aims for women to seek security and complete life by married someone as a dependent. In the past, family often influences the decision of getting married. They tend to influence, persuade, or force women into the marriage as traditional way.

- My daughter must get married

Nevertheless, from data obtained, it shows that family influence in this matter is not reducing. It only changes the way of thinking. It leads to women's decision made. The family still has same ideology which wants daughter to get married. They tend to express kinder not directly force like the old time. Their way performs through ideal of being "gratitude daughter". The decision is made by women whether they will follow their family expectation or not.

*"…**My parents are very strict about this**. I'm also studying. When I continue pursuing study, I don't think about this kind of thing. **Sometimes I was expected to be good daughter. I cannot hurt them and I don't want to hurt them. I can follow. No problem with it**…"*

*"...**My mom always complains me to have grandchild**. Will she still alive then?...It's kind of pressure…Until today she still tries to set me up with anyone. She worries that I'm getting old; I should get married and have kid. I'm not sure I can find a good guy or not…**It's common for parent's idea. They would want daughter to get married**…"*

- **Common question...When will I get married?**

Most of the never-married women have to go through common questions from family and surrounding people, that question is "When will you get married?" especially when they turn near aged 30. They may hear less same question nearly 40-year-old. Family may expect them to get married. In the present time, expected age to be married is 20s to early 30s. It is very common to be asked this question through expected ages before early 40s. At that point, society may perceive that they will stay single forever. The responses to the question are various such as neutral, argue, or refuse.

*"…**Mom keeps asking casually but lately starts to be serious**. She went to see fortune teller. The guy said all daughters will get married. So she has a hope and now checking possible time. It is so difficult. I don't know how to response...Mom is teasing that do I have someone…put some pressure…"*

"...Not yet! ***This is my family's worry…I have pressure.*** *Even when I called them, they will keep asking about this. When I went back home or on holiday, they will come back to this issue…"*

- **Child as a bonding**

One of the major reasons, women want to get married, is to have child as a bonding. The marriage depends on the needs of having an ideal family. It must consist of father, mother, and children. It draws from the ideological family as well. Some women concern about their relationship because this intimacy is expected to be a path to have a baby and give them an opportunity to perform as mother.

"…In my feeling of relationship, ***marriage should live together and have a baby. That is the meaning of family. I would want to have kid, if I get married.*** *Or else I will just stay alone and no need to have husband. I think I will be happier…"*

"…How necessary for marriage? In my opinion, ***I just want to have kid. Women physically build to be a mother. I will have someone when I want to have kid****. I'm alone because I don't think that much. It needs to have children for marriage to be real family…"*

This incident can be seen after never-married try living as a general couple or cohabitation. At first they may never thought or plan to have children. After they live as a couple, having children becomes a major factor in determining couple life. As an example of two women who were living with their lovers. In one case, both families acknowledge about their relationship. Child becomes their "obligation" expectation. It is not only from couple, but also the families. In the other case, the families do not know. Child becomes one of the expectations of couple relationship as well as other things.

" …Let me ready first before having a child. Probably, it will be around 40-yesr-old. I'm not that child lover. ***It is a duty as I want to have family. I want to have a child so we can stay together like a family****…"*

"…I don't think it is necessary for me now. I'm not settling yet so I want to overlook it. It has two sides of feeling. ***If I get married with a kid, I won't be lonely and have someone to take care when I grow old****…"*

2) Role of modern education system

Traditional family ideology always highlights of male and female dependency especially female as a weaker. Since all case studies have been received modern education system, which focuses to teach them to earn themselves. It facilitates self-dependency and determines women self-reliance. They want to jump into this new lifestyle which can be considered as a result of the capitalist ideology. It aims for a stable and prosperous life rather than rely on men.

- **They can't pressure me**

In the present, family seems to have less influence because the young have more freedom to decide on this matter fostered by the education system. It is not surprising that many women struggle with this concept with their family. Some women choose to yield, while some choose to resist. They believe that life can create by their own. They have to live with their decision made.

"…Mom and dad want me to get married but ***they cannot pressure me.*** *I get used to it. They start to be more okay if I may not get married…****Before they always give pressure. Now they are not. Probably they think its okay not to marry. They're just worry how I am going to stay alone****. I will stay with my sibling…"*

*"…****I used to be asked many years ago and stop asking****…late 20s I started to hear…They don't put pressure since* ***I said I won't remit anymore after married. So they're silent. That is my best shot****…"*

Besides mother and father play important role to obtaining this ideology, some women receive a pressure through other relatives and try to struggle.

"...My mom and dad never pressure that women have to get married or have to be neat ***but relatives always pressure…sometimes cousin tries to set up me with***

guys. *It's not that serious arrangement but I definitely refuse…**When my relatives ask, I will say I already have a boyfriend**…"*

- **It is just a tradition and symbol**

Never-married always avoid arranging a wedding. It is a family expectation after they decided to be in a relationship with someone. Many families perceive it as a necessary. It is considered as family image as it is the way of social announcement for a daughter status. While some women think wedding is boring, waste of money, and unnecessary. Eventually, they would have to follow the family because it reflects to their parents' social status.

"...If I would get married, it would be because of mom. ***She wants to see my wedding. Do I want to have it? It's not necessary. It's waste of money****…"*

*"…**I'm too lazy to arrange a wedding**. I used to ask mom can I skip it. I may just invite monks to bless us. I don't like wedding. Mom said okay…but she talked to dad and he doesn't like the idea. My sister teases me that maybe I'm lazy to greet all the guests…"*

8.3.2.3 Never-married women's intimacy and modernity-singlism risk

In modern society, the intimacy always filled with risks and uncertainties. It occurs in all stages of the relationship such as anxiety and uncertainty in the decision-making to build relationships, uncertainty as a couple relationships, uncertainty and risk as a life partner, concern as single, uncertainties and risks of living before marriage, and risk in the decision to build a family and have children.

1) Anxiety and uncertainty in creating intimacy

Anxiety and uncertainty of never-married women start since the idea to start a deep relationship. They are not only unsure of the opponents but also uncertain to themselves. It can be called. "Runaway bride". In some cases, they feel uncertain about changing themselves to the one. Some chooses not to start any relationship because they are too scared to start since the first place because they are

afraid to lose the relationships in the future. It makes these women in a state of hesitation, anxiety and uncertain to start relationships.

- **Runaway Bride**

Many women accept that fear and uncertainty are the main reasons keep them out of formal relationship. They have fear because they are afraid to lose their freedom and power of making decisions and self controlling. Some felt that it is too difficult to do and too far to reach.

*"...I think I'm too scared. I am runaway bride. I live my life for long. It is comfortable…**deep down women can make decision in any big issue but difficult to make decision on relationship**…"*

*"…**I am very scared of change. I am easy to build a relationship but even easier to quit. If it requires a change, I can stop as quickly as possible**… I know it does not look good to be like this in relationship but there is no harm. I didn't do anything bad…**I can't function as a girlfriend**. I can make very quick decision to stop…"*

*"…**I take couple relationship very seriously. It is all family matter. It is difficult for me. Maybe I can't reach that point.** If one day I met someone who willing to walk and learn together, it would be great. But it's difficult then maybe I don't need it…"*

- **Wasted Investment**

Some women feel it is not worth to change anything if that person is not good enough. They would rather stay alone. Some have to change many things to the person they want to married. In the end, those experiences went by as a failure. They use that incident as a lesson learned in the future.

*" . . . My late relationship changed my life…in the end has to separate…**I feel that if I am not happy to change myself. I shouldn't change**…."*

- **No bond…no suffering**

Another interesting case, some women give a reason not to commit in a relationship, they are afraid of "bonding" and fear of "Losing" because

they used to experience losing someone in the family. They think they would not be able to experience that kind of pain again. They are afraid of bonding and separation. This makes them hesitate to be in a relationship.

*"...**Sometimes I want to get married but also hesitating when think of having someone as a burden…I always think about death and very sensitive of death**…I am so scared when think of losing someone. So I think it's scary to be with someone and lose that person…"*

2) Uncertainty as a "boyfriend-girlfriend" relationship

Boyfriend-girlfriend relationship does not necessary lead to marriage. In this amount of case studies, they had a boyfriend, but did not end up together. Some cases are in a long time relationship but it would likely separate. They realize having a boyfriend does not make them secure. It becomes risk to lose the opportunity to meet great people almost half of lifetime.

- **Time does not mean anything**

Some never-married women stay in a relationship for long time more than 10 years but they are quite certain that eventually they would have end up being single. As a result, they are in the awkward position because they cannot go backward or forward. They feel regret to spend too long time and lose opportunity to know other guys.

*"…**15 years,** it becomes like relative. It is the same to have or don't have him. We don't go out that much…**It is too long to remember how I would feel without or with him. I don't think it will make a different since nowadays I can do anything or make any decision the way I like**…**It hurts to expect too much** so I stay like this. I feel bad to breakup because there is nothing big. I can stay…"*

*"…**I don't think I will marry him. I will break up with him**…It is boring. We stay distance couple years already. It is like talking to friend everyday…**15 years**…It hurts but **I don't think why I have to focus with marriage**…."*

*" …**Time cannot prove anything. How can we know his true love and know that he won't leave me?** Therefore, it is okay to stay together this way without children. I will be sadder if he leaves me after married. It is better to stay this way...Yes, people will gossip. **Sometimes married is for parents' sake. I am fine with this**…"*

- **It depend on "Luck"**

Decision to be in a relationship is the starting of risky life of the single. It is risk to bind themselves with predictable person. Many women feel that their life is hanging with luck savings because there is no way to know what kind of guy they would face it. Nevertheless, if they start relationship with anyone, it means they are willing to take a risk.

*"…**Let say if I have boyfriend and he is not secure, it would affect unsecure of my life as well.** On the other way around, of he is secure; it would be better than stay single. **I have to try with that relationship first**…Now it is up to both of us to stay together or separate…"*

*" …**I feel that having boyfriend who does not know you, it makes me feel more dangerous.** We don't know his thought. Sometimes we were friends for long and changed to be in a relationship. It could be dangerous for us. I feel more risk and I have to be with someone I don't know his feeling…"*

*" …**I don't want to expect too much** if it is not serious yet. Talk about married now makes expectation to the other side. When guy talks about married, I will think we are quite settled. **Any day it might not be like that and I am going to be sadder**. Let's talk when it's serious…"*

3) Uncertainty and risk of married Couple

Many singles perceive marriage as a risk. We never know the coming consequences on the married path. There are many examples of unsuccessful marriages. It makes them realize that marriage cannot guarantee of happy life or caring lifetime partner. It causes anxious and uncertain to pursue in married life.

- **Married...not always happiness**

Situation of family broken implies that couple life cannot guarantee security or lifetime happiness. There are many unmarried who had experiences in this. They might not entirely close the opportunity but they take it as important lesson learned to aware of couple life illusion.

*"…**It cannot guarantee that your partner would be good.** You get married today, next year you may end up divorced. It is not like we can be happy together forever. It may just feel right at that moment. We were happy when live together. In the while, we were not happy, so we broke up…"*

*"…**I may get divorced after married**. In this society, it is the same for married or unmarried. It is common to get divorces or not married at all. **Some may divorce even they have kid. We are really had to be with that person** so it will work for long. It shouldn't be afraid of changing. I would want to marry when I met that person…"*

*"…**In this time, couple becomes quick love, quick break up, quick gone.** It is difficult to stay patiently…It required an investment to live with someone. It needs a social ritual. It is up to two persons and two families. They have to get to know each other, understand each other and live together for long…"*

- **Example is all around**

One important reason to hold women from having a couple life or getting married, there are empirical examples of a failure marriages which are common seen in the present time.

*"…**I see 2 types of experiences from my colleagues.** Some are very stress. There are so many problems from their stories. Some are very happy…"*

*"…I met my senior who has irresponsible husband. **He left all the burdens to wife. I think I'd better stay alone. If it becomes suffering life,** I don't need to have someone…"*

"...My mom used to say that if having someone is less comfortable, it would be better to stay alone. She saw example of ***cousin who suffer living with boyfriend or fighting about financial. She thinks staying alone might be better****…"*

4) Anxiety of being single

Although never-married women decide or see their future as being single, they admit that they concern about future life alone. By then they will be strong enough to accept that state. In sum, married or not married, both seem to be risk.

- Actually, I am uncertain

Honestly, some women do not feel confident to say that they do not want anyone as a partner anymore. Deep down, they are uncertain especially when thinking about living alone in the future. Sometimes they feel the limitations of being a female in security. They are technical problems expressing from these examples.

*" …****Sometimes I am worried about my future life security. I am unmarried*** *and I think how to live. My thought would always the same? What can I do to make someone think of me?* ***Will I be strong mind?*** *Will outside factor effect me? I am scared of these kinds of thing…"*

"...When my family said ***how to stay when I get old?*** *What to do if I get sick? I think about that. I look at my parents as now they are old…I'm anxiety. Seriously,* ***I have to adapt my life nowadays to stay healthy and well being****…"*

*" …****I'm lonely because I don't have anyone****. I used to have niece and nephew but they are on their own now…but I have to adjust to nature. In adjusting time,* ***I am suffering and lonely…I have to be strong.*** *What can I do?..."*

- **I need somebody beside me**

The most that never-married need from having partner is somebody who can beside them when they are happy or suffering. They need to take their remaining life time with someone.

*"…It affected when I used to have **someone to consult, to talk to, to take me out.** Now I have to wait for someone to invite or wait for cousin to have time. Sometimes, I have to think all by myself. There is nothing serious but just to ask or want some suggestion such as computer problem, it takes 3 months to solve it…"*

*" …**Sometimes I feel good if I could have someone. I need it the most when I have problem and cannot talk to anyone** such as sickness. Nevertheless, I have to take care of myself. I make all this to be able to live on my own…"*

*"…**I don't feel safe when I'm getting old.** I saw my parents getting old. They can't walk properly and unsafe. When I'm old like my parent at aged 80, how can I stay? **Will I have anyone take care of me like the way I take care of my parents?**..."*

5) Uncertainty and risk of pre-married life

For some women who recently begin living with their lover, some recognize from both families, some may disclose to family due to several conditions, both groups have similar feeling in terms of the unpredictable and big changing to life. It makes them anxiety and sense of many coming burdens.

- Chosen to risk

Some cases may adapt very well with couple life. Although their life has to change dramatically, they perceived that life is improving. They might need to exchange with freedom and privacy in some extent yet life is more completed. There is another person to spend time with. They are in a position. "Care Receiving" and it makes them feel good at mind and physical health. They are more than ready to continue this journey. They might feel some risk which different than single life risk such as having child, separation, and couple stress.

"...It is different kinds of risk. I can't tell future for now. ***We just stay together. I can't separate. It would be risk to break up and more risk to have a child.*** *Now I don't feel yet. I don't see risk now. Maybe married will create more stress.* ***It will be more risk when we become real family****…"*

- **New "burden" and "responsibility"**

In the meanwhile, living with someone comes with more "burden" on income, financial, and "responsible" to take care of someone additional. Some women feel more difficult to pursue this path.

*"...****Freedom is less…I used to be alone so I don't really care****. Room can be very messy. Now I have to clean up for him. I have to take care of laundry and ironing for him. Besides, I have to responsible for food. I have to fill up drinking water in refrigerator. Bathroom used to clean once a month, it becomes once a week…"*

"…When living together, ***income is not enough. There is more expenditure.*** *I used to have saving when I'm alone. Now I have to withdraw my saving…"*

- **What's happen in the future?**

Besides the increasing expenditure, this case also has to deal with expectations towards marriage and building a complete family. It is in the difficult stage whether to go backward or forward and cannot move anywhere. She concerns to the sustainable of this relationship and anxiety of having child as an expectation. She does not feel ready and hesitation. She admits that the illusion of having life partner or a family dream and real situation now are quite different.

*" …****I and boyfriend cannot save enough money. We are thinking what if we have kid. Will kid have difficult life?*** *So we are not rushing. I'm not rushing him. My mom starts to say she is okay if I would marry this guy. She does not concern with money but more concern of settling down…****still good that he talks about future with me****…"*

6) Risk of making decision to build a family and having a child

For women who break through various kinds of uncertainty and risks, they are in the stage to have life partner and start a family. They may hesitate to reach that point. The destination has a huge risk because having a child is a big investment. No one can predict in returns profit. Surely, blood ties create a greatest care.

- Having a child is an investment

Some never-married women definitely decide not to have children even they would get married. They think having children is not worth investment as it exchanges with various difficulties in terms of physical, economic and psychological conditions.

*"…**Definitely won't have kid…I think having children is unworthy investment**…I seen lots of kids and seen lots of family life. I think of karma…In case they are not in good condition. It is very scary. Mom has to raise child alone. Husband ditches her for new woman. Woman breaks up with husband because of sick child. Let's not have it…."*

*"…I am still in to single life. Asking about having kid; 1) scared of pregnant state 2) scared of pain 3) don't know how to raise a child. It is a lot to think of. **Will I able to handle? I have lots of expenditure. I don't know I can cope with my salary**…"*

- **Having a child...having an anxiety**

Many single insist not to have children since they do not want to worry too much about her kids. Having kid is creating an anxiety and they do not want to make her kid difficult life. In addition, living in society nowadays seems difficult from social problems and economic risks.

*"…**I don't want it to happen when I am not ready.** If I still have little money, I don't want my kid to have difficult life**…It is not like it has to be the best but it should be as good as I can.** I don't want child to be raise suffer. It'd better not have it. I won't have if I am not ready…"*

" …I have a feeling that ***I have to be suffering having a child. I would be concern with everything.*** *How he will grow up? I'm happy with this stage…"*

In summary, new generation of never-married women in metropolitan society have multiple types of intimacy. Some never-married women do not rely on life partner while some never close themselves for relationship and still seeking for someone matching them. Some never-married women do not require anything in return and decide to ties with someone with out married while some are willing to start to cohabitate with their partner.

However, starting intimacy in present time tends to have more freedom of choices, but all choices are quite difficult. This is because changing pattern of interaction which resulted from cosmopolitan and metropolitan lifestyle. It reflects in decreased of gender difference and necessary to rely on each other, relationship which overcome age differences, increased of scope and area of women as individual and relationship with no boundary and distance. Moreover, although modern society reduces the controlling norm and tradition to be less strict to women, it still has influence for intimacy choices of never-married women via family ideology. This make some women conform to that ideology and believe that they still have to be married. On the other hand, modern education system which socializes never-married women to be pound with their self-reliance push they try to struggle family ideology and believe that they can stay without marriage. So, it depends on how they choose to respond or how to deal with this situation.

Additional, modern intimacy always filled with risks and uncertainties. It occurs in all stages of the relationship even they decide to be single or going to be married such as anxiety and uncertainty in creating intimacy, uncertainty as a "boyfriend-girlfriend" relationship, uncertainty and risk of married couple, anxiety of being single, uncertainty and risk of pre-married life, and risk of making decision to build a family and having a child.

CHAPTER IX
MODERN SOCIAL LIFE LINKS TO HEALTH OF NEVER-MARRIED WOMEN

Besides modernity context, self-reflexivity process of never-married women will link with their health experience directly and significantly, while such health experience is still linking with social life in all aspects of never-married women under modernity context, whether in aspect of working, general living and creating intimacy with other persons.

Although modernity in this present time looks like having influence to social life very, which is true, but how it will affect person still depends on thinking process, interpretation and reflexivity of person to these societies that how they will select or decide to manage their life under the same context. Therefore, health experience of never-married women is not only result from all modernity structures, but also the process of decision making and reaction of never-married women to these contexts. Such reaction links with health experience of never-married women. In this chapter, characteristic of never-married women's self-reflexivity and self-identity in each sector of life which resulted from self-reflexivity to husky modernity context will be conceptualized, classified, and linked to their illness experiences.

9.1 Never-married women's self-reflexivity process to modernity

The findings in this study reflect that this group of never-married women has specific response patterns to phenomena surrounding them to decide and choose how they manage their lives in various contexts, either work or life in general, including building intimate relationships with others. The response patterns reflect the self of never-married women in various aspects.

Never-married women's response to the context of husky modernity may be defined as ***"ready-to-take risk response"*** or ***"deliberated self-reflexivity"*** as it is made through careful thought and deliberation, that is, taking risks gradually. Never-

married women are aware of their reasons for decision-making after they have weighed up the pros and cons. Even though their risk assessment and decision-making may be risky, not the least risky, they are willing to take risks and suffer the consequences if what they have chosen is suitably congruent with their needs and their ability to respond by learning to live with risks and gradually handle conditions in order to achieve their target.

For example, some never-married women choose the work they love or the work that gives worthwhile benefits which may not be financial return, albeit they know it is risky work such as late work, work at risk of danger and illness. They are willing to do the work, and simultaneously, try to tackle problems, such as finding ways to protect themselves from danger. Whenever they have assessed that the risk is not well worth the effort, they are prompt to change themselves, knowing that they are going to face other risks. For example, some never-married women invest in some driving lessons and their own car, though incurring additional expenses, in the belief that it is safer to manage their own travel than to have others manage for them. Likewise, some never-married women take health risks merely to maintain their good self-image. To others, they may not seem worth investing; however, to never-married women, such investment raises more confidence and self-esteem. Finally, such responses lead to building their self which reflects in various aspects of their social lifestyle.

9 . 2 Never-married women's bipolarity identity linked to social life and health

The self of never-married women defined as collective identity of never-married women today can be said to be ***"a self-confident, modern, and self-reliant women"*** as they have the identities of self-reliance, self-confidence, being a leader, being able to protect themselves, keeping pace with technologies, nonconformity, self-esteem, and readiness to sacrifice for others. Their identities result from self-reflexivity process to the context of modernity in which never-married women live and decide to form/build their identities through social lifestyle.

Never-married women's identity on reflexivity in the context in which they live is called, in this study, as ***"bipolarity self-identity"***, because they have multiple identities in aspects of work, life in general and building intimate relationships. Each of their identities resulting from self-reflexivity to modernity is polarized into two different paths; their choice of path depends on the processes of interpretation, reflexivity, and different factors facilitating the reflexivity. Every never-married woman has experienced the state of making a choice between alternative paths. Whichever choice of identity or lifestyle never-married women face, the consequences may lead them to the state of distress or joy. However, they are ready to gracefully experience it with great pride, since it is their choice of life path.

Taking account of their specific identities in each life context, including work or life identities, and identity of building intimate relationships, it is found that this group of never-married women have specific identities in various aspects under each aspect of social life(style) reflecting their choice of social life(style) as follows:

9.2.1 Never-married women's work identity in modern society and health

From information presented earlier, it can be seen clearly that working in modern society, which organization try to compete in making products and measure the success of a person by creating achievement as very important factor, which makes never-married women to get sick, whether with chronic disease or sickness with symptom of office syndrome, irregular symptom in new model, which begins to be mentioned such as symptom of IBS disease including impact in field of mental health as well as mental irregular symptom, which affect body.

However, due to situation of modernity resulted in model of working of never-married women at present has much change, especially, after information & communication technology has come to have much influence to work steering process within work unit and all organization. Besides, that model of working under all management systems which have target to create highest efficiency and effectiveness, has become important controlling mechanism for working and determination of direction of working, which is more serious than original. All these things, besides resulting in more tense and pressure in working, in the same time, it will result in very

much impact to health of never-married women and being result from working manner in modern society. It must be accepted as result from target determination in working of never-married women in modernity generation, which is full of consciousness and valuable feeling in self of never-married women also, which is a part of self-reflexivity process of never-married women towards working and themselves.

Never-married women's work identity, which results from their response choices to the context of modernity and influences their working life, can be categorized in here into two patterns; each of which links to health in a different manner including:

1) Work … is … Survival

A number of never-married women considerably place the importance on working life as it means a main source of income, stability in life, and assets for them to survive in a society in which they must largely rely on themselves. Moreover, many of them have the burden of earning a living to support their family members; therefore, they place the importance on work as a guarantee of survival for them and their family members. Because of such burden, this group of never-married women needs to mainly conform to the framework, no matter how much difficulty it causes in their working life. Although they have to work in haste or under pressure, or are exploited, they are ready to accept it, because they do not want to take a risk of instability. When there is no work, it means to them that they and their family members are taking a risk to survival. Such identity and working life affect/link to their health as follows:

"Work in haste or under pressure to fit onto a timeline makes me stressed and ill"

Because roles of technology have resulted in that every thing is expected to be created and finished with these assistants, it caused organization and person to expect and set shorter time frame of working in each piece to acquire more quantity of work, but it is work, which has tendency to create high tense, because additional works, urgent situation, pressure and is continued work, and finally, it resulted in impact to health of never-married women without knowing.

- **Being pushed again**

Model of work, which often affects the health is manner of urgent work, which must be finished within specified time, for which never-married women are often under condition to hardly refuse regardless of being routine work of organization or freelance work, it must be considered on the need of customers or service receivers, who often come with expectation for completion within short period of time.

"…Because I sit and work in front of computer for long time, ***I will be tired in the afternoon and often have headache.*** *I have this symptom just when I work as freelance. It is sitting for long time. Some times I sat for many days to finish work.* ***Some times, my freelance work will come as urgent. If it is not urgent, it will not come to me. It will come when two weeks' time is left and they must get it and I must rush to do for them.*** *It is heavy work during that period…"*

"…Some times, we are in front of monitor for long time. ***There is eye pain because I used to analyze information, which has large volume in quantity of hundred thousands and must finish within 1 week.*** *I have much pain at eye block and I have to take it back to work at home…"*

"…It is matter of more work. In the past I might not think about many things, but later, there is work, which must be finished. ***It is responsibility I must do. It may be automatically serious until it is matter of jaw.*** *Biting jaw is no good…"*

- **Work that have never been finished**

Besides that, manner of work, which must have time frame as fixed schedule, will affect the work, which never-married woman receives assignment, to have continuing situation according to specified time period, which must be burden of never-married woman in managing time to be able to manage the assigned work to finish according to the specified time. Some times it must be exchanged with impact to the health, if it is in duration that they must do those works to finish according to the schedule.

"…Some month, ***I can not finish in time and I must take the work back to do at home.*** *In that period* ***it is like being crazy of working, but it must be finished,*** *otherwise it will not be finished in time like my boss, who also takes work to do at home because he has lots of work and he receives all…"*

"…In some period, I am loaded with a lot of work. ***When works can not be finished, I will little mental disease. If work is not finished, it must be taken to work at home.*** *We are concentrated in work. Before we must work 7 days and quit at 8 pm.* ***I am isolated from friend. Friends said I am isolated from friendship****…"*

"Work and monitoring systems causing more workload make me stressed and ill"

Current working systems, which look like giving more freedom to workers in aspect of thinking and deciding in working, but in aspect of control it is likely to be more strict. It is not monitoring by using severe punishment or discipline, but it is controlling by working system, manner or model of job classification, evaluation system and specification of responsibility in duty, which has been assigned. It is new model of controlling, which makes never-married women try to bear those responsibilities, although it must be exchanged with health impact."

- **It is a duty**

Thing that controls working in modern society is the thing called "Duty" and "Responsibility". Although there is no controlling by other methods such as strict supervision from the employer, but it looks not different from being controlled closely by employer because now performance evaluation system, promotion, salary increase are mostly evaluated from work volume and achievement as main factor. Therefore, never-married women must try in every way to perform duties under responsibility to accomplish, although it has to be exchanged with sickness due to their contribution.

"…I accept that working is not the same as before, but ***I do not find any methods. For Gastro-Esophageal Reflux,*** *I will find some thing to do before going to bed.* ***For other disease, I do not manage any thing. We must be responsible for our jobs and no one can do for us.*** *I think I can do and think that sickness is not serious. I must wait until it is*

final. If I am sick and have symptom, make it recovered, go to doctor, after that spend life in the same way…"

"…As job, I start tour at four o'clock and go to bed at midnight. ***Organize company, although it starts working at 10 o'clock, but in position of supervisor, I must go at 9.00 hours****, subordinates quit, but I have not quitted. I arrive home at 11 o'clock at night.* ***Rest has rather much impact to health. Now there is problem concerning weakness of the body****…."*

*"…****Because I am the only person in front of the room, I have no time to go to rest room. It affects my health and defecation.*** *The boss rings bell every 10 minute. If I am absent and go to rest room, when return from rest room he rings again. When he rings 2, 3 times, he begins to get angry I must tell subordinate that if the boss rings the bell, please tell him that I go to the rest room. Some times when I work on continuing work I can not go…."*

"I do not want to change my job. Being at risk of unemployment makes me stressed and ill at last"

In modern society, it looks like there are many opportunities for working, but these options have risk. It depends on never-married women to risk to choose the job, which she estimates that it is better option or not, because most of them are decision under her own responsibility, but in many cases we will see that, at the end, some never-married women have no courage to change or to decide to change job, because they have estimated that it is economic risk, which may be more severe than the risk concerning health caused by tense in working.

- **Suffering from stress is better than being unemployed**

Some never-married women, although jobs they are doing do not make them happy or they still have to bear much suffering, but they agree to work further under the condition of tense and pressure and the work affects their health, because they estimated that if they resign while they have no new job to support, there will much impact from being jobless.

*"…**It affects mental health in our working. I do not want to stay. I want to go far away from boring original environment. If I have a rich husband to take care I would have gone.** If there is place to go, I would have gone long time ago. I think we can live with freelance, but I do not know if one day it is not enough, what will I do?. Shall I go and beg from my father. I do not want again because I have experienced with that situation before…"*

2) Work … Reflects Human Values

The term "work" for another group of never-married women means something more important than work done for a living. It also means honor, success, and proof of value of life; therefore, they place the importance mainly on working to achieve the target and the accomplishment of work. Often, they overlook, neglect, or forget the significance of their surroundings, even their physical and mental conditions merely because they want to get the job(s) under responsibility done successfully in order to prove their abilities and self-esteem. Such identity makes them choose to live the working life linking to their health as follows:

"Work done anywhere any time makes me work so hard that I become ill"

Model of working at present time, which can work any where, at any time by working through all communication media, in another wise, it is likely to be working, which is convenient and comfortable as it can be worked at any time, but at the same time, it has made works of never-married women become portable works and always have high removal and have no fixed time to finish work as targeted. In duration there is work, it is necessary to devote all times and power to working and it results in that they have to do more works, having uncertain working time, having works, which must continue to be done at home, because important goal of work relies on achievement more than giving importance to time and place being used in working until, finally, it must be exchanged with health impact.

- **Unfinished work…cannot go to bed**

Some never-married women must take works to do at home every day because there are equipment and tool, which can help work continuously at home, if they can not finish work at office. It is just like daily activity and consequence is

significant impact to health, because in addition loosing of time for relax, using of body and having continued tense will result in sickness at the end.

*"…**Before I would work across the days and did not have to sleep and would not be afraid. But now can not do so.** When it is midnight and one o'clock, when start to yawn" No, doctor said that" when thinking about that, I must sleep. **If it was in the past, I will not be interested, but later, when we know that body is not 100% perfect.** I don't know where to begin, but I begin to know that I can not work hard any more and begin to set priority and I begin to know denying, because I begin to be afraid. I must not be too courteous and must consider about my body…"*

*"…**9, 10 o'clock at night, some times, body has almost no strength, but must be active to do what we want to do. I am very tired, but I must work. I work hard and have very little sleep.** I sleep for few hours and can not get up. **I take work to do at home every day and my friend said I will die soon.** I told him that my work does not make me serious, but work is just like a friend. In the past life, I had no friend, so work was my friend. I never think why I had to work. We benefit from useful time spending instead of useless sleeping…"*

*"…**I begin to live from 2-11 o'clock in the morning.** This begins to be more. In one period, sleep later than that. Some time 4 o'clock until **I feel the house is rotating. High blood pressure, which I never had and the heart is beating irregularly and I know that it is beating in wrong steps**…"*

- **I am tired**

One consequent result of continued hard working is having less time for relax and less time for doing other activities, which will be useful for health, such as less physical exercise, because working has withdrawn all these things or some times, the body has left no energy for doing other activities any more. Finally, it will affect body's health because in addition to hard working, the body has no time for rehabilitation either.

*"…Lately, I almost do not take much care of body exercise. Before, I used to have time for swimming, playing Badminton. **I used to play Badminton twice a week, but no more now. They have disappeared because of working.** After quitting work I was tired and*

was lazy. I worry that when I am older, I may be sick. ***When I am sick I am afraid that the sickness will be serious in one time and will never be recovered. I am afraid being knocked down or acute****…"*

*"…****There is no time. It is like the time has disappeared. We work nine hours. We must prepare and do not sleep.*** *There is much work be I can go home to rest, because we know that* ***we are sick because works have taken all of our life****…"*

*"…****It affected in matter of taking care of health. We should have exercise every day. I used to go aerobic, yoga and exercise, but now I can not do that.*** *I hide to do before taking a bath. I walked, jogged and span machine in the room. But for going to Lumpini Park formally, I have no time to dress for running. Due to much works, sometimes, I must go in group to attend some events but I tried to avoid them…"*

"Work that seems easier but is highly expected makes me ill"

In modern society, most of works are relying on more operating of computer and more communication devices to make difficult work looks easier. These things become addition of hope with workers that they produce more products accordingly, because when working is easy and has more convenience, it will also make hope of work be increased and in conjunction with the increased obligation or assignment especially when there is working in linking with network system, it make hope of working increased also, because it is believed that they will be able to work every where, every time through computer and network system. They must also consider accepting mistake and affect, which may happen from this technology, including impact to health, which can be seen clearly. Working with technology for long time needs to make more use specific organs, such as use of hand, finger, eye sight and muscle, which is cause of office syndrome and giving importance to the work, which must be done continuously, still result in impact to time range for having meal, model of having meal, reducing body movement, which leads to chronic disease related to alimentary canal system, body weight, blood vessel disease and heart disease. Working in such manner still results in pressure and seriousness in high degree.

- Only want to work done

Hope of organization towards working of personnel in the organization affects never-married women in deciding to choose to do those works continuously until it is finished. Generally, all never-married women know what will cause health problem, but many times they can not do it, because they give more importance to other things or they are in situation under pressure, such as they want to finish work in time or to finish according to what is hoped and, therefore, they don't want to interrupt the work or to loose time in taking meal, rest or even to go to the rest room or stop and do other activity to relax, because the work will be interrupted or stopped. In fact, these small matters will bring health problem in never-married women and most of them can see clearly from impact to alimentary canal and symptom of office syndrome also.

*"…**Gastro-esophageal Reflux Disease is more likely eating not on time.** Eating not on time, some times, happens because **we don't want to eat because we want to finish work.** Suppose instead of eating at noon, like other people do, I will eat at one o'clock…"*

*"…**Not eating on time because when I work, I will work for long time and I am lazy to eat. Eating will interrupt working.** Some time brain is running brightly. When going to eat, I can not go to eat with colleague. I will work in the room. **After 5 years today having gastritis and know that my body is not the same as before.** If I do not eat, I can not survive and **some time it moves from gastritis to be dizzy and have no strength.** Body is not as strong as it was in past 5 years…"*

*"…**Office Syndrome also happens periodically. In period of searching for paper which must finish every thing.** There is much work to do, but there is no one to help. I will be nervous and must sleep in office. **In fact, it is not because work is not finished, but because I don't want to go home. When I stay at the office I just do the work**…"*

*"…If there is work to do and to finish in certain time or there is some thing urgent, **I will fully contribute to it and it is possible that there will be no eating and I will eat at about 2 o'clock. This practice affects health as I already have gastritis**…"*

"Work reflecting self-esteem, in turn, makes me ill"

Currently, working of never-married women, besides being determined by goal, which is achievement and products of organization, at the same time, all things, which never-married women try to do, deeply, is to respond to the goal in working or to the goal of their life using, which is aiming at achievement and satisfaction in achievement to protect themselves and feeling of being valuable in themselves also. Some time they agree to exchange with minor sickness they expect to have, because most of them are behaviors, conducted with knowing and expectation in advance that it will have an affect. It can be seen clearly that main cause of tense from working of never-married women, one part happen from concentration to reach goal and intention to have work come out well and perfect and finally, must exchange with tense situation and consequence of impact to their health.

- **Aim at target**

Effort to take oneself to the determined target is one factor, which makes many never-married women serious in working, because work of never-married women is likely to be one of important proof of achievement in life. Working seriously with intention and concentration, some time, makes never-married women serious without awareness and have less interest and attention in other matters, including caretaking of health because they give importance to responsible works.

*"…**I am the person, who has tense easily, that is rather too serious and concentrated and have tense easily.** I intend to do some thing. When I intend, I concentrate in it and then I have tense. **If I work, I have no interest that I eat or not.** I am not interested. I will work and think how I can finish it and then I have tense….."*

*"…There is a period he is just like an evaluation form for research evaluation, collect and then write book like this, sit in front of computer for long time. **I have pain at my shoulder and neck and have eye ache, migraine.** I will have such symptom when I work with documents. **I can not avoid because I concentrate and want to finish work and it affects my sickness**…"*

*"…**I begin to have office syndrome or migraine or backache. According my personal character,** I have one bad character; that is I do not have very much exercise. Second is that **when I sit to work I will rarely stand up. I will focus at that thing all day. I am not interested in eating. It is disadvantage and it makes bad health**…"*

- **It must be perfect**

Target of working of each never-married woman; besides working to finish work according to time frame, accuracy of work or quality of products is one thing never-married women give much importance. Target in this manner creates tense and pressure in working without awareness, which become main risk factor leading to other health problem such as gastritis, migraine and eye sight.

*"…Some times because I sit with computer monitor for all day, but my eye sight is not short…**It is like beginning from tense because I often do not know whether I am tensed or not in matter of work. I am person in model of correctness must be correctness, must be O.K. and must be perfect**…"*

*"…**Like being person, who makes any thing with rather full ability and when can not do it, it is bad.** It is like it can not be shown, but body has already shown. Sit idle normally. **One day I becomes sick with headache. Now I have migraine and latest, gastritis. These are two things and then eyesight**. When I work here, my eyesight is short and is only 100…"*

9.2.2 Never-married women's living identity in modern society and health

Living, which includes matter of responsibility, residing and using of free time of never-married women in modern society in this generation, may be called "it is living", which must rely on themselves, control themselves and manage all their life by themselves. This character is main factor, which makes never-married women sick, because living of never-married women in modern society has individuality and privacy in high degree, regardless of living in one house with other people in family or being separated. Such situation causes many never-married women to manage their lives by themselves and ability in relying on themselves, which has increased, has

made many never-married women must receive other burdens in the house besides responsibility for their own lives in capacity similar to family leader, because separation of members, who have married including opportunity to use time with personal matter, will be abated accordingly. Health problem of never-married women is result from receiving of responsibility for themselves and family members, including having opportunity to use time for taking care of their own health and decreased time for rest.

Never-married women's life identity comprising the responsibility for their family, housing, and leisure, which results from their response choices to the context of modernity and influences their life in general, can be categorized in here into two patterns; each of which links to health in a different manner including:

1) Making Life Easy

A number of never-married women try to look at things around them in an easy manner, because they place more importance on privacy by means of letting go of anything that lowers happiness in life and taking the path they have assessed will lead to a happy life, enjoying available facilities in the form of technologies, service systems that enable them to have an easier and more comfortable life. Nevertheless, life under such identity can also affect never-married women's health problems as follows:

"Life having more privacy makes me isolated, afraid, and ill"

Life in modern society, which concentrates on being individual person and high privacy, many never-married women accepted that they often preserve privacy and choose to isolate to stay alone, which makes them feel more comfortable and free, but at the same moment, staying alone on privacy makes themselves comfortable and do not give proper importance to taking care of their bodies, such as matter of eating and affected sickness with alimentary canal disease. Besides that , some person accepts that in some of period their time, they must confront with loneliness, fear and worry because living alone makes them feel unsafe at all times until they become full of worry.

- **Being alone can do any thing**

Due to high demand for privacy and increased individual personality, it makes some never-married women decide to stay alone until some times they do not pay attention to some details in their living such as importance of eating, because they want to live simply and comfortably until it, finally, affects their health.

*"…**Having gastritis…staying alone. Therefore, food, eating may have boring of food.** Some time I think about what is good to eat, specially, when **I was staying in condominium. Some times I made telephone call to order food being sold at condominium.** Today the shop is closed. Where shall I go. I dressed up and walked to eat at store. **Some time I am lazy there was nothing for sale at condominium or order pizza to eat or some time open refrigerator to find what can be eaten but there was nothing.** If there is any thing left, then get it warmed by microwave to eat by not thinking about food value that it must be rice. **Eat whatever they have**…"*

- **Am I too much worried?**

Worry about safety is the thing many never-married women see that it is atmosphere being around them at all times, especially, never-married women, who are staying alone or even some one, who is staying with persons in family. It makes never-married women must be more careful although staying in area of her own residence and try to avoid staying outside of the house at night time until it, finally, becomes restriction of area and some of their activities.

*"…I come home not late. If any thing really happens, I am rather careful. **I don't like driving car in darkness at night time as I am aware that I am alone.** Open the house and enter in darkness…"*

*"…I try to tell every body that if they have daughter they should buy a car for her. **If the house has remote controlled door, they don't have to get out from the car, but we still feel that we must open the door and then get down from the car and try to see if there is any one.** If there is no one, we are lucky…"*

- **At last, there is only me**

One of result of life which concentrated in privacy, individualism and freedom is feeling lonely and being isolated. Many never-married women accept that it is true that using of single life alone makes them feel being free, can do any thing they want to do without worry, but some times, especially at time when they must come back and stay alone or at time their lives are facing with problem, they can not avoid feeling lonely and being isolated. When they use their normal lives, these feelings are hidden inside, but at any time there is such atmosphere, they will return to face with this feeling again.

"…I accept, but ***some times life is also lonely,*** *but this loneliness becomes familiar to me because I have been like this since childhood. I stayed in dormitory. On Saturday and Sunday can not go for touring…"*

"…When there is question whether we are happy or not, the answer will be we are happy. We are just single persons. ***When there is problem, we will look left and right and ask if we are lonely. We are lonely. When there is problem, I feel bad. I will consult with some one, but there is person, with whom I can consult.*** *When facing a problem or facing obstacle, one period, when there was flood.* ***One person is really very bad. I was only one person left.*** *It depends on the case.* ***If normal situation happens, we can live O.K., happy and there is nothing. If we have problem or see some thing, it will have little trouble****..."*

"Life equipped with convenience provided by technology is more likely to make me ill"

One important factor for living in modernity generation, which we can not lack is technology, which is closest to ourselves, is mobile phone, which, now is more than being telephone, because it can perform many activities through this channel, regardless of speaking, conversation, expression of feeling, watching movie, listening song, playing games. It should not be surprised that many never-married women use technology in this type as body friend for convenience and as friend to avoid loneliness. Some never-married women spend time with technology as much as spend time in meeting and talking with friends, which can happen every where, every time both during working time, during travelling time and during rest time so that some one

accept that they are technologist. More than that, it begins to see impact to heath from using of such technology continuously including fatigue, because they do not have enough rest and impact to related organs such as eyesight etc.

- **Overindulging**

Roles of technology at present time, which enter to participate in activities of human in all aspects made these communication devices become a part of tools used in relaxing, but at the same time it affects health as result from continued using this technology in long time and it is difficult to control because information, knowledge and all amusements, which never-married woman received and can respond using of their free time worthily.

*"…**I can not control myself. When we first have face book, if I search internet, it will spend long time.** Even starting with information, searching of information is like it takes me to the world**. When we come back, it is 1 o'clock. We can quit and go to bed. When I sleep late I do not want to wake up in the morning. Do not want to work**…"*

*"…**Play Facebook and play Ipad until eyesight is bad. It is that every thing Smart Phone can do. Since I have this my eyesight becomes worse.** This has problem of small character. Will use Ama model I am not sure because it is large. Ipad is not convenient to carry. It is heavy…"*

2) This Life … is … Difficult

Whereas the other group of never-married women feel that life in today's society is very difficult for never-married women, because life is full of burden and responsibilities. They have to be self-reliant, whereas others are dependent on them, thus causing anxieties about every facet of life, including financial aspect, stability in life, safety in life and property. Consequently, this group of never-married women is quite serious about life and cannot let go of anxieties. Never-married women choosing to have this sort of life identity can have health problems as follows:

"Life that personal matters cannot be separated from other matters makes me ill"

Model of living in modern society, in which all activities are melted together without separation of specific area or time range for all activities any more, in one trick, it makes time range, which is used to be determined as personal time for rest for never-married women, is withdrawn to use with activities in other matters, such as working, taking responsibility in other activities of the family until never-married women have less time for rest and taking serious care of health, especially, time for sleeping and full rest and time for body exercise, and lead to sickness at the end.

- **Can I sleep a bit longer?**

Time for rest, which never-married women feel they must save, but they loose most of it, is time for sleeping. Besides being due to condition that they have to spend time with responsibility, using of life in urgent society also requires time for travelling on the road. Therefore, they must allow time for travelling to go to do all activities also. When the rest is not enough, the body will have fatigue, not fresh and, in some case, will cause other irregular symptom of body also.

*"…**When having not enough sleep, there will be headache.** It will be in such condition for a period. When it passed such crisis, it will be recovered. But at this moment, nowadays, it is little sleep. **When there is little sleep and return to work and finish and head hit pillow, I become unconscious.** When is unconscious, I will still wake up at regular time automatically and can not sleep any more. At 4 o'clock I wake up regardless of how many hours of sleep I have had. If I sleep since 2 o'clock, at 4 o'clock I must wake up; that is that I scheduled to wake up at 4 o'clock…"*

*"…**I will have period of little sleep I will have prickly heat.** Sleeping for 5 - 6 hours is deemed as little sleep for me, but there is one period when I have about this much sleep and I had prickly heat and it is not fresh…."*

*"…**I may be giddy and very sleepy. Little rest may be like being unconscious**. But if there is question that can I do or not, the answer will be "yes" when finish I will sleep for long time or take leave to stay home for 2 days to have full sleep. **When I wake up after 5***

o'clock I leave my house at half past 5, arrive office at 6 o'clock. This is routine because car parking is very important*…"*

*"…**I sleep at midnight. I can wake up at about 6 o'clock almost 7 o'clock, but in a day when I was busy, 3 hours, I had to wake up.** There is need to spring up. If not necessary I will continue sleeping. **I often feel having not enough sleep**. On Saturday, Sunday once when I have no duty to do, I almost can not get up every Saturday and Sunday. It is like machine working, it works regularly**. When it runs out of battery, it will stop****…"*

- **I know it is good…but cannot do it**

Although most of never-married women know that body exercise is one option, which will help recover from sickness and return to have good health, but with oppressed obligation every day, it requires that they must continue living in original cycle together with experience of sickness, which has become a part of their lives at the end.

*"…**Sleeping, tiredness, laziness and non-interest in the health is not good, in fact, is no good and I know.** But I have no body exercise at all. Some time when I go home by BTS I will use walking because house is located in deep Soi. We walk to BTS and walk back. I think it is good that I have exercise here. **When speaking about intention, I will say No at all****…"*

*"…**Sport not played often. Play very little. It makes our weigh increased also.** I feel like increasing weight and making us like not as active as before. **We just get tired easily. It is not like before.** Before, suppose we walk, we walk comfortably. Now when we walk we will be panting like this. It is like we little sitting, walking and eating. It is not like before when we have body exercise…"*

*"…**I have allergy because we have not enough rest or if we will recover we must take body exercise.** I have allergy when working and studying at the same time. I have when studying Master's degree. In fact, when I have graduated I have recovered. I went to see doctor until I have recovered and I have again, **when I have not enough rest and have no body exercise****…"*

"Life that must rely on oneself and have others depend on me makes me stressed and ill"

Life of never-married women in modernity, which must mainly rely on themselves in all matters regardless of being matter of working to foster themselves, management in residence, protection of themselves from surrounding dangers especially, never-married woman who is staying alone, causes never-married woman to try to do every thing by themselves. Although some things are heavy jobs for woman, such as residence repairing work or lifting heavy thing, which some times causes accident and injury or in some case has chronic disease until it becomes personal disease at the end.

- **I have to do it myself**

Modern society is the society, in which never-married women need to depend on themselves in all matters including matter of residence management by themselves, which some times may cause accident within the house while some one may have accident because of trying to lift heavy thing by themselves.

*"…**I used to mop house floor, when working usually, it is just like some ones have chopped on my back and I can not move and lied down on the floor, I could not breath.** I might have bended down in wrong position. It is like infected muscle and I have recovered after going to have injection. I think it does not matter and still make bending. Why when I make bending again, **I have pain and can not move at all and I have crawled slowly to get on the car**…"*

*"…**Go to polish house.** One day go to mob the wall. It was dusty. **There was much powder and we did not know.** If close with cloth, we can not breathe or die, feel uncomfortable. We close and open and do it from morning until it is dark. **We do very much and the cough, cough at liver, kidney, lung. They may stay together. It is like when it begins to have pain, begins to have coughing. It is coughing for month before having pain here**..."*

*"…**It was because of lifting of heavy thing. I lifted suit case. It was like bone was not usual and had to have my back pulled during one period and took physical therapy for 2-3 weeks to get better, but it will come back if I sit for long time or sit in wrong position.***

Doctor advised me to improve behavior, such as sitting with tucked legs. I could not do before, but it is not related to sitting to work, but it is related to behavior, which is accident…"

- **If I do not do it…who will then?**

Besides responsibility to take care every thing related to themselves, some never-married women have burden to be responsible within their families, because some one must take care of members in family instead of other members, who have got married and separated from the family or are in position of family chief and be tired and have less time for rest or for personal matters.

*"…**I come to cook meal to eat at home, for me for mother and for every one in house. It is our duty**; therefore, we must be responsible for. On Saturday for example, On Saturday and Sunday, stop, ok, I will schedule myself to sleep and wake up at 6 o'clock, little late, but if it is normal day, must be 4 o'clock. **I must wake up at 4 o'clock or 4 o'clock and half, at that time, not later than that.** It will schedule by itself. **It is midnight or 1 o'clock before I can go to bed**…from here until drive car home…"*

*"…Lifting thing. It is time I move to stay at my elder brother's house in Bangkok. **I moved things one by one, starting with carrying of heavy things and buying things home. Lately he could not walk, therefore, I had to lift him to take bath. It is like knee and back, which are not very good.** Lately I have got herniated disc. I have my own disease when lifting. When mother still alive, I took her to tour outside. Some time when there are children, they will lift her from wheel chair to car, from car to wheel chair like this. Some time I moved in wrong position…"*

*"…**I was much serious because mother was sick also. I have taken care of family in matters of eating, living. I took care of my sick mother including matter of the house, such as leaked water, seeped water and I must do everything.** Some times it may include alley of my house and of houses my relatives. Therefore, some time, we may have to help at uncle's house and there are also surrounding houses of other uncles, which has old grand mother staying with 2 children in the house. **It has some high tense,** such as suppose we stay little late, some time my mother gets sick. I do much work and I when go home, **I carry our worry home and then I must manage** and I must tell children at the house what to do. These are many things…"*

"Living among strangers creates anxieties, stress, and an opportunity to become the victims of assaults"

Life in modern society, especially, capital like Bangkok is named as society of risk from disaster around, especially disaster from stranger, who watches to seek benefit especially, from never-married women, who feel that they are target group of bad profession group, who come in many different forms. Many never-married women accept that they must live under atmosphere of worry, suspicion and must be careful at all times and believe that at the time any incident happens, they may not depend on any one except themselves. Tense and being hurt will be an impact of living in society of this capital.

- **I am paranoid**

Danger, which never-married women are most afraid of is danger from crime in all types, especially rape. Therefore, many never-married women try to live with awareness. But feeling of awareness often comes with fear, suspicion and worry at all time and not happy when they must live in place surrounded by strangers, but they must be enthusiast and think to find way to make them relieved from all dangers and to live under atmosphere of fear.

*"…**but what they fear is outside, group of unlawful occupation, when we go out of our houses, we have no mental security. We are suspicious in every thing.** We like suspicion. When walking in store, we are afraid that some one will come and touch our body with drug. I am afraid. In the past, **I feel that I can go any where alone, but now, we listen to news it makes us be afraid and dare not walk any where alone. If some thing happens, who will know**..."*

*"…When we go some where, we will look for way to escape. If I have to go to see some one where it is a room, **I will not go alone and will ask a friend to go with me.** I never go to see doctor alone. I will ask mother, friend or sister/brother to accompany. There is some people, who told that in going to doctor and going to temple, we can not trust and do not go alone. I beware of this matter. When going for interview if it is in a room, I will seek information first and will be more careful than interviewing in other place. Some time I make*

appointment at a restaurant and I will take a friend with me and go before appointment time. See room, see way to escape. Even though, there are many people but I must beware as I think they are friends of each other or not. ***I beware very much****..".*

9.2.3 Never-married women's identity of intimacy in modern society and health

Model of intimacy in modern society of never-married women is intimacy which concentrates in satisfaction as main principle, and which does not expect binding from other party. At the same moment, it is intimacy which is not stable. Intimacy in such model has made never-married women, both having couple and having no couple, must have worry and suffering in relationship which affects sickness, because in modern society, never-married women are having more freedom and liberty in creating intimacy with satisfied person by having expectation towards goal of such status to change from original with an aim at marriage or joining in building family in any way, because society at present time, whether they choose to be single or decide to have boy friend or have spouse and end at marriage, their lives will fall in uncertain situation and risk anyway. However, whether never-married women who decide or expect that they will stay single, or never-married women who choose or who is going to choose to have spouse, they all will have worry and receive health impact due to status of relationship.

Never-married women's identity of building intimate relationships with others, which results from their response choices to the context of modernity, can be categorized in here into two patterns; each of which links to health in a different manner including:

1) Absolutely Single … Not Care at All

This group of never-married women has made a firm decision to stay single. These never-married women feel that they can live without being dependent on others, thinking that not having a partner is not a big matter for today's life. Having no anxiety about being single, they do not care how people around them will question about their singlehood. Nevertheless, such identity can affect never-married women's health as follows:

"Intimate relationships associated with self-reliance make me hesitant, anxious, and distressed"

Modern never-married women at present time are named as never-married women who are able to support themselves. Decision to associate or test sincerity with a person to rely on in future is not main target of having spouse. Attitude towards themselves in such manner makes never-married women use as reason for themselves when they begins to build intimacy with a person or when they decide that they will be binding profoundly with any person more than relationship as a friend. This becomes one condition which makes many never-married women confront with feeling of hesitation, worry and suffering when reaching time they feel that they want a person by side, especially in time a pain is in front and time they think of their life that they must stay without spouse in future.

- **If some thing happens, who will take care me?**

Many never-married women, who live as single often are worried with their lives in future, if they have to face with sickness due to loneliness, no supporter, which is different from a person, who has spouse, who should have a person, who gives mental support to feel secured and strong enough to pace through those bad matters, especially, when they see surrounding intimate persons, who live in the same manner.

"…I am afraid because we, never-married women are afraid if it is serious disease, who is going to watch. ***If we die, we are not afraid. We are afraid to have suffering and torture and have no one to watch. Get sick and die.*** *Friend has same single person, she did not inject HPV. Get sick and die…"*

"…In the past, there is nothing, I can live. Lately I begins to be very much. I may be because my mother is not alive. Mother has just passed away. ***I feel like begin to be afraid. I used to think also that how life will be if father and mother are not alive.*** *I should like it, I should be able to stay. I should be more comfortable, not tired. I know I should be sorry. Must be sad, but when it really happened, it suffers much more than what I thought. And she left*

immediately. I use to think that it is matter of common nature of birth, old, sick and death. When it really happened it is torture and pain..."

"Intimate relationships that may seem less necessary, and yet make me yearn for it and more distressed when I want it, but do not have it"

Ability to rely on self of never-married women at present time makes them feel that they need to build intimacy with some one to have spouse or marriage is less. Most of never-married women accept in this condition, but in another side, it is not that these never-married women do not demand for such relationship and they even are suffering when it is time to demand a person to stay aside and found that she has no one, especially, at the time she is sick, which is the time when body and mind are weak.

- **Why do I have no one?**

One never-married woman accepts that in normal period of time, she is able to live well. She is both strong leader of the family and can be supporter of other persons, but at time she was sick she accepts that in fact she still is one weak woman, who needs someone to be on side and that it makes her existing sickness become worse.

*"…**I cried when I had infected bladder and I went to hospital.** It was not sensitive matter, but **I feel that why I have no one at all.** Doctor was not interested in any thing. I had to walk to go to check urine. **It is like I have no one, then I cried**..."*

2) Not Ready to be … Single

Whereas the other group of never-married women is not ready to be single due to the influence of family ideology about marriage making a more perfect life. Therefore, these never-married women try to maintain the relationships with their lover, albeit they have to trade their sufferings for the relationships.

Moreover, modern society today opens more opportunities for many never-married women to be in a committed partnership under single status, since they interpret the meaning of "marriage" as a social symbol which is not what they aim for

or is not a consideration in the value of the relationships with their lover. They are not anxious or do not care how the society will stigmatize such behavior, because they are confident about their decision-making and willing to accept any consequence resulting from such relationship pattern. However, their choice of identity under such relationship pattern can also lead to health problems as follows:

"Intimate relationships under family ideology make me have high expectations, and eventually causing stress, distress, and illness"

In modern society, although being single receives more acceptance, but family ideology, which considers that as women, never-married women should marry to have person to take care of them. This ideology is still applicable for never-married women in family. They must accept family ideology as a part of target or ideology in using own life. Many never-married women think to build intimacy with a person to meet ideology to build prosperity for life in future. At the same time, relationship in such manner has created trouble, worry and tense under relationship, which looks like not being expected and trusted that it is option, which will lead to happiness. Some case affects mental health such as tense and worry of using of couple life and pressure from self adjustment with sweetheart. Some case causes continued result to physical health until it becomes significant sickness.

- **High expectation…great distress**

A part of tense and suffering under intimacy happens from hope in sweetheart and in relationship, which is coherent with the thing she is facing at that moment, especially sweetheart who has associated for long time, but time of associating is not proof of stability and security of relationship, which they try to take care. For some never-married women, such relationship has become acquainted suffering, while for some of them, it clearly affects condition of health.

*"…**When associating with preceding boyfriend, it has made me think too much until my nerve is infected.** It occurs very often until during one period I think much. **During working time I go to rest room. Bladder is infected.** When people have tense, they know that they do not have enough sleep because they can not sleep. When sleeping, mind is not stable.*

There must be some thing in mind and do not have enough sleep. ***I have much difficulty in sleeping, but easy to wake up****…"*

*"…****I also go to have ordination for even short time of three days. That is to find way for myself.*** *Nowadays I think it is more stable than before because* ***I have faced with many problems, both personal and work, because it looks like my love is hopeless*** *…"*

*"…****I always have and usually have suffering from having a boyfriend****. I want to divorce hundred and eight times per day. Much hope results in much sorrow.* ***When I will divorce, I feel whether I am offensive to ask to divorce or not. He really do not know and I hope deeply. Please take care of me****…."*

- **If love…must change**

One thing that makes never-married women have tense and worry in living under intimacy is that they must try to change themselves for persons they love although some things are not of their own selves and some changes may affect original model of life using, with which they are familiar and feel more secured.

*"…Before it was very much love****. I was trying change myself every way. He does not like women to make up face and want them to be naturally beautiful. Staying with him makes me very serious.*** *Always think that why he must do this and quarrel and then go back to become good to each other. I do not think that I must intend to wait for change to be better. There is no way. It must use 9 years time…"*

*"…****At the time I was single, I feel more secured and safe because I stayed at dormitory. My life was happy and comfortable.*** *I must travel. There are all kinds of food and near source of every thing like having condominium in the heart of town. I came back to stay at house… But we have trouble in travelling.* ***I was not familiar at all. I felt worry, but if I have to travel I will be tired****…"*

"Intimate relationships under gender equality make me bear increased burden but pursue less self-care until I am ill"

Modern society looks like women and men have equal position due to change in many standards to allow women to have more equal right as men in many

matters of society such as matter education, working. This thing allows women to have more social opportunity but at the same time, equality in such manner has made difference between women and men to be gradually reduced to be less. Some roles, which used to be significantly separated as roles of women or men, such as works in house, outside work made less different, which in another aspect, it has made women have more responsible task and they have less time for themselves, especially status of being sweet heart and expectation to make men take care and solely contribute to women is difficult to do in modern society, which resulted in that some never-married women, who have spouse may spend time with responsibility for both matter of themselves and matter of sweet heart. It causes time for taking care of themselves to be less, which causes health problem, which is existing and received care or manage fully.

- **When can I have time for self-care?**

Some never-married women who fall in scope of having sweetheart will have person to take more care and to give her more interest, but in fact, it is that she must have burden to take care and give more interest to her sweetheart, especially, while she still facing with original health problem, which have not been managed and solved to be better.

*"…**Matter of gastritis I have very often. There is matter of headache. In most cases, I help take care of him.** When he has, it was serious…I have to take care of him and warning him about eating of food. **Now we must talk about future and then must find outside job, find special job.** We will accept, which we can accept; **that is to earn additional money. We begin to save money. Since he comes to stay with me, we will share only eating. For other matters I solely pay for**…"*

"Intimate relationships having loose ties give me more anxieties and stress in return"

Because manner of intimacy in modern society, which is linked by binding, but has less binding and each party does not expect ownership or possession of personal asset, a part is result from feeling of being individual and a part makes them feel that they have freedom to choose and decide according to their need without

worry concerning matter of any binding regardless of decision to start relationship or to terminate relationship. But in opposite way, relationship in this manner makes never-married women have feeling of more worry because it is relationship, which has unstable tendency and can not guess or trust that how relationship in future between two parties will be, which will lead to tense and worry in other matters, which are related to such decision to build family such as decision to have child or even disclosure of such relationship to make it acknowledgeable to persons in family and intimate person.

- **How it is going to be?**

Some never-married women accept that she began intimacy, which was more than being sweetheart generally, but beginning to try living together in position, which was close to being husband and wife and family, had not realized in such status. Nowadays, she is staying with worry, both worry about her family, worry about family of opposite party and worry about life of her family, which she is beginning to build.

*"…**Think that if he left me and gone, how will I be.** Father begins to ask me about marriage. Relative, sister, brother, aunt, uncle begin to mention. His mother knows that daughter has boy friend but does not acknowledge. She does not want son to get married. **I and my boyfriend have not had saving of money, which will be used for building family and think further that if we have a child, the child will be happy or will be in trouble**…"*

- **Need only care**

Besides intimacy, which binds each other as sweetheart, some never-married women accept that although they do not have relationship in manner of sweetheart, but they have bound with some one in manner, which can not be withdrawn and is satisfied to be person, who gives without expectation to receive any thing in return from the opposite party and know well that relationship between her and him has no way to change to other status from the word "friend", but it is friend, which has special status, which is different from general friend. Although having such intention, in deep feeling, she still wants to see expression from that friend that he has some concern on her, especially at the time she is sick.

*"…**I told him that I was hit by a car. A car ran over my leg. He said is it so? And he was silent.** I go to see doctor. I will call secretary and ask secretary to go and see. In fact, there is nothing. I called and told him. I told him not much. Sleep at clinic upstairs…"*

From result of all passed study, we will see that health of never-married women has linking very much with social life, which is under influence of modernity. Besides, it is still result of reaction process of never-married women towards modernity also. Living in modern society in present generation, which is determined by roles of information and communication technology that creates cosmopolitan and metropolitan lifestyle; roles of new model standard under system invented by all experts contests with traditional order which still influence all aspect of life; and uncertainty and risk from characters of modernity plus characters of singlism, which is important atmosphere in modern society, will result in that never-married women must face with more diseases and sickness. Moreover, it also depends on that never-married women themselves evaluate interpret these things and will reflect to these phenomenon in what manner. However, this situation also created conditions which can much affect health condition of never-married women and may be different from condition ever happened, which determines health of never-married women in the past.

CHAPTER X
CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This study aims to pinpoint the causes of never-married women's health and social life problems linking to modernity and self-reflexivity process in order to answer to research questions as to why never-married women confront health and social life problems, and whether and how modernity and self-reflexivity process link to such problems by means of explaining such phenomena within Anthony Giddens' conceptual framework and implementing qualitative case study research through in-depth interview and observation.

The samples in this study were single, never-married women, that is, women who define their self-identity as never been married person even though they used to cohabitate with someone as husband or not They must be between the ages of 30 and 50, earn their own living, and are having health problem or experiencing an illness in addition to living or working in Bangkok Metropolitan Area. A purposive sampling method was used in the study. In order to select and have rich and informative samples who are ready and willing to fully participate in the research, a questionnaire was initially sent (to them) and replied through the Internet coupled with using a snowball technique, followed by telephone screening and pilot interview. Content analysis was used for data analysis. The significant findings are as follows:

10.1 Conclusion

Modernity context in metropolitan society like Bangkok is a technology-driven society in which individuals live their lives within the context of opportunity, risk, and a new pattern of monitoring. The modernity have coined in this context as ***"husky modernity"***, the modernity which seems to be merely a "husk" or superficial modernization that changes so rapidly and people in the society cannot cling to as firmly as old traditions gradually established in their way of life through gradual process. Additionally, key components of husky modernity including ***1) cosmo-metropolitan condition, 2) tradition-modernity contestation, and 3) modernity-singlism risk*** in modern society, coupled with never-married women's ***deliberated self-reflexivity process*** have created "***bipolarity self-identity"*** affected never-married women's health experiences and social life as follows:

10.1.1 Never-married women's Health and Social Life under the Cosmo-Metropolitan Condition

The Cosmo-metropolitan condition which modernity is a mixture of being universal and the metropolis under the influence of the progress of ICT as a center resulting in the change of interaction patterns among people in the society, including single women's lifestyle in the society. ***In health experience***, never-married women in this modern era have experienced a variety of illnesses. Many experienced more than one type of abnormality, and at present, still experience some types of them. Development of information and communication technology (ICT) is an important variable affects health phenomenon in the form of the spread of new types of diseases and illnesses developed by the same behavior patterns in modern society across the world, such as "office syndrome" symptoms, IBS, (living with) chronic illnesses, and the impact on mental health in the form of psychological and psychosomatic symptoms. Simultaneously, it results in widespread health and illness information diffusion due to easier access to diverse health information. However, health information from a variety of sources, either reliable or unreliable, causes in return more fear and anxiety about illnesses.

Besides such illnesses, never-married women's health experience also includes the experience in relation to conditions or limitations considered as an

obstacle to being in good health such as conditions or limitations of health welfare, problems and obstacles to access to health care services, and so on. Some never-married women avoid seeing the doctor or receiving medical treatment although they are ill due to inconvenient health care services and the services inconsistent with or not meeting the requirement of "singlehood", such as reproductive services as well as limitations in terms of health welfare by deserved rights, especially social security system. They decide not to have the privileged medical treatment and pay additional expenses to receive, what they think, a more standard (healthcare) services. All these conditions have made never-married women live with prolonged illness, sometimes with more severe illness and, at the same time, spend more on health expenditures by paying their own expenses.

In work aspect, work patterns of never-married women in modern society are likely to be somewhat hard work, which is brought to be done at home. Since most of it is high-tech related work that is not fixed with workplace or working hours, it obviously affects not only more workload and long working hours but also more competition at the organizational level. Owing to information diffusion, more pressure and high expectations are placed on staff at the operational level. Additionally, face-to-face interaction has reduced, thus increasing speed and convenience, but causing communication error in return.

In general living, cosmo-metropolitan condition also influencing modern society affects the change of never-married women's way of life in terms of family patterns or characteristics. Family members are not always necessary to be blood relations and can be anyone who is willing and ready to live together without a marriage bond. For example, never-married women who have a companion to live together as a family are likely to separate themselves from their immediate family. Improper division between personal life and social life possibly blocks them from managing their personal affairs. Additionally, interaction patterns changed by the role of communication technology affect the interpersonal relationships with their close relations. Communication without seeing facial expressions, gestures, eye contact or hearing tone of voice can lead to misinterpretation conducive to a conflict. Increased privacy and individuality result in more time spent on oneself. Never-married women guard own privacy and feel less influence of others on them.

In term of intimacy, diffusion of cosmopolitan and metropolitan lifestyle directly results in the opening of public area for never-married women, because communication patterns and information diffusion help open never-married women's vision and an opportunity to show their knowledge and capacities of education and work conducive to being self-reliant, and eventually, to the change of gender relations, that is, gender differences and the necessity of dependency have decreased. An open society gives never-married women more equal opportunities to demonstrate their capacities, thus making never-married women with considerable self-confidence stay single or sometimes "need" to be single, as there is no better choice to make them change to a new status. The relationship transcending all limitations of age is no more a limitation on intimate relationships in modern society because of the transformation of marriage patterns. In addition, when never-married women are getting older, it is more likely that society has low expectations and pays less attention to their marriage. Thus, never-married women have low pressure and expectations for their marriage as well. The open and clear boundary and space for individuality of never-married women enable many never-married women to reserve privacy for themselves and try not to have anyone intrude on their private lives. Consequently, many of them hesitate to build intimate relationships with anyone because they are uncertain of themselves whether they can sacrifice or decrease their "me time" for their spouse. Additionally, many types of communication technology in modern society support channels of retaining their relationship, making someone at a distance seem to be in close proximity. Nevertheless, such technology in return creates an opportunity for the other side to prolong this type of committed relationship. Never-married women who are in this situation have to suffer from endless wait, cannot make any claim, and bear this type of relationship.

10.1.2 Never-married women's Health and Social Life under the Tradition-Modernity Contestation

The state of struggle between the two sets of norms, traditional and post-traditional order influencing never-married women's life is called tradition-modernity contestation. ***In health experience***, value in status of medical doctor and trust in modern medical treatment and diagnosis makes never-married women accept any

impact of medical treatment model according to the diagnostic standard, no matter how much pain or suffering they experience from some diagnostic methods, which create stress and health impact on their lives being on medication.

In work aspect, not only modern working system but also culture that roots in Thai society such as patronage system, master-servant system and seniority system all influence on working life of never-married women. Monitoring systems in the form of division of labor by job descriptions, gender roles, marital status, specialty, and seniority, and unclear job descriptions result in unclear workload, thus taking more responsibilities assigned to never-married women other than work designated for the job position. The division of labor by seniority causes never-married women to take extra workload from what they really should do, but have less opportunities for career advancement due to lack of capacity development and performance. Moreover, human resources development system still has limitations in terms of promotion which educational qualifications or degrees are taken into account, remunerations provided are inconsistent with workload, and one-pattern welfare is provided for all without taking account of the characteristics of singlehood. Thus, never-married women do not fully gain benefits from human resources development. They must also work under management and control mechanisms. The limitations of the mechanisms including the organization's chief executive officer (CEO) or top executive turnover, master-servant relationship work culture, political interference, and complex and inconvenient management system directly affect their physical and mental health. The other limitation never-married women working in modern society have to face is to work under monitoring and quality assurance system. Its direct impact includes more workload, more work procedures, more working hours, and interdepartmental relationships. Furthermore, there is also a problem of inconsistency between humans and the system due to personal characteristics, different needs, lack of understanding, and sometimes an attempt to do the best to fulfill their own duty.

In general living, never-married women's pattern of living is still influenced by traditional value or beliefs in Thai society especially, value on wealth and social stratification which push them into the same trap of living. Nonetheless, never-married women today who are freer from cultural norms of women's oppression than those in earlier times are still confined by a new norm in the form of a controller.

Each monitoring system affects their lives and stability in life such as credit and loan system. In reality, an easy access to these systems also means being easier in debt. Besides, some of them have to live their lives with a burden of long-term debt because of buying goods in installments. Saving system for stability in life today is still a type of risk system, because it is one type of profit-seeking investment. The more benefit you expect, the higher risk you take; however, many never-married women are willing to trade for those risks. Many are patient to save up and cut down expenses in order to save some money for such investment. Due to transportation system today, never-married women are constrained to buy their own vehicle and take more financial burden to exchange for their safety, whereas some choose to take the risk of using public transportation because they do not want to be in debt or have more burdens and consider it as unnecessary thing. Life with technology dependency in modern society not only makes never-married women become a target group of technology users who spend their time on personal and social affairs depending more on technology but also changes interaction patterns. They also have to accept any effect and error occurring from using the technology. However, some never-married women place their hope for dependency in their old age or after retirement on the State social welfare systems—elderly care, civil servant medical benefit scheme, or social security.

In the case of intimacy (with someone closely tied to them), never-married women are confined to traditional rules/norms and, at the same time, are controlled/monitored or guided by new norms that try to change their way of thinking and life perspective. Roles of education and rearing practices of their families make some never-married women fight against family ideologies. Some choose to follow, but some choose to reject in the belief that their lives belong to them and they have to live with what they themselves choose. However, public service systems today facilitate lives in all aspects. No matter what service never-married women want to use, they can have it only by paying money in exchange for it. Consequently, never-married women in modern times embrace a new ideology of way of life which is a by-product of ideology of capitalism—seeking wealth for the stability in life by depending on money in lieu of men.

10.1.3 Never-married women's Health and Social Life under the Modernity-Singlism Risk

Never-married women have to live not only under risks from characters of modernity in this era but also in danger that comes from singlism or risk which come with their single characters and prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination against single people or bias against people who are not married from people in society. ***In the case of health experience***, never-married women in modern society need to face health risks from various factors, either climate change and air pollution or food, goods and services consumption. City life with haste makes never-married women unable to fully make much choice of good diet for health and face indirect risks, whether knowingly or unknowingly, affecting the management of beauty and body treatment for maintaining their image.

In working aspect, never-married women's work in modern society is under risk surroundings. Those working full-time are at risk of unsteady income since they have to rely on job position and the stability of the organization, whereas those who have independent work, which is a source of their income, are at risk of unsteady jobs. Working with technologies can cause an error to operating systems (OSs) and unintended human errors, or using the technology to distort data/information. Never-married women working outside and traveling every day have to take risks either from an accident or any unexpected danger by any mode of travel. It is even difficult to estimate traveling time each day. The instability of income/job, welfare, job position, especially when they are getting older, gives them the feeling of anxieties and risk in career change. Besides, the work type and workplace often make some never-married women face risky situations such as work in need of regular travel, late work, work involving exposure to the risk of diseases and illnesses.

In general living, never-married women's life in urban society is considered to be a society of opportunities as well as a risk society. The risk referred to as stranger danger in the form of either face-to-face interaction or by phone, when strangers contact never-married women to lure or take advantage of their properties or bodies. Furthermore, getting to know someone of the opposite sex is rather a hard time for never-married women because they are at risk of being judged from people around them. Regarding never-married women's lifestyle today, many need to be self-reliant

and seek their own residence. Some need to live alone. Thus, they are at risk of not only choosing their housing which seems to have lots of limitations in terms of suitability and safety but also being responsible for household management when there are no male family members in the household. In addition, they have to leave their lives while traveling to fate because unexpected events can happen. Their fate seems to be tied to other traveling companions. The risk never-married women are most afraid of and pray not to happen to them is the risk of being raped or involving crime because it is something they have to live with fear merely because they are "women" who are considered the weaker gender and can easily be taken advantage of.

In the case of intimacy, a decision to have intimate relationships with someone in modern society is full of risk and uncertainty which can occur in every relationship stage. The anxieties and uncertainties in having intimate relationships occur not only in their partner but also in themselves in changing selves for others and in the fear of unbearable feeling of losing the relationship in the future, thus making them hesitant, anxious, and unconfident to begin the relationship. Nevertheless, even romantic relationship between never-married women and their partner does not make them feel the stability in life but the risk of losing an opportunity to meet and date a good mate. Moreover, marriage does not guarantee happy couples or having someone side by side to care for each other for life, so many never-married women are anxious or uncertain about their choice of marriage. Simultaneously, they are worried about how their future life would be if they stay single and whether they will have enough courage to tackle the situation at that time, whereas never-married women who decide to cohabit with their lover (before the marriage) are worried about the big, unpredictable change in their lives and increased burden they have to shoulder including the risk of starting a family.

10.1.4 Modern Social Life links to Never-Married Women's Health

Never-married women's response to the context of husky modernity may be defined as ***"deliberated self-reflexivity"*** as it is made through careful thought and deliberation, that is, taking risks gradually. This reflexivity process leads to self-identity of never-married women which is called, in this study, as ***"bipolarity self-identity"***. Each of their identities resulting from self-reflexivity to modernity is

polarized into two different paths. Whichever choice of identity or lifestyle never-married women face, the consequences may lead them to the state of distress or joy.

1) Work identity and never-married women's health

The characteristics of work in modern society focusing on competition to increase productivity and key performance indicators cause never-married women to suffer from illness. Never-married women's work identity, which results from their response choices to the context of modernity and influences their working life, can be categorized in here into two patterns. The first one is women who said ***"work is survival"*** because for them work is a main source of income, stability in life, and assets for them to survive in a society in which they must largely rely on themselves and support their family members. So, this group of women has to work in haste or under pressure to fit onto a timeline and under a strict monitoring system, which results from the characteristics of work in modern society. Although many never-married women are unhappy with their work, they do not want to be unemployed or at risk of looking for a new job.

Another work identity of never-married women is women who said "***work reflects human values***". Work for this group means something more important than work done for a living. It also means honor, success, and proof of value of life; therefore, they place the importance mainly on working to achieve the target and the accomplishment of work. So, this group of women become ill because of work done anywhere any time, work that seems easier but is highly expected, and work reflecting self-esteem.

As a result, two groups of never-married women also have to work hard and undergo intense stress until they are ill from "office syndrome" symptoms, chronic diseases, mental health in the form of psychological symptom and physical health in the form of psychosomatic symptom.

2) Living identity and never-married women's health

Life in modern society requiring self-reliance, self-control, and self-management affects never-married women's illness. Moreover, never-married women's life identity comprising the responsibility for their family, housing, and leisure, which results from their response choices to the context of modernity and influences their life in general, can be categorized in here into two patterns.

Never-married women who ***"making life easy"*** experience illness because their lives in modern society in the context of independence and high privacy give them the feeling of freedom as well as loneliness and fear of danger that may occur. Moreover, ife equipped with convenience provided by technology is more likely to make them ill.

Another group of women who said ***"life is difficult"*** become ill since they cannot separate their personal life/space from other aspects of their lives, thus having less time for relaxation or being less relaxed. Furthermore, their increased self-reliance makes many never-married women take on added burden as the head of the family other than looking after themselves because of relocation of married family members (in the household). As a result, never-married women are under stress and pressure, and become ill. Their health problems result from increased burden of responsibility in taking care of themselves together with their family members and decreased time in self-care and relaxation. Additionally, living among strangers in modern society creates anxieties, stress, and an opportunity of becoming the victims of assaults.

3) Intimacy identity and never-married women's health

Intimate relationship patterns in modern society focus on life satisfaction without the intention of entering into a committed relationship, and the feeling of instability cause anxiety and grief in the relationship for never-married women both having a mate/partner and not having a mate/partner conducive to their illness. Never-married women who either decide or expect to remain single or select or are selecting a marriage partner have anxieties and health impact due to their relationship status.

Never-married women who said they ***"absolutely single and not care at all"*** become ill because intimate relationships associated with self-reliance make never-married women more likely to be hesitant, anxious, and distressed to form

intimate relationships with someone, though it may seem less necessary in the era that never-married women are economically independent, and yet make them yearn for it and more distressed when they want it, but do not have it.

On the other hand, never-married women who are “not ready to be single” also experience illness because intimate relationships under family ideology supporting opposite-sex couples and heterosexual marriage to have someone take care in later life and for completeness in starting a family make never-married women have high expectations in her partner, and eventually causing stress, distress, and illness. Additionally, intimate relationships under gender equality, in return, make never-married women bear increased burden but pursue less self-care until they are ill. Moreover, intimate relationships having loose ties seem to give never-married women more freedom to either begin or end the intimate relationships, but rather give more anxieties and stress in return. Stress and anxieties about married life, life changes after marriage, and pressure for adaptation to the partner are the key factors that clearly affect mental and physical health of this group of never-married women.

10.2 Discussion

There are many key issues that should be discussed in various aspects in this study. The discussion is about the study findings reflecting practices of modernity and self-reflexivity process which affect never-married women’s health and life, the application of Anthony Giddens’ concept to explain such phenomena, and discussion in terms of methodology.

10.2.1 Practices of Modernity and Self-Reflexivity Process

The study findings have shown that never-married women’s health phenomena not only obviously link to never-married women’s lifestyle but also result from lifestyle under the influence of modernity. However, modernity does not directly impact on never-married women’s health, but indirectly impact through self-reflexivity process of never-married women toward modernity. The findings in this

study reflect the influence of modernity on the context of never-married women's life and the role of self-reflexivity process toward modernity.

1) The Influence of Modernity on Life Contexts

Never-married women's health experiences strongly link to modern city life. One important key to driving modernity today is information and communication technology (ICT) influencing every lifestyle context of the people in the society—work, travel, housing, recreation, and so on. ICT has created the state of transcendence of time and space, or time-space distantiation, so called by Giddens, because activities done by humans are not fixed with time and space any more, but can be performed by connecting through ICT at any time and in any place (GIddens, 1990). Such phenomena result in the same pattern of social interaction among people across the world being influenced by modernity and make it seem universal which can be called cosmopolitan lifestyle. Moreover, modernity in this study is influenced by Thai social context in Bangkok, the capital of Thailand and the metropolis, which is the only one center of civilization. The forms of modernity in Bangkok are the same as those in other areas but different in terms of forms, levels, and specific characteristics of being the capital. This phenomenon also creates the lifestyle of metropolitan society which tied to the time and economy, great haste and considerable competition and full of new things changing at all times. Therefore, the condition coined in this study is ***"cosmo-metropolitan condition"*** of which modernity is a mixture of being universal and the metropolis under the influence of the progress of ICT as a center resulting in the change of interaction patterns among people in the society, including single women's lifestyle in the society.

However, cosmo-metropolitan condition clearly impacts on never-married women's health experiences because it creates sedentary activities taking longer hours. Due to disproportionate amount of time allocation, never-married women have developed a behavioral pattern of doing several activities at the same time, such as working as well as chatting with friends via social network, working while eating, working while traveling, or using technology for relaxation. Eventually, the behavioral pattern developed in the same manner across the world, in turn, causes the same illness

pattern. One obvious example is “office syndrome” symptoms. Almost every single woman used to experience this kind of illness; high or low levels of illness they have experienced depending on their lifestyle, awareness of and responses to illness. In addition, such behavior is likely to lead to other chronic diseases which occur among people in working age, such as gastritis, gastroesophageal reflux disease (GERD), cystitis, or irritable bowel syndrome (IBS), mainly caused by lifestyle habits depending on ICT.

Besides, the other role of ICT and cosmo-metropolitan condition having a direct impact on health is health information diffusion which is easily accessible. Receivers have the duty to assess reliability of such information by themselves, so it is possible that they receive inaccurate and incomplete information, which eventually leads to having a health impact due to trial and error in curing/treating or managing themselves by means of health information diffusion today, and at the same time, causing the delay in tackling problems correctly conducive to severe illness. Furthermore, never-married women are so over-worried about some health problems that they avoid receiving healthcare services, such as a pelvic examination or other types of cancer. The findings are consistent with the study by Petrie et al. (2001) revealing that people in modern society have more fear and anxieties about health risks accompanied with characteristics of modernity in terms of diet, pollutants, and air pollution which affect mistaken perception of health. The study by Rief et al. (2012) found that anxiety about risk of new technologies influencing health affects health behaviors, emotions, and finally, physical illness. Additionally, cosmo-metropolitan condition not only causes more individuality, less necessity in dependency, and decreased participation levels in doing activities together but also affects their privacy in terms of work, housing, way of life, or even decision on building intimate relationships. Eventually, their lifestyle affects their behavior in caring for their health.

At the same time, one important characteristic of modernity, according to Giddens, is the transformation of social norms as it seems that people in modern society are free from the hold of conventional norms in the form of traditional institutions and custom supported by mores, and in return, are dependent on abstract systems, as coined by Giddens. The abstract systems are considered as new norms

supported by trust. Most of the abstract systems are confirmed for their reliability or developed by experts who have made people confident that they are good systems that people should live their lives within the framework of the norms (Giddens, 1991).

However, the influence of traditional institutions and ideologies deeply instilled in Thai society still exist, even in Bangkok, an urban society is said to be the most modern city of the country. This can be seen in various aspects of life context in the form of value, belief and ideology such as family ideology, male-female relationships, patriarchy, patronage system, master-servant relationship, social stratification and so on. It is difficult for people in this society to change, abandon, or have a new replacement of such traditions. At the same time, they also cannot refuse role of the new abstract system which is the new norms in this century. Therefore, people in this society have more complicated way of life and perspective on various issues than those in Western society in the context of Giddens' concept of high modernity which is seemingly straightforward to a normative concept. This is a provenance of ***"husky modernity"***, modernity which occurs only on the husk of society or superficial modernization that changes so rapidly that people in the society cannot cling to as firmly as old traditions gradually established in their way of life through gradual process. As a result, people under this context are living with confusion, hesitation, and uncertainty because double standard of norms are fused/mixed together, and simultaneously, fighting against each other, based on an individual's interpretation process, lifestyle choice, and response to various contexts associated with such standards. It is defined as ***"tradition-modernity contestation"*** in this study.

For example, they are new monitoring systems in lieu of traditional institutions. Because of trust, such monitoring systems are then in the form of being followed, not being forced to follow. Previous findings showed that life under these abstract systems was easier, but at the same time, was also more difficult due to problems and conditions created by such systems and perception of people under those system. One obvious example is a variety of management systems implemented to increase organizational effectiveness and efficiency. In never-married women's viewpoint, these systems lead to more workload, longer working hours, increased stress and pressure on working. These systems seem to be much more beneficial at the

organizational level than at the individual level. In reality, they are monitoring tools used to ensure that the employee's work fulfills the most worthwhile organization's mission. It is therefore not surprising that many never-married women are distressed to work under monitoring and quality assurance system which they do not think they can reap real benefits. This is the reflection of power relation in Thai society which power still center to people who are high status in social stratification.

In terms of health care, they do not think they gain the full benefits from health care welfare, especially social security system which never-married women are subject to pay risk premium; however, by the time they need to use the services, they have to confront so many conditions that they decide to pay additional amount of money to receive what they think is the best health care services for them. Furthermore, trust and risk are bound up with one another. When people place their trust in the systems, it means they are willing to take any risk that might occur from such systems (Giddens, 1991). One obvious example is having trust in insurance systems—health insurance, life insurance, insurance for saving, and so on—that never-married women choose to depend on. These systems yield benefits, and with benefits come risks. Therefore, benefits and risks must be evaluated or weighed.

Nevertheless, these abstract systems rely on trust which is not trust in individuals, but trust in the ability of the systems to meet the individual's needs. Whenever individuals do not have trust in the systems as they cannot fulfill their expectations as required, they will place their trust in other systems that can better satisfy/fulfill their expectations. The decision made on such matter demonstrates an important role of self-reflexivity process. An individual reflects one way or another based on knowledge and experience gained (Unerman & O'Dwyer, 2004). The findings indicate that never-married women's health problems result from the feeling of mistrust in existing health care services and health insurance system, and in turn, some of them decide to prolong receiving medical treatment and bear lengthy illness or chronic diseases. Some never-married women choose to pay additional expenses for health care services, making them increase health expenditures.

In case of health insurance system, most never-married women voice the same opinion that they do not have trust in health care services provided under social security system. As a result, they stop using such services even though they are

eligible for the benefits and still have to pay the contributions continuously into the system as required by law. They look for other systems—either group health insurance coverage or private health insurance—they believe can meet their expectations, although they have to pay additional expenses. The spread of popularity and invent of new health care patterns launched in the market are the by-products of self-reflexivity process reflecting the power of agency in an individual to transform the structure, which is the objective phenomenon of duality of structure. One obvious example is the saving system. Many never-married women today start putting their savings in other financial institutions other than banks because of higher return and more privileges in terms of tax deductions, and premium-free coverage period such as saving in the form of savings insurance system in lieu of deposits in a bank account. The consequence of structural transformation is the competition of various types of saving system which commercial banks market their products in the same pattern as those of life insurance companies and attract investors by persuading them to invest in mutual funds like LTF/RMF, or even widely broadcast propaganda campaign on TV. All in all, it results from the response to an individual's abstract system.

Regarding risk and uncertainty in modern society, the society in this era is a society full of opportunities as well as different types of risks. Life in a big city like Bangkok is a kind of opening up opportunities for never-married women. Many never-married women move from rural areas to live in Bangkok in order to find educational and career opportunities and stability in life. Many of those from rural areas decide to relocate in Bangkok because they are getting used to the convenience of urban life. Even though they want to return to their hometown, they have no idea what they are going to do because their educational qualifications are more consistent with city work. In the case of returning to their hometown to spend a peaceful life with their families, that would be after quitting from work and saving up enough money to guarantee stability in life. Some never-married women who are Bangkok residents by birth wholeheartedly accept that Bangkok is a dangerous and insecure city, but are willing to spend their lives for similar reasons. Such phenomena well reflect an image of a city of opportunity in the facet of risk. In summary, since every single woman has to unavoidably live her life in risky surroundings all the time in all areas, whether in public places or even in private zone like her own home and residence, she tries to

manage risks in the most careful manner. Anxieties about risks happen all the time and occur along with "femininity", because what never-married women worry most is safety in terms of travel, housing, and participation in activities with others (Chasteen, 2004). This confirm that risk and uncertainties in this context not only come for the character of modernity society but also character of single status especially status of single women. It may be because the influence of customs and morality that used to be a protective shield for women in the society, who are interpreted as weak/fragile and deserve/need protection and special care, is decreasing. This pushes modern never-married women to face of both modernity risk and siglism risk which is called in this study as ***"modernity-singlism risk"***.

The findings in this study reveal that many never-married women need to spend more money for safety reasons—buying their own vehicle in the belief that it is safer when they have to return home late or it can help protect them from danger of using public transportation services; staying in an expensive hotel in the belief that it provides better security system. In addition, they apply every method to keep themselves safe in most situations such as changing route though it is time-consuming, especially risk in interaction with strangers or those of opposite sex who use several approaches to lure them in order to take advantage of them. Only one method they can be safe from such risks is "self-reliance" by means of having useful information to manage risks, because depending on others such as a boyfriend or a lover, or existing external systems—security systems in public or in own residence—may not be able to help them in time when facing a life-or-death situation. From the experience shared among never-married women, those being able to avoid such risky situations relied on themselves, especially behaving themselves in careful manner and limiting their safety zone, such as not going to risky areas, or doing the least risky activities, but in turn, never-married women have to limit themselves in some bounds or areas because of the fear and anxiety about their safety. For example, many never-married women feel like going upcountry alone by themselves, but cannot make it because of fear and anxiety about traveling alone; therefore, most never-married women's leisure-time activities are activities performed at home, shopping, activities using technology via the Internet, smart phones or computers. Eventually, these activities affect their health problems.

However, the interesting thing in this issue is the feeling or assessment of what is called risk for never-married women that each single woman has a different perspective. At times, some never-married women consider one situation as the most risky, whereas other women consider it as not risky at all. For example, traveling at night is considered by many never-married women as a risk that must be managed somehow in order to avoid the risk. Some decided to buy a vehicle/car; some decided to stay overnight at the office and returned home in the morning. Some travel at night as a habit and do not perceive it as a risk even though the risky surroundings exist or do not change and the risk is still there. The feeling of risk decreases because risk perception changes, and eventually affecting risk response method. Some never-married women admit that they are not quite careful of themselves, because they do not feel or consider it a risk. Such phenomena reflect the role of self-reflexivity process never-married women assess surrounding context, and in turn, never-married women being in a similar situation differently respond to the situation. Some think it is a problem; some are in trouble and must do something to transform the situation, whereas some consider it a normal practice, deal with the situation and live their lives normally. For example, working under quality assurance system existing in every field and type of organization makes most never-married women feel very uncomfortable as it is obvious to them that their workload has increased and more time is spent. To some never-married women, the system is seen merely as window dressing and does not give any benefit to their working life. On the other hand, some never-married women do not run into trouble with such system, because the system does not transform their work patterns or increase their workload. What they are doing at present is not different from the workload done under quality assurance system. The feeling of whether the system is a problem for never-married women is a matter of self-reflexivity process of which the steps begin from interaction, monitoring, rationalization, leading to interpretation, and finally, reflection (Turner, 1986).

In addition to monitoring or rationalization of risk, levels of risk or feeling about the problem are viewed differently. Although never-married women rationalize the phenomenon as a risk, but the feeling of stress, distress, or desire for the transformation is different. Considering it as a problem, some never-married women are stressed but not distressed and can still accept and live under such situation,

whereas some are anxious and want to be free from the situation. For example, some never-married women suffering from their illness make every effort to be free from illness by performing more self-care activities until they overcome their long-term illness, whereas many of them are aware of their illness, feel uncomfortable to live with the illness, but are not distressed. At times, they can cope with it and learn how to live with their illness. In case of work, for example, secretarial work requires interaction mainly between a secretary and her boss. Never-married women who are secretaries feel that working with a boss is tough, demanding, and meticulous work, especially working with a powerful/authoritative boss, or having the feeling of master-servant relationship more than that of boss-subordinate relationship, that is, they have to act as caretakers and are always wrong-doers to the boss. However, they consider it a duty that they must be responsible and continue doing their duties without feeling distress or making an effort to change their work. Likewise, never-married women who have no partner think that they must stay single for life. Some feel that singlehood is somewhat a lonely life. They are considerably worried about their future life, but do not struggle for and try to build intimate relationships with someone only because they want to be free from such situation. In terms of risk and uncertainty in modern society, self-reflexivity process of never-married women takes an important role in such phenomenon.

2) The Role of Self-reflexivity Process

Self-reflexivity process plays an important role not only in building up confidence as well as transformation in abstract system and structural transformation but also in risk assessment, problem assessment and levels of problem awareness. These roles lead to never-married women's health and social life problems, because without the function of self-reflexivity process, social structure of modernity cannot be the only one determinant to determine never-married women's health status or social lifestyle. Modernity creates conditions, whereas self-reflexivity monitors and responds to conditions. The response patterns are the real factors determining health problem(s) and social life. It is made through careful thought and deliberation and be defined as ***"deliberated self-reflexivity"***. This self-reflexivity process to the context of modernity will creates their identities through social lifestyle which is called, in this study, as

"bipolarity self-identity", because they have multiple identities in aspects of work, life in general and building intimate relationships. Each of their identities resulting from self-reflexivity to modernity is polarized into two different paths; their choice of path depends on the processes of interpretation, reflexivity, and different factors facilitating the reflexivity. This group of never-married women has specific identities in various aspects under each aspect of social life reflecting their choice of social life and link to their health and illness experience.

One obvious example is the response to lifestyle affecting health which never-married women assess such situation differently. In the case of office syndrome, never-married women in this study have computer-related work or activities; however, not all of them have experienced the illness. The illness of those who are ill results from continued use of computer in the same posture, because they place more importance on success in work, not the change in posture, whereas those who have not experienced the illness always relax themselves and change their posture by walking to converse with nearby colleagues, relaxing their eyesight by looking at a flower pot on the desk. Many never-married women have the Internet in their houses for easy access to information and being able to continue their work if necessary, whereas some decide not to have the Internet in their houses so that they can relax, remain free from work and do other activities without depending on such tool. Therefore, it may not be absolutely correct to conclude that never-married women have to work harder since work can be done anywhere anytime through such tool, because there are conditions in relation to the response to lifestyle.

The next question is what regulates self-reflexivity process to make never-married women perceive/rationalize, interpret, and reflect on/respond to such phenomena differently. The answer based on Giddens' concept would be different resources each single woman has. How each single woman reflects on/responds to a situation depends on resources which Giddens conceives that an actor/agent/agency uses in the interaction processes within the contexts of time and space. Resources help support individuals to accomplish what they require, because they need available resources to perform everyday activities. The available resources may be in the form of objective or subjective which enables people to undertake activities or interact with someone as they require. The resources here help gain power, but power is not

resources, because the available resources are used to give individuals power to achieve the target. Resources are used every time when an individual interacts with others to help the individual have power to monitor others' activities (Ritzer and Goodman, 2003). Never-married women's resources here vary in the form of information received, social status, economic status, and never-married women's social network. For example, work status can affect the response to health phenomenon. In case never-married women are civil servants having medical benefits in State health care facilities which have limitations on easy and fast access to receiving medical treatment, they manage to have easier access such as receiving medical treatment through a special clinic, or hiring someone to get a queue card to reduce waiting time. No matter how they manage resources, they have to pay extra expenses. Never-married women working in private enterprises having other types of health care benefits other than social security can access health care facilities they think are of better standard and provide more convenience, whereas never-married women who have only social security benefits may have to receive medical treatment in the hospital in the social security scheme only, since they have no other choice and do not want to pay additional expenses.

Many never-married women have resources in the form of social network making them feel stability in life, for example, one single woman thinks her financial stability has improved after she has had a boyfriend who persuades her to invest her savings not only in other saving systems besides banking due to better return but also in mutual funds which can increase profit. Nevertheless, she also has to run the risk. On the contrary, resources in the form of network have impact on health. For example, one single woman who has known many acquaintances through network enabling her to have an opportunity to try too many medical products and dietary supplements, and eventually, she has had (side) effects from them.

However, we must admit that "money" is the most important resources for never-married women. Many working women try to save as much money as they can for stability in their future lives in the belief that their future lives will be stable, because they can use their savings to pay for caregiving expenses and attract their future-to-be caregivers. Resources are therefore extremely important factors in never-

married women's self-reflexivity process which is a significant determinant of health problems resulted from the conditions of living in modern society.

10.2.2 The Application of Anthony Giddens' Concept to Explain Phenomena

Anthony Giddens' concept in relation to modernity and self-reflexivity process is applied to explain never-married women's health phenomena in this study. Interesting issues that should be considered are the interpretation of the concept, the differences of social contexts between social phenomena mentioned by Giddens and the context of Thai society, and the description of the impact of modernity in a concrete manner.

1) The Interpretation of the Concept

Anthony Giddens is one of the contemporary sociologists whose concept is applied to explain a diversity of social phenomena today, especially Theory of Structuration, partly because of the contents of his concept critiquing the concepts in previous era that placed the importance on structure and agency—too much of either one. In addition, his concept is quite flexible to be applied to considerably fit with the phenomena of contemporary society; therefore, it is seen that his concept is applied to explain social phenomena in various areas/fields—business, marketing, management within the organization, and communication and technology.

However, the limitation of applying Giddens' concept to explain phenomena is likely to begin from the interpretation of his concept. Although Giddens tried to explain or demonstrate the phenomena to link to evidence-based information supporting the concept, the contents of the concept can be variously interpreted. Such interpretation draws up guidelines for applying the concept to explain phenomena; researchers in each area/field have their own methods to apply the concept and link to their research work.

For the researchers, applying the concept of modernity and self-reflexivity to explain never-married women's health phenomena by interpreting and linking to phenomena is based on understanding and experiences as well as consistency with the phenomena. In (his work entitled) *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the*

Late Modern (1991), Giddens attempted to point out the characteristics of today's society as a stage of late modernity or high modernity, and emphasize the people living in such period as reflexive agency, and phenomena reflecting the characteristics of self-identity of the people in today's era in terms of pure relationship or the transformation of intimacy. Based on such concept, the researchers interpreted it to be the description of the objective feature of Structuration Theory using high modernity in lieu of social structure, and self-identity in lieu of agency. The researchers applied Giddens' concept of late modern society from his relevant works to be used as a framework for describing the structure of modern society influencing many aspects of never-married women's life in this era. However, the researchers chose to apply the concept of self-reflexivity instead of self-identity as a variable to explain such phenomena, because such mechanism is a key factor that causes never-married women living in similar life contexts to have different lifestyles or impacts conducive to building self-identity which is individual characteristic. All result from reflexivity process toward the same structure but in different ways. If there is any inconsistency or different viewpoints in explaining the phenomena, it will be because of the limitations on the interpretation made by the researchers

Apart from applying concept based on a different interpretation, another important limitation in this research is to develop objective indicators from abstract concept, which involves a matter of interpretation as well. The obvious example is to identify the objective of abstract system/expert system to be used as a framework for collecting evidence-based data of the said issue, because abstract system can be variously interpreted, and it is difficult to fully define the objective of such system. The issues that the researchers raised in the study including systems in relation to health, work, life in general, and relationships are only some parts based on the researchers' interpretation. There may be other important systems which are not mentioned here. The term "system" results in the issues raised in this study rather associated with formal systems, because it is more obvious to be called abstract system, and in turn, neglecting some existing systems that do not present a clear view.

The complexity of applying Giddens' concept to explain the phenomena is to introduce "duality of structure", the important key of Structuration Theory, that is, what to do to demonstrate the interactions between structure and agency in a concrete

manner, which in here means the role of self-reflexivity process. Self-reflexivity process reflects the fact that social structure of modernity is a structure influencing never-married women's health phenomena. However, never-married women's self-reflexivity process to respond to such phenomena is the determinant of what type of lifestyle or situation or self-identity never-married women finally choose to have or be. The thinking process in concrete manner can be seen from wordings, statements or replies never-married women gave to express their thoughts on the phenomena. For example, "… frankly speaking, I do not give it much importance …", or "… it is not such a problem, I can live with it …", and so on. All these thoughts will eventually lead to never-married women's decision making, for example, "… have not seen the doctor yet …" or "… willing to pay out-of-pocket expenses ….", and so on. The researchers attach the importance to never-married women's quotations because they can well reflect self-reflexivity process.

2) Differentiation of Social Context

The difference of social context between the phenomena happened in the society Giddens mentioned and the context of Thai society may be considered as another limitation of applying the concept to explain the phenomena. One of the key issues is that Giddens views late modern society as a society in which people are relatively free from traditional institutions that used to be a strict framework for leading people's lives in the society. People in modern society seem to be forced to make their own lifestyle choices by trying to build or discover their self-identity, but at the same time, are under the control of abstract system or expert system instead. The researchers view the same case in Thai society that individuals are under new norms in the form of abstract system or expert system which they are not forced to follow, but willing to follow within the framework of abstract system or expert system because of trust. It may not be trust in such systems at the individual level, but at the level of the social group having an influence on such individual. The findings show that never-married women, in many cases, do not trust or satisfy those systems, but they cannot avoid them. Even though they have a reaction against the systems, they cannot refuse not to follow since the systems are defined and trusted by authoritative personnel, as clearly seen in the case of monitoring and quality assurance system that was

implemented within organizations. Evidence-based information reveals that only a few satisfy and trust such system, but they have insufficient authority to transform the system because power relationships in Thai society provide never-married women with little opportunity for bargaining power and system transformation.

Life under the influence of abstract/expert system may not be based on trust. In practical, individuals in Thai society are not yet free from the hold of traditional institutions. As a result, never-married women in Thailand do not have full freedom or cannot form self-identity as they wish, as clearly seen in the case of building intimate relationships which never-married women's decision making is shaped by traditional family ideologies or influence, thus making them have a hard time in fighting with their own ideology instilled by abstract system. For example, modern educational system focuses on making individuals struggle, be responsible for their own lives, and achieve success in life, whereas according to traditional family ideology, males and females are for each other and should be together to make a perfect match. Consequently, never-married women have a difficult time in making a decision on such matter. Besides the issue concerning relationships, the role of traditional institutions also overlaps abstract system today in the work context, for example, master-servant relationship which forms never-married women to be under the control of a new form of management system together with a deeply embedded patronage system in Thai society difficult to be transformed. The application of Giddens' concept framed under different sociocultural context affects different explanation of phenomena.

3) The Impact of Modernity

Although Giddens has proposed the concept of modernity through many pieces of his works including *The Consequences of Modernity (1990), Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age (1991), The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies (1992), Runaway World: How Globalization is Reshaping Our Lives, (2002), On the Edge: Living with Global Capitalism, (2001),* and *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order (1994)*, and so on, most of them mainly describe characteristics, patterns, and components of modernity in today's society, whereas

merely little of the consequences of modernity was mentioned. They were not clearly stated even in *The Consequences of Modernity (1990).* The issues mentioned were only risk and danger in modern world, mostly the impact of high consequence risk such as nuclear war, environmental impact or global economic problems, which are macro-level effects. Illustrations/Examples or consequences of modernity affecting an individual's daily life, especially in relation to health are hardly provided or mentioned. Giddens briefly mentioned in *Runaway World: How Globalization is Reshaping Our Lives (2002)* that modernity can have an impact at the individual level in terms of diet, medicine, and marriage. However, he did not clearly demonstrate how modernity impacts on them. In this study, the researchers attempt to demonstrate the impact of modernity, the responses directly affecting never-married women's health, and the effects/impacts through the transformation of lifestyle under social structure of modernity.

10.2.3 Lessons Learned from Research Methodology

The researchers have learnt various aspects of the conduct of research from this study research, especially data collection in terms of data collection methods, marking (geographic) boundaries of data collection, and the definition of never-married women.

1) Data Collection Methods

During the data collection sessions, the researchers changed some data collection methods by using autobiography to suit the characteristics of the sample group and for the informants' convenience. In the first stage, data collection coupled with in-depth interview was conducted because some never-married women wanted to tell their stories through writing, or in the case that some never-married women feeling unfamiliar could tell their stories better in writing than in speaking. The researchers therefore gave the informants the questions/a questionnaire so that they could write as much as they please. Many of them were willing to do and gave cooperation in doing so. However, due to time constraints and added burden to the informants, the researchers finally stopped using this method. In addition, it was rather difficult to obtain the information and created too much disturbance to the informants. Besides,

some never-married women selected as the samples declared their intention to be interviewed with their friends or siblings; therefore, other than in-depth interview individually conducted, a group interview was carried out with some informants who had chosen whom they wanted to join in the interview, thus changing the interview to be like a casual, lively conversation, and creating not only a more relaxed atmosphere but also an opportunity for never-married women to share their experiences. Nevertheless, how much information shared depends on the relationships among the informants, because it is possible that some personal information may not be disclosed, such as romantic relationships with their lovers.

This was the first study the researchers tried collecting data through networking system. A website was developed for obtaining preliminary data used for sample selection, and URL was emailed and forwarded to a network of a friend group in which women meeting the sampling criteria are between the ages of 30 and 50. A considerable number of never-married women answered the questions and the researchers had sufficient samples to be selected. Even though there was system failure while they were answering the questions, thus receiving incomplete information, it could help facilitate easier communication. What went beyond the researchers' expectations was that outsiders other than never-married women in a friend group also replied to the questionnaire, because anyone using network system can access data on the network system. Nonetheless, the instructions in the questionnaire could help screen out only some of those who were unqualified for the study. Although only some were screened out, there was no effect on data collection for screening the informants.

2) The Definition of Areas and the Boundaries for an Interview

Originally, the researchers marked the boundary for the study only in Bangkok business zone, thinking that it would clearly be the most reliable indicator of modernity, but after screening the samples, the researchers found out that physical space did not express the true meaning of modernity, especially the important characteristic of modernity, here talking about time-space distantiation. Therefore, the researchers needed to expand the boundary for the study to cover all Bangkok areas for clearer boundaries, though it was still not the most reliable indicator of modernity

that anything can be possible through network system. Similarly, never-married women's work boundaries were originally marked only in Bangkok area, but were later found out that many never-married women are working in suburban areas, but their residences are in Bangkok area, and have to commute from home to work every day. Geographic boundary has no effect on designating the sample group; therefore, the researchers open up an opportunity for the samples living or working in any part of Bangkok area.

3) Definition of Never-married women

The researchers formerly defined the term "never-married women" in this study as women who have never been married before or used to cohabit with someone as husband and wife without formal ceremony but conventionally accepted and socially known. The term defined is a broad and comprehensive definition for most of all groups of never-married women. However, during data collection sessions in the field, the researchers found that some never-married women refused to give an interview, though they had agreed to do so earlier, because they entered into a marriage ceremony and have changed their marital status. Some women gave their interview a few days before they got married. Besides, one single woman is uncertain of her status and told us the truth on the day she gave an interview that her official status to others (not close to her) is single, but to herself, her close friends, and her family members, she has been cohabiting with her lover/partner and is waiting for her lover's readiness to arrange a formal marriage ceremony. She was willing to give information; many of her interesting perspectives were useful for this study. The other woman is in the same situation, but her family and people around her have not known about the relationship. Another woman is uncertain whether she meets the sampling criteria for this study, since she does not cohabit with her boyfriend or engage in sexual relations, having the relationship which cannot be called a "lover", but "friend" to outsiders or even to herself. However, he is a very special friend to her, feeling special bonds. Even though they work or live independently, deep in her mind, she knows that she cannot separate from him and must fervently support each other.

From such experience, entering into "marriage ceremony" seems to be the key indicator of the change of marital status as it is officially announced to public

about the change in marital status of the women. Thus, the researchers decided to give the definition of never-married women in this study as women who define their self-identity as never been married person even though they used to cohabitate with someone as husband or not, because the definition of singlehood given by the society in some phenomena affects the actions or interactions between the society and never-married women, such as work, assignment, workload, but at the same time, the definition of the same given by never-married women also affects the responses to phenomena, such as life in general and intimate relationships with their lover, and so on.

10.3 Recommendations

The study findings reveal the issues that should be recommended to all concerned in order to create new conditions conducive to never-married women's good health and quality of life as follows:

1) Abstract systems today can be beneficial to a great number of never-married women's lives—a variety of life contexts, including health, work, financial management, and stability. However, the systems supposed to be beneficial cannot make never-married women trust/confident enough to make full use of the systems. One obvious example is social security system directly affecting never-married women's health, and they have to pay substantial sums of money in exchange for such benefits. Therefore, the issue all concerned should strongly consider is to remove any existing limitation. If they ignore and let the system run as it currently does, it will cause health problems not only at the individual level but also at the national level. The findings have revealed that never-married women pay personal expenses on health considerably, because they cannot use the existing health care services. Simultaneously, other types of health service systems, for example, private health insurance is developed to compete with social security system and gain consumers' trust. In the long term, even hospital entrepreneurs give more cooperation on such systems than on the existing social security system.

2) Besides social security system, a health service system in relation to female reproductive system is another issue that should be considered, because nowadays, a great number of women are ill, suffer and die of reproductive system diseases. Either unmarried or married women are considered a risk group, but never-married women have more limitations than married women to access to screening system and receiving medical treatment. Considering it a good method and having the intention of disease prevention, relevant agencies try to provide them with the information about the danger of diseases that might occur to them and launch a health screening campaign for every group of women. On the contrary, health care delivery methods do not meet health service providers' expectations. Thus, both health service providers and users seem to have disadvantages. Therefore, care delivery services taking account of the characteristics of singlehood as well as health benefits covering

physical check-up other than medical treatment should be an option for never-married women to have easier access to such health care service.

3) Apart from health-related abstract system, there are also other systems used in other contexts, for example, quality assurance system implemented to maintain corporate quality management system standard. In principal, the system can help increase the efficiency of the organization; however, in practice, it lowers staffs' morale in working. Therefore, it is essential that the assessment and implementation of the quality assurance system run in parallel, because the system can be operated only by the people working under the system, and they must carry out the operation with understanding and full cooperation, not by being forced by the authority. Otherwise, negative consequences will eventually ensue on the organization due to a waste of resources.

4) In terms of fringe benefits, for example, since one-pattern fringe benefits are provided, never-married women do not receive as many benefits as married women. The benefits plan actually includes family coverage, generally meaning, employee's spouse and child, whereas never-married women have parents or siblings as "family members"; therefore, they cannot receive such benefits. However, no substitute is provided for them either. Additionally, in the case of leave benefits, pregnant women can take maternity leave, whereas never-married women cannot enjoy the benefits, but no substitute is provided either. Similarly, never-married women cannot enjoy child benefits and there is no institute. It is therefore another issue that agencies concerned should reconsider.

5) In addition to employee benefits, social welfare is very important for never-married women, such as tax deductions or welfare for stability in the future, for example, housing or community services for single elderly women who do not have any grandchild to care for them, especially welfare services to help build confidence that they can maintain stability in life even without a spouse or grandchildren. There are a lot more of this type of the elderly today, and it is likely to increase in the future due to the increased ratio of never-married women.

6) Regarding high-risk systems such as a system in relation to saving and financial management chosen by never-married women, it is essential for them to have precise and complete information. Many never-married women have unavoidably

become involved in the systems without having factual information on benefits, risks, and the burden they have to bear thereafter, because they were persuaded by their close relations or urged by a sales representative of the product. Additionally, the sales representative as the staff of the organization is pressured to sell the product merely because of the entrepreneurs' intention to sell their product. Therefore, there should be other monitoring systems or consumer protection system for the ones unknowingly become the victim of these mechanism, for example, an organization giving investment consultation or assistance in case of injustice due to insufficient information about the product purchased, or in case that the entrepreneur intends to exploit the legal gap to seek unjust benefits.

7) A security system is another system never-married women need badly in order to create confidence in the safety of their lives and belongings. The security system in here includes never-married women's security in travel, housing, and life in general. Therefore, system improvement is the most essential as most never-married women perceive that safety risk is a major obstacle to their living.

8) Apart from the development and improvement of the systems beneficial to never-married women's health and life, providing resources or supporting them in resources is equally important, because resources have a key role in demonstrating the ability to respond to the systems. The most possibility of supporting never-married women in resources is to provide information and create networks beneficial to their health and life. A wealth of health information diffusion is scattered and cannot guarantee its reliability, so building an information society specifically for never-married women is an interesting channel/option, or creating single woman network in various areas for information exchange and experience sharing essential for living in a risk society. Since never-married women must be self-reliant, information or networks linking to a good living is an alternative to dependency for them.

9) The Participatory Action Research is interesting for the further research because it can expose potential of never-married women in knowledge management to save their life in modernity society at present time. Moreover, it can create network of never-married or single women for sharing essential information related to health and security in this society.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE ON WEB

(For screening never-married women enter to research)

Sawasdee kha

My name is Patrapan Tamdee. I am currently studying my PhD at the faculty of social science and humanities Mahidol University. I am working as a lecturer at the departement of sociology and anthropology, faculty of social science of Kasetsart University.

I am doing a PhD researh on the topic of "never-married women: health and social life", which studies the state of wellbeing of never-married women in the present modern community, which present risks and chances. The study requires the data by interviewing selected group of never-married women who work in Bangkok who are also able to be a modern social agents. Therefore, I would like to request your help to introduce and recommend us persons who fit the qualification of the study. I would like to thank you for your kind cooperation in filling this questionnaire.

In this first stage, I start to collect information through questionnaire distribution and Internet survey to find qualified case study that are willing to participate in next stage of the study. The next stage would be telephone interview and face-to-face in-depth interview. If you find this stage of questionnaire is interesting and you are willing to dedicate your time to give further information, please kindly fill your information and contact in this questionnaire. I hope I can have opportunity to exchange information in order to complete this project, and also share women experience in society, which normally are overlooked or undisclosed from public discussion.

I confirm that all names and other important information that can be linked to you are kept confidentially. It is going to be presented only for education purposes.

Thank you very much for your time filling this questionnaire and participating in the next stage of data collection. If you do not want to share any information for the study you can refuse to fill in the questionnaire and can cancel in other stage of data collection.

If you see that this study is interesting and useful, it would be much appreciated if you can forward this questionnaire to the eligible person that can fit to the study, so that it can cover various issues in the study. You may check the qualification from me.

Please click "Go" button below to start entry the data or close this page to refuse.

Mrs. Patrapan Tamdee
Department of Medical and Health Social Sciences
Faculty of Social Science and Humanities, Mahidol University

Please kindly "click" to answer the questionnaire or add more statement in the space provided. Please press "next" until you finish answering all questions.

1. Age ☐ years

2. Recently, do you regularly experience a chronic symptom of illness such as headache, sleepless, or any internal organ pain and/or disease such as cancer, gastritis, heartburn, etc?
   ☐ No
   ☐ Yes, please specify _____

3. In doing your daily activities, what kind of part of your body that you mostly use, for example sitting, standing, looked fixedly at computer, lifting, or other activities?
   ☐ Do not have
   ☐ Yes, please specify the activity_____
   please specify the body part _____

4. My daily sleep is approximately around_____hours

5. Kind of activity that mainly I pick to relax_____

6. Where do you live?
   ☐ parent's or relative's residence
   ☐ rent/own residence
   ☐ other (please specify)_____

7. How do you go to work (you can choose more than 1 answer)
   ☐ private car ☐ motorcycle ☐ shuttle vehicle
   ☐ train ☐ boat ☐ BTS/MRT
   ☐ taxi ☐ van ☐ walking
   ☐ other (please specify) _____

8. What time do you start to work and what time does work finish in your organization?

   Work starts around_____ finish around_____

9. Kind of work activity
   ☐ service work ☐ administrative work
   ☐ document work ☐ communication and coordination work
   ☐ accounting work ☐ other (please specify) _____

10. Have you ever been associated with someone you never know before from internet? (you can choose more than 1 answer)
    ☐ never
    ☐ yes, to find a new friend
    ☐ yes, to sell and buy things
    ☐ yes, because it is related to work
    ☐ yes, for entertainment
    ☐ yes, to collect information
    ☐ yes, for other purposes (please specify) _____

End of Questionnaire

I would like to thank you for your participation. If you think this study is interesting and you are willing to participate in further data collection, I would like to request your name and contact number and email so I can contact you.

Name_____
Mobile number_____
e-mail_____
convenient time to be contacted from_____to_____

Should you have more queries about me or the study please do not hesitate to contact me at the information below at any time.

Patrapan Tamdee
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laoniramai@hotmail.com
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APPENDIX B
IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDELINE
(For 45 never-married women)

1. Basic information of never-married women

- Biography
    - Please introduce yourself briefly such as family, parents, characteristic, education, present employment
- Present family life
    - In the present, how you engage with family?
    - In the present, what is your role and responsibility to yourself and family?
    - In your opinion, what is family expectation from you?
    - How do you response to those expectations?
- Attitude and Perception
    - What is your attitude towards being female, womanhood, single livelihood, and parenthood?
    - Do you live your life by your abovementioned answer to those attitudes? And why?

2. Health Information

- Illness record
    - Please describe if you ever have any special illness besides ordinary illness?
- Present physical and mental condition
    - How is your present physical and mental condition?
    - How will you assess your health state?
- Health Problem
    - In the present time, do you have any health problem, which affects work or living difficulties, or any specific illness?

- In your opinion, what causes those health problems?
- How do you handle health problem and its causing?

- Health security
  - In the present time, what kind of health security you have for individual and for other family members?
  - Do you satisfy with your current health security or health service system? Why do you feel that way? How do you response to it?
- Accessing Health service
  - Now what type of health service you have accessed?
  - Do you satisfy with health service use? Why do you feel that way? How do you response to it?
  - Have you ever feel mistreat in accessing health services? Please indicate the incident
  - Have you ever receive reproductive health check up for women? What type of treatment you received from providers?

3. Social living information

- Housing
  - How is your housing look like?
  - Now whom are you living with?
  - Do you facing any difficulties regarding housing? And how?
  - In your opinion, do you think your housing has enough security? And how do you protect yourself?
- Working
  - What is your main responsibility?
  - Is main repo Do you satisfy with your current health security or health service system? Why do you feel that way? How do you response to it?
  - Is existing responsibility and work expectations are similar or different? How is it?
  - How is your relationship with colleagues, supervisors, and sub-ordinates?

  - What are the problems and obstacles in work or in office? How do you handle those problems?
  - Do you have to bring work at home regularly? Why has to do that? How do you manage your personal and working time?
  - Is this present work suits you well? Why? How do you perceive your existing work?
  - How is present timework type affected to your lifestyle?
  - How importance of work? Do you have goal or plan on future working? How is it?
- Transportation
  - What time you regularly travel from home to office and travel from office to home?
  - Do you have travel accompany? How do you arrange it?
  - What do you think of security in terms of your travel route and transportation choice?
  - How do you arrange for safety trip?
  - What are the obstacles in order to go to different places? How do you handle those obstacles?
- Economy
  - Do you have to cover some family financially? At present, do you have someone that responsible for you or someone you have to be responsible to, financially?
  - Do you have to depend on someone else's money in any way?
  - Do you think at present your current income can support yourself?
  - Do you have a way to create an economic stability in your life?
- Social Interaction
  - Who are other persons do you associate beside your family?
  - Do you think you are a social person?
  - What kind of format of interaction do you prefer?
  - Do you like to meet stranger and how are you meet them normally?
  - How careful are you when having a contact with other people?
  - Do you think social interaction is important to your life?

  - Do you have any previous problems regarding social interaction with someone?
- Using Technology
  - What type of technology do you use everyday?
  - How significant is technology in your daily life?
  - How often do you use these technology and for what kind of purpose?
  - Do you have any problems in using technology in your daily activities and how do you manage these problems?
- Relax/leisure time
  - How many holidays do you have in 1 month and do you think your holidays are sufficient for you?
  - what do you do when you have your day off?
  - What are the influencing factors for recreation selection?
  - What are the constraints preventing you to select the kind of leisure activity that you want?
  - Are there any other persons who participate in your leisure time activity? Who are they and how do they participate?
  - What are the benefits the abovementioned leisure activity?
- Other social security
  - At present, do you have a life and health insurance and where do you get them?
  - Do you think that the welfare/benefit that you receive today is sufficient and create stability in your life?
  - Do you have problems in using welfare and what kind of problems do you have?
  - Do you think that you should receive better welfare and benefit more than what you have now?
  - Do you never experience discrimination in using welfare and benefit? Can you please explain?
- Other life experiences
  - What do you think about your life at the moment?

- What do you think the biggest obstacles in life and how do you manage to it?
- Do you think you are able to live with yourself?
- How do you plan your life in the future?

4. Experience in love life

- Can you explain your experience with boyfriend/girlfriend/spouse?
- What do you expect from your relationship?
- How influential is your family in determining your relationship?
- How do you respond to the expectations in relationship?
  - In case there is a partner/spouse
    - In what level is your relationship with your partner/spouse?
    - What are your plans with your current relationship?
    - What are the consequences with your relationship?
    - What do you think the important things to sustain your relationship?
    - How do you respond to abovementioned issues?
  - In case no partner/spouse
    - Do you feel any pressure from the family and friends regarding you do not have a partner/spouse?
    - How do you respond to this issue?
    - Do you still hope to have boyfriend/girlfriend?
    - Do you think being single is affecting your life?
    - How do you manage to such issue?

5. Image preservation

- How do you think of you image?
- How important is other people perception of your image?
- Which one is the most important, how you see yourself or how other people see you and why?
- What is thing needed for creating self-image?
- In creating your image, what is the most important part in your image creation?
- How does image affect your life?

APPENDIX C
GROUP INTERVIEW GUIDELINE
(For 45 general people who living or working in Bangkok)

1. What is modernity? What are the important factors measuring modernity?

2. How is the present time modernity similar or difference from previous modernity?

3. Is modernity in urban society different from other area? What is the difference?

4. Is it true that modernity is society of opportunity and risk? How?

5. How are the people in the context of modernity?

6. Do we have more freedom or more attached?

7. How is relationship of male and female in present time?

8. How is love, intimacy, marriage, or couple relationship in the present time?

9. What is the most important of living in modernity?

APPENDIX D
GLOSSARY
(New conceptualized concepts in this study)

1. Husky modernity:

Modernity which occurs only on the husk of society or superficial modernization that changes so rapidly that people in the society cannot cling to as firmly as old traditions gradually established in their way of life through gradual process. As a result, people under this context are living with confusion, hesitation, and uncertainty because double standard of norms are fused/mixed together, and simultaneously, fighting against each other, based on an individual's interpretation process, lifestyle choice, and response to various contexts associated with such standards.

2. Components of husky modernity:

The components of husky modernity have three specific characteristics**:**

2.1 Cosmo-metropolitan condition

A mixture of being universal and the metropolis under the influence of the progress of ICT as a center resulting in the change of interaction patterns among people in the society.

2.2Tradition-modernity contestation

Contestation between the influences of the two sets of norms, traditional institutions and ideologies deeply instilled in Thai society, and new norms named abstract/expert system suppoted by knowledge or expertise.

2.3Modernity-Singlism risk

Uncertainty and risk occurred from both characteristics of modernity and characteristics of single status or "singlism" which means prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination against single people or bias against people who are not married

3. Deliberated self-reflexivity:

Self-reflexivity process which is made through careful thought and deliberation, that is, taking risks gradually. Or “ready-to-take risk response”

4. Bipolarity self-identity:

Never-married women’s identity on reflexivity in the context which they live in aspects of work, life in general and building intimate relationships. Each of their identities resulting from self-reflexivity to modernity is polarized into two different paths; their choice of path depends on the processes of interpretation, reflexivity, and different factors facilitating the reflexivity. Every never-married woman has experienced the state of making a choice between alternative paths.

BIOGRAPHY

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