

## Family Socio-Economic Practices in Shaping Adolescent Sexual Behavior: An Ethnographic Study in Makassar City

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### Abstract

This study aims to understand how family socio-economic practices play a role in shaping adolescent sexual behavior in Makassar City. The research focuses on parenting patterns, social control, and the influence of economic factors on adolescents' access to information and interaction with their environment. This study uses a qualitative approach with ethnographic methods. Data were obtained through participatory observation, in-depth interviews with adolescents, parents, and community leaders, as well as field documentation. Data analysis was conducted using Spradley's ethnographic model, which includes domain analysis, taxonomy, component analysis, and cultural themes, and its validity was tested through triangulation of sources, techniques, and time. The results of the study show four important findings. First, the socioeconomic conditions of families influence patterns of interaction and supervision of adolescents, with economically disadvantaged families being more vulnerable to weakened social control. Second, permissive parenting patterns arise as a result of economic burdens, while families with stable economies are able to foster open communication and instill moral values. Third, economic status determines adolescents' access to technology and media that have the potential to increase their exposure to sexual information. Fourth, cultural and religious values within the family serve as important filters that can minimize risky sexual behavior, even in limited economic conditions. This study confirms that the interaction between socioeconomic, cultural, and religious factors shapes adolescents' habitus in managing their sexual behavior in urban environments.

**Keywords:** Adolescent Sexual Behavior, Family, Socioeconomic Practices.

### INTRODUCTION

Adolescence is an important transitional period from childhood to adulthood, marked by physical, psychological, and social changes. This age group has great potential as a demographic asset, but is also vulnerable to various reproductive health risks, including risky sexual behavior, teenage pregnancy, and sexually transmitted infections. According to the National Population and Family Planning Agency (BKKBN, 2021), adolescent reproductive health issues remain a national challenge that requires special attention, particularly due to increased access to digital information that is not always accompanied by adequate education.

Nationally, the profile of Indonesian adolescents shows differences in access to reproductive health information and services between urban and rural areas. In big cities such as Makassar, there is a diversity of social conditions: some adolescents receive family supervision and reproductive education, but others, such as school dropouts, migrant students, and street youth, experience limited protection (Ibnu, Wahjuni, & Devy, 2020). A recent study confirms that

street youth in Makassar are highly vulnerable to risky sexual behavior due to peer factors, lack of family support, and the influence of social media (SEEJPH, 2025).

Empirical research shows that adolescent sexual behavior varies from mild activities such as holding hands to premarital sex. Ibnu et al. (2020) found that narratives from adolescents in Makassar describe dating practices that develop into risky sexual behavior. Meanwhile, Chaerul, Yusriani, and Nurlinada (2022) noted that students living in boarding houses are more prone to premarital sex due to a lack of supervision. This phenomenon is reinforced by national data showing an increase in early sexual debut and unprotected sex (BKKBN, 2021).

Several studies highlight the determinants of adolescent sexual behavior. First, the knowledge factor: adolescents with low knowledge of reproductive health are more likely to engage in risky behavior (Nigerian Postgraduate Medical Journal, 2023). Second, the role of the family: a lack of open communication between parents and children contributes to low behavioral control (Mediawati, Yosep, & Mardhiyah, 2022).

Third, peer and media influence: research in Makassar shows that peer pressure and exposure to social media encourage sexual behavior among street youth (SEEJPH, 2025). In addition, life skills such as the ability to refuse sexual advances and self-control are negatively associated with risky sexual behavior (Mediawati et al., 2022).

The family is the first social unit where children learn values, norms, and behaviors. From the beginning of life, the family provides the main space for children to form their identity while learning the rules that apply in society. Adolescence, which is full of biological, psychological, and social developments, makes the role of the family even more important because the family not only functions as a provider of basic needs but also as the main agent of socialization that instills values and norms through daily interactions. As stated by Cui, Bi, Zhou, Zhang, and Ma (2023), a well-functioning family is correlated with an increase in prosocial behavior in adolescents, while family dysfunction can increase the risk of maladaptive behavior.

The quality of relationships within the family, including communication between parents and children, has a significant influence on adolescent behavior. When communication is open and supportive, adolescents tend to have better self-control and are better able to avoid risky behavior. Conversely, closed and conflict-ridden communication often creates emotional distance that causes adolescents to seek influence outside the family. Findings by Muthmainnah, Devi, Khoiriyah, Nadia, Putri, and Tristanti (2023) through a scoping study show that in Indonesia, good communication between parents and children plays an important role in preventing premarital sexual behavior, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic, when access to digital information has increased rapidly.

In addition to communication, parenting styles applied within the family are also very decisive. Authoritative parenting styles, characterized by warmth and firmness, tend to produce adolescents with adaptive behavior. Conversely, permissive or authoritarian parenting styles are associated with more risky behavior. The results of a meta-analysis conducted by Niu, Li, King, Rost, Wang, and Wang (2023) found a significant relationship between parenting styles and problematic adolescent behavior in internet use, which in a broader context, can be

interpreted as a form of behavior directly influenced by parenting patterns.

Socioeconomic factors also play a major role in determining the quality of parenting practices in families. Families with higher socioeconomic status are usually able to provide more resources, such as educational facilities, health services, and self-development activities that support the formation of adaptive behavior in adolescents. Conversely, families with economic limitations often experience psychological stress and limited parental time, which tends to reduce the quality of parenting. A study conducted by Yang, Xiang, Hu, Zheng, and Zhao (2025) shows that parental involvement in positive activities for children, such as sports, is an important mediator between the family's socioeconomic status and the mental and physical health of adolescents. On the other hand, a systematic review conducted by Gautam, Dessie, Rahman, and Khanam (2023) confirms that low socioeconomic status is closely related to poor health behaviors in children and adolescents in various countries.

The Indonesian context provides a clear picture of the relationship between socioeconomic conditions and parenting practices. Mitra, Mahkota, Ismainar, Basrowi, Marlina, As Syifa, and Triana (2025) found that sociodemographic factors such as maternal education and family income are closely related to parenting patterns, which in turn affect child development outcomes. Although the study focused on stunting, its implications can be extended to adolescent behavior, where parenting patterns influenced by economic pressures have the potential to increase vulnerability to various risky behaviors.

Family socioeconomic conditions, including education level, employment, and economic status, have a major influence on the formation of adolescent behavior. Wu, Shen, Shen, Liao, and Yu (2024) assert that "family socioeconomic status is closely related to parenting styles, and these parenting styles mediate children's mental health literacy and interpersonal relationship quality." These findings suggest that parental education not only increases access to information but also influences communication patterns and openness within the family.

Economic status also determines the extent to which families can invest in education and positive activities for adolescents. Lu, Wang, and Wu (2024) emphasize in their research that "mismatches in

socioeconomic status between families and schools can increase aggressive behavior in adolescents, although strong parent-child relationships can mitigate these negative effects." This shows that economic limitations have not only material but also psychosocial impacts.

Research in Indonesia also shows a similar mechanism. Andriyani, Biddle, and De Cocker (2021) noted that during the pandemic, families with economic limitations found it more difficult to control their children's screen time and physical activity, resulting in an increase in sedentary behavior. Thus, factors such as education, employment, and family economic status are interrelated in shaping parenting patterns that ultimately influence adolescent behavior. In the last decade, families in Indonesia have faced new challenges in educating adolescents due to shifts in values, culture, and the influence of digital media. Exposure to social media among adolescents not only affects communication patterns but also changes the way they build their identity and social relationships. Rahman, Jane, Ngandoh, Saputri, and Karima (2023) show that "adolescents in Makassar use social media for several hours every day, and this intensity of use correlates with their level of self-esteem." This condition confirms that digital media is not only a medium of entertainment but also an arena for the formation of values and behaviors that often conflict with traditional family norms.

In addition to the influence of technology, the socio-economic conditions of families play a major role in shaping adolescent sexual behavior. A study conducted by Ibnu, Wahjuni, and Devy (2020) in Makassar found that adolescents' narratives regarding risky sexual behavior are greatly influenced by limited family support, peer pressure, and access to digital information without guidance. These findings are in line with the analysis by UNICEF, UNDP, Prospera, and SMERU (2021), which emphasizes that "the economic crisis in households increases children's vulnerability to risky behavior due to reduced parental supervision and increased parental stress." Thus, the main issue of this study is how families with varying socioeconomic conditions deal with shifting values and the influence of digital media in shaping adolescent sexual behavior in the city of Makassar.

Understanding the socio-economic practices of families is crucial for formulating appropriate family education strategies and public policies. Wu, Shen, Shen, Liao, and Yu (2024) emphasize that "the socio-

economic status of families is closely related to parenting styles, and these parenting styles mediate child development outcomes. In other words, effective intervention strategies must be tailored to the socio-economic realities of families to increase adolescents' resilience to external influences, including digital media and global culture.

In terms of methodology, ethnographic research is particularly relevant for exploring the meanings, daily practices, and experiences of adolescents and families in depth. As stated by Mediawati, Yosep, and Mardhiyah (2022), qualitative studies allow researchers to "understand the relationship between life skills, parenting practices, and sexual behavior risks in adolescents by emphasizing the subjective experiences of participants." Thus, ethnographic research not only provides a mapping of the phenomenon but also reveals the cultural and economic dynamics underlying the formation of adolescent sexual behavior in Makassar City.

## METHODS

### Research Approach

This study uses a qualitative approach with ethnographic methods. This approach was chosen because it is suitable for understanding the socio-economic practices of families and how they shape adolescent sexual behavior in a deep and contextual manner. Ethnography allows researchers to be directly involved in the daily lives of informants, thereby producing thick descriptions of parenting practices, family economic strategies, and the dynamics of adolescent social interactions (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019).

Epistemologically, this study is based on an interpretive paradigm, which views social reality as the result of meaning constructions formed by families and adolescents. Therefore, the main data collection techniques are participatory observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. This approach is relevant because adolescent sexual behavior is proven to be influenced by family, economic, and socio-cultural factors (Vasilenko et al., 2022; Burhanuddin, 2021).

### Research Location

This research was conducted in Makassar City because this city represents the socio-economic diversity of families and the complexity of urban youth life. The location was selected purposively, taking into

account the phenomenon of family economic practices that have implications for adolescent sexual behavior. According to Sugiyono (2020), the determination of the location using the purposive technique was based on certain considerations in line with the focus of the research.

### **Research Subjects and Informants**

The research subjects were adolescents aged 15–19 years living in urban areas of Makassar. The research informants included adolescents as the main focus (subjects). Parents or family guardians (key informants). And community leaders/educators (supporting informants). Informants were selected using snowball sampling, as described by Bungin (2020), which is a technique used to find informants who truly understand the phenomenon. This approach is relevant in ethnographic research because it allows researchers to obtain in-depth data from the informants' social networks (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019).

### **Data Collection Techniques**

Data collection techniques include Participatory Observation, to understand the socio-economic practices of families in the daily lives of adolescents. In-depth interviews to explore the meanings and experiences of adolescents and their families' views on sexual behavior. Documentation, in the form of field notes, family archives, and statistical data related to adolescents. According to Sugiyono (2020), qualitative data collection is carried out through interviews, observation, and documentation simultaneously to complement each other. Bungin (2020) adds that participatory observation allows researchers to uncover social symbols hidden behind everyday practices. Internationally, modern ethnographic methods emphasize the integration of these techniques to build a contextual understanding of adolescent experiences (Pink et al., 2021).

### **Data Analysis Techniques**

Data analysis in this study used Spradley's ethnographic analysis model, which includes domain analysis, taxonomy, component analysis, and cultural themes. These stages help researchers uncover the socio-economic meanings of families related to adolescent sexual behavior. Sugiyono (2020) emphasizes that qualitative data analysis is carried out from the beginning of data collection, with the processes of reduction, presentation, and conclusion drawing. Bungin (2020) adds that qualitative analysis should be directed towards finding meaning and

patterns of social interaction. Internationally, Creswell & Poth (2021) assert that ethnographic analysis emphasizes the interpretation of cultural meanings that emerge from the experiences of research subjects.

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## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

Based on the introduction using the above research, the results of this study can be classified as follows:

### **The Socioeconomic Conditions of Families Affect the Interaction Patterns of Adolescents**

This study shows that family socioeconomic conditions have a significant influence on adolescent interaction patterns in Makassar City. Families with economic limitations tend to provide less supervision and intensive guidance to their adolescents because parents' attention is more focused on meeting daily material needs. In this situation, adolescents are more often involved in activities outside the home, either helping with the family economy or socializing with peers in public spaces. This is in line with the findings of Vasilenko, Lefkowitz, and Welsh (2022) that family economic pressures often reduce the intensity of parental control, so that adolescents seek more interaction and social validation from their peer groups.

This reduction in parental supervision has implications for the shift in social control functions from the family to the external environment, especially peer groups. Peer groups become the main source of information, values, and behavioral norms, including in matters of sexuality. An international study by Ali, Merdad, and Bellizzi (2021) confirms that adolescents from low socioeconomic backgrounds are more

vulnerable to risky sexual behavior due to weak family supervision and strong peer influence. In the local context, research by Wahyuni et al. (2024) also found that the weak role of the family in providing education and supervision increases the tendency for adolescents to engage in premarital sexual behavior.

However, the results of this study also reveal variations between families. Not all low-income families exhibit permissive parenting patterns. Some families are still able to maintain strict supervision because they have social capital in the form of extended family support, involvement in religious communities, and social networks in the neighborhood. This condition confirms Bourdieu's view that social practices are not only determined by economic capital but are also influenced by the social and cultural capital possessed by families. Thus, economic limitations do not automatically lead adolescents to risky behavior, as long as families still have strong socio-cultural filters.

These findings reinforce the concept that interactions between economic, cultural, and religious factors play a role in shaping adolescent habitus. Economic influences do play a role in reducing the intensity of supervision, but cultural and religious values internalized by families can function as additional social controls. This is in line with Sejati's (2022) meta-ethnography, which states that parenting based on cultural and religious values can suppress premarital sexual behavior among adolescents, even if parents face economic constraints.

From a practical perspective, these findings show that interventions to reduce risky sexual behavior among adolescents should not focus solely on improving family economics. Economic empowerment programs must be accompanied by efforts to improve parents' capacity in family communication, time management, and sexuality education based on local values. In addition, community involvement, schools, and peer education are needed as supporting factors, in line with international studies' recommendations on a multi-level approach to preventing risky sexual behavior (Ali et al., 2021; Vasilenko et al., 2022).

The results of the study show that the socio-economic conditions of families significantly influence the interaction patterns of adolescents. Families with economic limitations tend to focus on fulfilling material needs, resulting in reduced supervision and guidance for their adolescent children. This has an impact on increasing the likelihood of adolescents

seeking attention outside the home, including through relationships with the opposite sex. In this context, families play a role not only as economic institutions but also as arenas for the formation of values and social control.

These findings are in line with Astuti's (2020) study, which shows that families with economic burdens tend to have limited communication with their children, making adolescents more vulnerable to forming emotional relationships with outsiders. Similarly, Jessor's (2021) research in the Journal of Adolescent Research confirms that economic factors are an important determinant in adolescents' vulnerability to risky sexual behavior, due to weak family supervision.

In addition, field research findings also reveal that families with upper-middle economic status tend to be able to provide more intensive supervision through open communication and the instilling of moral values. This is in line with Bungin's (2020) opinion that the quality of family relationships is determined by socio-economic capital, which influences the effectiveness of social control within the family.

Furthermore, an international study by the WHO (2022) emphasizes that adolescents' vulnerability to sexual behavior is influenced by a combination of economic, social, and cultural factors. In the case of Makassar City, cultural and religious values have proven to still play an important role as a filter that helps reduce the risk of adolescent sexual behavior, despite limited family economic conditions. Thus, the results of this study confirm the importance of the interaction between economic factors, parenting styles, and cultural values in shaping adolescent habits.

### **Parenting Styles and Social Control in the Family**

Parenting styles are one of the important factors in shaping adolescent sexual behavior. Research shows that permissive parenting styles often arise from parents' economic fatigue. High workloads make parents tend to neglect control, allowing adolescents more freedom to interact without clear boundaries. As a result, social control within the family weakens, opening opportunities for adolescents to engage in risky sexual behavior.

This finding is in line with Rahmawati's (2021) research, which states that parents who are economically stressed are more likely to use permissive parenting because their energy is consumed by meeting basic needs. Similarly, the results of a study by

Gopalan et al. (2020) in Child & Youth Services Review explain that permissive parenting is closely related to an increase in deviant behavior among adolescents, especially in social and sexual contexts.

Bungin (2020) asserts that weak social control within families causes adolescents to seek alternative authority figures outside the home, either through peer groups or digital media, which are often unregulated. Meanwhile, according to Santrock (2021), permissive parenting not only weakens parental control but also reduces adolescents' capacity to internalize moral values, making them more susceptible to environmental pressures. In the local context of Makassar City, weak parental control due to economic burdens shows how family socio-economic practices directly influence parenting styles. However, strong religious and cultural values serve as a counterbalance, so that some adolescents still have moral boundaries even though they receive less intensive supervision.

The results of the study show that families with stable economic management have a better capacity to provide supervision, open communication, and strong moral values to their teenagers. Economic stability allows parents to focus not only on meeting material needs but also on the emotional, educational, and social supervision aspects of their children. This condition differs from low-income families, where economic limitations often reduce the intensity of family interactions. Susanti's (2020) research reveals that families with economic stability have a higher tendency to establish dialogical communication patterns with adolescents, thereby enabling more effective supervision. Similarly, Santrock (2021) emphasizes that the quality of family interaction is greatly influenced by economic support, as financial stability allows parents to be physically and emotionally present.

Furthermore, the results of international research by Chen & Yu (2022) in the Journal of Family Studies show that families with upper-middle socioeconomic status are more consistent in applying authoritative parenting, which is a combination of strict supervision and open communication, which has been proven to reduce risky sexual behavior in adolescents. Meanwhile, Bungin (2020) explains that economic factors are not only related to purchasing power, but also shape "social capital" that enables parents to be more intensive in instilling moral values and building social control.

In the context of Makassar City, families with stable economies appear to be better able to balance their roles as providers of material needs and educators of moral values based on religion and local culture. This provides a more solid foundation for adolescents in facing environmental pressures and the influence of digital media. Thus, stable family economic management has proven to be an important supporting factor in guiding adolescent sexual behavior towards a healthier and more responsible path.

### **The Influence of Economics on Access to Technology and Media**

Research has found that families with upper-middle economic status tend to give their teenagers greater access to gadgets and the internet. This access opens up opportunities for teenagers to gain knowledge, entertainment, and a more diverse social network. However, greater access also increases the risk of exposure to sexual content, cyberbullying, and deviant behavior.

This condition is in line with the findings of Hidayat (2021), which explain that family economic status is positively correlated with digital device ownership and internet usage among urban teenagers. International research by Livingstone & Byrne (2020) in the Journal of Children and Media also shows that children from families with stable economic conditions are more exposed to digital technology, thereby increasing their opportunities to obtain both positive and negative information.

In addition, according to Bungin (2020), developments in communication technology can shift the patterns of adolescent socialization, in which families play an important role in guiding the use of digital media. If not accompanied by social control and moral values, open access to technology can encourage adolescents to explore sexual behavior without supervision. In line with this, Valkenburg & Piotrowski (2022) emphasize that the intensity of digital media use is closely related to the formation of adolescent identity and sexual behavior, especially in the context of an increasingly open global culture.

In the context of Makassar City, upper-middle-class families who are able to provide technological facilities should also strengthen their role in control and communication. Without adequate supervision, open access can actually erode the cultural and religious values that have long served as filters for adolescent sexual behavior. Therefore, economic factors that

facilitate access to technology must be balanced with adaptive parenting patterns so that digital media functions as a source of knowledge and positive values, not a trigger for risky sexual behavior.

In low-income families, even though access to gadgets and the internet is limited, research shows that peer groups have a more dominant influence in shaping adolescent sexual behavior. Limited parental supervision due to economic pressures causes adolescents to seek emotional support and self-identity through interactions with peers. This is in line with the findings of Nurlaila (2022), who states that adolescents from poor families spend more time outside the home with their peers, so that their values and behavior are more influenced by their peer group than their family. Research by Desmond et al. (2021) in *Youth & Society* also found that peer groups play a major role in shaping adolescent sexual behavior norms, especially when family control is weak.

In addition, according to Gunawan (2020), peer groups can function as a “secondary family” for adolescents, where they gain recognition and a sense of belonging that they do not get at home. However, this often becomes a gateway to risky behavior, including premarital sexual behavior. International literature support from Brown & Larson (2020) confirms that in conditions of economic hardship, peer groups become the dominant agents of socialization, replacing the role of the family in the process of adolescent identity formation.

The context of Makassar City shows a similar phenomenon, where adolescents from low-income families spend more time with their peers in public spaces or informal communities. Cultural and religious values remain present, but their influence is often weaker than peer group pressure. Therefore, peer groups in this context can be seen as a determining factor that either strengthens or weakens adolescent sexual behavior, depending on the quality of the interactions that are built.

### **The Role of Cultural and Religious Values as Filters**

The results of the study show that although economic factors have a significant influence on adolescent sexual behavior, cultural and religious values within families in Makassar still function as a strong social barrier. Religious values passed down through regular religious practices, such as recitation of the Quran, congregational prayers, and involvement in the mosque community, serve as a moral control

mechanism that restrains adolescents from risky sexual behavior.

These findings are in line with Hamzah's (2021) study, which confirms that the internalization of religious values within the family functions as a moral filter that strengthens adolescents' resilience to environmental influences. In addition, Fitriani's (2020) research also reveals that local traditions such as siri' na pacce among the Bugis-Makassar community still influence adolescent behavior, especially in relation to social control over sexual behavior. From an international perspective, King & Boyatzis (2020) in the *Journal of Adolescent Research* state that adolescents who grow up in religious families show a delay in engaging in sexual behavior, because spiritual values strengthen self-control. Similarly, Parker (2021) emphasizes that religion and culture can function as “protective factors” that limit adolescents' exposure to risky sexual behavior despite strong pressure from the media and peer groups.

Apart from religion, cultural values in Makassar, which still uphold family honor and social dignity, act as an indirect control mechanism. Adolescents feel bound by collective norms that prioritize family pride, so that premarital sexual behavior is considered to tarnish their honor. Thus, even though families face economic constraints, cultural and religious values remain a social fortress that shapes adolescents' habitus in managing their sexual behavior. This study found that families who integrate religious and cultural values into their parenting styles can reduce risky sexual behavior among adolescents, even if their economic conditions are limited. This integration is evident in the daily practices of families in Makassar who emphasize religious values, such as the obligation to worship together, moral supervision based on religious teachings, and advice passed down from generation to generation through local culture. Customary values, such as respect for parents and strong prohibitions against behavior considered “shameful to the family,” serve as social mechanisms that also limit adolescents' behavior outside the home.

These results are in line with the findings of Hidayah (2021), who explains that the role of religion in Indonesian families is not limited to the spiritual dimension but also functions as social control in facing modern challenges, including adolescent sexual behavior. Furthermore, international research by Hayat et al. (2022) confirms that families that successfully

internalize religious values can create a protective environment that limits the risk of adolescents engaging in premarital sex even though they live in economic hardship.

In addition, local customs such as siri' na pacce in Bugis-Makassar culture still have a strong binding force, especially in families with economic limitations. This is in line with Nasirudin's (2020) view, which emphasizes that cultural values act as a moral filter that remains relevant in the context of globalization. In fact, an international study by Ansari & Almutairi (2023) shows that communities with strong traditional values are better able to control adolescent sexual behavior than societies that tend to be secular. Thus, although economic factors are an important variable in influencing parenting patterns, families in Makassar prove that the integration of religious and traditional values can be an effective social safeguard. This parenting strategy, based on religious and local cultural values, can serve as social capital in preventing risky sexual behavior among adolescents, while also becoming a cultural practice that maintains social cohesion amid the challenges of modernization.

## CONCLUSION

This study shows that family socioeconomic practices play a significant role in shaping adolescent sexual behavior in Makassar City. Families with economic limitations tend to experience a decline in supervision and permissive parenting patterns, thus opening opportunities for adolescents to seek attention outside the home, including through relationships with the opposite sex. Conversely, families with stable economic conditions are better able to provide supervision, open communication, and strong moral values, thereby minimizing risky sexual behavior.

Other findings show that economic factors also influence adolescents' access to technology and media. Adolescents from middle- to upper-class families have broad access to gadgets and the internet, which can be a means of learning but also opens up opportunities for exposure to sexual behavior. Meanwhile, in low-income families, limited access to technology makes peer groups more dominant in shaping their sexual behavior.

However, cultural and religious values have proven to remain effective as a social safeguard. Families that have successfully integrated religious and traditional values into their parenting patterns have

been able to curb risky sexual behavior among adolescents despite their limited economic circumstances. This shows that, in addition to economic factors, religious values and local traditions such as siri' na pacce remain an important filter in maintaining the morality of adolescents in Makassar.

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