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THE INFLUENCE OF RADIO BROADCASTING
ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT

by

SAKDA PANNENGPETCH

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Anthropology
University of Durham
1984.



27 APR 1984

ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with radio listening habits and their effects in the economic, cultural and political spheres in Northern Thailand. The three villages under study are situated in different geographical settings and achieved different levels of modernization.

Radio influences all aspects of life. By diffusion of new ideas it prepares listeners for acceptance of innovations. Radio also helps villagers more directly with advice and special educational programmes to adopt new techniques at home and new agricultural methods. It makes education more generally available and this in turn affects traditional elites, who used to have the monopoly of education. To keep their position and remain the best informed, they must listen to the radio even more regularly than other villagers.

Though people listen to radio more in the most traditional and isolated village, they find it difficult to make full use of the new ideas. The most modernized community nearest to the town has many other diversions and other means of gaining information, so that radio is less important there. The effect of radio is most significant in the middle community, still traditional, but with reasonable communications with the outside world.

Not all the effects of radio listening are positive. Advertisements arouse desires for goods which the people cannot afford and in the absence of any consumer movement there is no impartial advice available on the quality of the goods advertised.

Nevertheless radio has great potential and the Government could use it more intensively, and in preference to the usual administrative channels, when introducing new development projects.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My grateful thanks are due in the first instance to the villages of Ban Mon Khao Khew, Ban Naa Dong and Ban Lang. Their generous hospitality made my research not only possible, but enjoyable as well.

While at Durham, I have benefitted from the help of many people. I am particularly grateful to Dr. R.H. Layton, who took over supervision of this revised thesis, providing invaluable and scholarly advice, as well as encouragement, friendship and the hospitality of his family. I would also like to thank Mr. D.H.M. Brooks, Dr. M.B. Carrithers, Dr. J.E. Dandler, Dr. R.A. Foley and Professor N. Long whose suggestions were of great help in the formation of the thesis. Without their expert teaching and advice, this thesis would not have been possible; those faults and errors that remain, however, are my own.

Furthermore, I have greatly valued the kindness and friendship of Bob, Joanna and Rosie Simpson and Frank Ennis. To my former Supervisor Miss M. Kalab and to Professor E. Sunderland I would like to express my thanks for their help, especially during the early parts of this study.

Thanks are also due to the following members of staff of the Computer Unit, the University of Durham, who have dealt very generously and patiently with me; Mr. B.R. Lander, Mr. M. Munro, Dr. M. Whitton and Dr. W.R. Williams.

During the revision of my thesis, St. Cuthbert's Presbytery, Durham City, has been my home. I owe a debt of great gratitude to the Rev. Fr. J. James and all those at the Presbytery who showed me such supportive kindness and generosity throughout the final months. I would also

like to express my thanks in particular to Mr. D.H.M.. Brooks and Dr. J.E. Dandler, who at a difficult stage, arranged financial support and accommodation for me. Financial support during this period also came from the Leche Trust, the two congregations of the United Reformed Church in Durham, the Department of Anthropology and the Graduate Society of the University of Durham. I wish particularly to acknowledge the help and encouragement of Dr. J.V. Major, the Deputy Principal of the Graduate Society.

I am greatly indebted also to the Rev. J. G. Turner, The Rev. Ian Jagger and Mrs. Gale Jagger who did wonders with my rather idiosyncratic English; also to Mrs. M.A. Chipchase and Mrs. P.A. Russell for their painstaking work on the typescript and diagrams respectively.

There are many others who in various ways have helped with the production of this thesis. Their names are too numerous to record, but I am grateful to them all.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Lampang province lies towards the north of Thailand. It is a land of fertile, emerald-green fields and is surrounded by ranges of smoky blue mountains. Approaching one of its many villages in the warm light of dawn, we can see smoke escaping into the cool air from the roof of every dwelling; the villagers have awakened, and life has started for the day. Together with the smoke from the kitchens, the sounds of breakfast being cooked, the crying of babies and the coughing of the old men and women, can be heard the voices of announcers and the sound of music from the villagers' radios. Somehow the smoke rising from the houses in such remote rural villages as this one seems to stand as a symbol for the most important things in the villagers' lives; it suggests warmth and shelter, food to be cooked, the domestic life of the family. But what about the radio which is turned on at the same time as the fire is lit? In what ways is it important and meaningful for these people?

It is my aim in this thesis to response to these questions by investigating the significance of radio broadcasting in rural development in remote northern Thai villages. The purpose of the thesis is to establish the context in which radio operates, and to explain why broadcasting has a significant role in rural development in northern Thailand.



1.1 Fieldwork amongst rural northern Thai villagers

I decided to focus my attention on three villages in Lampang province because this province is the centre of northern Thailand and the centre of all kinds of communication services for the rural northern Thai people, including radio broadcasting, which is the principal means by which people gain knowledge and information. On the other hand, the rural northern Thai people have a long cultural history and distinctive traditions. With respect to the interaction of these two factors, the continuity in rural northern Thailand interests me as much as the change.

My fieldwork started in January 1979 and lasted until the end of the year. When I returned to Thailand from Britain, it was the middle of the harvesting season. I began my study by collecting data and information concerning the area where I would be going to stay, and making a preliminary survey of all the villages in the province.

For comparative purposes, I attempted to select villages with different ecological settings within the project areas. It was also proposed that villages at varying distances from main centres of urban and administrative activity be chosen, the intention being that some insights be obtained concerning the effects and impact on village societies and economies of the distance from urban centres. One of the objectives of my study, for which I accumulated data in my field study, is to contrast radio usage in villages with and without electricity.

In order to concentrate on the different geographical location and the other factors mentioned above, I attempted to find villages which have similar population size. The general background of the three villages and their demography will be presented in the next chapter and other various scatters in this thesis. Generally, I spent a certain period of time equally in each village. My sketch plan is a period of four months for each village. By average I stayed in a village for about 7-13 days and then moved to another village. This is because I would like to live with villagers of the three villages in each season throughout the year equally in order to participate in their social and economic activities. However, at special occasions such as during the new year ceremony from the 10th. to 15th. of April, I travelled from one village to another more frequently by spending one or two days in each village of my study. In addition, because to travel to the most remote village of the three, Ban Lang, takes about twice the time it takes to go to the other two villages, I therefore tended to stay in this village 10-13 days more often than in the other two villages to cover the time spent on travelling. Nevertheless, evenly, I spent the period of time as planned in each village throughout the duration of my field study. The data I have collected from my field study is derived from three main sources: the information recorded in a continuous diary written up every day, a detailed survey of total households of

the three villages in the fieldwork including some information from the Government district offices, structured interviews based upon the questionnaire I designed myself, and many unstructured interviews with villagers.

1.1.1 Participant Observation

By living with villagers in the three communities in turn, I spent much of my time engaged in what has been known as social anthropological participant observation, in order to obtain information concerning details of villagers' daily activities and their radio listening patterns. This was my principal aim when I collected material. By this I do not mean that other kinds of useful data have been ignored. Instead, any other observable activities were written in my daily diary in detail. By this means, I observed and participated in most parts of their social and economic activities, within the households, courtyards, between households of the same village and beyond, outside the village. I went with villagers on their journeys to town, to neighbouring temple ceremonial occasions and festival, to the factory, to market in town, to hospital, to visit their relatives and the like. On a number of occasions I joined their drinks, their meals, their conversation groups. Numerous times, I attended their ritual events such as weddings, funerals, new house celebrations, cutting of the top-knot ceremony, spiritual dances, medium trance healing etc. At social gatherings, village meetings, listening to sermons at the temple, domestic and farming works, I witnessed their relationships, quarrels, and

conflicts. Amidst these activities wherever and whenever their radio use, radio listening patterns, radio involvement, attitude towards radio etc. could be observed, I also noted down the relationship between their radio use and other activities into my diary. Indeed, during my stay in the field villages, much informal visitings and chance meetings and conversations occupied a great deal of my time. This information was also written up in my diary. In general, I was allowed to enter into friendly and co-operative relations with villagers to whom I returned my gratitude reciprocally. Nevertheless, there are certain topics of conversation in which villagers noticeably showed their reluctance or embarrassment at revealing matters in detail, which I shall present and discuss later in the text of this thesis.

1.1.2 The use of unstructured interviews, structured interviews and questionnaires

Apart from social anthropological participant observation methods, I received material data through another means of approach, structured and unstructured interviews in collecting certain basic kinds of data. For the structured interview, I used a questionnaire which I shall discuss first, and then I shall make a brief note about interviews.

In order to construct a guideline for basic information and obtain a detailed survey of households at the field work, I designed a questionnaire in consultation with the Department of Anthropology and the Computer Unit, University of Durham. Reference in this thesis rather

awkwardly and regretfully to "the questionnaire", "the guideline questionnaire for general information", "the special topic notebook", "the guideline sheets or notebook" etc., are to this questionnaire according to the context. Three main sections were created. One is of general information, the second is about mass media use in general, and the last section is specifically about radio use. After translation from my own original English version into the northern Thai language had been completed when I arrived in Thailand, the translated version of the questionnaire was developed in consultation with personnel in the National Research Centre, Thailand. The questionnaire was revised twice after pre-tests with a group of sample villagers in a village. The final version was a structured combination of free-response and close-ended items, i.e. limited choice responses (Backstorm and Hursh, 1963: 128; see also Monge, 1980).

1.1.2.1 The Pre-Test of the Questionnaire. I pre-tested the questionnaire before using it to accumulate data. Following the suggestions of Charles H. Backstorm and Gerald D. Hursh (1963), the method which I used for the pre-test was to select ten households in each village and two members of each household who were over fifteen years of age. As a result, I received answers from all sixty informants. Apart from differences in villages, there were differences in the type of informant. They were of different ages and sexes, of different educational, economic and social status backgrounds. I found the pre-test to be

useful and important for further stages in using the questionnaire.

From the use of structured interview and questionnaire, I obtained basic data indicating the situation in the three villages. In addition, the application and the results of the questionnaire made me go further in other inquiries. Occasionally, the results of these further inquiries were contrary to the findings of the questionnaire. For example, at interview villagers said they listen to radio alone, despite their observable preference for group listening; or, when answering about their income, villagers excluded non-monetized reciprocal exchange in kind. These examples and others will be fully described and discussed where appropriate in the following chapters. Nevertheless, the use of the questionnaire is proved to be useful in various contexts, especially as the basic data indicator. For example, in a household where I had been several times, I observed only one radio receiver, but the answer I received when filling in my household detailed survey notebook was that they had three radios. The other two radios, about which I would have never acquired information without using the questionnaire, were in their daughters' bedrooms. Hence much further useful and informative data derived from the questionnaire guidelines was acquired through a further series of unstructured interviews made at the time of the field study. These were conducted particularly with individual villagers in representative positions both formal and informal,

such as the traditional leaders. I shall try to present this information in the text of this thesis. In fact, more material was collected than has been presented in the thesis.

In the resulting analysis of the data obtained I used a computer package called MIDAS (the Michigan Interactive Data Analysis System) (University of Michigan, 1976) mainly using cross-correlation functions, histograms, and correlation matrices to test and to consider the relevance and the feasibility of the questionnaire. The analysis is based on several independent variables mentioned above, both the geographical differences of the villages and differences in facilities, and the different backgrounds of the informants themselves. Much material data, for a variety of reasons, has been omitted. However, some information collected by structured interviews and household detailed survey is presented in this thesis in a condensed form by the use of tables. Although this questionnaire is not a perfect one and does not cover every detail of the influence of radio and rural development in Thailand, it is hopefully of use in pointing out the principal functions of radio and rural development and consequently, continuity and changes in peasant community which are to some extent the result of radio broadcasting. I would like to note here that these two methods: participant observation and interview, were employed for my field study and they are complimentary to each other. Data collected through the two modes shall, therefore, be used together in this thesis.

1.1.2.2 Interviews. I started the detailed household survey, the first section of the questionnaire, during the first three months of my field work. After this my presence was better settled and accepted. But I did not attempt the second and third section until after six months of my stay when my presence was well integrated with routine aspects of villagers' social life. Even though generally my informants gave me the impression that relationships with them were good and friendly, there was some awkwardness in using structured interviews and the questionnaire. From my experience of interviewing with and without the questionnaire, I would like to note briefly that rural northern Thai villagers are unfamiliar with the custom of the interviewer taking notes while asking them questions. One villager told me quite directly about this phenomenon that usually when the Government officials come into the village, they always come with a file in their hands and make notes. In general, the officials frighten people. Villagers mentioned that whenever they have been visited by the official they will have to pay either a large or small sum. After I realized this fact, I gave up using a file for the questionnaire when I went to see and interview villagers. I gave up even making notes in front of them. Usually, I went to see them in the same way as they would see each other. This casual process seemingly had a considerable effect. Villagers talked to me in a more natural way, and this

was how I actually arrived at what they were doing and perhaps thinking. I would start with a simple conversation and gradually get round to what I intended to ask them very informally. As soon as I arrived back at my shelter, I made notes and categorized their answers into the topic notebook or guideline questionnaire sheets. This way of approach by a form of informal conversation aided by a series of unstructured interviews with villagers as mentioned above is proved to be more practical. In general privacy could be obtained by telling them that since I wanted each person's own ideas, not those of other family members, it would be best to find somewhere we could be by ourselves. It seemed to me that every informant in the sample eventually accepted my request for privacy with very good grace. Also, it was usually easy to find an isolated spot such as underneath the house, in a buffalo shed, in a grove of trees, or if necessary on the buffalo-cart. However, because village notions of privacy do not apply to children, approximately one-third of my interviews were conducted with children in attendance at one point or another. The first time a child appeared, I made an attempt to ask him to go away. This, however, was usually useless. He would leave and then return.

Only the boredom of our adult conversation would eventually drive him away. In the case of nursing children, I would always wait until the mother was free, although if the child wanted to be breast feed during the interview, I would simply continue and ignore his presence. The mother

seemed to do the same, at least at the conscious level. My work was complicated by numerous small things which occurred in my fieldwork that had little to do directly with the research, but which often made an impact upon it; for example, a villager became obviously aggressive during the interview when he knew that I had just returned from seeing another villager whom he disliked. however, this kind of information, when it is available, is not uninteresting.

The types of help sought by villagers from the fieldwork varied considerably. Some wanted help in deciding whether it was more profitable to raise chickens or pigs; another wanted me to obtain information for him on the laws governing land ownership; another wanted me to find him a post as watchman at any office in town. Some of their requests simply could not be met, such as "Tell me some of the modern scientific ways to keep your body fit in order to have a young mistress when you are over sixty years old". It seemed to me that the vast majority accepted my presence in their village with a sense of involvement through which I became part of socio-political universe of village life.

During the time I worked in the villages, I encountered situations in which the district officials actively expressed disapproval or annoyance at my work. In one case, at almost the beginning of my stay in a village, the district officials arrested me, suspecting that I was a member of the communist underground. But after a four-hour

investigation and an interview with the provincial Governor, these difficulties were overcome. In another case, the agricultural officials thought that I was a detective from the World Bank who had come to investigate their work after the Thai national agriculture department had borrowed a great sum of money from the World Bank for agricultural investment.

When I first entered the village, they regarded me as a formal visitor, but my ability to speak the northern Thai language helped me to attain familiarity with them very soon. There was a villager who approached me with the proposition that he knew more about what was happening in the village than anyone else and that I should not believe what people told me until I had checked with him. He was knowledgeable about many kinds of rituals, but it seemed to me that the only reason for his offer of help was to satisfy his own self-image; which was threatened by my approach to the other villagers. Some of them, especially the old people, did enjoy my visits and had a sense of participation because they really liked to tell folktales or sing lullabies in order to have their voices recorded on the tape recorder, and the recording became nearly non-stop. This circumstance delayed my work a little.

One aspect of the villagers' attitudes deserves special mention. As I resembled local school teachers or other persons who have been to school in town, they perceived

me as an archan or a teacher. Although I lived with them as an ordinary person who was their friend and neighbour, this perception had significant effects, both positive and negative, on their behaviour during the interviews. On the positive side, it clearly indicated the seriousness of my business. This definition had a marked influence on their whole orientation to the interviewing situation in that they generally approached it with an attitude of earnestness and even solemnity. In fact, I had tried to create a very ordinary atmosphere in my interviews so that they would respond to the questions in a relaxed and easy manner. Usually these efforts were successful, and the interview proceeded as a well-balanced combination of seriousness and amusement. On the negative side, however, they would sometimes use their solemn definition of the interview as a means of resisting participation in it. Their resistance would take the general form of saying that they were only ignorant peasants who did not know much about anything, and if I wanted true information about their radio-listening and their way of living, I ought to see more intelligent villagers, otherwise their answers would spoil my results. Therefore, again, I had to emphasize that their simple ideas were what I needed. Sometimes, the informants foiled my questions by digressing or avoiding giving me a clear picture. This often occurred, and the villagers seemed not to be pleased when they were interrupted. Once when I interrupted a lengthy monologue

to clarify my purpose, an informant said "But I am telling you the background in order to give you simple answers"; in another instance the informant smiled and said, "I have told you I am not very intelligent". Many villagers were interested in interviewing, but at the first stage it was difficult for them to deal with the material.

There was the fact that those individuals whom I regarded as my warmest friends were not necessarily my best informants, in fact, some became inordinately anxious and evasive while being interviewed. On the other hand, some villagers whom I had not seen so often responded to these tasks with obvious enthusiasm. Even the villager who complained about my having wasted his time was a good informant in the sense of involvement and responding to the questionnaire. It is clear, however, that the villagers who liked me became the most approachable of all informants, and were more ready, at least initially, to accept my interview requests.

1.2. Theoretical Frameworks

The purpose of this thesis is to study the role of radio broadcasting as an agent for socio-economic change with reference to the particular types of innovation and development this medium makes possible. This study is based upon material collected from three agricultural villages of rural northern Thailand in 1979.

For most purposes in this study, the term "radio broadcasting" can be defined as the method of mass

communication which uses wireless technology in order to transfer information from sender to receiver in the form of the spoken word. Therefore, "radio broadcasting", as used here, refers to a social process; the flow of information, the circulation of knowledge and ideas in human society, the propagation and exchange or the externalization of ideas and thoughts by radio. We are not concerned here with electronics and broadcasting technology but with radio as a means of communication.

In social anthropological terms "development", as distinguished from growth, is a process of institutional change. The term "development" should not be equated simply with "progress", especially when by "development" we refer to complex social, cultural and political processes which demand penetrating analysis and can be considered under many headings. Nor should it be equated in every circumstance with another related term, "modernization" (Gusfield, J., 1967; 132). Modernization has too often been equated with Westernization. This view is too limiting and inaccurate, because modernization varies greatly in different environments. Some feel that not all modernization is good, since the process of change may include pain and conflict (Black, C.E., 1966: 7). Eisenstadt (1973: 81-84) implicitly identifies modernization with the constitutional and democratic form of government based on the Western European model and consequently considers the failures of constitutional democracy in developing countries to be the result of

the breakdown of modernization.

However, J. Gusfield's argument (1967: 131-135) is that existing institutions and values are not necessarily impediments to change and modernization. Old traditions are not always displaced by change. The modernization Gusfield describes does not have to weaken traditions. He feels that the quest for modernity need not destroy a healthy respect for tradition and may even find an ally in it. Traditions may be modified by the impact of modern ideas, but a unified society makes use of them in its search for economic and political development. From this point of view, modernization is not simply synonymous with development but is rather a part of the complex developmental process.

The picture of development which has been given so far remains not only abstract but incomplete. Academic definitions of the term vary from one school of sociological opinion to another and there remain wide areas of disagreement. The issue is of course complicated by the fact that development can be measured by no single criterion. All sorts of variables such as literacy, education, and political participation must be taken into account (Foster, G.M., 1962: 196-202).

From the range of literature and contemporary discussion about "development" we can discern two main lines of thought. First, one group holds to the view that development is closely concerned with the national economic status,

the gross domestic product, the average income, the distribution of income etc. According to this idea, development should be centred on both the agricultural and industrial products of that nation, and by this means, the scale of the national product will be the measure of the level of development. However, another group tends carefully to consider the quality and standard of living rather than the figures which indicate economic products. Inevitably the two approaches overlap, but the latter group believes that a community can be improved and developed without much change in its economic structure, because in their opinion development includes literacy, health, and equal rights for all. They believe that people can improve their standard of living by developing what they already have, and learning to make the best use of their local resources, as we can see in the work of N. Baster (1972), G.M. Foster (1962), J. Gusfield (1967), F.J. Baker (1973), and D. McGranahan (1958). Therefore, this means the flow of information and the role of communication will play a significant part.

In fact, the two principles are closely related, and each side, economic advance and rising standards of living, has effects on the other, and their interaction is just like interwoven fabric. The matter of greatest importance is how well informed and how well prepared people are for facing or undergoing development. Many underdeveloped countries become rich very rapidly when

their national economy flourishes, due to recently discovered natural resources. Because people have not been prepared for this kind of rapid economic growth, there is much deplorable wastage of these valuable resources. At the same time people become materialistic without realizing any real improvement in their quality of life.

Some of the findings of prior research provide a number of tentative working hypotheses to guide my approach:

(a) Considerable changes may be expected in the economic welfare, traditional culture, politics, and characteristics of rural northern Thai village communities as a result of their radio usage (Baker, F.G., 1973).

(b) Considerable differences might be anticipated in the use of radio, the attitudes towards it and the programme preferences of different sample groups depending on age, sex, level of education, economic status, and ethnicity (minorities in northern Thailand) (Mosel, J.N., 1963; Kaviya, S., 1971; Scandlen, G., 1978).

(c) Considerable variation might be expected in the use of the different mass media; radio tends to be used more than other media and tends to have more significance than the others among villagers (Lerner, D., 1958; Schramm, W.L., 1964).

(d) New ideas and knowledge acquired through radio appear to encourage villagers to accept innovations in their domestic habits, agricultural practice, medicine, and other areas of life (Rao, Y.V.L., 1966; Pool, I., 1966; Rogers, E.M., 1962, 1976).

(e) It is possible that radio may be affecting individual attitudes in a way that has consequences in the shape of changing social norms, while the reverse may also be true, i.e. that the impact upon society of new ideas produces structural changes as individuals strive to conform (Jamison, D.T., and E.G. McAnany, 1978).

(f) Apart from the direct access of radio broadcasters to the listeners, some other factors may emerge which help radio to achieve its objective successfully or which obstruct the adoption of new innovations following on listening; these are variables such as the isolation or otherwise of certain communities, the ease or difficulty of transport, the level of income, electricity distribution to the area, and government contributions to the villagers (Schramm, W., 1958; Unesco, 1960, 1979).

(g) In these traditional communities, a conservative, reactionary attitude to change may sometimes be expected. There are confrontations between traditional belief and practices, and innovative agricultural, medical, domestic, and scientific technology. When this factor is taken into account, traditional ways of life may be seen to play a significant role in directing the process of change in these rural populations, especially with regard to the new ideas to which the community is exposed.

In some cases radio is the only news medium which reaches them from the outside world (Tirabutana, P., 1958; Blackburn, P., 1971). Previous theoretical and methodological research in the sphere of communication such as the work

of Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955), Lerner (1958), Schramm (1964), Rogers and Svenning (1969), Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) indicates four key questions can be anticipated:

1. How can broadcasting produce change in the rural, peasant community? 2. What is the extent of its influential impact in different situations? 3. What is the importance of radio to these people? 4. What is the proportion of instructive and informative programmes in the total broadcasting output which might have effect in this aspect?

Based upon data collected in the field study, I shall try to answer these questions by analysis of the mode of development of rural northern Thai villagers through radio, and to relate these modes of development to the economic and general social background of northern Thai peasants' life:

a) By exploring the attitude of villagers towards different radio stations and towards different kinds of programmes.

b) By examining the rural resident's motivation for listening to radio.

c) By investigating the villagers' use of radio, their radio listening habits and programme preferences, and what they expect of radio.

1.2.1 The Importance of the Problem

In Thailand, a country which can be categorized as "underdeveloped" or belonging to the "Third World", attempts at development projects have been made by the Government. However, policies followed so far have not been wholly

successful. First of all, instead of considering the nature of the country as an agricultural country and concentrating on the use of local resources to supply semi-industrial and agricultural national production, the Government has tried to change the national economic structures into industrialization based on the supply of raw materials from abroad (Donner, 1978: 50-212).

Secondly, the Government has concentrated on a centralized system of administration, education, communications, etc., which affects many development projects and has not helped to narrow the wide gap in the standard of living between people in urban and rural areas. Thirdly and finally, since the reformation of the administrative system throughout the country in Thailand during the reign of King Rama V., King Chulalongkorn, 1868-1910, Government officials have been employed to direct development of the country (Bunnag, T., 1977: 37). The resulting top-heavy structure of Government offices and very numerous civil servants is prone to corruption and comes nowhere near to achieving the ideals for which it was created.

Although the national development report on the result of the development plan (1972-76) (Thai Government, the Prime Minister's Office, 1977) has shown that in general that plan achieved some satisfactory results, nevertheless when it is considered in detail, what has been achieved falls far short of the objectives cited. For instance, instead of all children of school age receiving education,

56.0% of all children did not have a chance to go to school in the year 1975, and the Government still does not have plans to deal with these children; in addition there is a big gap between the medical treatment received by urban people and that received in rural areas. There are 150 patients in urban areas to one bed in hospital, while there are 900 patients from rural areas to one bed, a 600% difference. In the capital there is one doctor for 1,621 patients, but in provincial areas there is one doctor for 30,863 patients. Moreover, the provision of clean water which is suitable for drinking reaches only 19% of the total rural population. There, as a consequence of this plan which concentrates on industrialization, the migration and mobilization of manual labour from the agricultural areas to industrial areas has increased rapidly. Donner argues that "...danger for the old kingdom will probably come not so much from outside revolutionary ideologies, but from a growing imbalance within - between natural resources and socio-economic requirements..." (Donner, 1978: 241-245). Furthermore, there are other urgent problems, such as the drift to the cities. This has two main causes. Firstly the apparent promise of an easier life draws many young people to the imagined glamour of the cities. Secondly, misuse of land, particularly, the indiscriminate felling of trees, the destruction of sources and even rivers, has led to increasing areas of infertility. The rising generation competing against the pressure for land have little incentive to stay in

the rural areas. This phenomenon can be seen most clearly in the north where the pressure on land is greater than elsewhere and where the sources of Thailand's greatest river the Chao Phaya and of other rivers are to be found (Office of the National Economic and Social Development Committee, 1976: 4).

At the same time, there are many effective means, other than the bureaucracy, to assist the diffusion of new technological ideas and development projects. Among these is the use of radio. The role of radio, the process and relationship between radio as a means of communication and development in the three broad areas of the economic, social, and political life of the nation, is two-way (Winfield and Hartman, 1963: 25). Changes in these three areas have affected the pattern of radio use: so too has the radio influenced development in all these areas.

In the developed countries of the Western world where many forms of communication have become established, radio plays a less significant role in the distribution of knowledge than television or other modern media, but in the third world or underdeveloped countries, the use of radio for the transmission of knowledge and the diffusion of news is of primary significance (Schramm, 1964: 127-129). However, the logical question arises: to what extent are national development and the use of radio related? The problem may conveniently be studied in the context of Thai society. Since Thailand is an underdeveloped country, with a very large percentage of illiterates and a very

low per capita income, how, it might be asked, should its people broaden their social and cultural horizons and be able to join actively in the country's efforts at development? Thailand, therefore, provided the setting for my field study. The small, remote rural villages like the ones described here provided a revealing and easily observed context.

1.2.2 Background reading

When compared with other countries in Asia such as India or China, Thailand has not been the subject of many far-reaching or intensive anthropological studies. For the Thai scholars themselves, most of their work in the earliest period of Siam is concerned principally with Thai history and concentrates on the lives of the kings and of their courts. Many of the records of these times were later destroyed by war and natural causes. Besides, there are many different versions of these historical reports, conforming to traditional literary styles, and into which many miracles and rituals of animistic beliefs have been inserted. Therefore, some versions have proved to be of limited reliability (LeMay, 1930: 56-82). Foreign observers and writers have tended to be interested in the life of common people and the geography of the country as well as the life in court and royal ritual or ceremonies, but the volume of work produced is much lower than that for many other regions and among Thai scholars themselves very little anthropological analysis of the Thai people has been undertaken. Similarly in the field of communications,

mass media, or more specifically, broadcasting, very little research work has been carried out. Among the earlier work on the mass media is that of Unesco (1956, 1960) and Usia (1960a, 1960b, 1961). In 1961, these international organizations conducted research on the basic communication habits of the Thai people by making a survey of the Government officials' role in communication. This research work merely explored and defined the broad outlines of the structure of organizations in communication.

In 1963, James N. Mosel published "Communication Patterns and Political Socialization in Transitional Thailand". His work can be seen as the first real study of the importance of mass communications in Thailand. He argues that mass communication is closely related to the promotion of change; and through mass media Thai villagers are able to modify the traditional and reinterpret the new so that compatibility (between the old and the new) becomes possible (Mosel, 1963: 185). Although he concentrated his interest on political change, inevitably there are a number of sociological observations and pieces of information derived by anthropological methods.

The next year, 1964, a group of communications experts, Milton Jacobs, Charles E. Rice and Lorand Szalay (1965) came to study the mass media system in Thailand. Significantly but not surprisingly, since it is part of state apparatus, they found that Thai people ascribe the broadcast media with great credibility. Moreover, they reported that villagers put more reliance on radio than newspaper coverage

of the news. This same phenomenon was found by Mosel, Noah and Usia. Like Mosel, this group applied anthropological methods in their study, participant observation, and the use of questionnaires.

Later, in 1966, E. Merle Glunt and George Stelzenmuller V., carried out research under the Usom projects on radio stations and radio frequency management in Thailand. They assessed the organizations and the nature or characteristics of Thai radio broadcasting. Programme analysis methods were applied, and a close study of various Broadcasting Acts was made. However, this study merely centred on one aspect, the radio station, the broadcasting system and the media organizations, without regard to the attitude of the audience, which is perhaps even more important, because the effect or the result of broadcasting is more pertinent to the audience than to the organization. According to Glunt and Stelzenmuller (1966: 17-23), the Public Relations Department is not authorised by the Radio Broadcasting Act of 1970, to direct a station to take a particular programme off the air. Nevertheless, the Public Relations Department has a responsibility to see that the programmes broadcast are in good taste and do not threaten public safety and security (Glunt and Stelzenmuller, 1966: 19). In 1971, Paul Blackburn claims that like the Thai social structures, the broadcast media are not rigid. Blackburn commented that Thailand has a decentralized commercial media system, the character of which "... in many respects mirrors that of Thailand's bureaucracy as a whole.." (Blackburn, 1971: 134). Blackburn

also referred to David A. Wilson's work (1962) in tracing the pattern of the extraordinary organization of radio broadcasting in Thailand and described it as the idiosyncratic administrative autonomy permitted within the Thai bureaucracy, in which each element keeps itself going through the manipulation of its own revolving fund (Wilson, 1962: 181-185).

In 1969, Lynn Noah studied the use of the mass media in a small village in the middle region, Phon Thong. Noah found that, for both the village elite and others, medium-wave radio is a far greater source than are written publications, of information which they remember and can discuss. Its growth is phenomenal, and its potential, especially if linked to personal contact through local institutions, is much greater than that of publications (Noah, 1969: 6). His discovery has uncovered interesting factors concerning the use of radio by different groups of villagers, although the writer would like to concentrate on the role of local leaders.

There are very few Thai scholars who have carried out studies of the mass media in Thailand. Among the most well known is Somkuan Kaviya (1971). He concentrates largely on the administration of the broadcasting system, without regard to the individual listener. His recommendations if followed, would result directly in an improvement of broadcasting in Thailand. Kaviya's findings provide very useful information for the Government, and like those of Glunt and Stelzenmuller (1966), but unlike

Blackburn (1971) he views the broadcasting system as a centralised organization.

Another Thai scholar, Ananda Sharuprapai wrote "Telecommunications in Thailand". In 1972 he conducted his study mainly on the history of the telecommunications networks, which includes the union of Thai broadcasting with Intelsat in 1966 and the network with European communications etc.

Recently, after Unesco had cooperated in adult non-formal education schemes in Thailand, there was a degree of research in this field, which is closely related to broadcasting, as they use radio and the postal service in the teaching process in this development project. One of these studies belongs to G.F. Rowland (1973), "Educational Broadcasting, Thammasat University". Rowland studies the role of the mass media, especially that of broadcasting in education. Most of his examples are drawn from the urban community. The main source for his study, the use of radio broadcasting for university lectures in Thammasat University, he limits the use of broadcasting in non-formal and informal education in rural areas (these are described in Chapter 4, below). However, he gives very informative details about the broadcasting system in Thailand, including the history of its development, information about the operation of the medium-wave Thai service, a medium-wave experimental station, and a short-wave overseas service.

In 1975, J.G. Thompson wrote "Thai Broadcasting".

His article principally concerns contemporary events in Thailand which affect broadcasting, particularly the important political events of 1973. He believes that after the overthrow of the Government in 1973, Thai radio improved. For example, the Public Relations Department broadcast all of the debate on the new constitution in the Interim National Assembly.

In the narrower scope of the subject, there are a few anthropologists and sociologists who have carried out a study of radio broadcasting in Thailand. Even though this aspect was only of minor interest to him, Kaufman (1977) pointed out that, in 1954, a radio was a significant piece of household equipment because radio was used as the main source of news as well as for musical entertainment.

In 1953-1954 Konrad Kingshill (1965) studied a village in Chiangmai province, "Ku D^eng: the Red Tomb". He concentrates on seven themes in his study; utility, profit, fun, individuality, communal responsibility, doing good, receiving good, and playing it safe. Although his work is centred upon these seven social values of the Northern Thai people, he mentions that inevitably the currents of change in modern technology and development will cause change in this society. He observed only one radio in Ku D^eng, and that was at the temple (1965: 217). He shows that radio had brought a new kind of music (1965: 223). In general he shows that the obvious medium which leads to changes in traditional villages is contact with towns.

Kingshill does not say much about the influence of radio, probably because in 1954 when he was carrying out his study, there was only one radio receiver in the village. Unlike Kaufman, when he went back there again ten years later he did not report how many radio sets the villagers had. In 1979 Sulamith Heins Potter carried out her work in Chiangmai, a Northern Thai province, investigating personal interaction among villagers, especially within kinship groups. She found that radio provides them with their principal entertainment during their hours of relaxation (Potter, S.H., 1979).

A review of the literature on mass media and rural development shows that a decade or so ago, there was much optimism and high hopes for the role that mass communication might play in fostering development in Latin America, Africa and Asia. The mass media, especially radio, were penetrating further into the mass audience of under-developed countries. Influential studies on communication and development, like Daniel Lerner's (1958) "The Passing of Traditional Society", and Wilbur Schramm's (1964) "Mass Media and National Development", Rogers and Svenning's (1969) "Modernization Among Peasants : The Impact of Communication", Rogers and Shoemaker's (1971) "Communication of Innovations" will be accordingly referred to in this thesis.

In addition, social scientists have been attracted to the study of development problems in spheres such as education, the economy, agriculture, politics, health

and family planning. To name but a few of these notable researchers, Malinowski (1945), Barnett (1953), Bailey (1967; 1971), Long (1977) provide the theoretical framework and methodological patterns for the discussion in this thesis.

However, there has not been much anthropological research work carried on the influence of radio broadcasting, in spite of its importance in bringing about social, economic, and political change at the village level and even in national development. This is an area, therefore, which my research hopes in a measure to illuminate. In my study, I principally use the data which I have obtained and collected from my fieldwork. In addition, in order to compare, discuss, contrast, or support my ideas, I have drawn upon information from other sources, particularly the research work about northern Thailand which has been carried out by the notable anthropologists whose work I have referred to above, and also a few others.

The question of the ethnic group, its social structure, the interpretation of symbols in traditional beliefs, the culture and ritual of the northern Thai villagers, is too complex to be dealt with in detail within the framework of this study. Nevertheless, it is my hope to refer to such factors to clarify the role and influence of radio on the rural development of the northern Thai people: sometimes to explain my ideas and sometimes to provide the background for my study and discussion.

In the present chapter I have attempted to provide

the necessary information about the methods I used in collecting material from my fieldwork and the theoretical framework upon which this thesis is based. In Chapter 2 the peasants' economic structure is presented. This chapter also includes important background information related to rural northern Thai socio-economic activities. Chapter 3 is centred upon the social structure of rural northern Thai community through which significant social institutions such as their organization of labour, religious beliefs and practices are illustrated. Chapter 4 provides a background to the history, organization and development of radio broadcasting in Thailand. The focus is upon the ideology and policy of broadcasting in this country, including information about the content of programmes broadcast. The use of radio is compared with other channels of mass communication. Chapter 5 concerns the related subject of villagers' radio listening patterns, giving general information about their use of radio and radio ownership. What is revealed is the way in which rural northern Thai villagers have a capacity for empathy stimulated by radio which helps them to modify their social status. This process in return reinforces the strength of radio. But, nonetheless, there are limits on the degree of adoption and some resistance to certain new ideas. Due to these factors within rural northern Thai community, change has been compatible with a degree of continuity. Accordingly, the significant characteristics of traditions of imitation and non-imitation which respectively provides or

obstructs receptivity to new ideas is discussed in Chapter 6. This leads to the study of the multi-step flow of information, the key role of rural northern Thai traditional leaders in the adoption of innovations. The use of radio in three different villages is discussed comparatively. Then Chapter 7 demonstrates the interaction between political culture and new political ideas. I argue, however, that in a certain context, there is a lack of integration between these two spheres. I try to draw a line of argument by pointing out that the new political ideas rural villagers receive through radio are filtered items of information used by the Government mainly for propaganda and self-defence purposes and not educational ones. On the other hand, within the process of the flow of information, I focus on the roles of the traditional leaders of the three villages through the investigation of their relationship with other villagers and among themselves as opinion leaders. These traditional leaders, by continuously adjusting themselves to new ideas, can retain their social status. This line of argument pictures the key principles of continuity amidst rural northern Thai social structure. Chapter 8, following this theme of argument, therefore concerns social transformation, traditional practices and traditional values. The traditional leaders must have close contact with modernity to retain their status; they become familiar with standard Thai language for instance. Consequently, this acquired skill of language usage becomes part of social differentiation

between people of different status. Deriving from the previous discussion in Chapter 6 and 7 about the tradition of imitation as a characteristic of rural northern Thai peasant community, the flexibility of their religious background and traditional social values is shown to assist this characteristic. I argue that although, in the process of social transformation, the entire traditional beliefs and practices cannot be retained, there are certain underlying elements of social structure which have been prolonged by their existence. I illustrate this by the use of new ideas by traditional leaders to reinforce their position as source of advice according to traditional status patterns.

Lastly, in Chapter 9, I conclude the influence of radio on rural development in northern Thailand by briefly summarizing some of the principal ideas presented in previous chapters part by part. In addition, I extend these major points of argument and discussion beyond the scope of material presented in my thesis in order to indicate relevant issues about social continuity and transformation, and the use of radio as a channel of communication for rural development.

Therefore, all these important elements will be integrated into my study and analysis. My analysis of northern Thai society must inevitably be selective. A few themes from the work of outstanding anthropologists' will be referred to as providing possible supporting ideas, further discussion, or starting points for further study of analysis. Hence, my study is intended merely to be a contribution

for studying the use of radio broadcasting, change and continuity in the style of living of rural villagers in this area which hopefully, will lead to a better understanding of this process.

CHAPTER 2

THE PEASANT COMMUNITY - ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

In the "modernization approach" widely employed to study the process of the adoption of innovations particularly in underdeveloped countries, there are two basic factors; the "intrinsic structure" and the "extrinsic forces". These two factors have an equal degree of significance, and it is their interaction that has attracted social anthropologists (for example Long, 1977; 5-17).

This chapter and the next, will provide a general idea of the intrinsic structures of village life so that the effect of extrinsic forces may be assessed.

I shall be concerned primarily with the effect of radio broadcasting, but I will also be considering other media forces such as newspapers, television etc., as well as more general economic changes affecting village life.

In order to establish the background to my study of the adoption of innovations by the villagers, the general outline of their traditional values and practices will be described. In this chapter, besides brief historical and geographical information about the area where this study is conducted, the villagers' economic structures will be described.

2.1 The peasant economy

The peasant economy can be divided into two spheres, each of which has its own rules, its rewards and values, its characteristic sanctions.

On^{the}/One hand, the peasant has to support his family primarily and directly from what he and they produce as agriculturalists. His actions and choices must be very directly related to the natural resources of land, water, weather, for he is closely bound in an ecological system that gives him less control over the natural world than that enjoyed by modern farmers with a more sophisticated technology. One is also made conscious of his view in the peasant's frequent resistance to new agricultural and other productive technique, for the peasant fears that any change in procedure is likely to increase the risks of an already risky enterprise. Scott, discussing the peasant's resistance to modern technology adoption in south east Asia, states that "The safety-first maxim, a logical consequence of the ecological dependence of peasant livelihood, embodies a relative preference for subsistence security over high average income". (Scott, 1976 : 29). He shows an example which reflects the fact that the peasant prefers the low but stable and reliable rice yield to the uncertainty of innovations in crop production in the choice of seeds and techniques. The problem is the new kind of seed is far more sensitive to variations in water supply, and it needs high investment in fertilizer and additional labour at transplant and harvest time. In a bad year the impact of these fixed costs was enormous for the new varieties since a larger yield was required merely to meet production expenses. Under these circumstances, peasants rationally prefer traditional techniques and the kinds of seed they are used to in spite

of their poor yields (Scott, 1976 : 20 - 23).

This assumption can be applied to their decision whether to grow cash crops as well. Referring to M. Moerman's study of northern Thai peasant's 'Great Field' (Moerman, 1968), Scott argues that there is almost always some increment of risk in shifting from subsistence production to cash cropping. A successful subsistence crop more or less guarantees the family food supply, while the value of a nonedible cash crop depends on its market price and on the price of consumer necessities.

Moreover, the alternatives available to a peasant as producer are limited by natural resources and technology; the area in which he can decide how to run his economic enterprise and how to dispose of his income is limited by the expectations shared with his fellow villagers and by the regulations imposed by the larger society. He must choose his course of action; whether to eat or sell the rice he has, whether to give away, or fatten his chickens, whether to save a profit or spend it on the local temple's roof according to the values of his community. Characteristically, in the peasant society, where the nonconformity of one frequently is seen as a threat to the cohesion of the whole, the limits are very narrow (Scott, 1976 : 167-171). The individual, wishing to maintain viable face-to-face relations with his fellow villagers, finds that he must play the economic game according to local rules (Foster, G., 1965 : 293-301). He dares not risk ostracism by becoming a free agent, for he depends on those friends, neighbours, relatives around him for extra hands for building

a house, rice transplanting and harvest, and for assistance at birth, illness, death and so on.

On the other hand, the peasant's economic activities are related to the larger society of which he is a part. His agricultural and farming produce go not only to supply his family, but also to maintain the urban population (Shanin, 1971 : 238-263). He is tied into a system of distribution and taxation in which his goods and services become part of a regional and national network of economic exchange (Belshaw, 1965 : 111-117). In many cases he participates in an impersonal market where prices respond to supply and demand.

Social integration is also served by actions that are part of the distributive system of the peasant economy. The reciprocal obligation system is established and reinforced with gift-giving, ceremonial activities, and the exchange of favours and services (Belshaw, 1965 : 45-47). Within a peasant community, the reciprocal exchange system can be seen through cooperative alliances. In the modern context, however, the acts of exchange are not limited to the ceremonies of the life cycle or to the cementing of large political alliances. Cooperatives are based upon traditional obligations to maintain one's reputation for action, upon alliance, and upon exchange, but they can be mobilized to a variety of ends. By this means, traditional society has elements of adaptability which peasants can use to help them on the road to modernity (Belshaw, 1965 : 39-42).

Peasant economies are not, however, based solely upon the reciprocal exchange system. As we have discussed above, they involve market exchange at the wider level. The different system of exchange which takes place in market-place situations is generally based upon the use of money for a wide range of transactions. This monetized system deals principally with subsistence production. Role differentiation and division of labour are characteristic of the market system. A major function of the physical market place is to provide a facility for information about productions and their adjustment.

Within the northern Thai peasant communities, reciprocal exchange plays a significant part in their economic structure, both in agriculture and other kinds of cooperative work including ritual and ceremonial activities. Within such alliance cooperative groups, payment in kind or in the form of returned labour is expected. Here they do not value reciprocal exchange in baht, but at the market place their products and household labour must be adjusted into local valued currency. These two exchange systems play an important role in economic change in northern Thai peasant communities. These will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

At this point, I would like to discuss these two exchange systems in general. A system of reciprocal exchange allows individuals an area of discretion in using their economic resources (Scott, 1976 : 167-176). A man can manipulate his small capital and his labour within com-

paratively short time units, somewhat maximizing his own economic interests. Peasants use their 'in-group' relations (their leaders, relatives, friends, neighbours) for their own advantages. They feel more secure in this system of exchange. They give now to draw later, in an elementary, low-risk savings system. However, there are characteristic institutions whereby the social balance can be retained, so as to enhance rather than weaken social cohesion. When change in peasant communities is gradual and consists of improvement in the traditional economy, their social equilibrium will not be damaged (Epstein, T.S., 1962; 1968).

In these aspirations and orientations both uses of the past converge, and continuities and transformations coexist within the peasant community. By spending on merit making, on elaborate religious festivities, the individual acquires prestige. However, he might be left with no capital.

Thus the peasant as an actor at the local level in the economic system finds his choices circumscribed by the social values of his community, by the limits of his economic resources, and by his limited control over production (J.M. Acheson, 1972 : 1166-1167). In the regional and national economic system, as buyer and seller in a wider network which the peasant is not familiar with, he participates in interactions of a different character. The market gives the peasant one of the most important ways of taking part in a larger society (Belshaw, 1965 :

120-122). In northern Thailand, for example, the market town is the primary factor that binds village and city together. It is the situation in which a peasant deals with and shares certain characteristics with people in town. Buyer and seller act within roles specific to the economic context. But the peasant, out of his customary reliance on personal relations and experiencing a sense of insecurity in the world outside the village, may set up traditional patron-client relations with particular sellers, or he may incorporate a town merchant into his fictive-kinship system (Scott, 1976 : 162-176). In the market the peasant makes decision with a money profit in mind, as contrasted to his orientation towards family and community on the local level. This type of conflict may cause tension and strain. This implies that peasant culture, and the society associated with it, is in change.

Inevitably, economic growth and cultural change are two closely interrelated factors in the move towards socio-economic complexity.

At this point, I would like to return to the three villages of my study in order to consider the effects of interaction between the external and internal aspects of the village economy. Since the canned fruit and vegetable factory was built nearby, Ban Mon Khao Khew villagers can find jobs as factory workers or grow crops to supply the factory. With convenient transportation, market women of this village can help satisfy the increasing demand for goods in the town market. The demand for natural

products and handicraft goods in the urban market coupled with increasing problems brought about by unfertile land reflect the importance of subsidiary occupations of Ban Lang villagers. Rice cultivation becomes less significant than it used to be. Those villagers who work in factories, grow cash crops, or engage in trading, become more independent than those who work in the rice fields, where work is based mainly on cooperative labour. In Ban Mon Khao Khew, there is a movement of labour towards industrialization. The use of land and labour has been changed. Growing cash crops and factory work gradually displace rice cultivation in Ban Mon Khao Khew, while in Ban Long home industry and casual labourers become more significant sources of income. On the other hand in Ban Naa Dang through the development of irrigation and the introduction of a new rice seed which yields a second crop, rice cultivation comes to provide more than is required for subsistence. The arable land is used to produce this main source of income. Inevitably, there is pressure on land use and land ownership. Even though agricultural novelties are adapted, various jobs in rice planting still have to be done by hand and by cooperative work. Whilst demands for the supply of rice for industrial labour outside of the local community have risen there is also a great demand for manual labour within the village. External opportunity: the industrial establishment, the agricultural and transportation development schemes, and the demands of local products by town markets

to feed industrial labour, thus brings about diversification of land use, source of income, labour use and social relationships within the three villages.

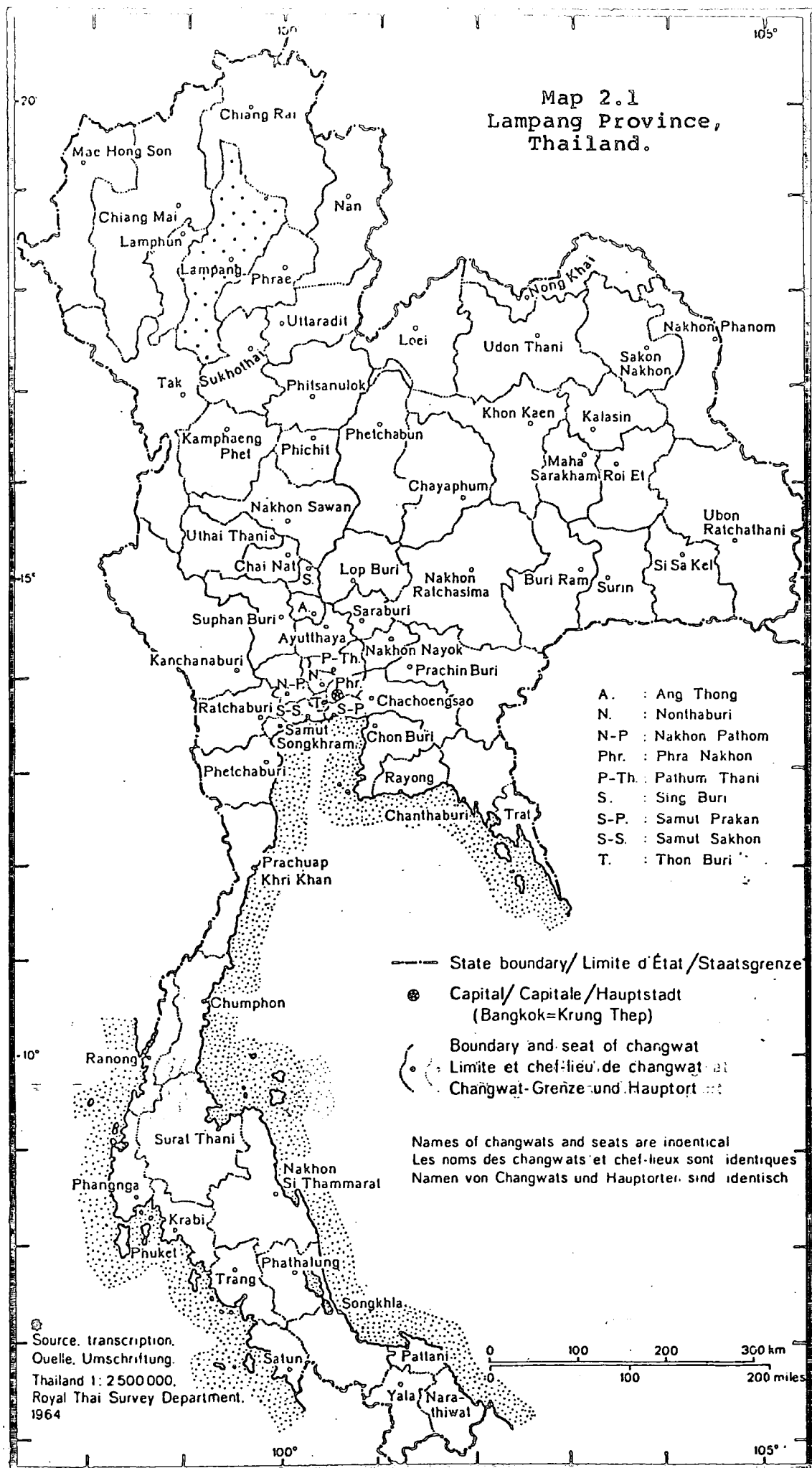
Moreover, the interaction between external and internal aspects of village economy shows us the principal factors which are measures of social transformation and continuity in this community. From the discussion above, the factors which bring change into the peasant community are those linked to factories and urban markets. On the other hand, the factors which assist the existence of social continuity are related to the improvement of agriculture, particularly rice cultivation.

Conclusion

From the discussion above, we can draw the conclusion that change can be disruptive and can dislocate the pre-existing system, particularly if its origin lies outside of that system. However, new economic opportunities which help peasants to reduce risks and to improve the stability of their traditional occupation will also enable their social customs to survive practically unimpaired by the new forces of change.

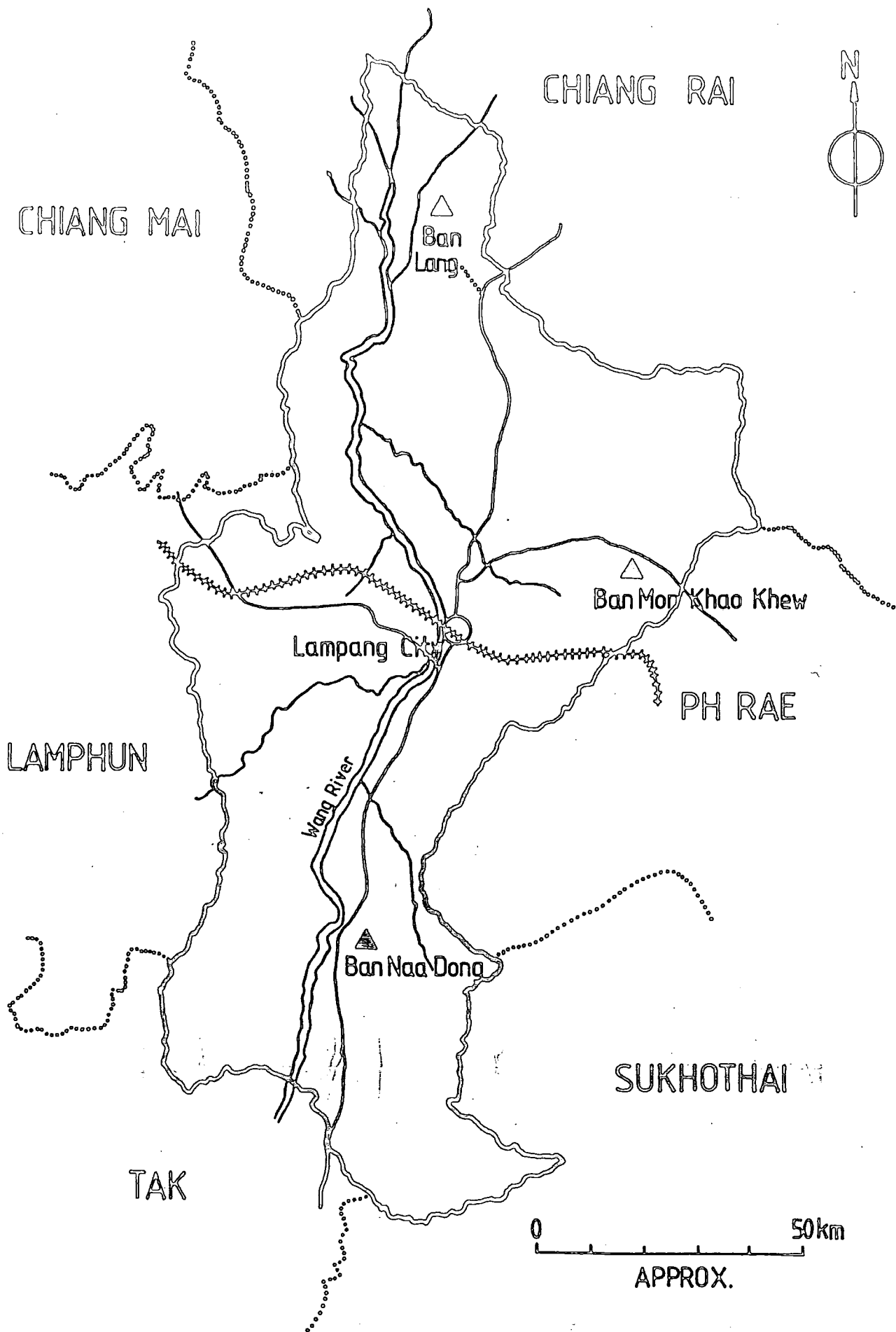
2.2 Physical Geography

Geographically, Thailand is divided into four main regions: the Central Plain, the North, the North-East, and the South. Lampang province is situated in the middle Northern region, which is represented on maps (map 2.1) by a long strip extending North-South almost half way down to the southern limit of the region. The city of Lampang, the provincial capital, is situated at the bottom



of a plain surrounded by numerous mountain ranges. Wang River, one of the four tributaries of the Chao Phraya River which drains into the Gulf of Thailand beyond Bangkok, flows through the city of Lampang. Lampang is at the junction of the Northern Part of Thailand, and is one of the ancient cities of Thailand. As Lampang is located at the middle of the Northern region, it plays an important part in the business and trade of this area. All kinds of food products from the upper district have to pass through Lampang to the other provinces; on the other hand, all the services and goods from the capital for the North have to travel through Lampang province to the upper provinces, even to the Laotian border which is next to Chiang Rai province.

Lampang province differs somewhat climatically from the central plain because of the presence of mountain ranges, its relatively high latitude and its height above sea level, which generally results in cooler temperatures. The rest of tropical Thailand is in the path of the South-West monsoon, which gives rise to three seasons. The cool season in Lampang begins in December and ends in February. The coldest weather in Thailand, a temperature of 6° C was recorded in this area one January. During the hot season from March to May, winds are either from the South-East or the South. The rainy season extends from May to September. Winds from the South-West bring rain, the heaviest concentration of which is in August



MAP 2.2. SKETCH MAP OF FIELDWORK VILLAGE LOCATION, LAMPANG PROVINCE.

and September. The mean temperature for the year is around 25°C. The peak of summer is in April and the highest temperature recorded is 45°C. According to rainfall statistics compiled by the Thai Government Meteorological Office for 1977, the highest rainfall was in August: 398.06mm. (Thai Government Meteorological Office's Records, 1979 : 48).

Since the region is hilly, the people of this province live in scattered settlements on the high plains or in the valley where they can grow rice during the rainy season and other kinds of crops such as tobacco, sugar cane, and corn during the dry season.

According to the 1975 census (Thai Government, 1977: 28), the total population of the Northern Region was 7,499,000 : of all the provinces included in the region, Lampang had the third largest population (1,002,000) after Chiang Rai and Chiang Mai. The average annual rate of growth of the population of Lampang Province was 3.48%. Most of the population are Buddhists, but there is also a fairly vigorous Christian minority due to intensive missionary efforts in the area.

There is considerable diversity of economic activity in Lampang Province. As the region is forested, forestry and related occupations are an important source of income for many local families. Land cultivation, however, is the basic pursuit of the rural population and rice, especially glutinous rice, which is the staple food, is the most important crop. Other crops are soya beans,

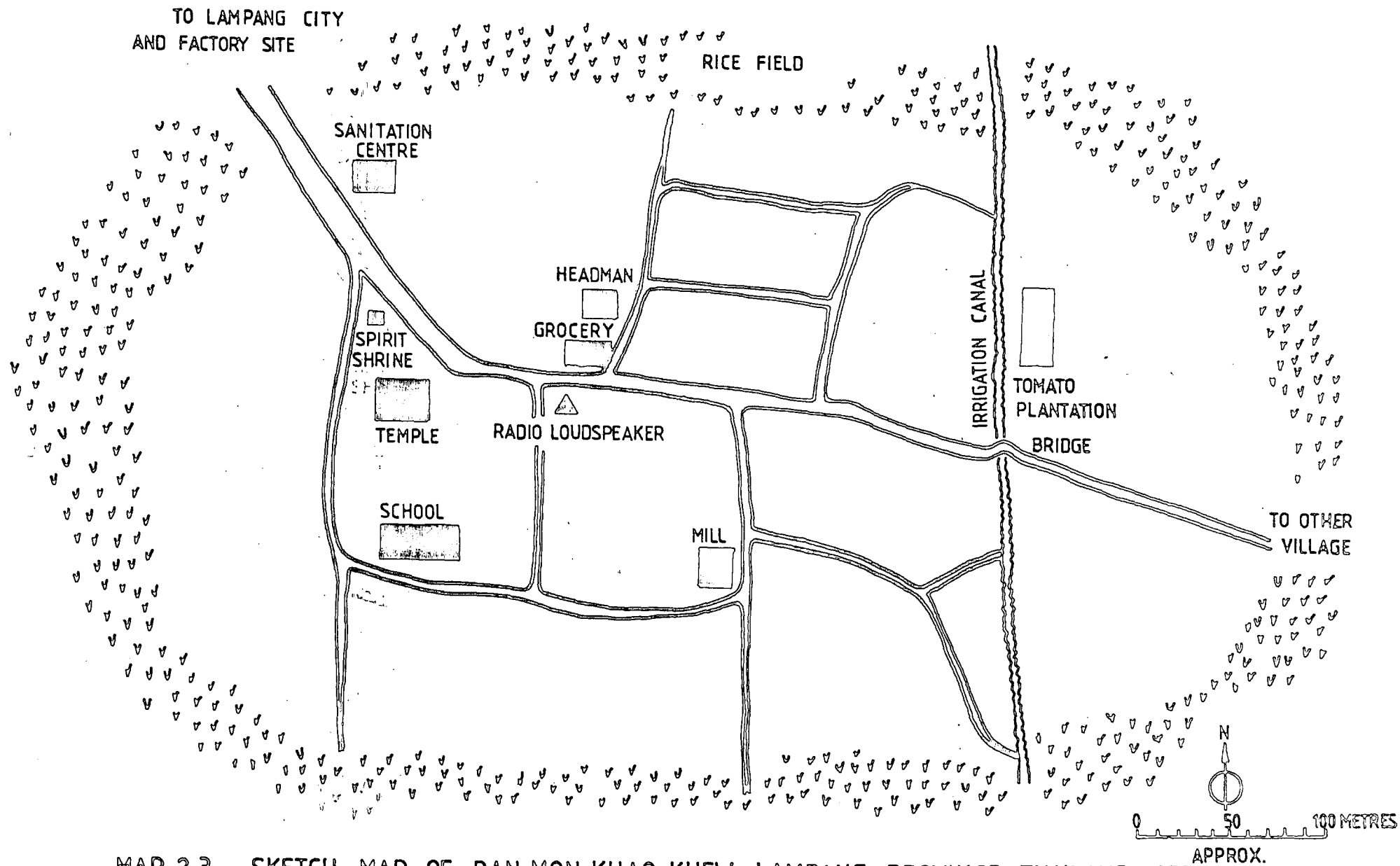
groundnuts, onions, garlic, and chillis. There is also some raising of livestock but mainly for home consumption.

Because of its location, Lampang City is considered to be the most suitable place for medical and educational centres. There is, therefore, a teaching training college, a vocational and agricultural college, and a medical centre in Lampang serving all the people of the north.

However, the three villages where I went to stay are in widely separated locations. One is to the North-East of Lampang city, fifty kilometres from the city and is called Ban Mon Khao Khew. Another, at the bottom of a valley about seventy-five kilometres from the city, is called Ban Naa Dong. Ban Lang is to the North of Lampang, about eighty kilometres from the city.

Ban Mon Khao Khew is a village which has electricity and a good road running into the local town. The new road has just been laid from Lampang City to improve the communications with Phae, a neighbouring province. This project of road building, with technical help from the Australian and Thai Governments, was started in 1975 and is still in progress. Part of this road which passes near Ban Mon Khao Khew village has been completed and has transformed the village's communications with Lampang City.

Hidden from view among the closely planted ever-green trees, one and a half kilometres from the main road, Ban Naa Dong is a very peaceful village with only 646 inhabitants. It truly deserves its name, which means



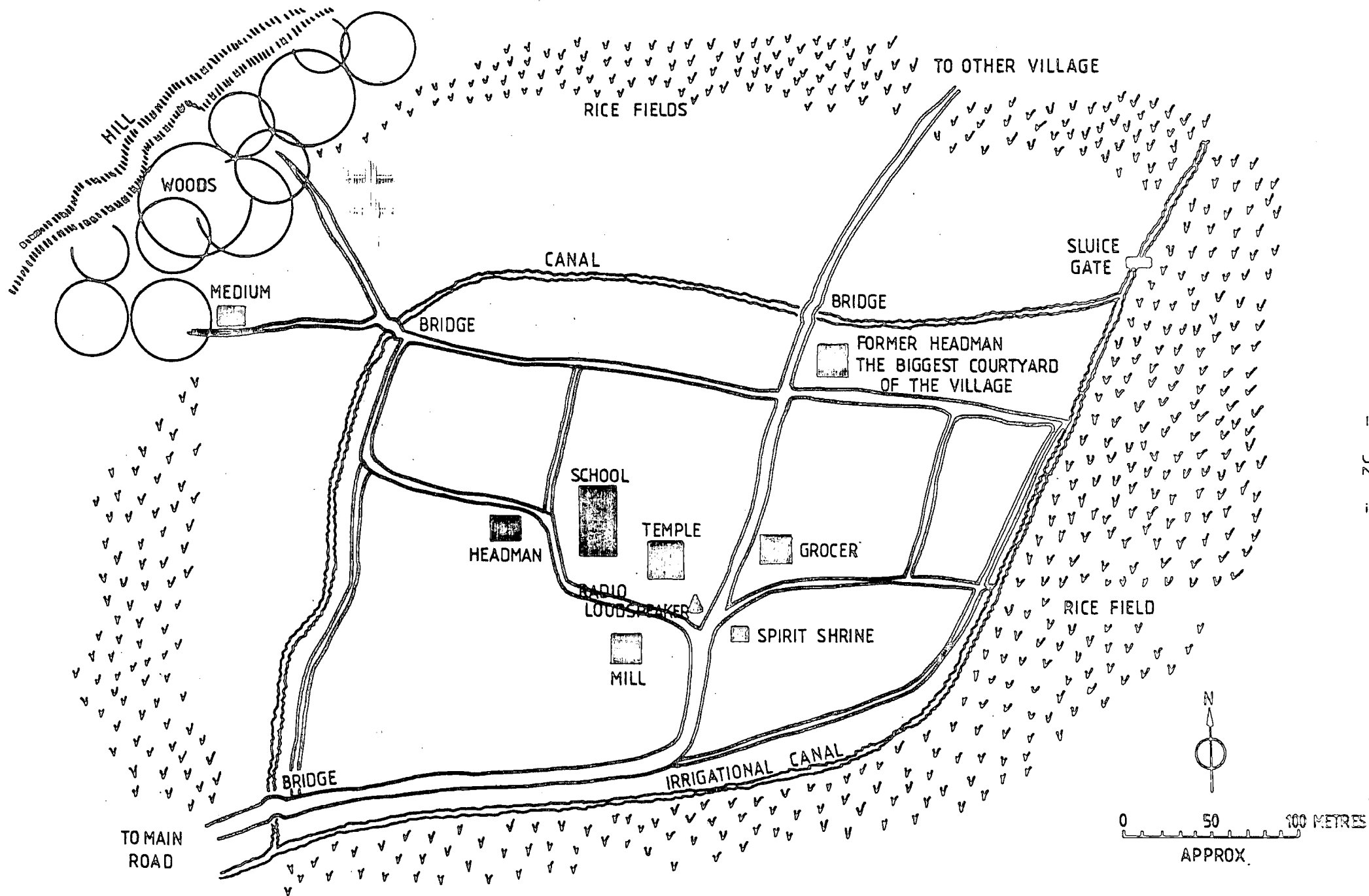
MAP 2.3 SKETCH MAP OF BAN MON KHAO KHEW, LAMPANG PROVINCE, THAILAND 1979.

"the country village in a deep, green wood". The unsurfaced track leading into the village climbs a hill, from which we can see Ban Naa Dong lying below, surrounded by the fresh green of the rice fields, the roofs of the houses visible here and there between the dark green trees.

Travel to and from this village is quite convenient because the main road passing by the village is a major highway which is called "The Asia Route". This road starts from Bangkok, passes through many northern provinces including Lampang and goes straight to the north of Thailand as far as the Burmese border.

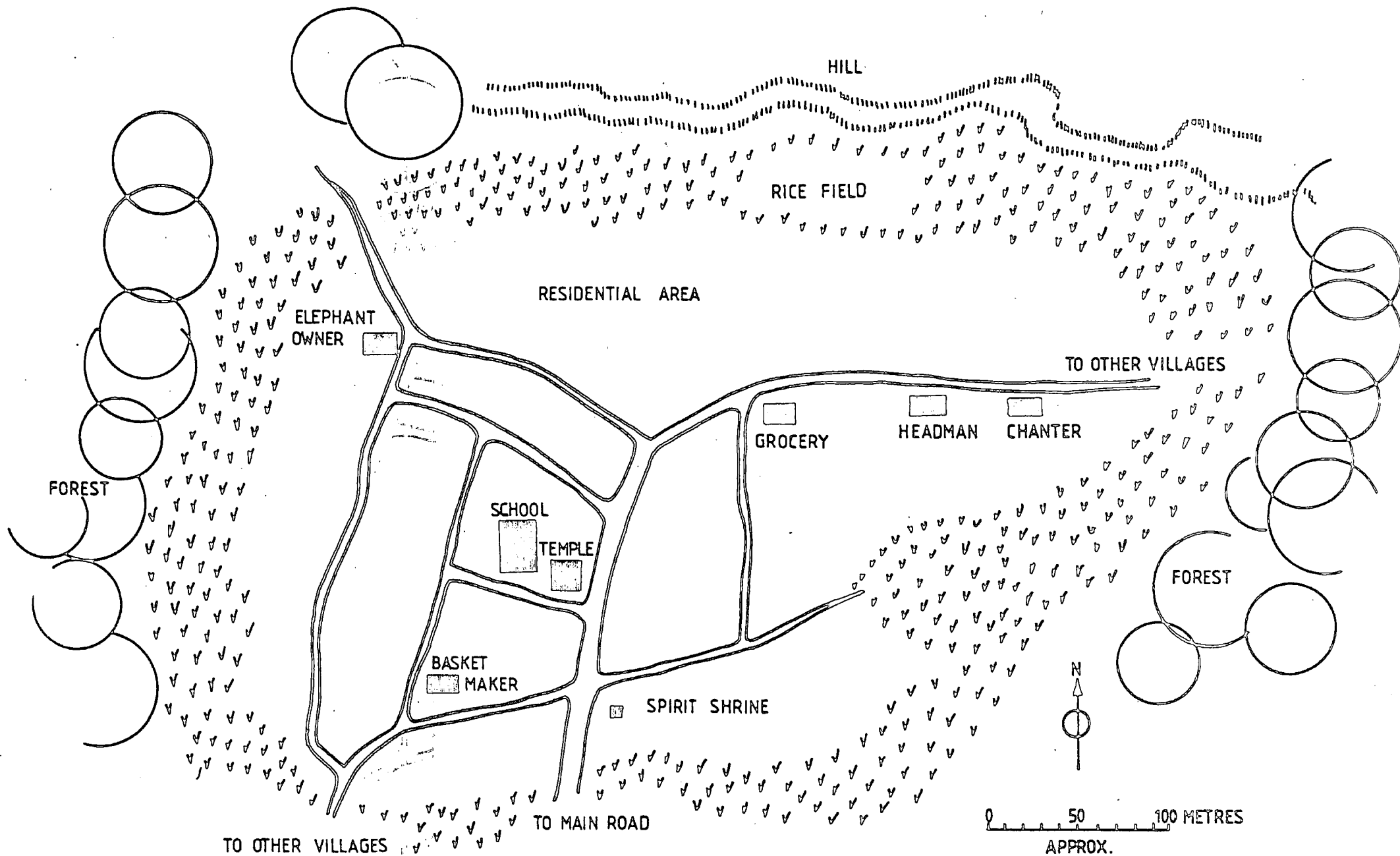
However, Ban Naa Dong is isolated in the sense that there are not many villages nearby, and there are no factories in this part of the province. It is just like an island in a sea of paddy-fields, which has not yet been reached by electricity. Therefore, Ban Naa Dong remains unchanged in many respects despite the great road which passes nearby. Two village minibuses leave at 6.30 a.m. and 9.00 a.m., and come back to the village at 3.00 p.m. and 5.00 p.m. The people of Ban Naa Dong lead less busy lives than the people of Ban Mon Khao Khew.

It is not so difficult to describe the geographical atmosphere of Ban Lang because everything seems dry and covered with red dust from the dusty street, even the deep wood of bamboo along both sides of the seven kilometre long road leading to the village from the main northern route. From Lampang City by the great highway which



MAP 2.4 SKETCH MAP OF BAN NAA DONG, LAMPANG PROVINCE THAILAND, 1979

passes Ban Naa Dong going up to the Burmese border, we can travel to Ban Lang. It is 71 kilometres by road and then 16 kilometres on a small country road to the village. The surface of the little road is rough and pitted. During the rainy season, it becomes very muddy and full of puddles, but just a few days after the rain has fallen becomes very dusty again. The drivers have to be very careful when they drive along this road because on one side is a steep valley and on the other side are the rocky slopes of the northern Thai hills. Villagers going out of the village have to use buffalo or ox carts, and it takes about 12 hours by water buffalo cart to get from the village to the main road. Therefore, they will use the cart only when they have heavy goods that they cannot carry on their shoulders, or when they have a large amount of goods, or when someone is ill and cannot walk. Generally they will walk to the main road. That is the reason why this village has the name Ban Lang. The word lang in northern Thai dialect means "evening"; people have to travel all day in order to reach the main road and when they arrive there it is evening. Because Ban Lang is situated on a hill side and Ban Lang people including the hill tribe who live nearby have felled a lot of big trees, this area has become infertile for rice cultivation and irrigation is a problem. However, there is bamboo wood and a special kind of clay from which villagers earn their living.



MAP 2.5 SKETCH MAP OF BAN LANG, LAMPANG PROVINCE THAILAND, 1979.

2.3 Communications and Transportation

There are good communications between Bangkok and the city of Lampang by road, rail and air. Roads were quite bad in the past but a first class highway was built in the last decade which is very direct (700 km.) and good. The rail link was established much earlier and there are several passenger and freight trains daily. Lampang has a commercial airport and two daily flights operated by the Thai Airway Company.

Communications between Lampang and neighbouring provinces are good except for Nan and Phrae. These two provinces remain somewhat isolated because of the poor quality of the connecting roads. There are regular bus services, and travellers usually take advantage of trucks using this route.

Within the province of Lampang it is possible to go by bus, or mini-buses adapted from small lorries, from the city to most districts, although the quality of the road is very unequal. Many of the districts also have local transport, using smaller buses or vans, rot song thaew, to travel to individual villages, failing which villagers have to walk or use bicycles or motorcycles.

The city of Lampang itself is well provided for with public transport of all sorts: buses, taxis, mini-buses, horse taxis, and pedicabs.

Post and telecommunication services are available in all provinces of the North at all times as well as between the city of Lampang and the district seats of

the province. At village level, postal services are the responsibility of the headman, phu yai ban.

Radio and television services are provided in the province by the Mass Communications Organization of Thailand and other government units. The television relay station in Lampang serves all the northern area.

2.4 History

People who live in Lampang province are of mixed ethnic origins. The northern Thais are indigenous Thai speakers and in the Lampang area are known locally as Thai Yuan, or simply as khon mu'ang (literally, it means "town people"). In the past these people were known to the Bangkok administrators and most missionary writers as Lao. The Thai Yuan area comprises the former states of Chiang Mai, Lumphun, Phrae, Nan, and Lampang, with a population of something over 2,000,000 (Seidenfaden, 1967 : 14).

At present, the Yuan or Northern Thais are undergoing assimilation to a national culture which radiates outward from Bangkok. Historically and culturally, it is justifiable to distinguish the Thai Yuan from the Central Thais. Yuan political history is closely connected with the old Thai principalities of the Middle Mekong, and Yuan written characters are similar to those of the Lao of Laos, thus linking the Northern Thais with their relatives on the Mekong rather than the Chao Phraya. Nevertheless, with their unique traditional culture, the Thai Yuan or Northern

Thai are regarded as a different group from the Thai Isan who live in the North-Eastern part of Thailand. Thai Yuan, known traditionally as Lao pung dum, always have black tattoos from their belly to their thighs, while Thai Isan, Lao pung khao, do not have any tattoos on that part of the body. Many linguists have pointed out the distinctive features of the dialects, particularly the spoken languages of those people who live in two different parts of the country (LeMay, 1926 : 33-47). These Northern Thai inhabited the area which has Chiang Mai as the capital, and many smaller towns or cities used to depend on this Northern capital (Lebar et al., 1964 : 12).

The North of Thailand was actually the original area of land inhabited by the Thai people when they migrated from Yunnan. The first Thai principalities and small kingdoms were founded there. Northern Thai ancient history is uncertain and has been mixed with lore and legend. There are various kinds of miraculous and superstitious events related in Northern Thai history which derive from the background of animistic beliefs. Scholars are not always in agreement with each other as to the truth of certain events. Besides, there are differences between the history of the people and that of the country because almost all the peoples of today once migrated from a long distance to their present homes (Mote, 1966 : 24-31). My intention in this brief section on the history of the Northern Thai is not to deal with historical problems,

but merely to offer a summarized picture based upon historical studies in order to clarify the Northern people's background.

Nowadays, while the northern Thai people have mixed their own traditional culture with patterns from other parts of the country especially from the capital, Bangkok, there is sufficient evidence to show that they possess their own social and cultural features which are different from those of other Thai.

2.5 Language

In Thailand, there are four main languages, derived from the history of the settlement and migration of different groups of Thai people and corresponding to the different areas of Thailand. These languages are the middle region Thai language or "standard" Thai (phasa klang) which has been established by the Thai Government as the official Thai language, the northern Thai language known as kham mu'ang, the North-Eastern language which is called Isan Laos, and the southern language which shows the influence of the Malay language (see also Lanyon-Orgill, 1955; Haas, M., 1956; Wilder, W.D., 1982). The standard Thai language, the official language, was originally used by middle region Thai around the capital.

Several writers (Skinner, 1958; Tambiah, S.J., 1968; Kalab, M., 1982) have described the attitudes and objectives of the Thai Government with regard to linguistic diversity. Since there is "...a conscious policy of assimilating all minority groups to a common national culture ..." (Tambiah, 1968; 88-89), great emphasis has been placed on weakening the linguistic roots of the ethnic minorities and on promoting knowledge of standard Thai among all

residents.

Mass media communication and education are viewed as important instruments in the process of assimilation. The law requires that education must be given in the standard Thai language in all schools, regardless of the ethnic background of the children enrolled (Mole, 1973: 131-186; Watson, 1980: 16). The political ideology and national linguistic policy which have consequences on radio broadcasting and education will be discussed later in more detail.

2.5.1 Spoken Thai Language. As the Thai language is uninflected, when words are used in spoken Thai, specific time particles are omitted and the exact meaning is inferred from the context of the sentence. However, in radio broadcasting the presenters mostly use the literary language, particularly in the news bulletins when the presenter will simply read from his script.

Hierarchical relationships are an important element in Thai social life and this is reflected in the language. (This characteristic of language can be seen in both northern Thai and standard Thai language). Both Thai languages reflect the fine social gradations observed by the Thai in interpersonal relations, with a complex vocabulary to express deference, intimacy, condescension, or humility. Quite apart from the Buddhist hierarchy and the royal family, even among the ordinary people there are words indicating the precise degree of respect which must be used. In addition, respect and affection may be expressed in colloquial Thai by the use of kinship terms which illustrate a feature of Thai social relations. This form of address, however, places more emphasis on age and rank than sex.

In Thai society one may hear phi (elder sibling), nong (younger sibling), na (younger aunt or uncle), lung (older uncle), pa (older aunt) in the market, bus, street, universities, Prime Minister's Office, coffee shop, and in the fields.

2.5.2 Northern Thai language. People who live in the North of Thailand have their own language. This language is used by about 3.5 million people who live in this area (Moore, 1974: 90).

The main differences between written Northern Thai and standard Thai are:

1. Northern Thai letters have a round shape while standard Thai letters have a square shape.
2. All consonants in one word will be on the same line in standard Thai, but the Northern Thai language has the closing consonant above the line.
3. There are only two written tonal symbols, (diacritic marks to indicate tones), in Northern language, but standard Thai has four written tonal symbols (see also Haas, M., 1956; Ratanaprasit, 1965; and Purnell, 1963).

In addition, the vocabularies are different, even though many words of the original northern language have been replaced by standard Thai through the influence of education, mass media, and urbanization from Bangkok.

In general, the villagers' ability to understand

others speaking in standard Thai is better than their ability to speak and write standard Thai. Villagers who are over thirty years old and have never been in school, cannot read and write standard Thai, but they are still able to understand the essential points or the main ideas of message passed on to them in standard Thai. Broadcasting is particularly relevant here because it deals primarily with the transmission and reception of messages in standard Thai. One day I listened to radio with a group of village men aged between 35 - 50. The programme was about making a water-filter. After the programme, they told me that they were interested to know how to produce clean water, suitable for consumption by using local materials. However, they asked me whether I remembered how many substances they needed to put into the container in order to build up a filter. Therefore, the villagers are in the position that 1) they can "hear" standard Thai, but they cannot speak it. 2) Their capacity to understand standard Thai is not total. It is merely approximately understanding. (See more detailed discussion about language and broadcasting in Chapter 8).

After the restructuring of the administrative system in the reign of King Chulalongkorn and the unification of the Northern Thai Yuan Kingdom with the middle region Siam Thai, the influence of the standard Thai on other language speakers became very dominant. Moreover, the Bangkok dialect or standard Thai began to carry a certain

prestige because Bangkok is the centre of the cultural and political life, which the remote rural villagers regard as superior. Therefore, in brief, we can see that because of three main factors: better communications, particularly radio, the spread of educational facilities, and the stance which the government takes regarding linguistic policy, language differences have become less important and less apparent among people of different areas. They have been blended together in accordance with the Government's hope of creating a national consciousness throughout the regions. At the same time, these groups have increasingly lost their own identity with respect to language and culture. Although in remote rural villages in Northern Thailand the local language is still the most common medium of communication, the standard Thai language used by outsiders is steadily on the increase.

2.6 Demography

The three communities in the study include 359 households and a total population of 1,795. The distribution of the population in each village is as follows: 639 in Ban Mon Khao Khew, 646 in Ban Naa Dong, and 510 in Ban Lang, (Table 2.1). The average membership per household is approximately 5 individuals.

The distribution of the population by age indicates that on average the younger age groups are the most numerous, the size of the age group diminishing as the age increases. The male-female ratio of the total population indicates that the number of females exceeds that of males. Migration

TABLE 2.1 THE POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY PERCENTAGE AND AGE GROUP
OF THE THREE VILLAGES

| Age | Ban Mon Khao Khew | | | Ban Naa Dong | | | Ban Lang | | | Total | | |
|---------|-------------------|-----------|----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total |
| 1- 4 | 6.2(20) | 8.5(27) | 7.3(47) | 10.6(33) | 6.3(21) | 8.4(54) | 13.6(33) | 10.1(27) | 11.8(60) | 9.8(86) | 8.2(75) | 9.0(100) |
| 5- 9 | 15.7(51) | 13.6(42) | 14.7(93) | 17.0(53) | 17.6(59) | 17.3(112) | 15.2(37) | 13.9(37) | 14.5(74) | 16.1(141) | 15.0(138) | 15.5(200) |
| 10-14 | 16.7(54) | 12.7(40) | 14.7(94) | 10.9(34) | 16.4(55) | 13.8(89) | 14.8(36) | 17.6(47) | 16.3(83) | 14.1(124) | 15.5(142) | 14.8(200) |
| 15-19 | 10.8(35) | 11.4(36) | 11.1(71) | 7.7(24) | 12.8(43) | 10.4(67) | 9.5(23) | 9.4(25) | 9.4(48) | 9.3(82) | 11.3(104) | 10.4(150) |
| 20-24 | 6.5(21) | 6.3(20) | 6.4(41) | 8.0(25) | 4.2(14) | 6.0(39) | 7.0(17) | 6.4(17) | 6.7(34) | 7.2(63) | 5.6(51) | 6.4(100) |
| 25-29 | 5.2(17) | 6.3(20) | 5.8(37) | 7.4(23) | 7.2(24) | 7.3(47) | 4.1(10) | 6.7(18) | 5.5(28) | 5.7(50) | 6.8(62) | 6.2(100) |
| 30-34 | 6.2(20) | 7.0(22) | 6.6(42) | 7.4(23) | 5.1(17) | 6.2(40) | 6.2(15) | 4.9(13) | 5.5(28) | 6.6(58) | 5.7(52) | 6.1(100) |
| 35-39 | 6.2(20) | 6.6(21) | 6.4(41) | 5.1(16) | 7.8(26) | 6.5(42) | 9.5(23) | 8.2(22) | 8.8(45) | 6.7(59) | 7.5(69) | 7.1(100) |
| 40-44 | 5.9(19) | 6.3(20) | 6.1(39) | 6.1(19) | 7.5(25) | 6.8(44) | 4.9(12) | 3.7(10) | 4.3(22) | 5.7(50) | 6.0(55) | 5.9(100) |
| 45-49 | 5.6(18) | 3.2(10) | 4.4(28) | 6.4(20) | 2.7(9) | 4.5(29) | 3.7(9) | 3.0(8) | 3.3(17) | 5.4(47) | 2.9(27) | 4.1(70) |
| 50-54 | 4.9(16) | 4.7(15) | 4.8(31) | 1.6(5) | 2.1(7) | 1.9(12) | 4.1(10) | 5.2(14) | 4.7(24) | 3.5(31) | 3.9(36) | 3.7(60) |
| 55-59 | 1.2(4) | 4.1(13) | 2.7(17) | 1.6(5) | 1.8(6) | 1.7(11) | 3.3(8) | 2.2(6) | 2.7(14) | 1.9(17) | 2.7(25) | 2.3(40) |
| 60-64 | 3.4(11) | 3.5(11) | 3.4(22) | 1.3(4) | 3.0(10) | 2.2(14) | 1.2(3) | 3.7(10) | 2.5(13) | 2.1(18) | 3.4(31) | 2.7(40) |
| 65-Over | 5.6(18) | 5.7(18) | 5.6(36) | 8.7(27) | 5.7(19) | 7.1(46) | 2.9(7) | 4.9(13) | 3.9(20) | 5.9(52) | 5.5(50) | 5.7(100) |
| Total | 50.6(324) | 49.4(315) | 100(639) | 48.1(311) | 51.9(335) | 100(646) | 47.6(243) | 52.4(267) | 100(510) | 48.9(878) | 51.1(917) | 100(1795) |

is so nominal that it has no effect on the growth rate of the total population.

For the purposes of analysis, all persons who are 15 years of age or older, are treated as the marriageable population. This marriageable population numbers 1088, or about 60.6% of the total. Marital status of the population of fifteen years of age or over can be briefly described as followed. 63% are married, 28% are single, 7% are widowed, and 2% are divorced. This indicates the preferred marital status pattern of villagers: they do not divorce or separate very often.

The distribution of the heads of households by age group shows that the heads of households who are under 60 years of age are the most numerous. An average Ban Naa Dong tends to have slightly younger household heads than Ban Mon Khao Khew, while Ban Lang has slightly older household heads than the others. Most household heads in Ban Naa Dong (18%) are 45-49 years of age, but in Ban Lang 12% are 55-59 years of age.

2.72 Work and Occupation Status

The occupation pattern of the three villages is mainly based on agriculture as shown on Table 2.2. These occupational categories are defined by the nature of jobs available in the three villages. There are 1088 villagers included in this table. In order to create a range of categories for villagers' main and subsidiary occupations, indigenous categories were taken into account. There are some categories which villagers themselves use directly, such as kha-khai (trading),

Table 2.2

Main and Subsidiary occupations of
village labour force

| Industry | BMKK | | BND | | BL | | Total | |
|-------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|------|
| | Main | Sub | Main | Sub | Main | Sub | Main | Sub |
| 1. Agriculture | 78.8 | 7.5 | 80.8 | 9.0 | 54.5 | 33.7 | 71.8 | 16.7 |
| 2. Trading | 3.0 | 3.9 | 2.5 | 4.4 | 3.7 | 2.3 | 3.1 | 3.5 |
| 3. Home Industry | 1.4 | 1.6 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 6.1 | 3.3 | 2.9 | 2.0 |
| 4. Construction | 0.7 | 3.4 | 1.8 | 4.0 | 1.4 | 2.5 | 1.3 | 3.3 |
| 5. Gov't service | 2.7 | 0.2 | 1.1 | 0.4 | 0.9 | - | 1.6 | 0.2 |
| 6. Transportation | 1.4 | 0.3 | 0.4 | - | 0.5 | - | 0.8 | 0.1 |
| 7. Industry | 2.7 | 8.1 | 2.9 | 1.1 | 15.3 | 5.3 | 7.0 | 4.8 |
| 8. Casual Labour | 2.7 | 5.0 | 4.7 | 17.7 | 15.3 | 8.6 | 7.6 | 10.4 |
| 9. Other | 5.4 | 3.2 | 4.7 | 2.9 | 2.1 | 1.4 | 4.1 | 2.5 |
| 10. None | - | 66.7 | - | 59.4 | - | 42.8 | - | 56.3 |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

Rup-raj-cha-karn (Government service), rong ngan (industry), rup chang (casual labour). But there are other categories which by the nature of occupation include more details such as agriculture, home industry, transportation. For the latter kind of categories, I grouped together their stated occupations. For example, when a Ban Lang villager told me that he owns elephants and earns his income from animal use, elephant ownership is categorized as 'transportation'. Market women grocers and villagers who provide goods for market women are also involved in 'trading'. 'Home industry' is used mainly to refer to handicrafts produced within the family by using family labour, simple tools and local materials such as bamboo works, pottery, hand woven cloth. The word 'home industry' used here is different from 'industry' in the sense that 'industry' indicates mass production. Hence, hired labour, modern

tools and material from outside are involved, and the products is used not to supply only the local market but to supply urban markets as well. Hence the hand woven cloth of Ban Naa Dong is a home industry, while the tobacco kiln, bamboo shoot canning and teak saw-mill of Ban Lang are industry. Villagers who posses building skills such as carpenters and brick layers are in 'construction' category. 'Government service' means employees of any governmental office who receive a salary. Therefore, the grass cutter, school teacher, and other officials, up to the headman are in this category. The elephant owners, taxi drivers, taxi and mini-bus owners are in 'transport'. Casual labour is referred to villagers who receive payment for their labour in wages. Mainly, they work outside the village as servants, dish washers, cleaners, cattle keepers, or any other petty jobs. In Ban Lang, because of the infertile land, agriculture becomes less significant. But villagers can earn their living by digging clay for pottery or working with teak export companies who have temporary camps nearby.

Villagers' main and subsidiary occupations are distinguished by the quantity of time devoted to them, and by their main sources of income. The main occupation is the job or work in which villagers spent the major part of their labour, time and investment within a year. As a result, they expect to obtain the principal income or the annual subsistence foods from this source.

The subsidiary occupation provides a secondary source of income. Even though in some cases subsidiary occupations come to produce more income, initially villagers do not invest as much time, energy and money on these jobs as the main occupation. The obvious examples of these two different characteristics of main and subsidiary occupations of northern Thai villagers are their rice cultivation and the dry season jobs. However, sometimes the main occupation does not yield the result villagers expect. For example, rice cultivation is regarded as the main occupation because rice is their principal food. But share-cropping which has a dominant role in the northern Thai peasant community diminishes the practical values of rice growing. Villagers who grow rice do not have enough rice for their annual consumption. After the tenant has taken about half of the total product, he still has to sell rice to send his children to school, to buy cloth, medicine etc.

Another problem which weakens the significance of agriculture as the main occupation is crop failure. Drought, plant disease, insects, animals such as rats, crabs, worms, are potentially the causes of disaster for farmers. Under such circumstances, a secondary source of income might become more important.

When we consider the importance of agriculture relating to distance from the town, we can see that water supply, convenient transport to urban market and close contact with towns have an effect on agriculture. Both in Ban Mon Khao Khew and Ban Naa Dong, most of the population gives agriculture as its main occupation, the percentages

being 78% and 80% respectively. Adequate irrigation helps Ban Naa Dong villagers to grow a second crop, while Ban Mon Khao Khew can grow other cash crops to sell to factories nearby. But only 54% of Ban Lang villagers have agriculture as their main occupation. The most important other main occupations are industry and casual labour; 15% for both.

CONCLUSION

Generally, the northern Thai peasants depend on one crop of rice which is cultivated during the monsoon season. This crop is the traditional staple crop which requires most of village labour. Villagers regard securing this rice crop as their major annual task and according to their seasonal schedule, northern Thai peasants will leave other jobs in order to grow this crop. During the dry season their work is initially not heavy. They have to repair their buildings, fence, and tools, and they must take care of their vegetable patch. These works are mainly domestic chores. The introduction of second crops and other new kinds of secondary cash crops is therefore innovative. In addition to their substantial rice crop, they will grow the second crop and other subsidiary cash crops. I shall omit to discuss the different functions and the importance of the major rice cultivation by comparison with other cash crops any further because there are many other anthropologists, such as de Young, (1955), Kingshill (1965), Kaufman (1977), Moerman (1968), Phillips (1965), and Scott (1976), whose studies cover this comprehensively. It is, however, evident that the villages

growing the innovative crops as their alternative sources of income, in this case Ban Mon Khao Khew and Ban Nan Dong, have a better standard of living than Ban Lang where villagers cannot adopt these innovations to improve their economy.

According to the nature of innovative cash crops which grow better out of the monsoon season such as tomato, pineapple and tobacco, these villagers turning to cash crops can still cater for their own subsistence as full-time rice cultivators. They do not have to buy rice except in bad years when rice yield is low. They might have to use the income from subsidiary crops to buy rice. But growing cash crops has not displaced the full time job of subsistence. The income from cash crops may be used as saving money, invest in education for their children making merit, and buying innovative, modern items both in agriculture and the home.

2.8 Characteristics of Land Ownership

Rice fields are the main property of the villagers. On average, each household owns 2-5 rai (0.8 - 2.0 acres). Each also has 1.0 rai (0.4 acre) of domestic courtyard which is used to grow vegetables, sweet corn and sugar cane for household use, and various kinds of fruit tree such as mangoes, lamjai (longan), etc. Care of these plots provides an important subsidiary occupation. Even though most northern Thai villagers own at least part of the land they cultivate, tenant peasants are also common in this

area. Tenancy is generally on a share-crop basis, usually half of the crop. For tenants and landlords who live in the same village, they will also work cooperatively in each other's fields. In this kind of arrangement, typical of northern Thailand, the tenant will farm the same land year after year, having only an oral contract with his landlord. The arrangement of tenancy and reciprocal exchange of labour in the cooperative group is loose and informal. No precise record is kept. However, de Young (1955 : 79) finds that the average farming paddy field per household in northern Thailand is 10 rai. Chulalongkorn University's survey (1979 : 11) of the same area indicates 6-7 rai, and my observation suggests that the average cultivating land per household of the three villages is in the range of 8-12 rai.

Thus the average household only owns $\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$ the land it cultivates. A minority of households (c. 8%) are wealthier. They have more land than they need for their own subsistence, and rent this extra land to other villagers through share-cropping agreements. Only in a very few cases (c. 1%) do landowners live in town.

The total territory of the three village communities is divided into farm holdings, household settlements and forest land. However, to a great extent the forest land in all three villages, especially Ban Naa Dong and Ban Lang, has been cleared and claimed for farm holdings; the forest land mentioned above is, therefore, included in the agricultural land. After villagers have cleared

the land for farming, they can claim a temporary document for that piece of land, tra cong (exploitation testimonial). If they continuously use that land for three years, they will be granted a more permanent document as the owners of the land. Only the latter kind of document can be used in buying and selling of land.

2.8.1 The Status of Family Households with Regard to Land Tenure. In order to understand village land tenure, it is necessary first to consider village indebtedness because this is one of the most significant factors bearing on their investment capacity and land ownership. Out of 359 households there are 105 within the three villages who are in debt. Hence, 254 households are ^{not} in debt. There are 46 household debtors in Ban Mon Khao Khew, 22 in Ban Naa Dong, and 37 in Ban Lang. From the total debtors (105 households), 24 households borrow money from professional money lenders, and 21 households get financial help from bank loans for farmers. The remaining 48 households borrowed money from friends and relatives and 12 households borrowed from village traders.

Farmers of the three villages can be classified into:

1. Full-owners, which includes those who work on their parents' land without having to pay any rent,
2. Part-owner part-renters; this is the situation where a farmer owns a piece of land which may be too small and he has to rent additional land, and
3. Renters only; the case in which the farmer has no land of his own.

In Ban Mon Khao Khew the number of villagers who rent some land is the highest, twice as many as in Ban Naa Dong or Ban Lang. This is due to the fact that since 1973 vegetables and fruit for factories have been widely grown during the dry season; the cultivation areas are therefore increasing, and more land near the sources of water supply is rented. Also, it should be noted in passing that in Ban Naa Dong they can have double rice crops because of the water supply.

In order to explain the characteristic of land holding, Table 2.3 presents two forms of data. The first one is the general information about land holdings, while the second one shows the size of land holdings according to three categories.

Table 2.3 indicates that for 84.6% of farmers the average holding is 2-15 rai. For analytical purposes, land holdings are divided into 3 categories:

1. Small size consisting of those below 2 rai,
2. Medium size, in the range of 2-15 rai, and on.
3. Large size, in the range of 16-40 rai.

In all the three villages, the largest holding is less than 40 rai. In Ban Naa Dong, the largest land holding is within the range of 31-40 rai. Of the total holdings in the three villages, those who have 2-5 rai amount to 55.3%, and 6-15 rai, 29.3%. Half of the farm holdings owned are usufruct, and only one-third are fully owned. The remainder are in the process of being cleared and

TABLE 2.3 Amount of land held by farming households with percentage distribution by farm size (Based on operation holdings in agricultural land).

| Farm Size (in rai) | BMKK | | BND | | BL | | TOTAL | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|
| | % of total No. of households | No. of h' hold | % of total No. of households | No. of h' hold | % of total No. of households | No. of h' hold | % of total No. of households | No. of h' hold |
| Below 2 rai | 7.5 | 9 | 3.9 | 5 | 11.7 | 12 | 7.7 | 26 |
| 2-5 | (51.2 | 62 | (62.8 | 81 | (52.0 | 53 | (55.3 | 196 |
| 6-15 | 88.4 (37.2 | 45 | 93.0 (30.2 | 39 | 72.6 (20.6 | 21 | 84.6 (29.3 | 105 |
| 16-30 | (4.1 | 5 | (2.3 | 3 | (15.7 | 16 | (7.4 | 24 |
| 31-40 | 4.1 (- | - | 3.1 (0.8 | 1 | 15.7 (- | - | 7.7 (0.3 | 1 |
| | (- | | (0.8 | | (- | | (0.3 | |
| | 100% | 121 | 100% | 129 | 100% | 102 | 100% | 352 |

* Source: Lampang Province Land Office, the 1977 census.

claimed as usufruct. The difference in status of the land ownership titles may be explained by the closeness to the local town and the stage of land development. In Ban Mon Khao Khew, most of the land holdings are close to the local town and have been worked for a long period of time. The holdings are, therefore, better developed and more expensive. The transfer of land ownership, on the other hand, is understandably more frequent. The ownership titles needed, therefore, are of an official documentary kind. However, few of these landowners are not real villagers. Some of them are relatives of villagers who live in town, or villagers who migrated to live in the district, or even urban people who invest their money in buying land themselves. In the other two villages, since most of the land holdings are located on the mountain slopes or in forest areas, the ownership titles are still at the much more fluid and less official stage of tra cong (see page 71).

We can conclude then that, considering the three villages, a larger amount of arable land is available in Ban Naa Dong, it is more fertile, and therefore, is utilized more fully than that in Ban Mon Khao Khew, which is more industrialized; or that in Ban Lang which is more remote.

2.9 Water Supply

In spite of the fact that the highest incidence of rain occurs during the rice growing season from May to September, irrigation schemes are vital for agricultural support in this region. Because of the hilly contours of the area, rain-water is not retained by the land and tends to drain off rapidly. Traditional irrigation systems have been in operation for centuries and are crucial for agricultural communities outside the area affected by the modern irrigation schemes developed by the Royal Irrigation Department. From the banks of the river, small canals (known locally as mu'ang) are made so that water supplies can be drawn in to feed the rice fields in the area. In order that the water in the river may flow easily through the irrigation canals, the level of the water at the place where the canals and the river meet will be raised by building a bamboo dam, locally called fai, across the river. The flow of water from the river into the irrigation canals is controlled by a water-gate. From the irrigation canals, smaller canals will be further sub-divided so that every plot of land in the irrigation area will be

thoroughly watered.

Formerly, the irrigation dam and the water-gate were made of bamboo frames filled with sand and mud. At present both the dam and water-gate are made of concrete. The dam, water-gate, and irrigation canals are made up into a traditional irrigation system under the supervision of an elected irrigation controller called khu'-fai.

The irrigation controller and a number of assistants are responsible for mobilizing the labour and materials needed from the villagers whose farm lands are in the irrigation area for the construction and maintenance of the irrigation dams and canals. The distribution of water supplies into the rice fields and the control of water levels are the main duty of the irrigation controller and his assistants.

As regards the distribution of water from the irrigation canals into the rice fields, the water is distributed by means of sluices locally called thang. (Thang has other meanings. As a noun, it means a basket or bucket which can contain a volume of 20 litres. In rural communities rice is still measured by a thang rather than by weight, hence as a compound noun, thang means a unit of 20 litres volume. In commercial terms, it means the table used by market-traders the size of which will determine the fee payable to the market owner. The last two meanings are traditional usages). (Royal Thai Institute, 1949: 483). The width and depth of the thang are proportional to the total size of farm holdings. Those farmers with larger farm holdings, therefore, will have wider and deeper

thang than those with smaller holdings. After the thang has been set for an individual farm, it cannot be altered. Those who violate this allocation of water supplies will be fined either in cash or in kind, depending upon what has previously been agreed, by the irrigation controller through the village committee.

Generally, the irrigation controller has the following functions; to open and shut the water-gate of the irrigation canal so that water will be equally distributed among the rice fields in the irrigation area; to fix the date and mobilize labour for the cleaning of the irrigation canal; to inspect and repair irrigation dams and canals; to settle disputes over the use of water from the irrigation project; to collect fines from those who violate the regulations of the irrigation system, and to keep a map of farm holdings and a list of the land owners and tenants for water distribution purposes; to give reports to be announced on the radio concerning the opening of the sluice gate, etc.

The irrigation controller and his assistants receive a remuneration in the form of rice, or a quote of water supply for their fields, or a permit to be exempt from irrigation labour duties. The quote of water supply and the right to be exempt from labour, however, can be transferred to other farmers.

2.10 The Farm Labour Force

The farm household is the basic unit of agricultural production. Each able-bodied member of the household

is a part of the farm labour force. The traditional cooperative system of labour exchange is still practised among farmers in order to get farm work done on time. In one traditional labour exchange system the volunteer helpers have to be well treated and given plenty of food and drink by the host; it is often found that the amount of money spent in the traditional system is more than the actual pay for hired labour. There is another type of labour exchange by which the host does not have to feed the volunteer helpers, but the names of the helpers and number of working time (hours and days) given are recorded by the host so that he or his household can reciprocate, when called upon, with an equal number of working days. This is more widely accepted in the three villages than the first system.

The farming households referred to in this section of the chapter are those households that operate their own or rented farm holdings. Most of the household members in the three villages are engaged in farming the family's land. The rest are those who have no farm holdings of their own but have to hire themselves out, or raise livestock such as pigs and chickens for sale.

As the result of the use of its farm labour force, Table 2.4 shows villagers' average income. The information about villagers' income was collected mainly through observation and interview. Because their products for household consumption are not valued in the monetized system in order to record their income the amount of rice they have for the year of my field study (1979) was valued

TABLE 2.4 Comparison of Rice-Cultivation Income and
Non Rice-Cultivation Income

| | BMKK | | BND | | BL | |
|--|------|------|-------|------|------|------|
| | Baht | % | Baht | % | Baht | % |
| Average Income for Rice-Cultivation | 4072 | 45.2 | 10025 | 90.8 | 2204 | 53.0 |
| Non Rice-Cultivation | 4944 | 54.8 | 1012 | 9.2 | 1957 | 49.0 |
| Total Average Family Income | 9016 | 100% | 11037 | 100% | 4161 | 100% |

into baht according to the local market price. I used the same method for non-rice cultivation income. A household head of Ban Lang helped one of his friends to repair house for five days, in return his friend gave him two small chickens of a good breed, to raise. The local price of the two live chickens (15 baht each) was noted down in the guide line sheet (or the questionnaire form) of that villager as his non-rice cultivation income. Apart from this, the income which villagers are paid by money such as daily casual labour wage is directly recorded in baht. We may note from this discussion, evidence that money has not completely permeated the villagers' internal economy, but rather many transactions are based on reciprocal labour or payment in kind.

From Table 2.4, average income from rice cultivation is highest in Ban Naa Dong (90.8%), while 54.8% of Ban Mon Khao Khew villagers' average income came from non-rice cultivation. This is due to the fact that Ban Naa Dong can grow the second crop, but Ban Mon Khao Khew villagers either grow other crops for factories

or have a job as labour workers. The average income of Ban Lang people, which depends very much on natural resources, emphasizes the importance of both income sources.

TABLE 2.5 Comparative Table of Villagers' Average Income showing Monthly Variation by percentage distribution.

| | Jan. | Feb. | Mar. | Apr. | May | June | July | Aug. | Sep. | Oct. | Nov. | Dec. |
|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| BMKK | 13.0 | 3.9 | 5.2 | 4.2 | 7.0 | 3.0 | 6.4 | 6.2 | 7.6 | 7.6 | 6.0 | 29.9 |
| BND | 2.4 | 1.9 | 2.4 | 10.4 | 28.4 | 2.3 | 2.5 | 2.4 | 2.2 | 3.6 | 28.9 | 12.6 |
| BL | 13.5 | 4.9 | 3.7 | 1.4 | 2.7 | 1.5 | 5.7 | 11.6 | 8.0 | 1.7 | 1.6 | 43.8 |
| Total | 9.6 | 3.6 | 3.8 | 5.3 | 12.7 | 2.3 | 4.9 | 6.7 | 5.9 | 4.3 | 12.2 | 28.8 |

According to villagers' farm labour force and sources of their average income, the three villages' monthly variation of average income is presented in Table 2.5, for which the same data collection method as for Table 2.4 is employed. By comparison, Ban Mon Khao Khew has more constant income throughout the year while 43.8% of annual average income for Ban Lang villagers is in December. Ban Naa Dong people received the major part of their income in May and November from rice cultivation.

In general, villagers regard rice cultivation as their central source of income. Their farm labour forces are notably used for this occupation. However, the fruit of their labour, their average income varies in level and constancy. The principal factors which cause variation in average income are the different village location, availability of water supply and the existence of convenient transportation networks.

CONCLUSION

With the expansion of industrialization, peasants accept and adopt new forms of labour. The labour market impinges on reciprocal labour exchange, causing both complementarity and conflicts in their economic and social structure. The problem derived from reciprocal labour exchange is that this system is substantially based upon moral conformity. The conflict comes from changing values in this traditional system. Some business-minded peasants try to benefit from the loose arrangement by taking advantage of others. The manipulative peasant can extract extra labour from his group. However, without the reciprocal exchange of labour, northern Thai peasants will be unable to grow their staple food because this job needs considerable labour. Complementarity arises from the fact that the reciprocal exchange of labour helps to preserve relationships between peasants which lead to other kinds of cooperative work needing considerable labour. Hence, in spite of the changing moral value among some business-minded peasants, the reciprocal exchange of labour is still functional and necessary for the survival of peasants in the three villages.

On the other hand, when we consider the economic aspect of market labour, the demand created by industrialization, such as for the factory workers of Ban Mon Khao Khew, provides the peasants with a secondary source of income and the payment is not high enough to take the place of rice cultivating. Villagers who work as factory workers

still find security and stability in subsistence farming for their family. At the social level, a peasant still depends on other peasants in the same village. He cannot be as entirely independent as the urban industrial worker. Isolation from the group causes social conflict among peasants. Therefore, the labour market alone does not help to convince peasants of this security and stability.

In addition the demand of the labour market in rural northern Thailand is not constant and does not guarantee peasants a regular income. The labour market depends on seasons when crop supplies for factories are available. These are usually the cash crop seasons mentioned earlier; before harvest (around September), and at the end of the dry season (April-May). These two seasons are the peak of labour market demand. Factory work and waged labour are only temporary jobs. The demand of labour market decreases towards the end of dry season, when the semi-agricultural industry work has been done. This may be contrasted with the high payment and constancy of demand in the labour market for heavy industry in postwar Germany. Here factory work becomes the most significant means of income. S.H. Franklin states that "... the constant rise in industrial wages is persistently reducing the proportionate contribution of the farming sector to the family income, so that the income differential between factory operatives with and without small holdings is fast disappearing..." (1969 : 54-55). A similar process took place in rural Japanese peasant communities (Nakane,

1967: 6-11). But for the northern Thai peasants because of the low payment for labour wage and the uncertainty of the labour market, in the present situation factory work does not take up a person's time so much that the individual cannot discharge his obligations under the reciprocal labour system.

2.11 Rice yield

Although the average national yield was around 280kg/rai (700 kg or 0.7 ton/acre) (Moore, 1974: 406), and this figure remained similar for the next three years, the average rice yield per rai in the three villages during the agricultural year of 1978-1979 was 355 kg/rai (888 kg/acre) in Ban Naa Dong, 261 kg/rai (653 kg/acre) in Ban Mon Khao Khew, and 158 kg/rai (395 kg/acre) in Ban Lang. Farmers received 1.20 baht from traders for one standard litre of rice.

In order to determine quantities of rice produced, I asked the head of each household how much rice of each type his household had harvested (early, late, glutinous, and that reserved for seed), and also what he used to measure the yield. Villagers in the three villages keep a total of their rice production by counting the basketfuls of rice after it is threshed and winnowed at the time it is loaded into the temporary rice barns before being carried to the village. They use two standard-size baskets, one roughly equivalent to the standard Thai measure of one thang (20 litres), and another twice this size. Most of the measuring baskets are made by a few craftsmen; they are used in the harvest rituals, and are kept for

many years by the same household. The standard thang used in measuring these quantities contains 20.25 litres loosely packed; an empty kerosene tin, which is usually accepted as the equivalent of a thang, contains 20.75 litres of loosely packed rice. Tight packing increases these amounts 10-12%. In many households, there was a strong tendency to round off yield figures to the closest five baskets, and in general this probably resulted in a slight underestimation of yield. When pressed for exact figures some heads of households would give them to the nearest basket, while others would say that the "leftovers" were not counted and that anything less than an even basket which was left over was supposed to be used for brewing liquor and was not counted in the tally of yield.

International figures on rice production are sometimes quoted in metric tonnes rather than in volume. In order to convert the volumetric figures to weight, we can use weight figures for an "average" thang of rice. The weight of rice varies significantly with its moisture content and with the variety of rice in question. My estimate of the relationship of rice volume to weight is from rice measured and weighed in November and December at harvest time. The average weight of a thang of rice, removed from storage and before sun drying for milling, is about 12.4 kg.

2.12 Livestock

In addition to crop production, farmers in the three villages also raise livestock such as pigs and chickens,

and draught animals such as oxen and buffaloes. Some of the draught animals are raised for farm work, and the rest for sale. Pigs and chickens are raised in almost every household with or without a farm holding, for land is no problem in poultry-farming. The livestock is kept within the household compound or in the stable under the house. In almost every house, there will be one or two pigs and a dozen chickens.

Oxen and water buffaloes are both used in farming. Oxen are less frequently used than water buffaloes, especially for ploughing land, but are widely raised in the villages. Each household will have one or two oxen and two or three water buffaloes. Also, there are non-farming households that keep buffaloes for hiring out.

During the rice growing season, draught animals will be most needed at the beginning of the rainy season when ploughing and field preparations are done before the start of the planting proper. Every household will take the animals out to work in the field all day. For the households that have not enough animals to complete the work on time, more animals or hand-tractors will be hired from neighbours or relatives. The normal charge for a hired work animal is 40 tang of rice (496 kg or 960 baht) for the whole growing season.

The rent for a hired work animal is high when compared with the rice yield.

Each year, the sales of work animals are very few. There is no household that raises the animals for sale.

The animals will be sold only when they are declining and need to be replaced by healthier animals. The sale of draught animals is mostly done a few months before or after the rice growing season. Sometimes animals are sold because of need for cash to pay debts. A fully grown bullock or water buffalo is worth 1,000 - 1,500 baht. A one year old animal is worth about 300 baht. Pigs are raised for cash: Every household has at least one or two pigs, but some raise as many as 10 - 15. In Ban Mon Khao Khew, and in the other villages, there is an investor who supplies piglets without immediate charge to farmers who raise pigs. When the pig is fully grown the farmer can sell it to anyone. But he must pay back the investor twice the original cost of the piglet. In the three villages, most of the farming households raise pigs by this system. An 8 - 9 months old pig is worth about 200 - 500 baht.

After one pig is sold, another piglet will be bought and raised.

Most of the chickens raised are of the local breed. They are allowed to roam about for food. Most households will keep a flock of 6 - 20 chickens for household consumption as well as for sale. In Ban Mon Khao Khew, there are two households that keep more than 50 chickens and the excess are mainly for sale. Chickens are sold to traders who come to buy in the village, or are taken to be sold in the market place in the district town, or in the city of Lampang. A chicken is sold for 5 - 10 baht. Due to the fact that livestock is not primarily raised

for sale, the percentage of total income derived from the sale is insignificant.

I would like to draw attention to the fact that while northern Thai villagers prefer to retain the draft animal they need for subsistence rice cultivation to ensure the security of their staple food, they show a considerable willingness to adopt innovations in the livestock raised for sale through the subsidiary economy. The opportunity has arisen with the development of the external market economy and the introduction of credit in buying and selling pigs by the traders from town and chicken farms of Ban Mon Khao Khew. This illustrates how the subsistence economy of the village is supported by their subsidiary occupations. It is their subsidiary economy which gives access to cash income and hence confronts the village internal economy with the increasing demands of external market.

2.13 The Physical Homestead

Almost all the householders in the sample population are farmers. Their household settlements and style of life are of a standard pattern within which there is some variation, depending on economic status. The three villages studied share the same features in settlement pattern and style of house-building (see also Turton, 1978). The houses are one-storied and elevated above the ground on posts. The space within the household compound is proportionally divided for the granary, well, bathing enclosure, toilet, and cattle stable. The granary near the house is substantially built of wooden planks and

is elevated to the same level as the house floor (Figure 2.1 - 2.2). In addition to the divided areas within the household compound, there is a wide space in front of the house, which is generally used as a play ground for children. When the adults are talking or discussing some business on the platform underneath the house, the children will be playing in the space in front of the house. The space under the house is a popular place for a lounge. There is a bamboo sitting platform or bed elevated by posts from the ground. In Ban Lang, weaving and basket-work are done under the house. In the evening, often after dinner, members of the family will sit and talk on the couch. Close friends of the family and other informal visitors, are often received in this part of the house. In Ban Mon Khao Khew and Ban Lang, the vegetables are grown within the compound area. The difference can be explained by the village water supply systems. In Ban Naa Dong, water supply for cultivation can be drawn directly from the irrigation canal into the nearby rice field areas, while in Ban Mon Khao Khew and Ban Lang, especially during the dry season when vegetables are grown, the wells in the village are the main source of water.

This general investigation of the villagers' background enables us to note certain distinctive features. The northern Thai villagers have not been entirely integrated into the Thai nation, but remain culturally somewhat apart. From the economical point of view, their main property is land. Their principal means of earning a living is

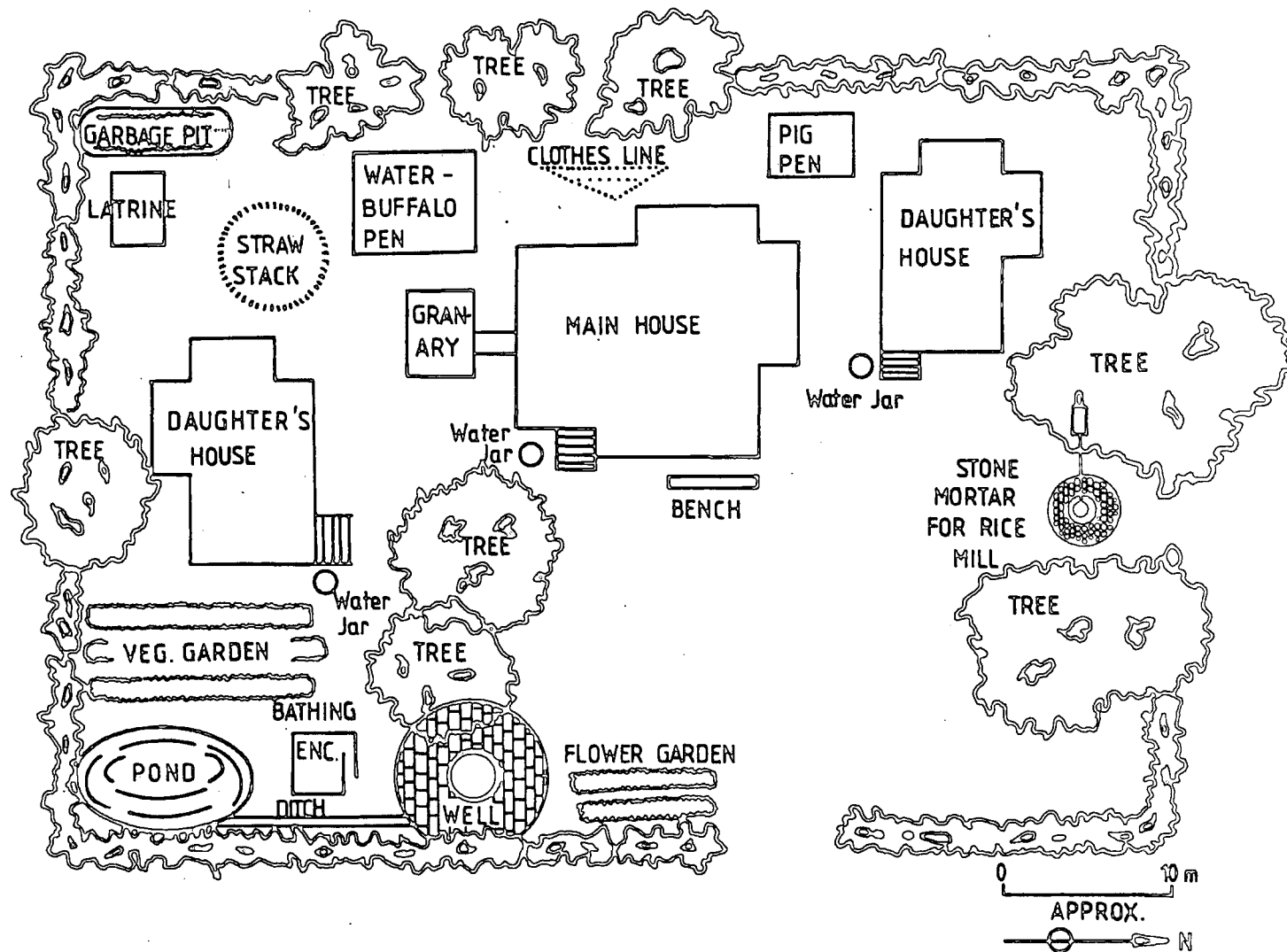
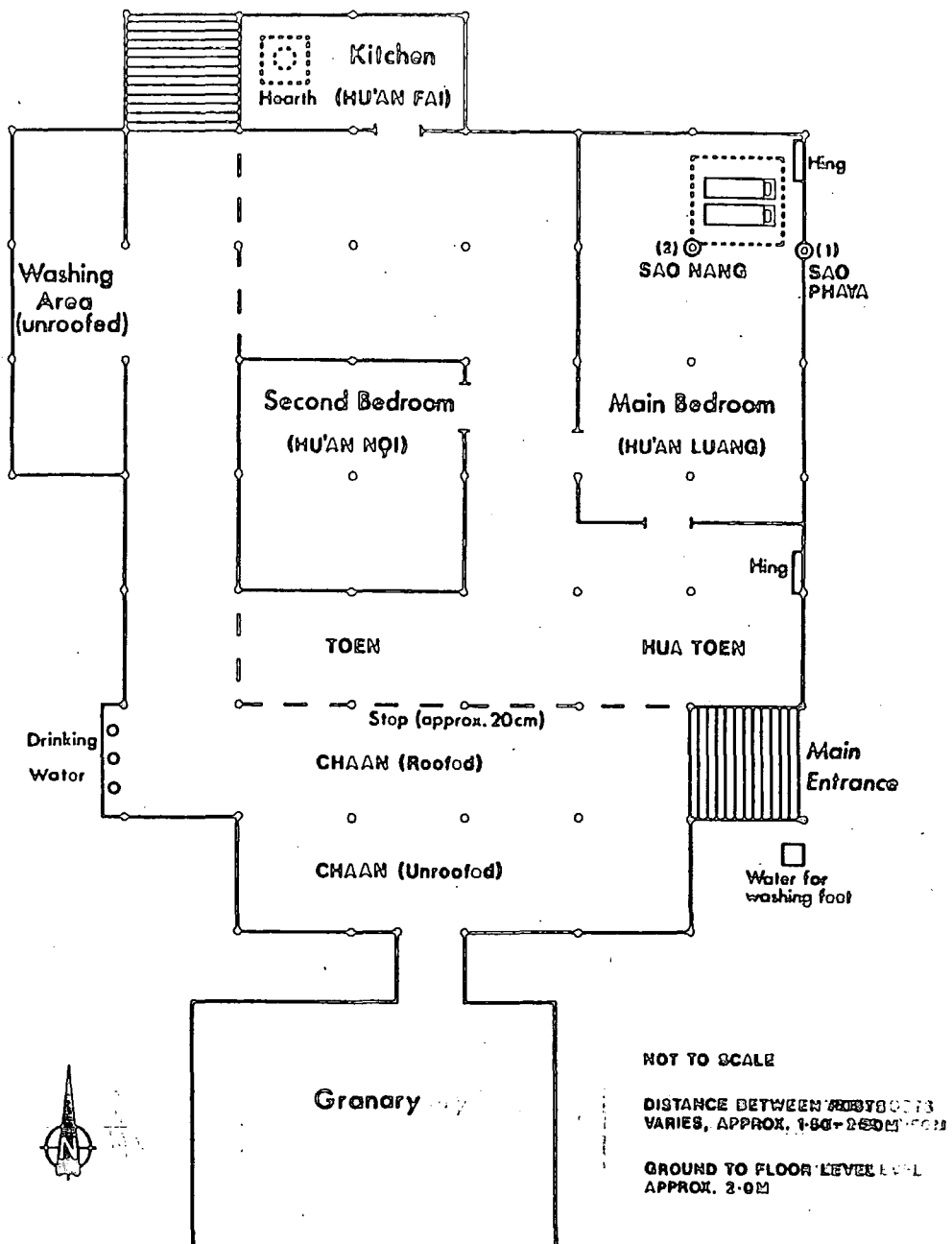


FIG. 2.1. THE SKETCH PLAN OF A RURAL NORTHERN THAI COURTYARD, 1979.

Figure 2.2 A NORTHERN THAI HOUSE PLAN



Source: Turton, A.G.W., 1978 "Architectural and political Space in Thailand" in G.B. Milner ed. Natural Symbols in South East Asia. School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

rice cultivation. Other farming produce is subsidiary. Communities in the three villages share similar social structures and live in the traditional homestead style.

CONCLUSION

The result, both of an anthropological study of peasant agriculture in Thailand, and the theoretical works we have discussed at the beginning of this chapter, is to provide one of the most convincing demonstrations of the priority of subsistence concerns over profitability. Traditional techniques are still used in subsistence, avoiding the risks of innovation. However there is inevitably a trend towards change in village economy. This study documents the consequences of interaction between the internal and external economies.

Moreover, the theoretical works discussed here shed light on the nature of structural change in the economy of the three villages of my study. As Scott states, "a critical assumption of the safety-first rules is that subsistence routines are producing satisfactory results" (Scott, 1976: 26), the northern Thai peasants are wary of the risks of participating in the external market economy unless they have a secure subsistence base. From the discussion above it is evident that peasants prefer to keep their subsistence economy, including the reciprocal labour exchange, the use of labour animal, in the traditional way. However, their economy is sensitive to disruption by the external market. To support the subsistence economy, they have to be prepared to employ innovations and enter the wider economic network. With their economy

undergoing change, a peasant has to leave the familiar economic context and strike out for the unknown. The new economy context has social and political implications which justify his usual sceptical caution.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE THREE VILLAGES AND THEIR CONTEXT IN NORTHERN THAILAND

Starting from the view that the family is the primary unity of any society, A.R. Radcliffe-Brown states that the norms of kinship and marriage are basic to most other aspects of the social structures of a society (1970: 1-31). While it would be wrong to treat the northern Thai village as a single extended kinship group, there is evidence from many social anthropologists who have studied the effect of innovation (Barnett, 1953; Epstein, S.T., 1962; Epstein, A.L., 1969; Douglas, M., 1969; Rogers, E.M., 1971, 1974; Richards, A.I., 1973; Layton, R.H., 1973; and Long, 1977) that primary social structures such as the household, kinship system, and social interactions based on them have a significant role in the process by which innovations are adopted. Interaction between the existing society and new influences will be discussed in detail in Chapters 6, 7, and 8. Having introduced the economic structure in the previous chapter, I would like at this stage like to discuss the villagers' social life more fully. Thus this chapter will deal with their family structures, their patterns of social interaction, and institutions such as the local temple and school. A few kinship models will be used to define the northern Thai social structures.

3.1 Developmental cycle in domestic groups

To understand the process of continuity and change

within a society, it is important to consider the development of their domestic groups because as Fortes, discussing the process of social reproduction, states, "...the physical growth and development of the individual is embodied in the social system through his education in the culture of his society..."(Fortes in Goody (Ed.) 1966: 1). The process of social reproduction involves social values, institutions and activities which function to form the pattern of living and help to maintain their social ties from generation to generation (Goody, 1966: 53-61). Hence, Fortes argues, "...in all human societies, the workshop... of social reproduction, is the domestic group..." (Fortes in Goody (Ed.), 1966: 2). The domestic group has a significant duty to provide the material and cultural resources needed to maintain and bring up its members. From the characteristics and functions of the domestic group, there are two elements combined in the role of domestic group : the internal system (marriage, residence pattern, inheritance, and succession) and the external system (economic, political, jurat and ritual aspects).s

The internal system will be considered first. In the context of the domestic group and its development, a person's life cycle starts from birth and extends to his jurat adulthood. A person can be considered mature when he reaches marriageable age. From Fortes' point of view the progression of its members through socially-recognized stages of life is the key to the development of the domestic group. He argues:

"Marriage is certainly a crucial element in determining choice of residence by or for a person. In developmental terms, the reason for this is because marriage leads to an actual or incipient split in one or both of the spouses' natal families and domestic groups, and fission in the domestic group is always translated into spatial representation in the residence arrangements. In analytical terms, this developmental moment is the starting point of a redistribution of control over productive and reproductive resources associated with a change in the jural status of the spouses". (Fortes in Goody (Ed.), 1966: 3-4).

Fortes' analysis suggests that in order to investigate the developmental cycle of a domestic group, one needs to know its internal structure, how it is recruited and when it undergoes fission.

Residence patterns will help to define the internal structure of the domestic group. There are a number of recognized types of residence in domestic groups. Here, we are primarily concerned with those associated with matrilineal descent, but to emphasize the significance of residence patterns, various types of marriage and residence will be used for the purpose of comparison.

Among the Shavante of central Brazil, marriage takes place when the bride and groom are very young, particularly the bride. In some cases, D. Maybury-Lewis records, the bride is only two years old. This is due to the social expectation that a man should be married when he reaches

the age of maturity: which according to their tradition is 12-17 years old. However, a first marriage is a process, not an act. The process of getting married is not complete until the husband has actually taken up uxorilocal residence in his wife's household (Maybury-Lewis, David, 1974: 62-103). The Iban of Borneo (Freeman, J.D., in Goody (Ed.) 1966: 15-52) who live in "longhouses", exhibit a different procedure. When a couple marry, they will decide whether to live in the longhouse which belongs to the husband's parents or that of the wife's parents. Their residence pattern is one of equal balance between virilocal and uxorilocal principles. Among the Iban, "...here an individual does not choose whether or not to live in the mother's or father's group, but in the natal group (whether this be mother's or father's), or the spouse's group" (Fox, 1967: 160). Another interesting study of marriage and residence units is A.L. Richards' work amongst the matrilineal central Bantu of central Africa (in Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde (Eds.) 1970). Based upon the rule of exogamous marriage, Bantu residence organization is rather complicated. However, A.L. Richards has drawn three principal residence patterns. These are of particular interest since, as we shall see, the northern Thai also practise a system of matrilineal inheritance. All matrilineal systems have a common feature: property is transmitted through woman, but authority through men. In this they differ from patrilineal systems. A comparison of matrilineal systems reveals a variety of procedures through which difficulties created by the separation of lines of inheritance

and the transmission of authority have been reconciled. In the first one, Richards' "matriarchal solution", a woman who marries lives with her brother or brothers and is visited by her husband at night. The second solution, the virilocal marriage, is that of the fraternal extended family with sisters and children "loaned away". This residence pattern can keep a group of brothers together by bringing their wives to live with them. Men, therefore, have full authority over the community in which they live.

A woman who is "loaned" out to a man in another community at her marriage will return her children of the matrilineage to her brother at puberty. The third residence pattern is one form of uxorilocal marriage, or the "borrowed husband". Richards states that this form tends to have easily broken marriages because of conflict between a man from another community and the wife's local descent group. However, senior men here have the privilege of practicing virilocal marriage. This means that while a young man is dependent on his father-in-law, he gains authority as the head of a "father-daughter grand family" in his old age. This kind of residence pattern is possible in areas where land is plentiful enough to build up a new homestead easily, and when the political system allows the constant creation of new units (Richards, A.I., in Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, D., 1970: 207-251).

In the northern Thai case, authority is transmitted from father-in-law to son-in-law. This distinctive arrangement for the transmission of authority helps to avoid

the problem created by vesting authority in the woman's brother, because in the Thai case a man exercises authority over his own wife and children in the household where he is resident.

The cyclical development of domestic groups in northern Thailand is based on uxori-local marriage. We will discuss this in detail later in this chapter. But at this stage we must deal with crucial elements within the process of the developmental cycle of domestic groups. A second important variable is the point at which fission in the household unit occurs. Goody, comparing the Lo Dagaba with Lo Wiili (1966 : 53-91) shows us that the only significant difference in social structure between the two communities lies in their descent rules. This alternative creates differences in the mode and direction of fission in the domestic group, the critical factor being the rules of inheritance and succession by which property rights are allocated between successive generations.

Let us return to the northern Thai. In order to see clearly the operation of fission, their system for organizing domestic units must be considered. Among the Lo Dagaba the father encourages his sons to have their own granaries and to build up their own flocks because when he dies his moveable wealth is claimed by the uterine heir.

Among the northern Thai, fission occurs at a later point in the growth cycle of domestic groups. This is due to the fact that rights over material objects will

be transmitted through the married daughter from father-in-law to son-in-law, particularly the youngest daughter and her husband who will own the house and farming implements when the father dies.

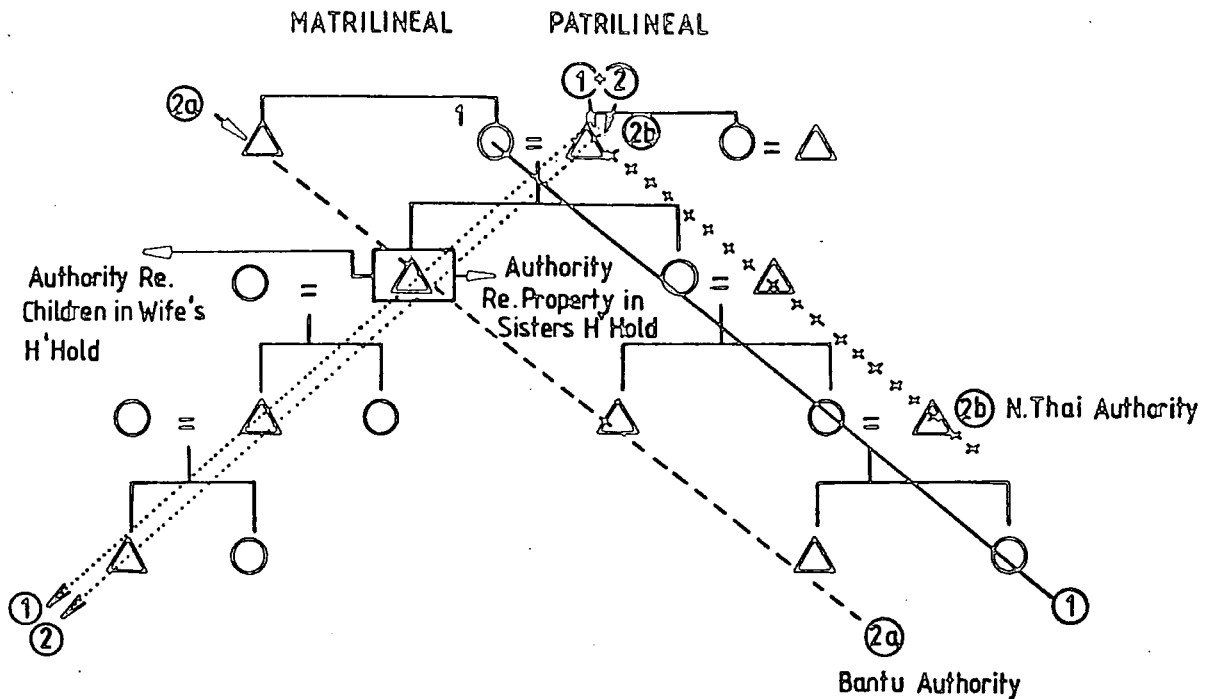
When an elder daughter marries, her husband comes to live in the girl's parents' household. However, when the younger daughter marries, her older sister must leave with her husband and children to set up a separate dwelling, which constitutes an independent unit of food production and consumption.

From the description of various forms of marriage and residence patterns, we can see that a domestic group as the unit of production and reproduction involves many other kinds of social activity. Thus, "the alignments of residence are determined by the economic, affective, and jural relations that spring from these primary factors, and it is fallacious to analyse them in terms of ostensibly discrete rules or types that come into effect at marriage" (Fortes in Goody (ed.), 1971 : 88). This significant involvement leads us to consider another element, the external system, in the development of domestic group.

A third element to consider is the relationship of the household to wider patterns of authority or cooperative labour. The impact of social gathering, economic activities, jural and ritual authority are related to each other. Freeman illustrates this in the case of the Iban. A longhouse contains anything up to 50 domestic groups. The longhouse does not have collective ownership of farm land, does not function as a cooperative group in economic activity,

but they place themselves under the househeadman, whose important task is the safe-guarding and administering of the customary law. Iban marriage therefore has political consequences. In jural matters, the longhouse community is a corporate entity, for all its family groups do place themselves under the jurisdiction of their househeadman, but this unit is not constituted by unilineal descent. The Iban lack any form of descent group that is more inclusive than the family apartment (bilek) (Fox, 1967 : 166). They have made the family apartment their domestic and economic unit. It is the primacy of the marriage bond over the bonds of filiation and siblingship that give direction to the process of the bilek fission (Fortes in Goody (ed.), 1966 : 7) and its material accompaniment, the partition of the family apartment estate. Each new family apartment becomes a discrete segment within the jural unit constituted by the longhouse. In contrast, the Shavanté's first marriage rarely has political effects. There is no transfer of property or residence involved at marriage, because of the "process of marriage" we discussed above. A Shavante young man will postpone the time when he has to accept the status of inferior under his wife's father and her brother when he moves to live in her house. This he must do either when his wife bears a child or when his age-set is promoted to the status of mature man (Maybury-Lewis, 1974 : 85-86). Amongst northern Thais where uxori-local residence is practised, a man will provide his labour for his wife's cooperative group or joining

FIG. 3.1. COMPARISON OF N.THAI MATRILINEAL WITH
BANTU MATRILINEAL AND PATRILINEAL



1 = Property Line of Transmission

2 = Authority Line of Transmission

..... Patrilineal

2a ---- Bantu Authority Transmission

2b ++++ N.Thai Authority Transmission

1 — Matrilineal Property Transmission

her household. This draws him into a wider social group: his wife's household alliance cooperative group and household spirit worship group. Their marriage and residence have economic consequences for the process of reproduction of the domestic group which we will discuss more fully in the following chapters.

From the various types of domestic group and the function of internal and external systems in their cyclical development, we can see that all these factors operating together, create and direct each individual's domestic career. Radio listening behaviour is one of the social activities which is related to domestic career, and the role of radio in this sphere will be discussed in the following chapters.

3.1.1 Concept of Khua Hu'an (Household). The primary unit of social organization in rural northern Thailand is the household. In an agrarian community a household has particularly important functions as a distinct body for economic management. A household is normally formed by, or around, the nucleus of an elementary family, and may include relatives other than these immediate family members. The settlement can be said to be composed of the following inclusive groupings: the family, the household, and the courtyard. Each village contains several courtyard groups. The composition of a courtyard group varies according to the specific situation, such as the stage in the cycle of the domestic family, and the economic situation of the household. However, its sociological importance is



such that a household of any kind is regarded as one distinct unit in the society, represented externally by its head, and internally organized under his leadership. In a village community it is the household that forms the basis of social organization.

The Khua hu'an (household) is always conceived as persisting through time by the succession of its members. Hence succession to the headship is of great functional importance, and the line of succession is the axis of the structure of Khua hu'an, while the house gives the material and social frame of household. The members of a household normally correspond to a family, but the shape and composition of a family are always subject to the structure of Khua hu'an; at the same time the khua hu'an has the capacity to include persons other than immediate members of the family. The organization of a community in rural northern Thailand is built on the basis of the household. Thus khua hu'an is the most important structural element in the analysis of kinship and economic organization in rural northern Thailand. It is not my intention to discuss all aspects of the social organization in greater detail, since there are other anthropologists whose studies contribute greatly to understanding rural northern Thai social organization: de Young (1955), Kingshill (1965), Moerman (1966), Wijeyewardene (1967), Tambiah (1970), Turton (1972, 1975), Davis (1974), and Potter (1977). However, a brief account of residence pattern, succession and inheritance customs is a necessary preliminary to the understanding of household structure.

3.1.2 Residence pattern

The literature discussed at the beginning of this chapter casts some light on the analysis of residence pattern of rural northern Thai domestic group. In general marriage among northern Thai villagers has a tendency towards village endogamy; or more precisely, as an empirical fact most of married couples both husbands and wives were born and live in the same village. Then a newly married couple lives uxori locally (see Fox, 1967 : 84, 160) for a few years in the home of the wife's parents as members of the same household. A change takes place when the next sister gets married; the older sister and her family may usually build a house for themselves in the parents' courtyard, the newly married daughter and her husband will move into her parents' home. This residential change is usually synchronized with other changes. For the elder sister and her family, no more are they part of the parental household, economically dependent on them and also contributing their labour to the parental farming enterprise. The wife's parents informally transfer some land, the size of which has already been calculated according to the number of daughters, to the couple so that they can farm independently. Legal possession of this land takes place later, usually after the death of the parents in the form of intestate succession (c.f. Moerman, 1968; Turton, 1975; Potter, J., 1976). This pattern of transmission of property through females and uxori local residence show an emphasis on female rights to land. Finally the youngest sister

marries and lives with the parents as the stem family and will succeed to the parental house. In the very rare case of a household without daughters, the eldest son will be the successor. At the next stage a widowed parent when he or she is too old to work will become the dependent of the stem family, and on his or her death the cycle starts again.

3.1.3 Principles of household succession and inheritance

The head of the household, a position normally occupied by the father of a family, manages its farming, controls its property, and represents the household externally. The property and various other kinds of right which are of vital importance for agriculturists are attached to the household. These rights, in their operation, are held by the head of the household, and he should be succeeded by his youngest son-in-law (Figure 3.1) who has the right to share in the management of the property on the grounds that he is a residential member making a considerable contribution of labour to the economy, and a man on whom the head can depend in his old age. In rural northern Thailand it is common for the transmission of the headship to take place when the father dies.

The principal rule of succession to the headship common throughout northern Thailand is that of the youngest son-in-law. Through this 'father-in-law - son-in-law' relationship inescapable economic and moral ties are established between the two statuses: the son-in-law, being given the economic advantage, has an obligation

to feed his parents-in-law in their old age. Among an agricultural population the household is thus a distinctive enterprise with insurance for old members, rather than simply the residence of a family. Thereby, it entails the strong desire to ensure its continuance: to get a successor is the great concern of the household head. Another important rule of succession to headship of the household is that it should be by one son-in-law only; never by two or more sons-in-law jointly. Whatever the composition of a household may be, its basic structure is always in terms of this principle. In fact, it is very rare for two married sisters to reside in the same household for a long time, though sometimes such cases do occur, possibly because of the economic situation. The principle of father-in-law to son-in-law succession is combined with the principle of the one-son-in-law succession, and produces a residential pattern in which married siblings are expected to have separate households. Non-successor couples are supposed to leave the father's household after the marriage of younger successor sister and her husband. Once they have established their own independent households, each forms a distinctive property unit, in which again the same principle operates. This process entails status differentiation among the sisters and their husbands: successor and non-successor. In actual working, inheritance tends to be influenced by the principle of succession; the successor always gets the father-in-law's house and agricultural implements. This distinction becomes more

obvious when the household possesses considerable property, and has high social prestige in the community. Even if the land is divided equally among the daughters, the successor gets the father-in-law's household with various rights and advantages, including the prestige of having an older house to which the ancestore cult of his wife is attached. Thus a non-successor is at a disadvantage through his inferior social and economic situation. This situation may appear also among households with many daughters or among the less wealthy households with little land to be divided among daughters. In such a case, the non successors have to struggle by becoming tenants, clear new land, or find subsidiary jobs. They cannot leave agricultural life entirely to work in industry and seek their fortune in town because of the low payment for waged labour which keeps them in subsistence rice cultivation.

Migration to the labour market or labour centre related to the peasant monetized economy is a complicated situation which cannot be explained by one factor alone. Clyde Mitchell (in Middleton (ed.), 1970: 26-37) argues that labour migration and many of its concomitant social manifestations, not as causes and effects, but rather as concomitant adjustments within a changed social system. His study of migration in Africa, based upon many findings (Read, 1942; Houghton and Walton, 1952; Richards, 1954; Southhall, 1954; Prothero, 1957), shows that economic necessity is the major cause for a man to enter the labour market.

Similar to northern Thailand, in many areas of Africa (Southhall, 1954, Richards, 1954; Gulliver, 1955; 1957) the cash economy is subsidiary. Mitchell argues that when a migrant has built up social relationships in town and when his economic wants are satisfied "...at a certain point of time he ceases to be a labour migrant and becomes a permanent town-dweller" (1970 : 36). However, evidently in various rural areas in Africa social obligation still play significant role in making labour migration a recurrent phenomenon (Richards, 1954; Gulliver, 1955; Prothero, 1957). For example, the Nigerians (Prothero, 1957 referred by Mitchell) prefer to migrate seasonally in order to retain their social relationships within the tribal system. And within this system a tribesman feels confident in the economic security of subsistence and psychological security of the familiarity of his role vis-à-vis his fellows around him. This phenomenon can be found in other parts of the world. In New Britain many Matupits work away from their village, but they still "maintain ties with the village, and continue to play a part in its economic life" (A.L.). Epstein explains this behaviour as follows, "it is only by simultaneous participation in the different sectors of the economy, wage, cash and subsistence, that the Matupi can take full advantage of the opportunities for employment in the town and elsewhere" (1969: 305). In northern Thailand, these two principal factors: the importance of the subsistence economy and social relationships within and between households

are still at work. The importance and security of subsistence, the need for rice, help to emphasize the significance of social obligation through which cooperative work within household and courtyard and the reciprocal exchange of labour between households and courtyards within a village are formed. A northern Thai peasant is obliged to support his parents, when he is still single, his own family, his parents-in-law, and his alliance cooperative group. In return, he will receive reciprocity in subsistence activities. A peasant in a social system, particularly in a well-integrated system like that of northern Thailand, occupies a position which links him to many other people around him. These links serve to define for him exactly his rights and obligations towards those other persons and it helps to provide to him like a set of blue-prints by means of which he is able to predict their behaviour towards him. From the data I have examined so far, it seems to me that succession by a younger son-in-law would appear where the economic situation is such that all children can be provided with means adequate for their independence, yet at the same time the household economy can be managed by the labour force of an elementary family. In such a situation, it is a wiser arrangement in terms of distribution of labour force to let the elder daughter and her husband establish independent households while the father is at work; and when the father reaches the age at which his labour is insufficient productive, to let the younger daughter and her husband succeed to his household. However,

to maintain more than two couples with their children seems difficult, the balance of productivity and consumption seems to lie at this point.

In the above discussion it is clear that there are two kinds of household: one is that of a successor, and the other is that of non-successor. The former includes the successor's elementary family and his parents-in-law with their unmarried sons and daughters, while the latter is formed normally by one elementary family. However, in the next generation this small household also will grow into a larger one, and may again undergo fission to produce a new household through the marriage of an elder daughter. Social organization in rural northern Thailand is indeed structured by this outstanding principle, and a set of such households is involved in a common economic and political relationship.

3.1.4 Courtyard (Khaung ban)

Development of the courtyard group is closely related to the household cycle. Within the rural northern Thai peasant village, a group of 2-3 houses whose owners are relations either by blood or by marriage through the wives are often built within the same courtyard, without partitioning fences except for houses which are situated on the roadsides. The settlement can be said to be composed of the following progressively more inclusive groupings: the family, the household, and the courtyard. These three bases are dynamically interrelated in terms of the domestic and courtyard cycles (see also Tambiah (1970); Turton (1972 ; 1975); and Potter,

(1976). As I have mentioned earlier, ordinarily a newly married couple lives uxori locally for a period of time in the house of the wife's parents as members of the same household, and then set up a separate establishment in the courtyard when the next sister gets married. It is clear then that the domestic cycle is linked with the courtyard cycle. If there is more than one household within a fenced courtyard, typically the most senior successor of the main house is the point of reference for purposes of identity. In these courtyards, there was usually a core of females who provided the kinship and inheritance links. Owing to the custom of uxori local residence and the inheritance of residence rights in courtyards by daughters rather than by sons, there is in the village a tendency towards co-residence in the courtyard of married female siblings. Thus the domestic cycle is synchronously connected with the compound cycle.

A household which is autonomous in the courtyard with respect to its domestic economy and ownership of paddy, stocks, and which participates as an independent contracting unit in reciprocal economic services and dyadic contracts, will also be reckoned as an autonomous unit for radio listening activity (see more details in Chapter 5). Co-residence in a courtyard involves reciprocities between households in economic and social matters, and these shade off into the reciprocities of wider kinship, friends, neighbourliness, and village membership.

The implications of these inclusive groupings of

family, household and courtyard for radio listening behavioural patterns and economic and social activities will be discussed in later chapters.

3.1.5 Pho (Father) and Mae (Mother) in the household structure

In rural northern Thai peasant communities, the father is the head of the family, since he is a man, and men, as the Thai proverb has it, are superior to women, just as the front legs of an elephant are superior to the hind legs. However, since by marriage he becomes a member of his wife's family, it is to them that he is responsible in using his authority, the authority he has is inherited, through marriage, from his father-in-law.

When a man marries and takes up residence in his wife's family home, the principle of senior-junior relationships becomes important, and the new son-in-law must defer to the authority of his senior. When a man marries a woman, he joins her family and pays a token sum to her ancestral spirits, so that he will be a member of the group protected by them. This is the single crucial element in the marriage ceremony. He places himself under the authority of his wife's father. He gives his name to his wife as required by the national law of 1916 (Bunnag, T., 1977; see also Mougne, C., 1982); but before that law took effect, northern Thai peasants did not have surnames. As long as the father-in-law remains alive the son-in-law will be a subordinate. Authority is passed from man to man, but by virtue of relationships to a line of women (see figure 3.1, the

authority line; see also Nakane, C., 1967: 117-135; Chulalongkorn University, 1979: 83; and Turton, A., 1972: 217-250). As far as the future of the household is concerned, the youngest daughter, who will almost certainly inherit the house, will confer upon her future husband membership of the family, which will give him the right to exercise his authority, and her future husband will inherit the position of head of the household from his father-in-law and take over the house, obliging the elder sister and her family to leave. Who this man is, who is of such importance to the future of the family, left to the vicissitudes of the youngest daughter's experiences of courtship. Thus the process of courtship is of very great importance to the structure of family life (Wijeyewardene, G., 1966; 1967). The newly established family still depends upon the wife's parents economically. It is important to note that the son of the family, who is born into the family household, can expect no form of inherited authority from the family of his birth. He can only become head of a household when he has married. S.H. Potter (1979) argues that in a system like this, the wife is in a most important position. Her husband's status in the family is conferred by her. She has the job of mediating between her husband and her father, who are separated from one another by an avoidance taboo. She is the connecting link, bound to her father by one sort of love, and to her husband by another. There is a great deal of mediating to do,

since the father and the husband have interests which are frequently opposed to one another. The son-in-law, like any heir, is eager to take control, and the father-in-law is reluctant to relinquish it. There is no relationship of long standing, as there would be between father and son, to ease the conflict, since the son-in-law joins the family when the daughter is an adult, and by her choice. Parents may take suggestions and apply pressure, but it is the custom for a man and a woman to choose one another, and marry for love. The effect of all this is to give a woman an important voice in the management of family life, a position of power which comes from her place in the structure of the family. Thus, the specific kind of structure has the effect of increasing the importance of women, even though formal authority is vested in men (Turton, A., 1972). However, the rule of respect for seniors tend to reinforce the position of the husband. The father's status as head of the family is reinforced by his being the oldest.

In the cases of separation and divorce any children which may have been produced will stay with the wife and her family. Most separated marriage partners will continue on friendly terms, especially if they have children. If the ex-husband has moved back to his parents' house, the child or children will occasionally be brought to his home, where they are cared for by the paternal grandparents for a few days or weeks. There are very few separated

or divorced wives in the three villages, even though divorce does not have any social stigma among the villagers. Remarriage is not a scandalous matter. The woman can have children by her new husband, and the children who are born from the former and the new marriage can live with the new husband who helps to provide for the children's necessities.

As a result of residence patterns and property and authority transmission practised among the northern Thai, there is a balance between the power possessed or exercised by men and by women. D. Schneider discussing the matrilineal system which produces a certain stability within a society points out that this system is one in which descent groups retain control of both male and female members in contrast with patrilineal system in which control over female members is relaxed (1961 : 8-10). To emphasize this characteristic, M. Douglas states that:

"This important difference may explain the resilience and strength of matrilineity. Where intermarriage takes the form of exchange of males, the cross-cutting ties which make for a criss-cross of reciprocal obligations are carried by the dominant sex. This implies more emphasis on inter group alliance than in a system when the cross-cutting ties are carried by the weaker sex" (Douglas, 1967: 126). This literature helps to outline the northern Thai cooperative patterns of social and economic interaction and a dispersal of power. Within a village the rich households who have surplus land to rent out have gained higher

socio-political status. They become superior over their tenants in spite of the need for their labour. Nevertheless, a peasant has the opportunity to upgrade his status through marriage and wealth. The daughters, particularly the youngest daughter of the rich households are therefore, the aim of ambitious young village men.

The effect of this upon economic, cultural and political influxes of change will emerge in later chapters of this thesis.

3.2 Organization of Labour

To consider peasant organization of labour, we must bear in mind that the peasant is not engaged in agriculture alone. Cultivation may produce the food they need, but they also have to dress themselves, build houses, make containers, and manufacture the tools utilized in cultivation. Moreover, agricultural products and livestock products must be processed, grain turned into milled rice, cotton into woven cloth. In looking at peasant labour organization, therefore, it is important to consider either the degree to which each peasant household carries on the necessary craft specialties or, correspondingly, the degree to which these specialties are in the hands of others whom he must pay (in this case in food) for their specific services. Secondly, it is important to enquire into the degree to which the peasant processes his crops or alternatively, passes them on for processing to specialties. Also it is interesting to know the way in which essential goods and services not produced by the peasantry are obtained by them. These patterns are obviously a function of the

division of labour within the larger society, and the particular mechanisms which assure the pooling of the fruits of cultivation with those of other skills are consequently tied closely to the scale and scope of the social labour system (Belshaw, 1965 : 111-118).

The simplest situation, a limiting case because of its very simplicity is that in which a peasant household produces most of the gricultural and craft services for itself, with only minimal ties to the outside. The second type of exchange relationship associated with peasantry takes place within the community. The examples of this intracommunity division of labour can be seen in northern Thai villages. In general most of them grow rice as a staple diet during the monsoon season, but in the dry season they perform a variety of subsidiary services and skills such as pottery, carpentry, and dry season crop growing. In these villages such roles are allocated to certain families on an hereditary basis, and payment is made in kind according to customary values.

There is another system of peasant interchange, one that involves periodic encounters in a market place. A market links a set of communities which are scattered around it in radial fashion. Each of these communities may have its own economic specialty. Usually the mainstay of the majority of communities is some form of cultivation, and the economic specialty is carried on part-time by people who farm, and also make pots, weave cloth, make

bamboo baskets etc. A few communities may specialize almost entirely in a particular finished craft product. Periodically, people from the various communities meet in the market place and exchange the product of their labours. Peasant household needs for subsistence, replacement, and ceremonial, are satisfied in such a way that the peasant complements the goods he himself produces and the skills which he himself commands, by other goods and services. Outside the market, each of these communities lives its own life, maintaining its own body of custom. But the periodic market helps bring these separate units together, with each to some extent dependent upon the specialist activities of the other (Belshaw, 1965 : 78-84). Although the communities form independent bodies outside the market, in the network of exchanges each community is a section, and the act of exchange relates each section to every other. When the peasant becomes involved in market networks, he may be confronted with a proliferation of craft specialists and middleman selling others' craft work or commercial services with whom he must cope not only economically, but also socially. The participant in a market network must come to terms with the fact that every other participant in the market, peasant or non peasant, may play potentially both a beneficial and an exploitative role. The peasant stands, as it were, at the centre of a series of concentric circles, each circle marked by specialists with whom he shares less experience and fewer common understandings.

Where the market system comes to dominate the society as a whole, it also dissolves the group monopolies which existed on the local level. Here we find the marketing system penetrating into the community, and transforming all relations into single-interest relations of individuals with goods for sale (Belshaw, 1965: 120-129). The perennial problem of the peasantry thus consists in balancing the demands of the external world against the peasants' need to provide for their households (Chayanov in Shanin, 1971).

3.2.1 Markets in northern Thai context : the household marketing

Throughout northern Thailand markets are held every morning in the larger villages and in the squares of the larger market towns. Here village market women bring eggs, vegetables, fruit, fish, and many other items to sell or exchange. Nearly all marketing is done by barter, and there are also enough cash transactions for women to earn trivial incomes. J.M. Andrews (1968 : 136) estimates that every farm household within reasonable distance of a market sent at least one of its women to the market every morning. However, women from more distant villages, for example Ban Mon Khao Khew, go somewhat less frequently. During the busy planting and harvesting seasons attendance at the morning markets falls off. Some women among the people of Ban Mon Khao Khew engage in market trading during the dry season. It is not a job for men. People regard this job as women's work, so much so that a man in the market place, unless he is a Chinese trader rather than

a northern Thai peasant, is an uncommon sight. People from Ban Mon Khao Khew can go either to the small village markets, the larger market of the local town, or the great markets of Lampang City, which are positively cosmopolitan in the selection of goods offered and the variety of customers who come. The markets are held every day, rather than once a week. The best selection is available before dawn, and the village and small town markets are usually sold out by mid-morning; however the markets of Lampang City are busy all day. Many women traders in Ban Mon Khao Khew have decided that it is worth their while, since they now have a good new road, to go all the way to the great market place in Lampang City, rather than to one of the smaller markets nearby. At the market in town, the prices are a degree higher, and there are large crowds of shoppers. Almost 70% of market women of Ban Mon Khao Khew go to the market only when they are not needed in the rice fields, but the remainder go every day. The typical working day of a market woman of Ban Mon Khao Khew begins the afternoon before, when she assembles the different goods she will take to market. She goes around to the houses of friends and neighbours who have produce to sell, and buys up frogs, coconuts, salted fish, banana leaves, eggs, mushrooms, and edible vine leaves with little tendrils which are called tam luang in Thai. She brings them back to the courtyard and adds her own produce to the pile, setting everything out on a low wooden platform, and prepares the produce for sale by the light of a kerosene lamp. Many friends and relatives drop by to talk to her

as she works, since evening is the usual time for recreation in Ban Mon Khao Khew. By the time she is finished, everyone has gone home, and the courtyard is dark. She is the last to go to bed. In the morning, she has to rise before the rest of the family, since the man who owns the village taxi (a small pick-up truck with a roof and benches installed in the back) leaves at 4.30 a.m. He has a standing agreement to take her and the other market women of Ban Mon Khao Khew to the Lampang market each morning.

The permanent stalls in the markets of the larger towns operate from early morning to dusk. Stalls where meat and other quickly perishable foods are sold close before noon. In the square surrounding the shops and stalls, the women who come from nearby villages carry on their buying and selling between six and eight, and are back in their villages by nine o'clock.

Poor women, many of them widows with children to support, peddle food or household commodities in their own village. Village peddlers sell bamboo shoots, mushrooms, peppers, garlic, and salt, or often barter these for rice, tobacco, betel, and vegetables. A few women sell food snacks, mainly around the crowded market centres in the larger villages, and occasionally to village school teachers and children during the noon recess.

Thai men of the northern villages merely engage in a seasonal, itinerant peddling. In March-April they go through the village selling steel plowshares, hoes, knives,

and other farm implements; they often travel in groups for protection and usually sleep in local temples, and display their wares in the temple courtyard. Others peddle home-cured tobacco, hand-woven clothes, bamboo baskets, paper umbrellas, or some other product of home industry. All of this rural northern Thai peddling is local and occasional, and offers no serious competition to the more aggressive and wide-ranging town trading vendor.

3.2.2 Pre-industrial state in Thailand : Village specialists and village handicraft. The rural northern Thai villagers who have acquired different skills and talents are economically and politically dependent upon each other within the system of social relationships in which they are involved.

Given an economic structure of this type, the capacity to sustain a functional division of labour between cultivators and rulers is a simple consequences of the capacity of a peasant society to produce a surplus above and beyond the minimum required to sustain life, and by this means, a peasant is integrated into a society with a state, that is, when the cultivators become subject to the demands and sanctions of a power-holder outside his own community. Power to control the supply is in the peasants' hands (Byres in Harriss, 1982).

The northern Thai royal family which were economically supported by tenants exemplifies this phenomenon.

In Lampang province, the northern royal family owned large acreage outside the city, but due to their status did not do heavy labour themselves (see also Bunnag, T., 1977; Calavan, K.M., 1980). Their landlordism is different from richer households in villages who work on part of

their land themselves. The northern royal family let tenants work on their land under the agreement of share-cropping in the ordinary fashion through which the royal family's subsistence derived. In addition, although the royal family possessed a large number of servants to perform domestic household work and artistic jobs, they did not produce domestic tools or equipment such as iron tools, pottery, basketry or weaving. The Northern Thai royal family received tribute as the symbol of respect from tenants once a year at the new year ceremony when they performed spiritual dance (see also Irvine, W., 1982: 292-315). The gifts or tribute from tenants were mainly local craftwork and rare food such as cloth, pottery, silk, lacquerware, bamboo baskets, honey, spices and mieng (the fermented tea leaves regarded as special delicacy in northern Thailand). Most of these gifts were prepared by peasants when they were not engaged in rice cultivation.

Within the frame of a village community, each household has several other households closely connected to it in daily life as well as through economic activities. A set of these households provides village specialists and village handicrafts, and are distinct functional sub-units of village organization. The size of such units tends to suit its function. Normally it continues over generations, so long as the economic and social relationships between the households remain fairly constant. The functional importance of such units plays an exceedingly important role in shaping the structure of the village community.

The functions of these units reveals significant elements in social and economic organization of rural northern Thai.

Each of the three villages has a few people who are trained in some livelihood other than farming, although nearly all of these "specialists" are also farmers as we have discussed earlier in Chapter 2. School teachers, village doctors, and shopkeepers (usually women) are village specialists who as well as the handicrafts specialists have to engage in agriculture, but these specialists have their functional service to other villagers. Among the handicraft specialists, the carpenter is the most important. Nearly every village has a few men who, during the dry season, help to build or repair for the other peasants, and who train younger men (often their sons or sons-in-law) as carpenters in a sort of informal apprenticeship.

Some handicrafts are important enough to rank as home industries, i.e. those that produce important income. Andrews (1968) and Zimmerman (1970) show that during the last twenty five years many important handicrafts have dwindled. Those that remain, like the making of mats, baskets, pottery, are in the hands of men; spinning and weaving are operated by women. Cotton wicks for homemade tin oil lamps, twine fish nets, and many other small household objects are still made at home such as wooden spoons, torches, brooms, fans, coconut shell dippers, wooden clogs for rainy season, etc. The reciprocal exchange of these goods among villagers are common. The specialists:

the headman, the medium, the schoolteacher, who engage to serve other villagers as their duty receive gifts as respect tokens. Their duty, therefore, has compensations.

In such a system, all other social groups, such as urban factory workers, depend upon peasants both for their food and for any income that may accrue to them. There are other societies (see Shanin, 1971), however, in which the Industrial Revolution has created vast complexes of machines that produce goods quite independently of peasants. However, these industrial workers must also be fed, and the peasants become the consumers of those industrial products. More often than not the provision of food for these workers is no longer in the hands of peasants who work small units of land with traditional techniques, but in the hands of new "factories in the field" (Harriss, J., 1982: 15-29), which apply the technology of the Industrial Revolution to the growing of food on large, heavily capitalized, scientifically operated farms. Such farms are often staffed not by peasants, but by agricultural workers who are paid wages for their work the same as industrial workers. This kind of society contains threats to the peasant labour organization whether these threats emanate from demands for surplus, or from competition (Scott, 1965, 56-58).

Hence, peasant labour is contributed as needed in a great number of different contexts; it supplies society with many services. However, to the extent that a peasant

holding serves to provision a group of people, every decision made in terms of the external market also has its internal, domestic aspect. The existence of a peasantry thus involves not merely a relation between peasant and non-peasant, but a type of adaptation, a combination of attitudes and activities designed to sustain the cultivator in his effort to maintain himself and his kind within a social order which threatens his position.

3.2.3 Industrialization in northern Thailand

In the rapidly developing field of comparative peasant studies there is, as Geertz remarks, not only a proto-peasant problem but also a post-peasant problem (1962:5). The transformation of classical peasant societies into modern states is one of the most important problem areas in anthropological research. The process of change began several centuries ago with the first expansion of the West, but it has substantially accelerated in this century (Preobrazhensky, Evgenii, 1924 : 219-225). Everywhere modern economic, cultural, and ideological influences are eroding traditional societies at national and village levels. Classical peasant societies have always contained cities, but these preindustrial cities are changing from centres of commerce and handicrafts. It has been from the new urban centres that most modern influences have entered the countryside (Long, N., and Roberts, B.R., 1978 : 14-37). J.M. Potter argues that with the beginnings of industrialization cities not only change in type; they also dramatically increase in size as peasants are attracted





by jobs in the new "industrial plants" and by the novelties of modern urban life. He states "the move from the small, personal world of the peasant community, where one is in the bosom of family, friends, and kinsmen, into the impersonal and confusing life of the city is an adaptation often difficult for the peasant to make" (1967: 378). In the villages of northern Thailand, similar socio-economic processes are at work.

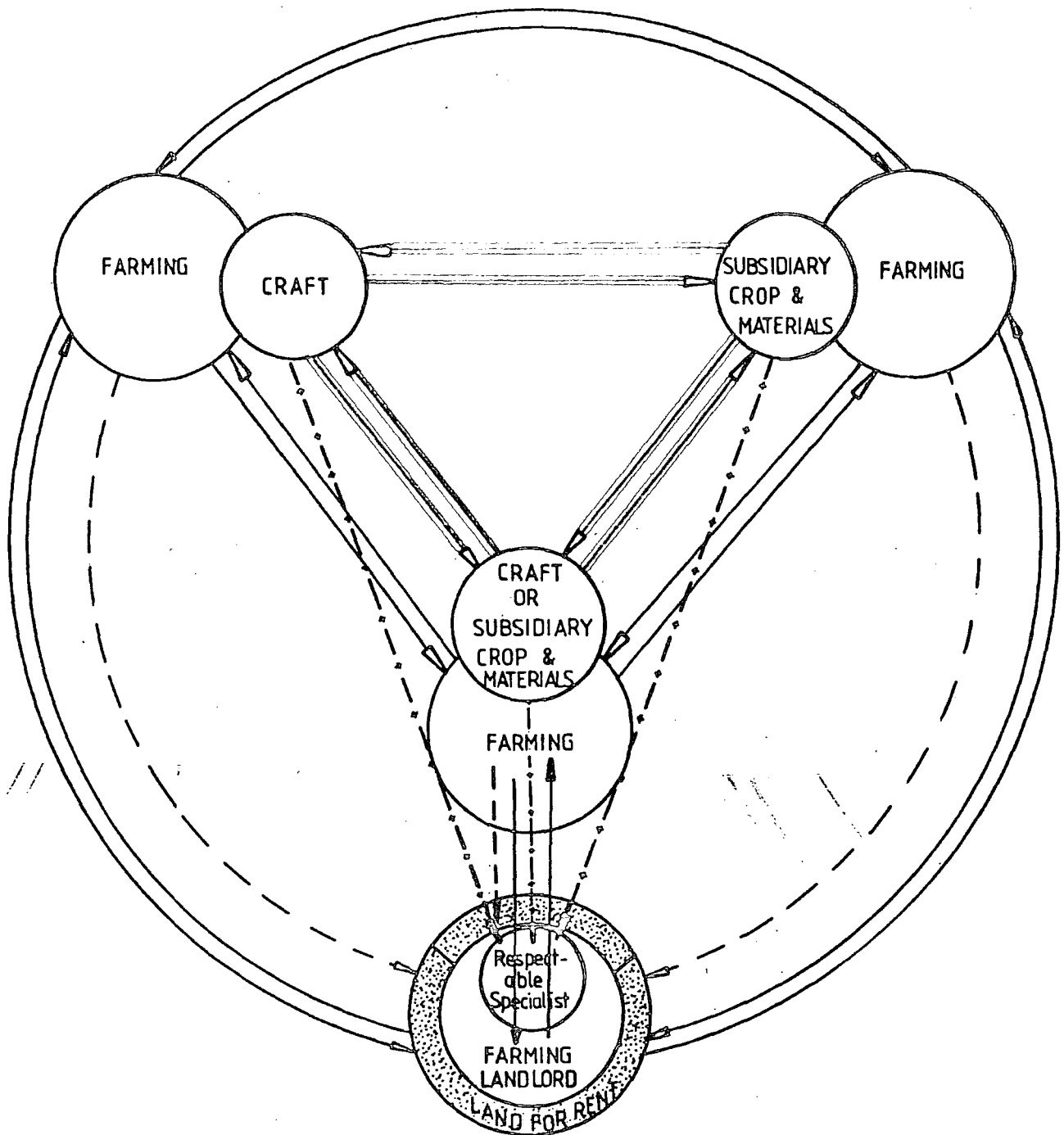
During the short space of ten years, from 1969 to 1979, Ban Mon Khao Khew village was transformed from a small rural village into a modern village near town. This transformation was brought about first by the arrival of the good highway and electricity and second, by the location of food canning factories. The situation is different from that in which all villagers raised crops and livestock mainly as household subsistence and consumption. The major outcome of the changes occurring in this northern Thai village has been the creation of a modern industrial establishment. Even though it is at the starting point of industrialization, a closer inspection of this region, however, reveals a complex relationship between economic and social change in this area. In comparison with the other two villages, Ban Mon Khao Khew is characterized by a more obvious form of industry. The social organization of labour and reciprocal units: the relationship between specialists and handicraft units have been transformed. This phenomenon can be seen in the changing role of the abbot, headman, and school teacher. Moreover, craftmanship which used to be a household inheritance becomes an industrial

training. The example of hand-woven cloth work house run by the headman of Ban Mon Khao Khew is one of the evidences of this industrial impact. Once, village women produced their own cloth for household use and exchanged the surplus with pottery, baskets, and other household utensils. They produce the special made one as gift for the village specialists like the headman or school teacher, to pay them respect at ceremonies. Although this practice does not disappear entirely, the way in which industrial business is taking the place of handicrafts which have social and moral values, shows us the process of social and political change. Handicrafts are not the only element affected. Ban Mon Khao Khew peasants have tried other ways of earning income independently from local cooperative work in agriculture.

One last feature remains to be briefly outlined in this discussion of industrialization in northern Thailand. As the extension of a market network through industrialization opens up wider channels to the world outside the village, agriculture and other local products become commercialized. Participation in this process gradually change peasants' social relationships. Traditional peasants, specialists and handicraft units of the village to whom agriculture was a way of life have been changed into modern farmers, or agricultural businessmen, whose activities became a business for profit.

FIG. 3.2. THE INTRA-STRUCTURE OF VILLAGE ECONOMY

- ①  Reciprocal Labour Exchange System
- ②  Reciprocal Exchange Of Craft-Work And/Or Subsidiary Crops
(See details below)
- ③  Share - Cropping System
- ④  Tribute / Redistribution (See details below)



(A) CRAFT-WORK:

1. Equipment for food production
 - Basket
 - Pottery
 - Wooden utensils: spoon, dish, container for steaming rice, cocunut shell utensils.
2. CARPENTRY
3. CLOTH TO DRESS AND TO PROTECT FROM COOL WEATHER
 - Hand woven cloth
 - Cotton blanket
4. BEDDING STAFF: MOSQUITO NET, GRASS MAT.
5. HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS: Fan, paper umbrella, cotton wick for oil lamp, torches, broom.
6. FARMING IMPLEMENTS
7. FISHING AND HUNTING IMPLEMENT

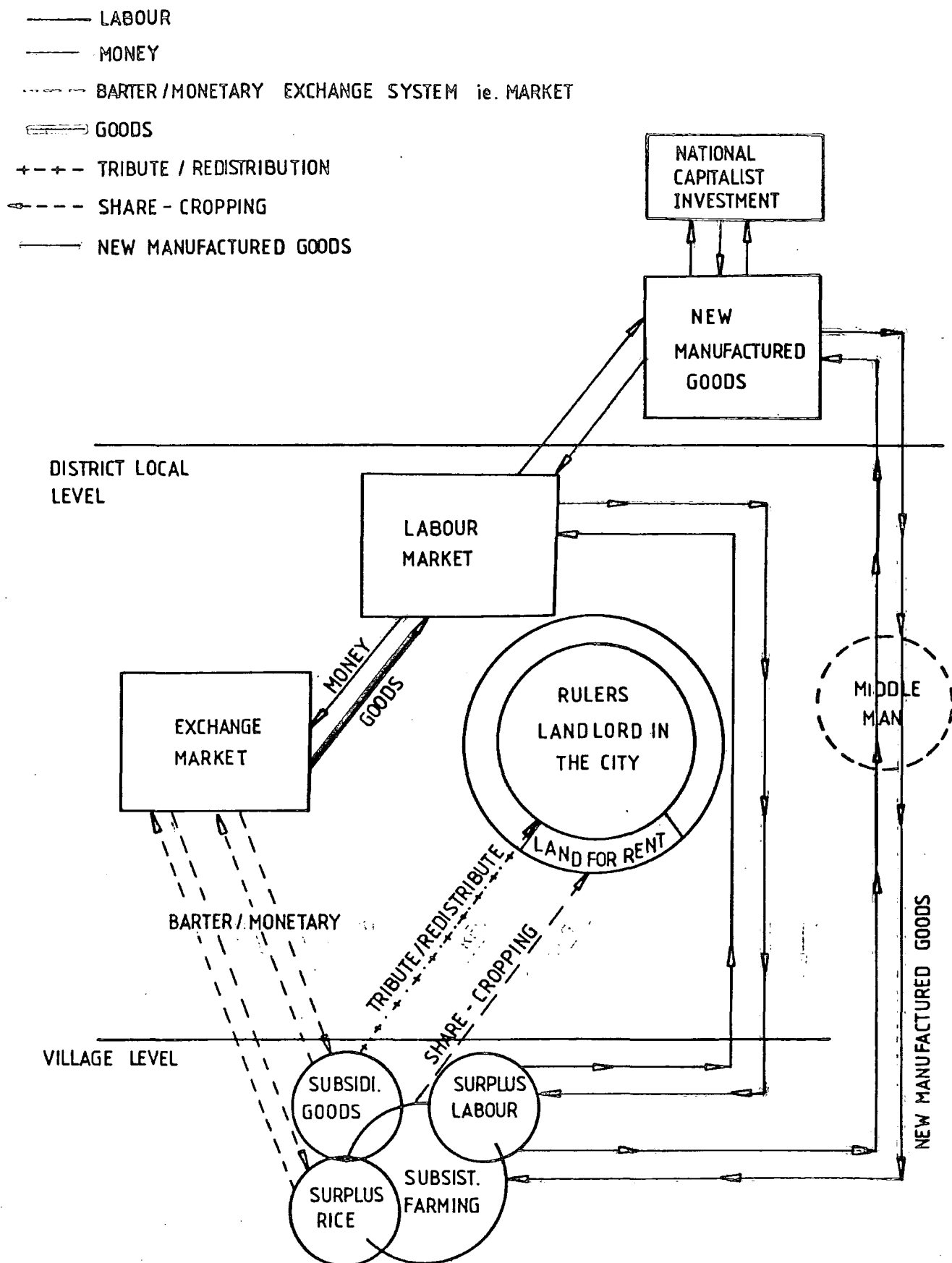
(B) SUBSIDIARY CROPS AND NECESSARY MATERIALS:

1. Cotton
2. Tobacco
3. Mieng (pickled tea leaves)
4. Wood for building
5. Bamboo for building
6. Fruits
7. Vegetables
8. Natural things from foraging and rare food
9. Livestocks: chicken, pig, piglets.

(C) TRIBUTE/REDISTRIBUTION

1. Craft work: cloth, silk, pottery, lacquerware, bamboo work.
2. Rare food: spices, honey, mieng (pickled tea leaves).

FIG. 3.3. THE FLOW OF GOODS AND SERVICES AT DISTRICT LOCAL LEVEL.



3.3 Religious beliefs and practices

The northern Thai peasant practices the Hinayana form of Buddhism, which through the centuries has become so blended with Brahmanism and with elements of an earlier animism that it is impossible to segregate pure elements of each. Those integrated religious elements are evident among peasants of the three villages, all of whom are Buddhists. Buddhism and Brahmanism have become so closely interwoven as to be indistinguishable to the ordinary northern Thai worshipper. The animistic or spirit worship which is very much important in the peasant's daily life has infiltrated into Buddhist practice, invading even the temple whose guardian spirits houses are built near the temple entrances. As a means of storing up merit for life in the next world the villagers turn to Buddhism; for protection in his present world, the peasant looks to the host of good and evil spirits that affect his every undertaking.

3.3.1 The local temple (wat)

Each of the villages of my study has one wat of its own. A cluster of settlement buildings forms the Buddhist temple. The most conspicuous physical feature of the village is the cluster of buildings comprising the wat. The components are a large wooden sala (rest house) where most of the village social activities happen. The sala is the building which has no walls, only a roof and a concrete floor with wooden benches between the pillars; one side which is left open, i.e. without a bench, is supposed to be the entrance way. Villagers use the sala

in their local temple for many purposes, such as village meetings, giving alms on the Buddhist holy days, and funeral ceremonies. In Ban Mon Khao Khew it is used for watching television. In addition, there is the vihara (a hall for lay worshipers), the bood (a sacred temple for monks), the khuti (a dormitory for monks, novices, and temple boys). The social life of the village revolves around the wat. The village school is held in the Sala, and this fact alone is significant enough to make the wat a focal point in village life.

In the north, each village designates one of its men, who has been a monk, as the leader of the community in matters concerning the temple and the villagers. He leads the congregation in making responses at the temple ceremonies because, having been a monk, he knows the proper procedure. He officiates at funerals, helps make arrangements for the ordination of novices and, assisted by the village headman, raises money for maintenance of the temple.

It can be clearly seen that Buddhism is a significant focus of social conservation and unity for the Thai people. As a living religion, it has outstanding resilience and powers of regeneration when it has to confront the challenging onslaught of cultural change. The influx of modern technology and new ideas and ideologies produces change both in the detail of religious behaviour and in the basic structures of society. Religion has been a golden roof producing a cool, comfortable shade for Thai culture for a long time. Cosmological and astrological concepts which have been derived from the original beliefs of animism and

the Indian influences adopted into Buddhism have directed and formed the concepts and values of all kinds of Thai social structures and affected the timing of most human activities. As a result, belief in supernatural powers and deities continues to affect human relations, religious and agricultural rituals and many other areas of life.

In many important respects, the Thai value system is inseparable from the national version of Theravada Buddhism. An awareness of Thai Buddhist beliefs and practices, therefore, is essential for any profound understanding of Thai values and behaviour. Since almost every Thai community, even a small village in a remote area, has its Buddhist temple and its monks, the cycle of life of all groups in Thai society revolves directly or indirectly around activities associated with Buddhism (Blanchard, 1957: 115). One of the basic problems confronting the Thai is how best to meet and handle the secularization which almost invariably accompanies industrialization, modernization, and the scientific education required for the Twentieth Century. The current attempts to meet these challenges create the probability that although the culture and personality of the nation will still be characteristically coloured by Buddhist thought and practices, the forces of education, international trade, military considerations, political pressures, developing entrepreneurship, etc. may become strong enough to counterbalance or loosen the grip of Buddhist influences upon the process of change.

3.3.2 Buddhism and Individual Will

A kind of individualism is reinforced by the Buddhist emphasis on self-reliance. Regardless of philosophical concepts, most Thai seem to believe in karma. According to the teachings of the Lord Buddha, a person's fate will depend on his own actions and only upon them. Every action by an individual causes a reaction in his future life; every cause will have its effect; hence his future is determined solely by his own present conduct. Previously, because of the traditional agricultural way of life, this Buddhist doctrine was of less concern. Society functioned by processes of mutual assistance. But now when individual effort and initiative are called for, the significance of this doctrine is more apparent.

According to Buddhist beliefs, one's condition in the present life is determined by the merit attained in previous lives. The presence or absence of psychic and material well-being in the present life is thus a manifestation of the sufficiency or insufficiency of merit previously made. Making merit can be regarded by the villagers as a form of investment, and they do actually "donate" a relatively large portion of their income in these religious activities. Merit making can thus be regarded as an important aspect of the farmers' finance.

3.3.3 The formal hierarchy of Buddhist monk orders (Sangha)

In Thailand today, there is a national ecclesiastical hierarchy which is largely the creation of the central

political government and in fact reflects the institutions and divisions of civil and territorial jurisdiction (Figure 3.4). One should not underestimate the importance of this official hierarchy for the organization and activities of the order of monks (Sangha) as a whole. The hierarchy of officers and organs, and the country-wide network of educational establishments are significant avenues of social mobility and channels for the acquisition of prestige and power in a political sense. (See more detail in Tambiah (1970; 1976); and Bunnag, J. 1973).

Nevertheless, it is important to note that at the base of the system are a multitude of local temples (wat) supported by lay congregations, headed by abbots chosen by them (although ratified by the ecclesiastical superiors), and in the main run as relatively autonomous monastic communities in close integration with the villages which maintain them. Important connections between these localized wats produced regional networks which are not the product of the official orders of monks (Sangha) organization. This study is concerned with the village temples, its monks, and its lay supporters in terms of this latter perspective.

Within the local temple, the abbot has the supreme authority over the temple courtyard, and highly respectable rank in village committee. This study also looks at the various kinds of interaction which produces a network of social relations, channels of mobility, levels of differentiation, and a distribution of power which play

significant role in rural development.

3.3.4 The role of Buddhist monks in social infrastructure

Tambiah (1970) shows the interaction between Buddhist monks and householders has significant impact on social and economic structure. He argues that the monk, while standing for a way of life set apart from that of the householders, nevertheless had to have a regular ritual and material transactions with the laity (1970 : 63-68). These developments in the dialectic of ideas and practices in institutionalized Buddhism diverge from the theory of monkhood as understood in philosophical Buddhism, which sees monkhood as an initiation that offers a man a way out of reciprocity, a way for a man to become entirely himself living in but not dependent upon society. Here the meditating monk becomes the model of non-reciprocity, of spiritual enhancement through personal effort, of the liberated and non-attached being who may receive but need not give. However, for northern Thai peasants, the aims of making merit on the part of the laity were security and safety and prosperity in this world and the next. The values sought were wealth, health, long life, intelligence, power, high status and beauty. The layman saw the monk as a mediator and a vehicle in this quest (see also Bunnag, J., 1973).

The significant role of Buddhist monks in northern Thai peasant community is that of the infrastructural basis as an educational network. The Buddhist temple has historically played this role, but in modern times

the role is more intensified and provides more channels for intellectual attainment for the peasants. The monastic network provides education for poor rural boys to whom secular education either is not conveniently accessible or whose families cannot afford the expense of secular secondary higher education. Later on, the talented and motivated of these boys find their way to the higher socio-economic status, and in contemporary circumstances if they are not satisfied with a purely traditional religious education they can acquire knowledge of secular subjects. The monastic experience, especially if it has been of sufficient duration to have allowed the acquisition of literacy can be used to great advantage when lay life is resumed. This can be claimed as one of the most important rewards of monkhood, which, although not necessarily formulated by the actors, is nevertheless a significant implication of sociological analysis (see more detail in Chapters 6, 7, and 8).

The acquisition of literacy, which gives access to ritual texts, is derived through the village temple. In earlier times attendance at the temple school was an essential first step on the ladder. Then an ex-monk, especially if he has been long enough to have learned Buddhist chants and ritual procedures and to have acquired literacy, when he becomes a householder, will be able to become, if he wishes, a ritual expert and religious leader in the village.

Tambiah (1970) presents his analysis by taking a general view of the specialist statuses in a north-eastern

Thai village that require literacy. He divides the village specialists into ritual and secular kinds. Among both the ritual and secular statuses, the basic distinction is that some of them require and are associated with literacy and others not. For example, secular specialists for whom literacy is required are headman, folk opera entertainer and schoolteacher, while the secular specialists for whom literacy is not required are craftsmen and experts in manual skills e.g. carpenter, blacksmith, cloth-weaver. Ritual specialists for whom literacy is essential are monks, the lay leader of Buddhist congregation (usually ex-abbot or ex-monk), lay officiant at spiritual essence, and physicians while ritual specialists for whom literacy is not required are diviner, intermediary and medium of village and temple guardian spirits, exorcizer of malevolent spirits, and mediums of sky spirits (usually female).

From Tambiah's analysis, there is a trend towards required literacy for specialists who have leader's status of the village (Tambiah, 1970: 131-132). This is not only typical of the north-east, there is the same phenomenon in rural northern Thailand. Most leaders in the three villages, particularly the ones on the village committee or temple committee have shown the essential literacy required from a period of time in a Buddhist temple.

The Buddhist monastery is one of the most significant elements of village social structure. In spite of the fact that the Buddhist monastery is a religious institution, it also serves secular functions. In northern Thailand, inevitably, there is interaction between Buddhist practice

and development projects. We can illustrate this impact from many sources, but Moerman has provided us a clear example of a remote, rice-growing Lue village of northern Thailand (1966:164-167). He describes the lack of congruence between village Buddhism and state Buddhism in these terms: What villagers require of a monk is that he enables them to make merit. The kind of misunderstandings and divergent expectations that can inhere in the confrontation between village and ecclesiastical Buddhism can be seen in Ban Ping. The government has tried to use the ecclesiastical hierarchy to control the villagers. Because of the district abbot, villagers agree to help construct a new school building. However, afterwards, all villagers insisted that nothing makes as much merit as a temple (Moerman, 1966 : 166).

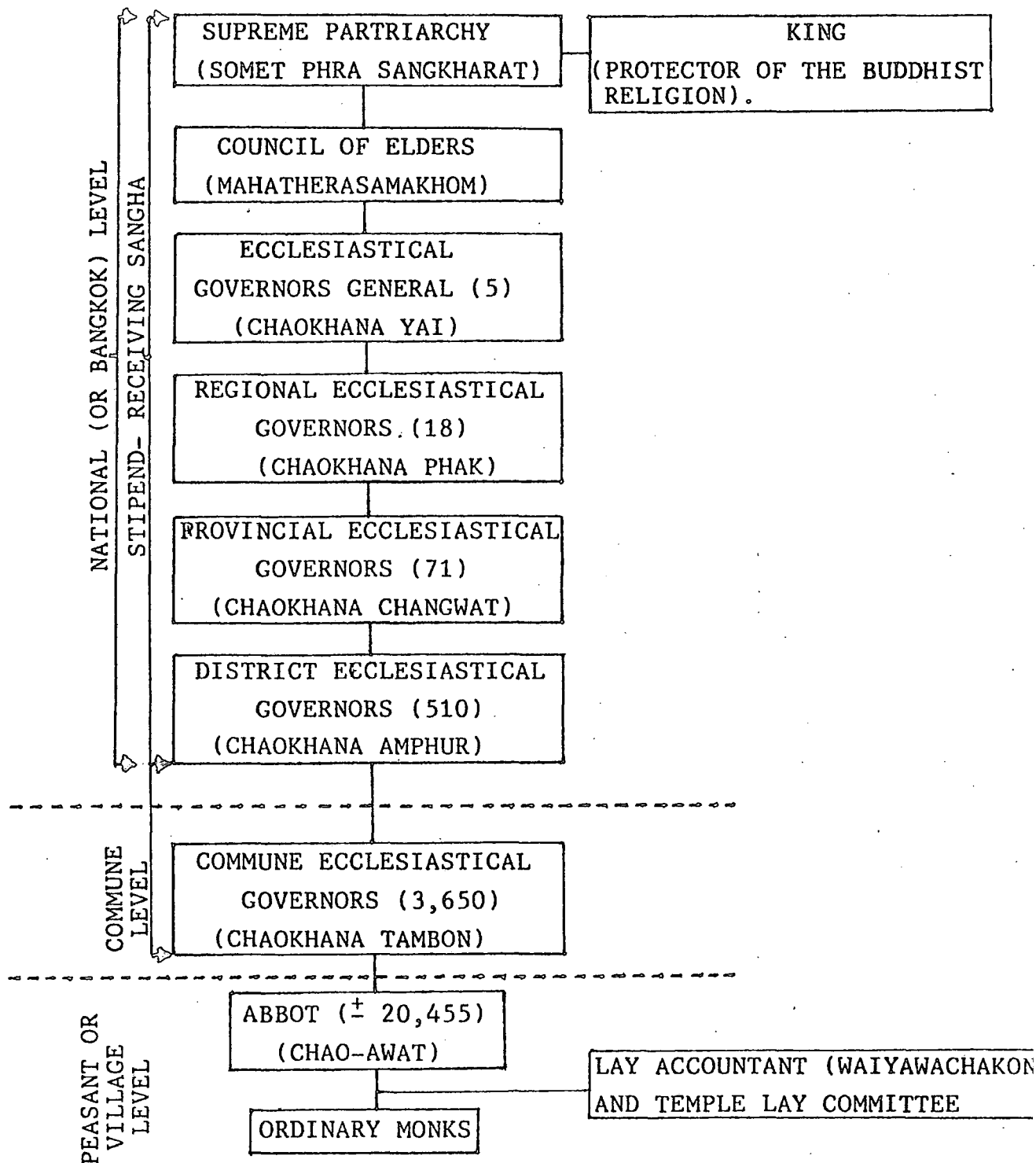
This demonstrates the process of a political nationalization in which both civic and religious administration are involved. I would like to conclude this point with Moerman's words:

"The villagers of Ban Ping are suspicious of the national hierarchy and do not understand its social gospel. Nevertheless, the form and content of the Buddhist church links the village to the nation. Officials, both clerical and lay, are occasionally said to have earned their positions by means of religious merit. The presence of clergy legitimizes state ceremonies and makes them more intelligible. Prominent priests are respected and the national Buddhist vocabulary is universally understood, for Buddhism is an institution

that all Thai, whether Central or Northern or Lue, whether urban or rural, hold in common (1966 : 166-167)".

It seems to me if this nationalization process is already making its impact on the most remote villages, it has wrought stronger consequences in the more accessible villages of the so-called remote rural areas. An index we can use to judge this is the degree of persistence of "old learning" among the monks and ex-monks in the local traditional languages and scripts of the north as opposed to knowledge acquired in the contemporary standard Thai language spreading outward from central Thailand. Of course, this impact has an effect on radio use and consequently on the rural development as a whole.

FIGURE 3.4 THE OFFICIAL HIERARCHY OF BUDDHIST MONK ORDERS (SANGHA).



*Source: USOM, Thailand (1974) Administration of the Government of Thailand, 2nd. ed. Bangkok, Public Administration Division (August).

3.4 Government Administration

Being centralized, the administrative system of Thailand depends very much on the effectiveness of the government, and grants the Prime Minister almost absolute power. The first "tier" of local authority is derived from the central government in Bangkok and is referred to as territorial or provincial administration. The province, changwat, of which there are seventy-one in Thailand, is the primary unit of territorial administration. Each province is administered by a Governor, phuwarachakan, who is its highest official. the provinces are subdivided into districts, umphoe, which are administered by district officers, nai umphoe, commune, tambon, and village, muban. There will be the head of the commune, kamnan, and the head of the village, phu yai ban.

In Lampang province, there are eleven districts including Lampang City district, and one sub-district. Within these eleven districts, there are sixteen communes, four of which are under the municipality. There are 104 villages or hamlets.

The reformation of the administration by King Chulalongkorn (1868-1910) saw the introduction of posts and telegraphs, the precursors of broadcasting and provided a framework for the development projects and communications networks introduced in later years. The division of the country into monthon (circles) became the pattern for the division of broadcasting areas later.

At the present time, because of the administrative system, the gap between the work of the Government and the life of the villagers is very wide (Wilson, 1962: 74). Northern Thai villagers, if it were not for help from the radio, would hardly know anything about their own Government or even the name of the Prime Minister. However, villagers are quite familiar with the Prime Minister's name and his voice from radio programmes.

The three villages with which this study is concerned depend directly on the district office, which is the lowest administrative unit of the central Government, but is one of the most important links in the central Government's control of the nation. Whether development projects or programmes that have been planned and sent from Bangkok will stand or fall depends very much on the work of the district office, which will relate to the local leaders. Besides, the district office has to deal with villagers' activities and property such as bicycle registration, car registration, elephant registration, gun licences, gambling permits, and census records of births, marriages, divorces, and deaths.

The chief of the district office acts as the representative of the Governor and the Government in his district on social occasions such as the village elections, the national election, the opening of the development projects which need cooperative work, the opening of new schools, health stations, roads, canals, and the like. On these occasions the radio station will be requested to broadcast this

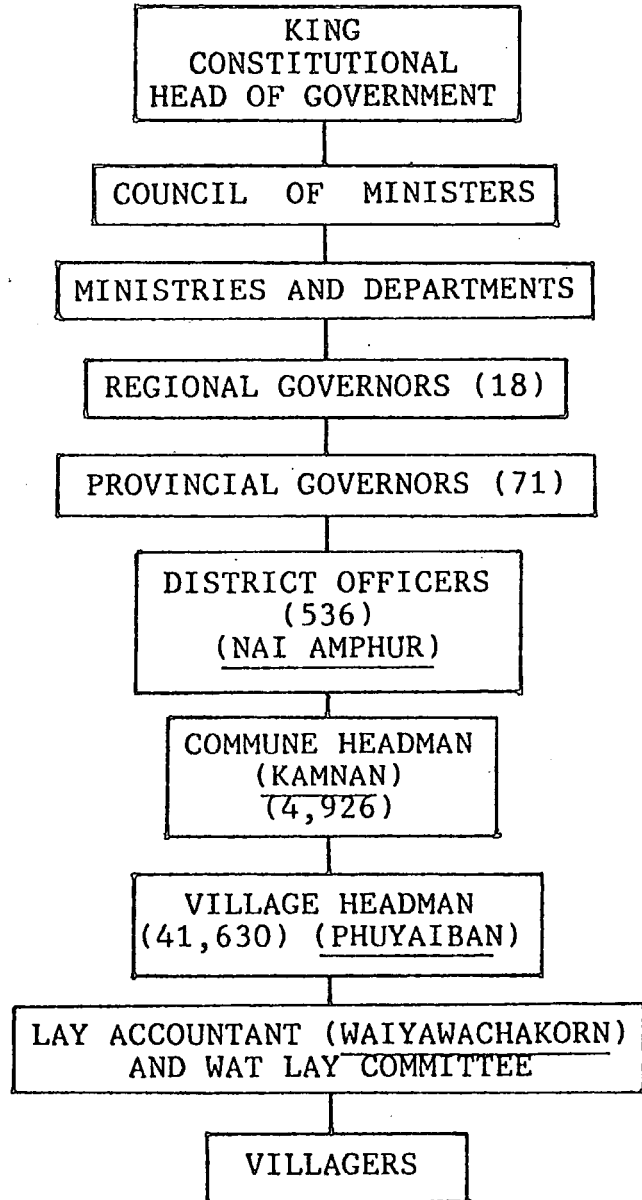
news as a public announcement or item of news; sometimes it appears on local news programmes as well.

At the village level, there are some differences between the roles of leaders in the remote villages and in the villages near town. Ban Mon Khao Khew, for example, is somewhat different from the other two villages. The village leadership patterns are rather different, and integrated self-government in Ban Mon Khao Khew has gradually disappeared, mainly because of the urbanization, industrialization, the commercialization of agriculture and increasing migration (see Chapter 8).

The headman is usually elected to his position by the villagers. He is, potentially, in a particularly influential position because he holds a position of authority and is often a relatively wealthy and educated member of the community either in terms of religious or general education. Any man between the ages of twenty-one and sixty, who is neither a monk nor a civil servant, and who has lived in the village for at least six months, is eligible. In general, the headman's duty is to be an intermediary between his village and the district office. The headman receives a monthly salary of 60-150 baht depending on how long he has been in service. There is some conflict in his position as a representative of the Government to his own people which we will discuss in detail in the following chapters. As a mediator, he is constantly subjected to conflicting pressures and is therefore in an uncomfortable position. The Thai tend to admire most a leader who is

tough in dealing with certain public problems, yet indulgent in giving them enough freedom to pursue their daily way of life (Keyes, 1979: 203-207). While the ordinary people still have little sense of involvement with the Government administrators, the headman is needed to function as a link or bridge for these two groups to build up the sense of participation vital to the success of any development project.

FIGURE 3.5 GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION



Source: USOM, Thailand (1974), Administration of the Government of Thailand, 2nd ed. Bangkok, Public Administration Division (August).

3.5 The Local School

The traditional education of Thailand was for generations that of the temple, with the monks acting as teachers. The temple was largely responsible for keeping education alive (compare Kalab, M., 1976). Some of the monks who spent their entire lives within the monastic community of the temple became learned and devoted teachers but in many cases the level of achievement was not very high (Watson, 1980: 69-75). Nevertheless, the universal ideal, which was widely practised, that every male should enter the monkhood soon after the age of twenty for a minimum period of three months, and that he should achieve some degree of literacy, further strengthened the important role which the temple schools played in providing the Thai nation with the rudiments of a universal and homogeneous education (see also Tambiah, 1968; 1970; Bunnag, J. 1973). Up till now, even though the Thai Government has attempted to extend compulsory schooling to the remote rural villages by establishing many local schools, because of insufficient financial backing not all villages have their own school buildings and educational materials. Today, more than 25% of all the compulsory schools are still held in the local Buddhist temples (Watson, 1980: 69). The temple is the centre of all kinds of knowledge, and the monks are skilled in counselling, and in physical healing and herbal medicine. Buddhist monks are expected to specialise either in some occupational skill or in philosophical and religious studies.

However, even though the Buddhist temple has served its community it cannot complete the whole range of educational functions, because of the social limits set upon the educative process. First of all, only men can obtain this monastery education. Secondly, there is an age limit for the temple pupils. Usually the villagers who cannot clearly appreciate the value of education delay sending their sons to the temple until they are between eight and ten years old. Initially, the main purpose is to prepare them for entry to the novitiate. Most of these boys live and study in the temple which in this respect functions like a boarding school. Many parents prefer to send these boys to live in temples far away from home, otherwise the boys will not attend school, but abscond and come back home, causing trouble to the monks who have to come chasing after them. Permission for these boys to go back home depends on the request of their parents. Usually, when the rice planting season starts, they will leave the monastery to help their family in the fields. Their parents will come to see the abbot when they would like to take their children back home either temporarily or permanently.

The main incentive for Thai men to enter the monastery is as we have discussed earlier to acquire not only basic literacy and often some practical skills but also the social polish and the indefinable refining influence which the monks exert. Later when they withdraw from the monastery life they will no longer be kon dib (raw rough men).

Even though the Thai Government announced the laws of compulsory education in 1921, and has tried to extend compulsory education in 1960 (Chandavrimol, 1962: 4-7), there are some obstructions. As I have mentioned above, one significant problem is that they cannot afford to erect suitable buildings in all the villages, but there are other serious problems which represent a considerable barrier to equality of opportunity in basic education for the villagers. These problems include:

1. The lack of skillful teachers who are prepared to devote years to working in the villages. In many villages anyone who can read and write can become a teacher without any training because there are no trained teachers available to come to the village.
2. The scarcity of audio-visual education materials.
3. The unsuitable curriculum, such as teaching English to primary school children who cannot speak standard Thai properly; when these children have to learn two different languages at the same time they cannot do well at either of them (Bennett, 1973).
4. Moreover, poverty and the traditional way of life have become factors which hinder the pupils from coming to school. I well remember the desperate situation of a family whom I met in Ban Lang. The father aged 28 had been mobilized and sent to the North-Eastern border to fight against the Vietnamese troops and was killed there. The wife, who was at home living in a small house, had to look after three children aged nine, seven-and-a-half

and eleven months. This woman tried to earn a living by hiring herself out for labouring in the fields during the planting and harvesting seasons and by going foraging sometimes when her parents were free from work and willing to look after her children. Many neighbours helped her during the first period after she became a widow. However, mostly she had to struggle by herself to earn a living to feed her family, and they did not have enough, because the two elder sons were already school age and needed more and more food. The mother could afford only one uniform for these two boys. (According to the school regulations children have to wear uniforms to attend school). Therefore, the two brothers had to take turns day by day to wear the uniform to go to school. From this case, one can imagine the state of formal education in the Thai educational system. This is only one example among many cases from my field work experience which shows the effect of poverty on the formal education.

5. Another factor which helps to dim the image of formal education is the traditional agricultural system. Because of the system of individual land ownership in Thailand most of the labour is in the form of cooperative work. The need for labour from the family members is high, even in the case of children. Most of the children will be expected to look after water buffaloes and the drinking water supply, look after their younger brothers or sisters, run from field to house to get something that an adult needs but has left at home, and perform other miscellaneous jobs which are suitable for children. When the Thai Government announced the introduction of compulsory education, the formal school term was fixed to start on the seventeenth

of May when the monsoon season starts. The term covers more or less the same period as the rice planting time.

In this case, many pupils, especially the pupils in grade three or four who are nine or ten years old, will stop going to school just after term starts. Then again in November, labour including that of the children, is needed for the harvesting before the end of the academic year. To obviate these problems the Thai Government has tried to fix alternative dates for the school terms, but this does not work well because during March and April is the dry season. When the weather is very hot and dry, both teachers and pupils find it very difficult to concentrate on studying. Apart from this, during this period of time, there are a number of ceremonial occasions including the Thai New Year. Therefore, there is no doubt that the pupils are hardly able to concentrate on their lessons, particularly the ones who go to school at the Buddhist temple. When the schooling of these village pupils is interrupted by agricultural breaks or by ceremonies or for personal reasons such as their parents moving to find jobs in other areas, they cannot make continuous progress with their studies. They have to start from the beginning again since meanwhile they have forgotten all they have learnt. For this reason, many pupils who are ten or eleven years old are still in grade one, which results in disruption of the peer-group, trouble in class, and bullying of small boys by older ones. Thus, we can see that the effectiveness of formal education has been limited for many reasons. It

is not successful in diffusing knowledge and information about modern technology or in producing a better standard of living. The real function of formal education initially is to teach these rural people the basic skills, to make them literate. Even so, it has not yet achieved satisfactory results (Bennett, 1973 ; Watson, 1980).

For education, the population of the three villages depends on the school located in each village. The three village schools offer education up to the level of grade four, prathom four. The school in Ban Mon Khao Khew has just started to offer, one year prior to the time of this study, education up to the level of prathom seven, grade seven. After completion of their grade four from the school in the village the students can thus continue their studies up to the level of grade seven without having to leave the village. To be able to further one's education up to the post-grade four level, the following conditions have to be met: one's family must be rich enough, the demand for labour in the family must not be pressing, and travel to and from the school must be easy enough. In the families when either one or all of these factors are unfavourable the villagers will conform to the normal practice, that is to leave the school after completion of the first four grades of elementary education. Upon completion of grade four, when they are able to read and write, most children have to leave school to help their parents in domestic and

farm work.

Since radio and other kinds of media have introduced a vision of urban life and given the villagers the idea of upgrading themselves to reach the standards of urban people, education is seen as one of the most likely ways of doing this. Farmers and peasants, however much they may be described in patriotic propaganda as the backbone of the nation, always think of themselves as ignorant and old-fashioned. They have high ambitions for their children, or even for themselves, to be chao kon, nai kon, "the master or the Governor of other men" (Ayabe, 1973; Calavan, 1980). This motto came from King Chulalongkorn's speech when he mentioned the value of education at the establishment of the First National Education Plan, which would help some to be the masters of other men. This idea has become deeply-rooted in the villagers' minds ever since. Education is therefore the villagers' ambition, not the villagers' need, except in the future, perhaps, when education may lead to the economic development of the community.

Teaching at school is supposed to be in the standard Thai language. Neither the monks, nor the pupils, nor the teachers like the standard Thai. They much prefer to speak their language. In previous years, the teachers were permitted to use their own language, even though the books were written in the standard Thai. But since 1953, (Chandavrimol, 1962: 11) they have had to use Thai, at least while someone in authority might be listening.

Actually, I usually heard the teachers speaking the Lanathai language as I passed the windows of the school. In Table 3.1 - 3.4 the education statistics of each village are compared.

In conclusion we may say that in the three villages where I studied, the role of education is very limited.

This is derived from the fact that only a small portion of the labour force population received education beyond prathom four. It is not that education is unpopular in the villages; most of the parents want their children to have a higher education, but they cannot afford to let them do so. As for those who can afford it, education is often conceived as a means to improve their children's social status. Social position and prestige are the accepted values. To lead a normal peasant's life will not bring a man prestige.

TABLE 3.1 LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF BAN MON KHAO KHEW VILLAGERS BY AGE GROUPS WITH
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY LEVEL OF STUDY

| Age | Cannot read and write | | Can read and write with difficulty (under P.4) | | Compulsory (P.4) | | Religious Education | | Primary School (P.5-7) | | Secondary School (m.s.1-5) | | Vocational Ed. (or training) | |
|---------|--------------------------|----|---|-----|---------------------|----|------------------------|---|---------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|---|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| 7-9 | - | - | 22 | 26 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| 10-14 | - | 1 | 19 | 17 | 31 | 18 | 1 | - | 3 | 3 | - | - | - | - |
| 15-19 | - | - | 11 | 15 | 12 | 17 | - | - | 11 | 3 | 1 | - | - | - |
| 20-24 | - | 1 | 10 | 9 | 5 | 9 | - | - | 2 | 1 | 3 | - | 1 | - |
| 25-27 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 8 | 9 | 10 | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| 30-34 | 1 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 35-39 | 1 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 9 | 9 | - | - | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| 40-44 | 3 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 6 | - | - | 2 | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| 45-49 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | 2 | - | - | - |
| 50-54 | 6 | 10 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 55-59 | 2 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 60-64 | 3 | 9 | 5 | 2 | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 65-over | 10 | 18 | 4 | - | 2 | - | 1 | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| TOTAL | 30 | 77 | 110 | 103 | 98 | 82 | 4 | - | 22 | 9 | 10 | - | 2 | - |

TABLE 3.2 LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF BAN NAA DONG VILLAGERS BY AGE GROUPS WITH
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY LEVEL OF STUDY

| | Cannot read and write | | Can read and write with difficulty (under P.4) | | Compulsory (P.4) | | Religious Education | | Primary School (P.5-7) | | Secondary School (m.s.1-5) | | Vocational Ed. (or training) | |
|---------|--------------------------|----|---|-----|---------------------|----|------------------------|---|---------------------------|----|-------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|---|
| Age | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| 7-9 | 1 | 1 | 25 | 30 | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 10-14 | 1 | 1 | 14 | 21 | 11 | 33 | 6 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 15-19 | - | 1 | 5 | 14 | 8 | 13 | - | - | 10 | 15 | 1 | - | - | - |
| 20-24 | - | 1 | 13 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 1 | - | 2 | - | 2 | - | - | - |
| 25-29 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 11 | 14 | 12 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| 30-34 | 2 | 2 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 5 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 35-39 | 1 | 3 | 8 | 12 | 6 | 11 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 40-44 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 12 | 7 | 7 | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - |
| 45-49 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 2 | - | 1 | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| 50-54 | 5 | 7 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 55-59 | 2 | 6 | 2 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 60-64 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 65-over | 22 | 19 | 3 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| TOTAL | 42 | 59 | 101 | 121 | 74 | 90 | 14 | - | 16 | 16 | 6 | - | 1 | - |

TABLE 3.3 LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF BAN LANG VILLAGERS BY AGE GROUPS WITH
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY LEVEL OF STUDY

| Age | Cannot read and write | | Can read and write with difficulty (under P.4) | | Compulsory (P.4) | | Religious Education | | Primary School (P.5-7) | | Secondary School (m.s.1-5) | | Vocational Ed. (or training) | |
|---------|--------------------------|----|---|----|---------------------|----|------------------------|---|---------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|---|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| 7-9 | 1 | 1 | 18 | 24 | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 10-14 | 1 | 1 | 13 | 13 | 19 | 33 | 2 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 15-19 | - | 1 | 10 | 9 | 13 | 15 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 20-24 | 1 | - | 9 | 5 | 6 | 12 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 25-29 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 11 | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| 30-34 | 2 | 2 | 8 | 6 | 5 | 5 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 35-39 | 2 | 2 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 40-44 | 2 | 2 | 8 | 4 | 2 | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 45-49 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 50-54 | 6 | 9 | - | - | 2 | 5 | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 55-59 | 3 | 6 | 4 | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 60-64 | 2 | 9 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 65-over | 6 | 12 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| TOTAL | 30 | 52 | 89 | 77 | 63 | 98 | 8 | - | 3 | 2 | - | - | - | - |

TABLE 3.4 LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF VILLAGERS IN THE THREE VILLAGES BY AGE GROUPS WITH PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY LEVEL OF STUDY

| Age | Cannot read and write | | Can read and write with difficulty (Under P.4) | | Compulsory (p.4) | | Religious Education | | Primary School (P.5-7) | | Secondary School (m.s.1-5) | | Vocational Ed. (or training) | |
|---------|-----------------------|-----|--|-----|------------------|-----|---------------------|---|------------------------|----|----------------------------|---|------------------------------|---|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| 7-9 | 2 | 2 | 65 | 79 | 2 | 1 | 2 | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| 10-14 | 2 | 3 | 46 | 51 | 61 | 84 | 9 | - | 6 | 3 | - | - | - | - |
| 15-19 | - | 2 | 26 | 38 | 33 | 45 | - | - | 21 | 18 | 2 | - | - | - |
| 20-24 | 1 | 2 | 32 | 20 | 18 | 28 | 2 | - | 4 | 1 | 5 | - | 1 | - |
| 25-29 | 4 | 6 | 15 | 22 | 27 | 33 | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | 2 | - | - | - |
| 30-34 | 5 | 11 | 28 | 23 | 23 | 18 | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 35-39 | 4 | 10 | 25 | 27 | 25 | 31 | 2 | - | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| 40-44 | 8 | 15 | 21 | 22 | 14 | 17 | 1 | - | 3 | 1 | 2 | - | - | - |
| 45-49 | 8 | 17 | 15 | 6 | 16 | 4 | 3 | - | 2 | - | 2 | - | 1 | - |
| 50-54 | 17 | 26 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 2 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 55-59 | 7 | 21 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 60-64 | 6 | 24 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 65-over | 38 | 49 | 8 | 1 | 3 | - | 1 | - | - | 1 | 2 | - | - | - |
| TOTAL | 102 | 188 | 299 | 301 | 235 | 270 | 26 | - | 41 | 27 | 16 | - | 3 | - |

3.6 The Daily Round

In conformity with the fact that Thailand has two main seasons, the rainy or monsoon season and the dry season, the villagers' way of life follows the rhythm of the tropical climate. In the rainy season the daily life of the peasants is similar in all three villages.

In general, as the majority of the households are engaged in agriculture, their way of life is simple. The roles taken by them revolve around agricultural activities. The head of the household is generally the man who makes decisions in almost all aspects of the family's work while the wife controls the domestic affairs. He will decide, for instance, on the number of rice fields they are going to grow this year, on what variety of grain, the quantity of fertilizer to be used, and whether to buy pigs, cattle, or to repair the house. The wife also plays an important part in such decision making. She defers to her husband and is responsible for almost everything in the household. She does or supervises such work as cooking, washing, tending pigs and chickens. Looking after the children and the household expenses are her major responsibilities. Around June water will be drained into the fields and then ploughing and rice-growing will follow.

In the morning, as dawn begins to break, the housewife goes into the kitchen, builds up the cooking fire, takes the glutinous rice from the green crock where it has been soaking overnight, and puts it on to steam for a while. The head of the family turns his radio on and listens

to the morning news or short general interest programmes. The combined noises of the cooking and the radio are typical of the early morning activity in those villages. Then the head of the family comes out of his bedroom. During the growing season, the male villagers will rise very early to prepare the water buffaloes in order to be ready for work at about 7.00 a.m. If someone's field is far from the house a field hut will be created so that he will not have to waste so much time in walking back and forth between home and the field. In this case the wife will prepare food and send it to the husband at the field hut. While the head of the family is preparing his planting implements and feeding the water buffaloes, which are fenced in among the tall stilts on which the house stands, his wife is still busy in the kitchen preparing breakfast for all the family and at the same time cooking food to pack and give to her husband and the other men in the family, who are going to the field with the father of the family to plough their land which has been softened by the first rain.

When the first dim light of the sun emerges from the thick cloud, at about 6.00 a.m., the head of the family will go outside, through the courtyard, and over the irrigation canal into the fields, to the little plot which is going to be used as a seed bed. He has been planning to flood it that day. By 7.00 a.m. the housewife will have just finished making the breakfast, and the members of the family come up to the kitchen, one by one, to eat. They

sit on the bamboo floor around the big common dishes of rice and cold salad and the little dishes of sauce or chilli paste. Using their fingers, they scoop up little wads of sticky rice and dip them into the sauce and chilli paste before eating them. Each person gets up and leaves to go about the business of the day as soon as he or she is full. In the village it is not considered more polite to wait for the others before starting or finishing a meal; people eat at their own speed and leave whenever they wish.

Then all the men will have gone to plough their fields. They will have carried their ploughing implements, lunch boxes, drinking water containers and a transistor radio with them. They prefer to use water buffaloes when the weather is still cool in the morning. After the field is ploughed dams are made by both men and women. Work continues until 12.00 a.m. and then there is a break for lunch. After lunch work continues until 5.30 p.m., after which the wives have to return home to prepare food for the household. After the seeds in the nursery plot have sprouted the various households in the village will cooperate in order to plant out the seedlings in the paddy field.

After transplanting each farmer has to keep his own paddy wet all the time. They pour water into the furrowed fields. Irrigation of the individual fields is still done in the traditional way by using bamboo implements. They have to stand in the water and use a dipper made of bamboo which is suspended from a tripod of bamboo poles. Sometimes

they have to stand in the water and pour water in that position almost all night. During this period, they have to go to look after the rice fields first thing in the morning. They will repair the dykes and try to get rid of the rats, tiny fresh water crabs, worms and other kinds of insects which attack the growing plants. Work continues in this fashion until the harvesting time comes, when once again the community cooperates to gather in the crop.

At this time there is not much occasion for female labour because ploughing, irrigating the fields, and building the dykes is work for men. Therefore, most of the female villagers still have free time to prepare fishing equipment, vegetable beds or corn beds near the back yards of their homes, and some of them go into the woods to find edible fungi or to make torches, which they use to dazzle and catch frogs for the cooking pot.

It is about 7.30 a.m. when the village men go back to the fields, taking hoes with them to straighten the raised earth dykes, which keep the water from flowing out of the field once it has been let in. The women, when they have finished eating, go downstairs, draw water from the well and begin to fill all the family's water jars, the big jars on the open platform by the kitchen, and the small jars of drinking water, one in the courtyard and one at the landing of the front stairs, and the jars which stand at the foot of the stairs, both front and back, from which people can pour water to wash their feet before entering the house. After that, some of them will

do the washing up at the canal or at the well, some might iron the clothes which have been washed and dried the day before by filling the iron with hot coals from the fire, and some of them will fill a pair of baskets with unmilled rice from the granary in the middle of the courtyard. They will balance the baskets on both ends of a pole which they put over their shoulders, and set off for the rice mill.

Each daughter washes her own clothes and then helps wash the clothes of the father, mother, and grandparents as well, so that they do not have to do their own laundry. They will hang the clothes out to dry on the lines which makes a criss-cross pattern in the courtyard. When the washing is on the lines, everyone who crosses that area has to dodge and duck or go around. There is a superstition that men should never walk under the washing lines since it can bring bad fortune to them, and make all the sacred things they have such as the small Buddha image hanging around their neck lose their magic power. (The origin of this seems to be related to the association of menstruation with uncleanness. Contact with a woman's garment which may have been soiled by menstruation would desecrate the sacred objects. Similarly, before intercourse a man will remove all the magic charms he wears and place them on a high shelf above possible defilement). Then some of the women come back from the rice mill. They will take some of the milled husks and mix them with water to feed to the pigs. Frantic squeals arise from the pig-styes,

subsiding into snuffles and grunts as the troughs are filled. At about 11.30 a.m., those women go up the back stairs into their house to begin preparing lunch. The heat of the day has begun to bear down on the fields and the household area, and everyone is beginning to feel hungry and tired.

After lunch everyone sits under the house, where it seems to be a little cooler, some on the platform and some on the bench of split bamboo, listening to the radio and talking. Around 2.00 p.m., the men go back to the field. This time the daughters come along to the seed bed and start the job of weeding and preparing the seeds for planting because the men have more work to do on the dykes. At about 6.00 p.m., when the sun is sinking, they will come back to their houses.

While the women are cooking, the other members of the family come back home, one by one. Each person bathes before supper, changes into clean clothes that will be worn the following day, and goes upstairs for supper. Everyone relaxes with a cool bath and a good supper, and enjoys the slight diminution of heat which comes with the evening. After the meal, they sit around, listen to the radio and talk. Evening is the time of recreation and visiting.

We may conclude this aspect of our studies by noting a number of significant facts. There is a very high level of social interaction among members of each of the three

communities. The level of exchange of information is accordingly high. J. Gusfield argues that:

"The all-too-common practice of pitting tradition and modernity against each other tends to overlook the mixtures and blends which reality displays. Above all, the contrast of tradition and modernity emphasizes an ideology of rationalism, which denies the necessary and usable ways in which the past serves as a support, especially in the sphere of values and political legitimations, to the present and the future (Gusfield, 1967 : 21)".

In Gusfield's view, then, it is the existence of these traditional factors which explains the direction of change. This phenomenon can be seen in the three villages. The traditional institutions and the centrality of their agricultural life-style together with the matrilineal kinship system determine their social structures. The social values based on Buddhist doctrines and traditional order play a significant part in their behaviour patterns. These basic factors are modified by the impulses to change originating outside the community but retain their centrality and influence, thus in some ways controlling and limiting the process of change.

CHAPTER 4

RADIO BROADCASTING IN THAILAND

Since we are concerned with radio broadcasting in Thailand, a description of its organization and a brief outline of its historical development is given in this chapter. In addition, some important types of programme such as educational programmes and advertising will be studied. In order to understand the functions of the organization, relevant parts of Government legislation relating to broadcasting will be cited together with important political events in Thailand which gave rise to changes in policy.

4.1 History and Development of Broadcasting in Thailand

The history of radio broadcasting in Thailand starts in the early 20th century. King Rama VI's statement in 1919 "...Greetings to you on this, which will be one of the most important days in our history...", was broadcast by radio for ship-to-shore telegraph on the day the navy ministry formally opened the radio telegraph station at Sala Dang, Bangkok and another station at Songkla in the southern part of Thailand. The Wireless Road, a street in Bangkok, also took its name from this occasion (Public Relations Department, 1968b:11-62). In the first stage, radio broadcasting was intended for military and naval use and for propaganda.

4.1.1 The beginning of radio use as the Government telegraph. In fact, the birth of radio broadcasting in Thailand came a little before the official announcement of the establishment of a broadcasting station. The introduction of radio broadcasting was in the year 1904 during the reign of King Rama V. At that time, the B. Grimm company was selling the products of Telefunken, a German telegraph company, and they approached the Ministry of Defence in order to demonstrate the potential of radio-telegraph equipment. The Thai Ministry of Defence had no objections, and the engineers and technicians of the Telefunken company built two radio telegraph stations, one in Bangkok and another one at Sri Chung island in the south-eastern part of Thailand. Experiments in radio telegraph communications were carried out for some time but did not yield satisfactory results and were later abandoned (Nuangchamnong, U., 1977: 4-5).

Then in the year 1907, the Navy and Army started to use Guglielmo Marconi's radio transmitters and receivers, utilising morse code for the first time. In the year 1913, the Naval command established radio stations at Sala Dang in Bangkok and at Songkla, and the system was opened officially by King Rama VI six years later, as we mentioned above.

In the year 1926, the Post and Telegraph Department established a division of radio telegraph technicians, and the radio telegraph stations, both in Bangkok and in Songkla province, were transferred from Naval to civilian

control. The next year, 1927, the radio telegraph technicians began to broadcast radio programmes on high frequency transmitters, and the system was changed to medium wave the following year. However, radio during this time was only used by the Government departments.

4.1.2 Radio broadcasting as mass communication.

In 1930, the Radio and Telegraph Act was passed. It was the first time that civilians were allowed to possess radio receivers, and in the same year the first permanent radio broadcasting station for the public was opened at Phayathai palace. Thus the real use of radio broadcasting for the public as a mass medium began in 1931 as a state monopoly operated by the Thai Government. At this stage, there were four broadcasting stations: Bangkok Radio Broadcasting, and the experimental stations of the Post and Telegraph Department, the Military Signal Corps, and the Territorial Army. Four years later in 1935 the first Radio Communications Act, defining the limits of civilian use and imposing a licence fee, was announced. Up to 1939 all users of radio had to have a licence from the Posts and Telegraph department, but in that year the Government transferred radio affairs to the Bureau of Advertisements and Announcements in the hope of making more money by commercial advertising. They also changed the name "Bangkok Radio Broadcasting" to "The National Radio Station". In the course of the Second World War, in the year 1945, the main electricity power station in Bangkok was bombed. Radio broadcasting by the Bureau of Advertisements and Announcements was interrupted temporarily, but the division of radio telegraph

technicians of the Post and Telegraph Department had prepared a reserve radio broadcasting system for emergency use when the one at the Advertisements and Announcements Bureau was interrupted. After the war, the Post and Telegraph Department tried an experimental broadcasting station of their own, the Post and Telegraph Radio Station 1, which is still broadcasting at present (Ministry of Education, 1972: 45-47).

The development of radio broadcasting in Thailand showed rapid progress after the Second World War. It started with only 200 watt transmitters. Then the network was developed to use 1 kilowatt, 2.5, 5, 10, and 20 kilowatts. At present, 100 and 1000 kilowatt systems are in use. The broadcasting system initially started with an Amplitude Modulation system (AM) which had a frequency of 530-1605 kilohertz and then it was changed to Frequency Modulation system (FM), at 88-108 megahertz. Recently, the Thai national radio station in Bangkok has been broadcasting FM Stereo two channel Multiplex, and experimental broadcast four channel FM Stereo Multiplex. However, the FM stereo multiplex broadcasting system is not available for most of the provincial radio stations.

The first type of radio receiver used in Thailand was the crystal set which has a very low volume output. The listener had to use a kind of ear-phone. After some time, the valve set which could produce a stronger output was developed but at the early stages the radios reproduced high pitched sounds such as the sound of violins or alto-

cymbals much better than lower frequencies. Later, when Hi-Fi (High Fidelity) was developed, this system was introduced into Thai broadcasting.

Since the Second World War, radio broadcasting has been widely promoted. Thailand is alert to the potential of radio and television broadcasting because it has become profitable and a major commercial enterprise. The National Broadcasting Station, under the Government Publicity Department, now the Public Relations Department, operates a medium-wave Thai service, a medium-wave experimental station, and a short-wave overseas service (Rowland, 1973: 4-11).

4.2 Organizations and Laws Relating to Radio Broadcasting.

From 1938, the Public Relations Department was entrusted with the coordination of broadcasting policy. The national broadcasting stations are financed by the Government and commercial advertising. Originally, income from receiver licenses, five baht (12.5 pence) per receiver, went to the Government. In 1952, the radio license fee was abolished because the Government thought that radio broadcasting should be a free service to the public. Actually this idea was derived from the establishment of the Thai Television Co. Ltd. in the same year. Television broadcasting was introduced for the first time in Thailand in 1952 after a television import company brought an experimental television set to exhibit to the Prime Minister, General P. Phiboonsongkram, and his committee in Parliament on his

birthday, who were so pleased by the results that they appointed the Chief of the Police Department to set up a television network. The first television programmes were broadcast for the public on the 24th of June 1955, the Thai national day. However, in order to adopt this mass medium the Government would have had initially to invest more than twenty million baht and then provide a large sum of money from the national budget every year. At that point the Government was attacked by the opposition and by the press, who demanded that they should invest money in more sensible and useful schemes such as national education and economic development projects. Because of this the Government had to change their policy and turn the matter over to private enterprise.

The Thai Television Company Limited, operating both radio and television, was initiated by legislation in 1953 and began broadcasting in 1954. Nine Government agencies were shareholders, the Public Relations Department being the largest with 55%. Another 45% was divided among the army, navy, air force, police department, the Thai tobacco monopoly, Thai Sugar Corporation, the Thai Liquor Corporation and the State Lottery Bureau. The committee of ministers considered that television broadcasting alone could not be self-supporting and they could use the equipment for radio broadcasting as well. With the agreement of the committee the company therefore undertook radio broadcasting, television and rediffusion (cable) broadcasting all together. 20,000 shares, each worth 1,000 baht were offered for sale.

All were bought by Government departments and Government organizations. The Public Relations Department was the principal shareholder. No individual civilian holds shares in the company. It is the policy of the company to make a profit to finance themselves; the demand for television advertising time shows that this can work effectively. The committee of the company, who were Government officials, had agreed that if there were advertisements on television there should be commercial advertisements on radio as well. Radio and television services were provided in the provinces by the Public Relations Department and other Government units. The television relay station in Lampang also serves other provinces in the Northern area. During the time of the first steering committee the company made outstanding profits for the Government, but under later committees the business tended to become less and less profitable until it could not support itself financially. The Public Relations Department used the radio station of the Thai Television Co. Ltd., as the central national radio station. When they broadcast news bulletins and Government programmes they used the name "the National Radio Station", but otherwise when they broadcast programmes with commercial advertisements they used another name, "the Radio Station of the Thai Television Co. Ltd.". This system was applied to all other local provincial radio stations throughout Thailand, including the Lampang radio station. Therefore, in fact, the Thai Television Co. Ltd., and the Public Relations Department were the same. The only difference was that they carried

out different functions at different times and used different names for each function. They used the same building, the same equipment and the same personnel. Finally in the political turmoil during the student demonstrations in Bangkok, which caused the collapse of the military Government of General Thanom Kittikachon and Prapas Charusathiara in October 1973, Radio Thailand was accused of broadcasting pro-government propaganda and false news (See also Wild, C., 1983). This provoked the students to make attempts on several occasions to take over the office building of the Public Relations Department and eventually they burnt it down.

In 1977 the new Government reform committee created a new policy for the mass media by abolishing the old functions of the Public Relations Department, especially radio and television broadcasting, and abolishing all small independent divisions and departments concerned with the mass media. Then the Government integrated them into one organization which is called "The Mass Communications Organization of Thailand" on the 25th March 1977. Under this organization's control, however, the boundaries of independence for the media are even more limited. Guy B. Scandlen has stated that:

"The (Thai) nation has a large mass-media setup, with at least 77 daily newspapers in addition to the broadcasting stations. Thailand was probably the only nation in all of Asia, except for Japan, that was still practising freedom of expression. A bloody coup in October, 1976, ended this ..." (Scandlen, 1978: 120-124).

In brief, the Acts which have been used to control radio communication and radio broadcasting since the beginning are the Radio Telegraph Act 1914, which was improved and supplemented twice, in 1921 and 1930. This Act was in force for 21 years, until 1935, when it was abolished by the House of Representatives, and the new Act 1935, the Radio Telegraph Act was issued.

The 1935 Radio Telegraph Act was amended five times later, in 1938, 1940, 1942, 1948, and 1954. After the 1935 Radio Telegraph Act had been in force for twenty years and had been amended five times, it became complicated, out of date, and its provisions increasingly irrelevant. In 1955, the Government, therefore, issued two acts: the Radio Communication Act and the Radio Broadcasting Act (which includes television broadcasting) and they remain in force. When the Mass Communication Organization of Thailand was established in 1977, the main structure of broadcasting work was still based on the 1955 Act.

After the political crisis in 1973, the former Government leaders, including some of the committee members of the Public Relations Department, fled into exile when the office was burnt down, and King Rama IX, King Bhumibol, appointed an academic, Sanya Dharmasakti, as Prime Minister. The Prime Minister formed an interim Government and drafted a new constitution. After the riots and the loss of confidence in radio broadcasting under the control of the public Relations Department, the new Government vowed to try to regain credibility for the medium, by

using them less for propaganda and more as a vehicle for dialogue with the public.

A new broadcasting Act was issued in September 1974. After the coup of 1976 censorship and stricter Government controls were introduced, but much of this act remains in force. It specified the purposes of broadcasting:

1. Promoting national policy and furthering political understanding and involvement.
2. Persuading people to have faith in the nation, religion and the King.
3. Promoting unity among the Thai people.
4. Encouraging resistance to enemies, both foreign and national.
5. To support or reinforce national education projects.
6. Providing current news and information from the Government to further good understanding among the people and between Government and people.
7. To persuade the people to keep and practise Thai customs, traditions, and language.
8. To provide people with decent entertainment.

Like the previous Acts, this law specifies some definite qualifications for stations and personnel.

During August 1979, progress was made in receiving news from abroad. The Mass Communications Organization experimented with the reception of current foreign news transmitted from the B.B.C. from Britain, and from the United States of America by satellite; they wanted to censor the news from abroad, but an unofficial authoritative

group of Thai intellectuals opposed this idea. When I was about to leave Thailand (in December 1979), I heard that the conflict between these two groups was still going on. Even many modern Thai folk songs were banned because of their lyrics, which treat Government leaders and political situations satirically. However, the Government radio station broadcast that the reason for banning these songs was because of their indecent nature, and the Mass Communications Organization described the songs as "trash".

The demands of radio censorship have been specified in the Radio Communications Act:

"Every broadcast, regardless of whether it is a tape recording or a gramophone record, except in the case of a programme relayed from outside, and including programmes of interviews conducted by presenters on the permanent staff of the radio station, news programmes, official programmes, amusement programmes and talks given on technical subjects, must be recorded on tape or on gramophone records to be kept as proof ... for a minimum of 15 days from the day of broadcasting" (Thai Government, 1977: 61).

Furthermore, radio stations must classify their programmes into news, information, entertainment, and commercials. All radio stations throughout Thailand are required to broadcast news bulletins from the central national radio station, which belongs to the Mass Communications Organization, and other programmes supportive of Government policy. The censorship committee of the Mass Communications Organization regards as illegal news or other programmes which in its opinion discourage the public, tend to cause unrest, riots or disunity, or affect national security and good understanding and good relationships with foreign nations. It will not allow such material to be broadcast.

There are some exceptions for the Royal palace, Post and Telegraph Department, and Ministry of Foreign Affairs which are independent and have their own responsibility in programme production. Some municipalities have their own radio stations, particularly the big provincial cities, but they employ military personnel as programme directors and staff. Some Government agencies broadcast and use their names as titles for radio stations, but borrow the frequency from other agencies especially from the army or navy; others, the army for example, distribute radio stations to their establishments throughout the country including Lampang province and therefore are not completely in control of programme production (Thompson, 1975: 6).

Thailand joined Intelsat in 1966 and established a transportable earth station in April 1967. At Sri Racha district in Chonburi province, the south-eastern part of Thailand adjacent to Indo-China, there is a modern international port and a former American Air Force base used during the Vietnam War. Here stations one and two worked with satellites over the Indian Ocean in 1968 and 1970. Thailand participates in Intelsat. Four, renting satellite time mostly to major United States and European communications networks. This service is provided weekly, but its main use is in television broadcasting and the official news agency which relays signals to Sri Racha via a two-hop wide-band microwave link (Sharuprapai, 1972: 84-97). Cooperative work and planning between the

Mass Communications Organization and the Post and Telegraph Department is taking place under the project of mass communication satellites because of the geographical problems and the imperfection of the telecommunications system. Therefore, a satellite system for television and radio broadcasting to be received by people at the same time throughout the country is necessary. Besides, this project can be completed within a short period of time and does not need big sums of money for investment. In 1977, ASEAN countries including Indonesia started to use a satellite called "Palapa" for communications purpose. They launched a second satellite in March 1977 for the same purpose. The radio waves transmitted by the Palapa satellite not only cover Indonesia but also other countries in the Asean group. In this case, Indonesia is generous and has declared that she would like other Asean countries to benefit from these communication satellites as well. This organization, with the Post and Telegraph department, therefore, is considering the possibility of drawing up a joint project with Indonesia for use of the satellite communications systems (Sharuprapai, 1972: 93).

4.3 Characteristics of Radio Broadcasting in Thailand.

As we have seen earlier in this chapter, modern technology in the mass media in Thailand was borrowed and adapted from Western sources; this inevitably opened the door to Western Cultural influence. However, it is not the case that the people simply adopted modern Western media technology without adaptation to suit their own agrarian and authoritarian culture, where the traditional

personal way of communicating information still plays a significant role, and where the traditional culture and traditional social behaviour are still important forces. Therefore, the first distinctive characteristic of Thai radio broadcasting emerges in this area. In Thailand, radio broadcasting is owned by a military Government, from which commands, orders, and all other information flow downwards to the people. Initially, in Thai society, where the king had supreme command, the process of the modern media was at his will, and nowadays control of broadcasting, even though it has been transferred to the Government from the King, is still centralized. This fact renders Blackburn's conclusions difficult to account for when he refers to "the decentralized character (of the administration of the mass media) which in many respects mirrors that of Thailand's bureaucracy as a whole ...". (Blackburn, 1971; 341). Examination of the laws reveals that the Government has sole and absolute authority over broadcasting policy.

From the beginning, radio broadcasting in Thailand has been dependent on equipment and other materials imported from abroad, particularly from Europe during the first stage and then from Japan and the United States. In fact, there are many problems associated with equipment. There is no factory in Thailand which produces radio parts. When foreign-made equipment arrived in Thailand, specialists and technicians came also to settle there and start operating. Most of the Thai technicians, therefore, know only how to run it and how to repair minor faults, but when the equipment

breaks down or develops serious problems they do not know how to deal with it.

Provincial stations like Lampang radio station face considerable problems in this area; they are never sure that the parts they send to Bangkok for repair will be returned. When difficulties occur, foreign military personnel and their equipment are hired for a short period of time. Very few stations, particularly among the provincial ones, have emergency spares and many do not have the basic instruments for testing operating equipment. Other problems in radio broadcasting are concerned with inadequate maintenance of studios, lack of soundproofing, antiquated equipment, and dirty working conditions. Furthermore, in spite of the fact that technical and programming functions in broadcasting operation are separate and personnel are not supposed to go beyond their specific duties, in the real situation many engineers and technicians have to be programme presenters as well (see also Kaviya, 1971; Thompson, 1975).

The Radio Communications Act specifies that all radio stations must transmit two daily news bulletins, broadcast by the Central National Radio Station at 7.00 a.m. and 8.00 p.m. These news bulletins are prepared and relayed by the Mass Communications Organization in Bangkok and are usually a summary of home and world events, but the morning news also includes special features, human interest articles, agricultural articles, etc. All radio stations begin their broadcasting day with a sermon, followed by

patriotic songs. Messages from the King, the Prime Minister, and other officials must be carried by all stations.

News bulletins, after entertainment programmes, are given the second largest amount of broadcasting time (Table 4.1). Since they are compulsory for all radio stations, they have to follow the Government's orders. Apart from the regular schedule from the Central National Radio Station, every radio station has to keep listening to the Mass Communications Organization in order to transmit important relayed news or information whenever required. Other news programmes must conform to the following guidelines. News programmes:

1. Must carry news which is useful for the national public, or information which gives knowledge or shares the results of experience with people without bias or slander, and excluding indecent or immoral detail.
2. Must not suggest a positive attitude towards Communism either directly or indirectly.
3. Must not cause public alarm, riots, or disunity among the population which might endanger national security or good relationships with other countries.
4. Must not carry false news of any kind.
5. Must not carry news which disturbs the peace or morality of the public.

With the exception of the relaying of news bulletins in the morning and in the evening, most of the radio stations simply broadcast commercial programmes by playing records,

TABLE 4.1

Time allotted to Various Kinds of Radio Programme by

Percentage of Total Broadcasting Time

| | % |
|---|-------|
| News Bulletin | |
| Home News | 12.76 |
| Foreign News | 2.70 |
| Regional News | 4.89 |
| Public Service Announcements | 0.89 |
| Sport News | 3.06 |
| Other Small Miscellaneous | 3.01 |
| News Items and Announcements | |
| The Weather Forecast | 1.39 |
| Programmes of Discussion and | 0.44 |
| Criticism of Current Events | |
| Total | 27.14 |
| Educational Programmes | |
| Education | 21.88 |
| Agriculture | 2.62 |
| Health and Sanitation | 2.19 |
| Religion and Morality | 3.94 |
| General knowledge | 2.69 |
| Total | 33.25 |
| Entertainment Programmes | |
| Serialised Radio Plays | 10.63 |
| Light Music | 5.29 |
| Modern Thai Song in Western | |
| Musical Style | 7.00 |
| Modern Thai Folk Songs | 9.32 |
| Western Pop Music | 2.41 |
| Classical Thai Singing | 0.65 |
| Chanted Recitation in the | |
| Local Dialect of Ancient Folktales | |
| and the Traditional Genre of Bawdy | |
| ("sò" and "còi") Stylised Dialogue | |
| accompanied by music | 1.75 |
| Total | 37.05 |
| Occasional and Miscellaneous Programmes | |
| Brief Items Articles | 2.56 |
| Total | 100% |

Source: The Lampang Radio Station, (1977) The Programmes of Broadcasting. (Leaflet No. 3).

or tapes of drama serials or tapes supplied by the Government agency in Bangkok or by some well known advertising companies

which suit them. There are a few programmes where programme producers arrange the material themselves and broadcast it with songs. These are rarely of good quality. Kaviya's study (1971) concludes that: "Most stations are not capable of producing a well-done programme. There is too much entertainment and not enough information and education...". In spite of the statement in the Act that "broadcasting is effective for reaching vast numbers of people immediately and therefore, every Government radio station is of use in supporting the Government and serving the people...", most of the broadcast programmes are entertainment. In 1971, Thammasat University published the results of their research on programme content analysis. The results show that in the capital area, Bangkok-Thonburi region, 58.9% of all radio programmes were entertainment-oriented; 13.6% news; 11.5% advertisement; 11.2% general information; and 5.6% commentaries. In the provinces, the figures were: entertainment 61.4%; news 15.0%; advertising 10.8%; general information 8.3%, and commentary 4.6% (Kaviya, 1971: 38).

Besides, Scandlen has mentioned that:

"It is difficult to judge what constitutes scheduled radio programming because, aside from the English language stations, Voice of America, British Broadcasting Corporation, and some university stations, programme schedules are not distributed for publication... Some stations are stricter than others about following a program schedule. Larger stations administered by the Public Relations Department, Army Signal Corps, and Air Force have significant advertising budgets and thus take more time with programming. Other stations are more cavalier. For example, the Chief Engineer for one series of stations said

his program schedules looked like a Chinese menu; "We just pick and choose whatever we are in the mood for", he said..." (Scandlen, 1978: 133-135).

No magazine like the "Radio Times" is issued in Thailand. Where radio programmes are concerned, I have not seen them in any form of publication.

4.4 Ideology and policy of radio broadcasting in Thailand.

Colin Wild draws clearly contrasted pictures of broadcasting in the developed countries like Britain and the broadcasting of the less developed countries in Southeast Asia like Thailand. For the people in developed countries their future is assured, their society stable, their institutions trustworthy. "They are gods whose share of paradise is inalienable. They seek, and usually get, reassurance from their radio and television".

But for most people in the third world it is not like that. For them radio and television is the voice of authority - "perhaps of ineffable wisdom, perhaps of awesome oppression. It is a window on a world full of unspeakable things, of wonders which the Government inexplicably gives or withholds" (Wild, C., 1983 : 3).

The control over radio broadcasting as the symbol of power in less developed countries is not only evident in Southeast Asia, but the same situation can be found in Columbia (Rogers and Svenning, 1969), India (Kao, R., 1966), and Middle-East countries (Lerner, 1958). One of Rogers' and Sennings' conclusions from their Columbian study is that "Government control over the mass media,

especially the electronic media, is greater in less developed countries" (1969 : 115).

In less developed countries, broadcasting is consequently a major transmitter of political propaganda, political ideology, political news and events (Davidson, 1965 : 13). Unesco (1961) estimates that about two-thirds of the world's population still lacks the barest means of being informed about domestic affairs because their Government broadcasting tends to emphasize political programmes.

Based upon the literature discussed above, I would like to draw three principal themes for my discussion about radio broadcasting in northern Thailand.

1. The policy of broadcasting, 2. the dichotomy in broadcasting, and 3. the effect of controlled and defined programmes as required by the Thai Government on programme production. In order to produce a clear picture of Thai radio broadcasting, I would like to use the B.B.C. as the model for comparison. Some particularly well-known B.B.C. programmes will be used as examples.

4.4.1 The policy of broadcasting. After the political crisis in 1973, a new broadcasting Act was issued in September 1974. This law specifies some definite standards for broadcasting programmes (see page 175) and personnel. Together with this Act, a radio broadcasting executive committee was set up, including the Prime Minister or the assigned representative from the Prime Minister as the Chairman of the committee, directors or generals of

the public relations department, police department, intelligence department, post office department, the general secretary of the national security council, the chief of the general staff, representatives of the ministries of education and foreign affairs, royal army, royal navy and royal air force, the legislative commission office, the heads of the internal radio broadcasting of the public relations department as secretary, and radio frequency administration offices as secretarial assistant. This committee has duty to consider the conditions and grant licenses for the opening of new radio stations. The same committee will plan the policy on advertising and related commercial matters on radio. The most important duty of this committee is to give consultation and advice; or in another word "to control", and to supervise radio broadcasting stations in carrying out the regulations. If any radio stations do not keep the regulations or violate the laws, the committee has the authority to give an official warning, cancel offending programmes, withdraw broadcasting licenses, or close the station. This committee has appointed a sub-committee comprised of representatives from all Government offices to be responsible for censorship of programmes including news bulletins, songs and commercial advertisement programmes.

Moreover, this Act specifies the qualifications of radio station personnel. The most significant points are as follows: 1. "Thai nationality", 2. "he must submit to official investigation of his background and it must

have been certified that this person will not be dangerous to the country according to the national security Act" (The Prime Minister's office, 1974 : 23). What has been said here is, of course, very general. But at least it suffices to demonstrate the ideological policy of the Government in their radio broadcasting : ideological order of power, control and domination (see also Therborn, G., 1980 : 77-89).

The nature of radio censorship has been specified in the radio communication Act (see page 176). According to the censorship regulations, radio stations in Thailand must classify all programmes into the following categories : news, education, entertainment, advertisements and commercial announcements (see more detail in Lent, J., 1978; The Prime Minister's office, the Thai Government, 1974). Because of the clear-cut definitions in the regulation for each type of programmes, entertainment programme can be either "dramatic performance" or "music" as specified (The Prime Minister's office, 1974 : 48). Control over news and educational programmes are largely monopolized and filtered by the censorship committee. Due to these regulations, the radio programmes broadcast in Thailand show less integration between education, political and entertainment. Colin Wild notes "There is no room for a Robin Day or a David Frost in Southeast Asia" (1983 : 4).

I will discuss the dichotomy in Thai broadcasting later in this chapter, but at this stage the Thai broadcasting policy must be noted.

Thai broadcasting policy is that of state monopoly. This includes both radio and television. There is no independent commercial station like the independent broadcasting stations in Britain. This is due to two main factors: the potential power of radio that forges its own shackles and a large capital investment in studios and transmitters which in an underdeveloped country like Thailand only the Government can afford (Scandlen, 1978; Wild, 1983). However, it is not the intention of the Thai Government to provide full financial support for broadcasting (for the reasons I discuss on Page 170), in spite of its major function as the Government's propaganda speaker. Thai Government policy is that broadcasting should be able to earn its own living within the bounds of the Government control (Scandlen, 1978 : 123-142). Hence radio stations in Thailand have to find financial support from advertisement in commercial programmes. This affects the quality, scheduling and content of broadcasting. Because it is in the nature of commercial business to make broadcasting programmes attractive and enjoyable, and to avoid the problem in programme definition, most of the entertainment programmes produced by private companies are soap opera drama and modern folk songs. Informative and educational programmes are left to be the Government's responsibility within a smaller portion of broadcasting time.

4.4.2 The dichotomy in Thai broadcasting. Under the circumstances discussed above, there is a dichotomy between educational and entertainment programmes in Thai broadcasting. The Lampang province radio station, like any other Government radio station, is required to broadcast programmes from the Government central radio station in Bangkok (see table 4.3, see page 221-223). News bulletin and education programmes are compulsory. Unlike the B.B.C., Lampang radio station do not have dual purpose programmes like "The Archers". The only type of programme broadcast by Lampang radio station which can be considered to combine the characteristics of education and entertainment is the magazine programme, but it lacks the polish and wide variety of knowledge of a Jimmy Young or a Gloria Hunniford. The Lampang radio station's magazine programme is a combination of music, particularly modern folk songs, short items of news and miscellaneous matters of knowledge alternatively. This programme is produced by the local radio station. The magazine programme would achieve its ends better if it was improved to suit its local audience. The use of magazine programmes for self-development activities through a local system of particular villages in the People's Republic of China provides a useful example (Lerner, 1969; Rogers, 1976). But the Thai broadcasters or programmers of the local radio stations are not willing to risk themselves by producing more effective programmes which might challenge Government regulation. To preserve their security, they therefore leave this to the national radio centre station

in Bangkok (see also Blackburn, 1971; Kaviya, 1971; Thompson, 1975a).

The education programmes produced by the Government broadcasters at the central radio station in Bangkok convey generalized messages or knowledge. Because they are central, they do not produce radio programmes emphasizing any particular local background. In addition, their programmes have to be very precise to fit into the limited time allocated for free advertisement broadcasting. Not all of these programmes have 2-3 seconds of music at the beginning and at the end. Here is an example of education programme for agriculture.

This programme is entitled as "How to grow pineapples successfully". The speaker begins:

"Good morning, my farmer friends and everyone who is interested in agriculture. The Lampang provincial radio station would like to present an agricultural programme prepared by the central national radio station for farmers and our audience.

Today in this programme we would like to pass on some new ideas about the successful growing of pineapples.

- Music -

The pineapple is a plant that can grow in any kind of soil, and it is very popular for consumption both in Thailand and abroad. Farmers in Chonburi Province, Petchaburi Province, and Prachuabkirikan Province like to grow pineapples very much because it has a very good ready market, and moreover, there are many canned food factories which process pineapple both for home consumption and for

exporting. Pineapple is a plant that is easily grown; it does not need a lot of care and it can stand arid conditions very well, especially during the dry season.

The best situation for farmers to grow pineapple is on high ground where floods cannot reach, because the roots rot very quickly in damp conditions. Another reason for growing pineapple on high ground is that water drainage is better in those conditions. The pineapple does not like areas which contain a lot of water or areas which have a high level of underground water. The most popular variety of pineapple for growing is "Patavia" (the name of a province in Indonesia). This variety does not have many thorns.

The best way to prepare the plots is to plough (taida) and to harrow (tai pae), and to make beds which will be convenient for draining away water when it rains. It is better, when planting, to use pineapple shoots instead of the crowns because the shoot will yield fruit better, and more quickly than the crown. The average planting density, when the farmer would like to grow pineapples in order to supply the factory, should be 8,000 - 12,000 shoots per rai (0.4 acre). However, for other purposes, if the farmer wants to grow pineapples to sell in the market for home consumption, he should plant about 7,000 - 8,000 shoots per rai. The shoots should be planted in rows, the space between each shoot should be 30 cm and the gap between each row should be about 75 cm.

The reason for growing pineapples in rows is that it is convenient for getting rid of weeds and for harvesting. The pineapple needs some chemical fertilizers, to supplement the nutrients already present in the soil. The correct fertilizer to use is Amonium Sulphate Nitrogen 20% at about 30 kg per rai.

About one month after planting, the farmer should start to begin applying chemical fertilizer, and the second application should be at least 2 months after the first one.

Obviously, besides boosting his income by selling the pineapple fruit, the farmer can also sell the shoots and crowns from his crop which makes it a very remunerative crop indeed. Furthermore, if the farmer takes good care of his plants they will yield 2 or 3 successive crops. Therefore, in brief, growing pineapples is not difficult, and even though it needs some initial investment it soon pays for itself and makes a good profit. The important thing is that the market for pineapple is quite permanent.

- Music -

And now good-bye until our next programme on Monday the 14th of June when we will be discussing "How to make a pond for fish farming".

This programme was broadcast on Monday the 7th June 1979 after the morning news programme. It is a ten-minute programme. From the example, this programme can be clearly defined as education. The direct and indirect effect of education and entertainment programmes on villagers, both as particular individuals and as a whole will be

fully discussed in the following chapters. Evidently many broadcasting programmes in Lampang province are similar to the one described above. Discussing the improvement of broadcasting style J.G. Thompson (1975) comments that in some Thai broadcasting programmes, not a few of the sentences are extraordinarily lengthy, unpolished and unintelligible, partly literary and partly vernacular, with foreign accents and alien intonation, poor vocabulary, inappropriate terminology, coinage of new terms, excessive use of abbreviations, incomprehensible literary style, and poor punctuation. The poor production of an education programme makes it less interesting and less attractive to mass audiences in rural areas. Hence entertainment programmes are widely listened to, allocated a bigger portion of broadcasting time and presented more attractively.

Lampang radio station adopts the proposals of companies who would like to advertise their goods, and usually uses the material supplied by commercial advertising agents in Bangkok. These agents are just as well aware as the local radio station programmers of the regulations about defined programmes. And because of their commercial purpose, the attraction of their programmes is secured by basing them upon modern folk music and soap-opera drama. Having been through the censorship committee, modern folk songs and plays mainly convey social context. Family conflict and the "Cinderella Theme" are popular among rural northern Thai villagers, especially village women of all ages (see

details of discussion about matrilineal descent and radio listening. and further details about the effect of radio plays in Chapter 5). Radio plays which are broadcast in Lampang province show a degree of success in telling a story. Many village women can retell the stories from radio plays to me in vivid detail. But what radio lacks is the means to promote national development by acting as the vehicle for transmitting modern knowledge, education and instruction. Many findings in social science and mass media (Schramm, W., 1964; Rogers with Shoemaker, 1971; Baker, F. and Misra, V.M., 1977; and Wild, C., 1983) show that in the less developed countries radio and television are the most effective media for bringing education and story-telling to the peasant community.

It may, therefore, be that the most important contribution radio broadcasting makes is when it tells stories or presents plays which show characters responding to new situations in positive and constructive ways, building new and materially improved lives under the influence of the new physical circumstances that development is creating. This missing element in radio plays broadcast in Thailand is recorded by Colin Wild. Development is hindered because it is not placed in a social context conveyed by radio. Suggesting that radio broadcasting in Thailand could do better, he states that "I suspect that what would do most good would be a proliferation of skillfully written and acted third world versions of "The Archers". Example, even fictitious example, is far more effective than exhortation"

(1983 : 19). However, this is very much constrained by the Government ideological policy in broadcasting. Since each programme has to be clearly defined, and there is no mediator between education - entertainment programme; the official broadcasting - commercial advertisement broadcasting time; or the Government programme - commercial programme, the dichotomy has not been bridged.

4.4.3 The effect of ideological policy of broadcasting on programme production. It is acknowledged that there is a correlation between the ideological policy of broadcasting and its programme production. Göran Therborn states that "ideologies do not operate as immaterial ideas ... they are always produced, conveyed, and received in particular, materially circumscribed social situations and through special means and practices of communication, the material specificity of which bears upon the efficacy of a given ideology" (1980 : 79-80; see also his model figure on page 87). This phenomenon is revealed in many countries such as People's Republic of China and India where the radio policy tends to be "time-bound and target-oriented" (Chu, 1978 : 22). Radio broadcasting is utilized largely to impart information with a view to increasing awareness of and arousing interest in specific innovations, to encourage the mass audience to adopt recommended practices and attitudes, and also, to a limited extent, to teach them particular skills and techniques (Lerner, 1967: 158-162, 209-211; Chu, 1978 : 28-31).

In the People's Republic of China, James C.Y. Chu

reports that both radio and television programmes are predominantly political and revolution-oriented (1978 : 41). The structure and functions of broadcasting in today's China are determined by the Chinese Communist Party's philosophy of mass media, which flows directly from Marxist-Leninist doctrine. There is no form of capitalism broadcast. Stations at all levels receive no advertising revenue and are financially supported by the Government and the party at correspondent levels. The wired broadcasting units, which are operated under cable relayed system (rediffusion), in communes, factories, and mines are self-sufficient. Under this policy and to promote the campaign for "agricultural producers' cooperatives", rural areas were given top priority in setting up wired broadcasting units. Consequently, radio monitoring teams were organized in various units at the lowest level of political, military, economic, and educational structures in the country. The monitors worked under the dual leadership of the local Government and the provincial and municipal information administration. It can, in fact, be inferred that they were supervised by local party cells. Robert M. Worth presents evidence of the effective use of radio broadcasting in health development programmes in the People's Republic of China. Peking radio skillfully introduced modern medicine into the village, but was anxious to do so without attacking native medicine frontally and without losing all of the skills and energies of the native practitioners. This is a good example of cooperation between policy and broad-

casting programme production (Worth, 1969 : 216-230).

I would like to return to radio programme production broadcast in rural northern Thailand. In comparison with the People's Republic of China, Thai broadcasting shows a characteristic capitalist ethos. But it is not the same kind of capitalist broadcasting as in Britain or the United States of America where mass media can claim the right for their editorial freedom to serve a mass audience which might challenge the Government decision. The capitalist ethos in Thai broadcasting is merely the means for radio stations to earn their living, while they have to be under Government control and their major function is to transmit Government propaganda (see also Mosel, 1963; Noah, 1969; Scandlen, 1978; Wild, 1983). Colin Wild argues that under these circumstances Thai radio programmer "works in a straight waistcoat. He is a sculptor carving a model of reality for the Government who insist on keeping one hand on the chisel. He cannot escape mediocrity" (1983 : 4). Full expression of his skills and ability is prevented. His creative ideas are diminished. His profession does not give him the status to perform intellectual tasks. Besides, with the tight budget invested in studios and transmitters, he has to struggle with his job. Because he is part of the information wing of the Government, he must be subjected to ministerial control and cannot be better rewarded than other senior civil servants above him. Hence, "the innovator, the creative writer, the ambitious administrator will seldom go into broadcasting" (Wild, 1983 : 4).

In contrast to the role of local units in the People's Republic of China broadcasting, Thai local radio stations like the one in Lampang province has been walled off from the local unit cooperation by the policy of centralization. The crucial fact that the inhabitants in this area are an indigenous ethnic minority has been neglected. The significance of local background and local needs in broadcasting, essential in the process of development, are neglected.

In brief we have, therefore, a picture of radio trying to perform its tasks, controlled by a Government who often barely understands them and who is frightened by this power, marred by poorly paid programmers who have no editorial independence (Scandlen, 1978 ; Wild, 1981).

4.5 The Number of Radio Stations in Thailand

There is, at the present time, disagreement about the number of radio broadcasting stations in Thailand. Uran Nuangchamnong says that there are 148 AM radio stations, and 67 FM stations. All these belong to official bureaux and state organizations (Nuangchamnong, 1977 : 7). He adds that every area in Thailand can receive radio signals, but that broadcasting is obviously operated for business more than any other purpose.

However, other authorities give divergent figures. Scandlen (1978 : 128-130) tried to gather information from many sources and tried to make direct contact with radio stations but he found it difficult to gauge at any moment the exact number of radio stations in Thailand.

The figures vary with each reporting agency. Scandlen gives examples such as the Annual World Radio and Television Handbook, which in 1974 reported 132 medium-wave stations alone (WRTH, 1974: 270-297), while Unesco claimed the number of transmitters to be 108 long and medium wave, 26 short wave, and 10 FM (Unesco, 1973: 345); but "The Media" (Media Asia, 1974 : 4) claimed there were 113 radio stations in 1974, all Government owned and leased to businessmen. One possible reason for this confusion relates to the sporadic births and deaths of stations under military auspices. Also, definitive information is hindered because some stations switch call letters and frequencies during a broadcast day (Scandlen, 1978 : 128).

From Table 4.2 we see that the concentration of media is greatest in the capital area, Bangkok and Thonburi. Almost half of all the radio stations in Thailand are situated in this area, serving about four million people or 10% of the total population of Thailand (about 45 million in 1979).

There are illegal political radio stations. Their programmes are relayed from Peking, and broadcast by the communist guerrilla underground group. Programmes come very early in the morning and again in the late evening, almost at the same time as the Government radio station broadcasts its daily news bulletin. Often, the news topics are almost exactly the same but the political slant is of course different. It is illegal for a group of three adults or more to join together in order to listen to

TABLE 4.2

Radio Stations in Thailand,
1970-1971

| Administrative Body | Agency Bangkok-Thonburi Region | | | By Frequency | Provincial Regions | | | By Frequency |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|----|-------|--------------|--------------------|----|-------|--------------|
| | By Agency | | Total | | By Agency | | Total | |
| | AM | FM | | | | AM | | FM |
| Public Relation Dept. | 3 | 8 | 11 | 24 | 18 | 11 | 29 | 34 |
| Ministry of Defence | | | | | | | | |
| Army | 18 | 6 | 24 | 27 | 31 | 1 | 32 | 35 |
| Navy | - | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | - | 4 | 4 |
| Air Force | 4 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 12 | 2 | 14 | 15 |
| Supreme Command | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 3 |
| Ministry of Interior | | | | | | | | |
| (Police Dept.) | 4 | - | 4 | 5 | 3 | - | 3 | 3 |
| Ministry of Education | 1 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 2 | 8 | 9 |
| Ministry of Foreign Affairs | | | | | | | | |
| (Public Relation Dept.) | 1 | - | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Ministry of Agriculture | | | | | | | | |
| (Public Relation Dept.) | 1 | - | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| University Bureau | 2 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 4 |
| Post & Telegraph Dept. | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| King's Service | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Unknown, Unidentifiable | ? | ? | 1 | 1 | ? | ? | 1 | 1 |
| TOTAL | | | 60 | 82 | | | 98 | 108 |

Source: Scandlen (1978 : 128).

Uis (Bangkok) listing in a private memo., 1971; Public Relations Department listing (untitled), 1971; National Statistics Office, 1969-70, Census, Final Report, Bangkok: Office of Prime Minister, 1970; Kaviya 1971. The author (Scandlen) also mailed letters and made phone calls to administrative agencies to obtain information. 52 of 98 letters were unanswered and seven phone calls were refused information.

this sort of broadcast. Originally, these programmes were produced and broadcast directly from Peking, but the relay power was not strong enough to permit clear reception in Thailand. When the illegal communist party expanded and acquired modern equipment for transmission of the programmes, they began to transmit from hidden mobile sites in the jungle. There are some entertainment programmes broadcast by the illegal radio station; most of them are rousing songs and political satire plays, but not many country people listen to these programmes; probably they are a little too difficult to understand.

Besides problems of electricity distribution and the technical difficulties of the station itself, which obstruct the effectiveness of broadcasting and radio listening, there are other problems on the audience's side; interesting programmes do not always coincide with their leisure time, the timing of programmes unsuitable, interference produces bad reception, villagers may not have their own radios and have to share with others, the radio receivers which they possess are not in good condition. Of these problems the most serious is bad reception, which has to do with the power of transmission from the station. The least frequent complaint is about radio sharing; indeed the high percentage of radio ownership makes the problem negligible.

4.6 Public Radio Speakers

The radio speaker only brings news and entertainment programmes from the Government radio station. There are problems for some villages which do not have an

electricity supply which the radio speaker naturally requires. In such cases, someone in the village is put in charge of a generator. In some villages the headman looks after the broadcasting system, but in others the abbot, the chairman of the community leaders' group or even the headmaster of the local school may be in charge.

At the place where the generator is kept, a good quality radio set, usually with 3 wavelength bands, will be provided. The radio speaker, which starts broadcasting at 6.30 a.m., will be turned on and the Government radio station selected. The person who takes care of this attaches the radio to the loudspeaker. News programmes start at 7.00 a.m. and last for half an hour or forty five minutes. After that, come the official Government announcements. The radio speaker stops broadcasting at 9.00 a.m., after giving the time and national anthem.

In Ban Mon Khao Khew electricity was recently installed, almost at the same time as the villagers had a convenient new road laid to the village from the main road leading into town. At the middle of the village, a loud speaker was put on the top of a bamboo pole 10 metres high. It is just in front of the local school, coffee shop and village grocery. This village radio speaker is occasionally disturbed by weather, especially in winter or during a thunder storm. The principal advantage which local people get from this kind of broadcasting is general knowledge from the news and educational programmes. The old men during the dry season or after harvesting

time go on discussing what they have just listened to for hours after the programmes have finished, particularly at the coffee shop, where male villagers gather almost every morning. Another advantage is the chance to set their watches at the right time, which I will discuss in more detail in section "changing concept of time" in Chapter 5.

4.7 Educational Programmes

In the production of educational programmes there is cooperation among Government offices; the Mass Communications Organization, the Post and Telegraph Department, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Agriculture, the University Bureau, etc. In general, according to the Unesco's definition (1973 : 16), educational programmes can be divided into two types; the non-formal and the informal ones. The non-formal educational programmes refer to those specially produced for registered students without limit of age. Attendance at school or college (i.e. formal education) is not required. Informal programmes are any programmes of general information or educational value (see details in Unesco, 1973). The Division of Educational Information is responsible for the production of non-formal education programmes. In provincial areas the Mass Communications Organization uses nine regional transmitters and has 17 stations for broadcasting educational programmes (Rowland, 1973 : 6-40). But there are problems for provincial education broadcasting for schools. The difference in the

standard of living between the people of the capital and the rural villagers is so great that the rural schools are incomparable with the ones in Bangkok. They can hardly afford even the basic educational aids and equipment, and it is very unlikely that they would be able to raise enough money for a school radio. Besides, there is a problem about finding air time in the provincial radio stations. Stations in different parts of the country make varying times available. Thus, it is difficult to coordinate programming with school days. Apart from the required relayed news programmes, the stations would not like to use their broadcasting time for free programmes, even educational ones, because they have to earn money to maintain themselves, and every minute of broadcasting time means money for them. This situation causes more difficulties for education programmes, which are always free. In 1976, when the non-formal education centre was established in Lampang province, both the Lampang radio station and the Ministry of Education staff faced an embarrassing problem about financial support for broadcasting. The Government assisted by asking Unesco and the World Bank to finance this project. After a large sum of money was provided for compensation, things seemed to be resolved, and the non-formal education programmes were broadcast as required. However, the ideal of using educational radio programmes in the classroom is still far from being generally realised. There are four problems. First of all the education programmes have been produced

to be used in high schools where the curriculum, which is crowded and very examination-orientated, is not flexible enough to provide opportunities for the teacher to use them in their teaching (Unesco, 1971 : 11).

Another problem is that the pupils have not been trained to concentrate on lessons using audio-visual teaching aids (Chulalongkorn University, The Faculty of Education, 1975 : 14-86). Few teachers have been trained in the use of radio, and most pupils are used only to direct pupil-teacher contact teaching (Unesco, 1971 : 38). Tape recorders, television and radio are associated in their minds with entertainment, not with serious learning and an educational programme is simply not sanuk (fun). As a result they tend to switch off mentally when such equipment is used. Further discussion of this value will be in Chapter 8, in the section : The Encounter between Traditional Social and Moral Values and Modern Ideas.

The final problem is that there is not much research carried out by the Division of Education Information into the results of educational broadcasts and therefore little attempt at informed policy or careful use of the medium. The administration system, which prevents cooperation between departments, and the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the officials together reduce the effectiveness of educational broadcasting.

In 1975 the Ministry of Education with the cooperation of Unesco established the non-formal education by radio and correspondence project for rural people in the Northern

part of Thailand. The Mass Communications Organization was responsible for implementing Government policy and establishing a radio and postal coverage. At the first stage, there were about 112 students scattered over a wide area in Lampang province and neighbouring provinces. The objectives of the project are in the area of vocational instruction. Many of the programmes are for women because of high female unemployment at the time. However, in Ban Mon Khao Khew, where I went to stay, there were only four students, who were encouraged by the local teacher, the tutor of the group, to follow a non-formal education programme. Food preservation and dress-making courses were popular among them. The only male student of this group followed mushroom farming. It is a pity that when the mushroom farming course was offered, it was the dry season, and the student could not put what he had learned into action immediately, but had to wait three months until the beginning of the rainy season.. In every village where there are students following this project, there will be a tutor. Most of them are local teachers who have been trained for one month at the education centre in Lampang city during the summer season. In addition, there is a staff of tutors and supervisors from the centre who come into the village once or twice a month to conduct a workshop or conference with the students. They provide text-books for the students to use while they are listening to the lectures on radio and exercises to do after each lecture. The students will post their exercises to the centre in town for correcting, and by this means they

can ask questions too. Not all courses last for the same length of time, but most of them go on for three months. At the end, there will be an examination, which usually takes place in town. Only some agriculture courses can be examined by the local agriculture officials of the village. After the examination, students who pass will get a certificate for each stage. There are three stages in each course of study to suit the ability of each student.

Some informal education programmes broadcast by the same station can be considered as overlapping material, such as the agricultural programmes, public health programmes, programmes for the housewife, and programmes for children. These programmes often have almost the same subject matter or content as the non-formal education courses. For instance, there were education courses about the use of fertilizers lasting for three hours of broadcasting in the mushroom growing course and two hours on the same subject was broadcast in an informal programme for farmers within a two week period.

It seems to me that the use of language is one factor that can encourage or discourage the audience. More than a few of these villagers cannot understand news and general interest programmes because of the language. In addition to the problem of the use of simple language, the producers often use technical terms and abbreviations in their articles. Because of this, the villagers are often put off by education programmes. This is a major failing in educational programme production as it is at present.

4.8 Advertising

Another important component of radio broadcasting is advertising; commercial intermissions take up one third to half of all the time of entertainment programmes, especially serial radio plays.

Since 1938, when radio stations were first allowed to accept commercial advertisements, this business has grown rapidly. After some time, because most of the radio stations enjoyed financial support from personal sources, commercial business and the like, radio broadcasting was abused. More than one hundred radio stations broadcast programmes which in the Government's opinion, were dangerous for the public and corrupted morality, and annoyed the audiences with what, in the Public Relations Department estimation, were unsuitably long advertisements. (Prime Minister's Office, 1977e: 161). This situation lasted until 1966, when the Government, after having heard a lot of complaints, issued an order forbidding commercial advertising on radio, which caused the paralysis of the radio broadcasting business for a while. However, two years later, there was the announcement of the passing of the 1968 Radio Broadcasting Act which had to be acted on by all radio stations owned by the Government. This law allows all radio stations to broadcast commercial advertisements and lays down guidelines to control the quality of programme production, the training of technicians and announcers, and the broadcasting administration. The 1974 Radio Broadcasting Act lays down that broadcasting stations cannot devote more than six minutes to commercial

advertisements per hour. This regulation was changed in 1975. The permitted time for commercial advertising was increased to eight minutes per hour, or 13% of programme time for the Lampang radio station. Furthermore, the Radio Communications Act specifies that:

"There must be a suitable period of time between these categories of programmes, under measures fixed by the National Board, except in the case of advertising that is part of a programme relayed from outside ..." (The Public Relations Department, 1975 : 117).

However, this is widely disregarded; the radio stations have to earn their own living from commercial advertising and thus have to devote more or less half of their broadcasting time to this business. Among the problems concerned with broadcast advertisements are the lack of control by local stations over programmes sent by advertising agencies in Bangkok, the collection of advertising fees, and the fact that there are too many sponsors for a single programme (Kaviya, 1971 : 27). I have found that almost all villagers, though they complain of the length and frequency of advertising, can repeat many advertising slogans and jingles. Sometimes, this influences their daily conversation, as in the use of slang. Many commercial advertisement slogans from radio have become part of the change in standard language usage. This has been absorbed and spread very quickly. Some trade mark titles have become symbols of special characteristics. For example, the modern colloquialism "Drivo" means greed or an impolite manner in eating rapidly. The original word refers to

a brand of washing powder which is supposed to clean clothes very rapidly. The effects of advertising on the acquisition of innovations is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

There are two types of advertisement, one is commercial, the other is for charity. A lot of Buddhist temple ceremonies will be broadcast in order to persuade people to attend the ceremony, give alms, and of course enjoy themselves. People from the south make long journeys to the north to get sacred coins with the pictures of well known abbots. People from the north go to the southern border to get amulets or holy water to protect or heal them from illness etc. On the other hand, this radio service has also produced interesting changes in patterns of migration, travelling and marriage, the way people spend money on entertainment and making alms. From a geographical study, one can see that transport becomes better after a temple has begun announcing its ceremonies on radio (Fernando et al., 1968 : 14-19), and people from other parts of the country begin to come to that temple, especially if it has a well known abbot.

4.9 Comparison of the use of radio with other kinds of mass media.

E.M. Rogers, studying the significance of mass media in developing countries, states that "The mass media, especially radio, were penetrating further into the mass audience of developing countries, and they seemed to have a considerable potential for helping such nations to reach development goals" (1976 : 7). In various parts of the

Third World : Latin America, Africa, and Asia, there is the evidence that the adoption of radio is higher than other mass media (Rogers and Svenning, 1969 : Rogers, 1976). Apart from the effectiveness of radio itself (McLuhan, M., 1967 : 317-328), many findings in social anthropology and mass media (Lazarsfeld, P., and Field, H., 1946 : Lerner and Schramm, 1969 : Katz, E., and Szeckö, T., 1981) indicate that in developing countries the economic status and degree of literacy of its audience are important factors which make radio widely adopted. Based upon the comparative study of Columbia and the United States, Rogers and Svenning present five conclusions :

1. The mass media in less developed countries reach much smaller audiences than those in more developed countries.
2. Certain elite audiences in less developed countries have mass media exposure levels which are just as high as those for similar elites in more developed nations.
3. Audiences for the electronic media are larger than for printed media such as newspapers and magazines in less developed countries.
4. Mass media messages in less developed countries are of low interest and relevancy to villagers because of the strong urban orientation of the media.
5. There is a greater degree of Government control over the mass media, especially the electronic media, in less developed countries than in more developed countries (Rogers and Svenning, 1969) .

In rural northern Thailand, similar patterns of mass media exposure can be found. The use of radio is relatively

higher than other media. I will discuss radio adoption in particular in Chapter 5, but at this stage I would like briefly to outline the use of mass media in general. The conclusion drawn by Rogers and Svenning can be used to explain mass media adoption in northern Thailand. There are two principal factors; poverty and the low level of literacy, which limit the use of mass media in this area. Here I would like to discuss exposure to mass media in the three villages under two headings: 1. newspapers and magazine, and 2. television.

4.9.1 Newspaper and Magazine. Among northern Thai peasants, functional levels of literacy are related to newspaper and magazine exposure. Inadequate reading skill has an effect on the degree to which villagers receive news and other kinds of information from newspapers and other printed media. A girl of Ban Mon Khao Khew who has finished her compulsory school often comes to use newspapers and magazines at the local sanitation office where her father is the caretaker. She told me that she likes to look at the pictures. Trying to read by spelling the words spoils her interest in newspapers and magazines because it takes a long time to finish a piece of news. Looking at some pictures gives her a quicker message and keeps her interest. Apart from problems of literacy which have reduced the adoption of printed media, economic problems also deter villagers from using this type of medium.

For example, on average in Thailand a newspaper costs two baht. When we compare the cost of newspapers with

the average wage of agricultural labourers, 15 to 20 baht a day, it means a newspaper is about 10% of their income and with that amount of money a peasant could buy one litre of rice at the local grocery. Therefore, the newspaper is in their terms still expensive. Even the wealthy villagers like the millowner or the headman who more frequently read newspapers and magazines still prefer to read those which belong to the local school, the village offices like the sanitation office or the irrigation office and the village coffee shop. Usually when the newspapers arrive in the village they are 2-3 days out of date. This is due to the transportation delay. For magazines, villagers who possess them will keep them for years after the issued date. The northern Thai peasants who tend to read and talk most about information received from printed media are those in the village leader group. This is true of all three villages. Rogers and Svenning report the same pattern in India, Italy and Columbia (1969 : 96-123).

Because they are privately owned, newspapers and magazines are less under Government control and censorship than the radio (Lent, J., 1978). However, they too have subordinated standards or ideals of serving the community to commercial ends. While radio has been adopted widely, newspaper and magazine are still limited in their use.

4.9.2. Television. Of all peasants in the three villages, only about one-third have ever watched television and all of this group have only watched the programmes broadcast by the Lampang province television station. Although television has become one of the most effective and widely used media in the developed nations, it has not been adopted widely among the northern Thai villagers for two principal reasons; poverty and the lack of electricity. Only in Ban Mon Khao Khew where electricity is available, there is a television show operated by the abbot of the local temple. Another television set is owned by the headman, but the temple television show is more public. Entertainment is the main attraction. From my personal experience with villagers, the effect of television is apparent on young villagers. "Older villagers are probably less neoteric in their attitudes and values, so that selectively they expose themselves less to the mass media ..." (Rogers and Svenning, 1969 : 107). Support for this assertion comes from a group of village boys of Ban Mon Khao Khew. One day in late afternoon, along the irrigation canal near the demonstration tomato plantation of this village, I saw, as I returned from watching the tomato harvest, a group of boys aged between 10 to 15 swimming and diving by jumping from the high branches of a big water willow tree on the river bank. I know them because one boy in the group lives next door to where I live. Just before I pass one boy in the group

climbs to the high branch, raises his arms in heroic style and makes the announcement to his friends that, "Look, the best performance is that the severe criminal murderer will give in his diving!" I was curious to know from exactly what source they remember and try to imitate this role and why it impresses them as a hero image. A few days later, I met this group of boys again when they are on the way back from school. I stop and have a short conversation with them as usual. I said that I have seen them playing "The criminal cruel murderer", and ask where they get to know the murderer as hero. The reply is from a television show which they have seen at the temple. It is a Hollywood film which impresses them. From this example, we can see another side of the strong influence media such as television has on the audience.

Thus, we see that apart from villagers' economic status and literacy, the location of the village is another important factor which will affect the chance peasants have to be exposed to more mass media channels. It is clear that written and printed mass have had less exposure in these three villages. In addition, electronic media other than radio are too expensive for rural northern Thai villagers, in spite of its efficiency.

4.10 Lampang Province Radio Station

In 1960 the Public Relations Department (as it was then) established a regional broadcasting centre to work directly as the representative of the Department in network

cooperation and contact with other broadcasting stations, both in the same region and further afield. Lampang province, since it used to be the centre of the administrative region, was selected as the most suitable area for this centre. The duty of Centre is generally to inform and to interact with people in the region, to produce and distribute radio and television programmes, to provide technical expertise for the smaller stations, and to operate mobile recording teams.

Because Lampang province is quite far from Bangkok and from other radio stations, Lampang people cannot receive radio programmes from those stations. The Public Relations Department decided to create a provincial broadcasting system called "The Thai National Radio Station of Lampang Province". This station was opened, and started broadcasting officially on the 30th of October.

Technically, this radio station broadcasts by the R.A.C. transmitter, with 10 kw., frequency 1134 kilohertz in AM system from 5.30 a.m. to 22.30 p.m. Altogether there are 16 hours of broadcasting daily. There are 23 persons on the staff including two caretakers, driver, cleaner, and guards. The technical staff consists of a director, two programme producers, one newscaster, 10 technicians, and four announcers.

Since Lampang radio station started to broadcast, there has not been much follow-up study or any form of "audience research". The only study has been the testing of reception standards; this was done in July 1974, and

it showed that during the day time, programmes can be received quite clearly without interference from other transmissions in a radius of 150 kilometres, but at night reception is good only to a distance of 100 kilometres. There is also seasonal variation; the cool season usually sees a reduction in the quality of reception. Many villagers said that the smaller transistor radios could not receive programmes clearly, even within a 50 kilometre radius, and it was even worse in winter. There are other problems associated with the electricity supply (Lampang Radio Station, 1975 : 28-53). The station has to stop service occasionally because of the inefficient electrical system. Each time it takes between three to four weeks to get started again, but fortunately this does not happen so often; in December 1976 it stopped for 23 days, and in February 1978 it stopped for 27 days (Lampang Radio Station, 1979a). In winter the electric current dims throughout the province almost every evening, which causes further broadcasting problems.

There is another type of radio station, the military radio station, which has a different way of broadcasting. Thailand has been divided into 15 military zones since 1892 (Bunnag, T., 1977 : 18-25), and each military area has a central city, in which all important office buildings are situated. Lampang is the central city of the seventh military area.

During times of peace, they use all the military radio equipment to educate and give information to people

in that area as well as for military purposes. However, at the time when I was in Lampang, the military radio station devoted fifty per cent of its programmes to serial radio plays, and almost ninety percent of the broadcasting time was for entertainment. This "private", or "military" radio station has gained a lot of financial support from advertising sponsors. They do not broadcast the official news or any programme which belongs to the government station. There is little co-operation between these two kinds of radio station; the military have their own news programme, which is like a news review and is mainly local news. The programmer or news reviewer often inserts his own comments and opinions while he is presenting news. I found that this programme was a favourite among the villagers, especially when the announcer had a keen sense of humour.

Table 4.1 shows the programmes divided by percentage according to the period of time of broadcasting devoted to each kind by the government radio station and the military radio station. For the Government station the sources of these programmes are: 16 produced in Lampang radio station, 17 from other Government offices, 19 from the Mass Communications Organization, Bangkok (tape recordings), 4 transmitted from the Central National Radio Station, Bangkok. In total there are 56 programmes broadcast by Lampang radio station in a week.

In general the villagers prefer listening to the National Lampang Radio Station. They say that the reception

is clearer. Probably, this is a result of the transmitter which the Lampang radio station uses and which is stronger than the military one. For these reasons, villagers use the national Lampang radio station mainly as a source of information, while they listen to the military radio station for the entertainment programmes. However, in general, the national Lampang radio station seems to earn more popularity for both types of programmes.

CONCLUSION

Although radio transmitting was introduced in Thailand for the first time in 1904, the service was only opened to the public twenty-six years later in 1930, after which growth was very rapid. But so far radio has not been fully used by the authorities. More than half of the broadcasting time is spent on commercial programmes from which radio receives its main financial support. If radio is to fulfil its potential as an agent of education and development, much of the programming ought to be informative, even if presented as entertainment (Altheide, D.L., and Snow, R.P., 1979 : 181-209). National aims such as increasing agricultural production and improving public health could be furthered by more enlightened broadcasting policies as I have discussed earlier in this chapter. Programming might then be carefully designed by social scientists and communications experts thoroughly familiar with the needs and attitudes of the audiences in each locality (Ehrlich, P.R., and Ehrlich, A.H., 1970 : 278). This is, however, especially difficult in a developing

country because of the lack of trained people and the radical change in attitudes that is required (Schramm, 1964 : 381-399). Control of the communications media should obviously be public, with maximum safeguard against abuses.

TABLE 4.3
Radio Timetable of a Week
The National Radio Station in Lampang Province
January to December 1979

| Time | Programme | Time | Material | Notice |
|-------|---|----------|----------|---|
| 5.30 | Testing the Broadcasting Equipment | 0.5-0.10 | | |
| 5.40 | Opening of the Day's Broadcasting with the National Anthem Song "Wake Up Thai People" Thai Proverb, Maxim etc. Name of the Radio Station, Daily Programme, Names of Programmers and Technicians. | 0.5 | Record | |
| 5.45 | Morning Songs | 0.15 | Record | (For Buddhist Holy Day: Song "Buddhism Will Be with the Thai People Forever".) |
| 6.00 | Transmit the First Programme from the National Radio Station | 0.30 | | |
| 6.30 | Local News (Sunday "Our Home-Town") | 0.30 | Tape | |
| 7.00 | Transmit News Bulletin and General Article Programme from the National Radio Station | 0.75 | | After the Programme One Patriotic Song (Sunday : Religious Discussion) |
| 8.15 | Song Programme | 0.15 | | |
| 8.30 | Songs and General Interest Programmes (Buddhist Holy Day: Preaching and Chanting) | 0.30 | Record | Military Item Buddhist Monk |
| 9.00 | Miscellaneous News and Educational Programme | 0.90 | Tape | General Advice Dept., Ministry of Education |
| 10.30 | Announce the Programmes for 10.30-5.00 p.m. (Give the Names of the Announcers) | | | From this Point on Slots are Allotted to Advertising. |
| | Mon.-Fri: Songs and Plays | 0.30 | Tape | |
| | Sat: Boxing and Traditional Songs | 0.60 | | |
| | Sun: Plays and Traditional Songs | 0.60 | | |
| 11.00 | Short News | | Read | |
| | Mon: Conversation with Vet. | 0.30 | Tape | Chulalongkorn University |
| | Tues: Citizen's Duties and Rights | 0.30 | Tape | |
| | Wed: Sanitation and Health | 0.30 | Tape | |
| | Thurs: Agricultural Programme | 0.30 | Tape | |
| | Fri: "For your Mental Health" | 0.30 | Tape | |
| 11.30 | Non-Formal Education Programme (Sunday: Conversation on Sunday) | 0.30 | Tape | |
| 12.00 | Public Announcement | 0.5-0.10 | | |
| 12.05 | Afternoon Song and play | 0.25 | Record | |
| 12.30 | Transmit News Bulletin and Programmes from the National Radio Station | 0.30 | | |
| 13.00 | Thai Folk Songs and Plays | 0.60 | Re+Tap | |

| | | | | |
|-------|--|------|--------|---------------------------|
| 14.00 | Miscellaneous News | | | |
| | Mon: "Songs for Young People" | 0.30 | Tape | |
| | Tues: "Music for Your Health" | 0.30 | Tape | |
| | Wed: Close Down | - | | |
| | Thur. "Songs and Family Planning" | 0.30 | Tape | |
| | Fri: "Songs and Agriculture" | 0.30 | Tape | |
| | Sat: "Touring and Songs" | 0.30 | Tape | |
| | Sun: Songs and Plays | 0.30 | Tape | |
| 14.30 | Agricultural Programmes | | | |
| | Mon: "Agricultural Matters" | 0.30 | Tape | |
| | Tues: "Step Forward with the Agriculturalist Group" | 0.30 | Tape | |
| | Thur.1,3: "Knowledge About Land Development" | 0.30 | Tape | |
| | Thur.2,4: "Agricultural Article" | 0.30 | Tape | |
| | Fri: "Agricultural Relationship" | 0.30 | Tape | |
| | Sat: "The Village Farmer" | 0.30 | Tape | |
| | Sun: "Agricultural Promotion in Thailand" | 0.30 | Tape | |
| 15.00 | Miscellaneous News and Weather Forecast | | | |
| | Mon: Education Programme (Teaching Spoken Standard Thai) | 0.30 | | Teaching Training College |
| | Tues: "Educational Review" | 0.30 | | |
| | Thur: "Food for Your Mind" | 0.30 | | |
| | Fri: "Dharma and Morality" | 0.30 | | |
| | Sat. and Sun: Religious Programme for Young People | 0.30 | | |
| 15.30 | Programme for Territorial Army Volunteers (songs and plays) | 0.60 | Tape | |
| 16.30 | Mon: Foreign News Commentary Programme (Like BBC "Panorama") | 0.15 | Tape | |
| | Tues: "Your Favourite Songs" | 0.15 | Record | |
| | Thur. Local and Home News Commentary | 0.15 | Read | |
| | Fri: Thai Pop Song | 0.15 | Record | |
| | Sat: "Article by Air" | 0.15 | Tape | |
| | Sun; Summary of the Week's News | 0.15 | | |
| 16.45 | Announce programmes from 17.00 - 22.30 p.m., Names of Announcers | 0.15 | | |
| 17.00 | Radio Educational Programme | 0.60 | Tape | Supreme Command |
| 18.00 | Transmit the Military Programme "For the Land of the Thai" from the National Radio Station | 0.20 | | (Military) |
| 18.20 | Mon.-Fri: Weather Forecast and the Northern News | 0.25 | | |
| | Sat: Weather Forecast and the Main News of the Week | 0.25 | | |
| | Sun: Weather Forecast and Songs | 0.40 | | |
| 18.45 | Educational Programme: "Youth Encyclopedia" (Except Sun.) | 0.15 | | |
| 19.00 | Transmit News Bulletin from the National Radio Station | 0.30 | | |
| 19.30 | Mon.-Fri: General Interest Programme and Songs | 0.30 | | |
| | Sat: Plays and Traditional Songs | 0.30 | | |
| | Sun: Traditional Songs | 0.30 | | |

| | | |
|-------|---|------|
| 20.00 | Transmit News Bulletin from the National Radio Station | 0.30 |
| 20.30 | Non-Formal Educational Programme | 0.30 |
| 21.00 | Transmit News and General Interest Items with Classical Music from the National Radio Station | 0.30 |
| | Sat: "Events in Thailand within the week". | 0.30 |
| | Sun: Summary of the Week's News | 0.30 |
| 21.30 | Mon: "Dharma and People" | 0.30 |
| | Tues., Thur., Sat.: Northern Classical Music | 0.60 |
| | Wed: Religious Programme: "Buddha Waree; Buddhism is Like the Cool Water" | 0.30 |
| | Fri: Religious Programme: "Golden Light" | 0.30 |
| | Sun: "Song of the Past" | 0.60 |
| 22.00 | Announce the following Morning's Items and Names of Announcers; "Song and Conversation before Going to Bed". | 0.30 |
| 22.30 | Close Down. | |

CHAPTER 5

RADIO LISTENING

Rural northern Thai villagers like people in other remote regions of the country, have adopted radio widely. Their use of radio as the main source of information and innovative knowledge is the subject matter which I shall attempt to study in this chapter. The principal purpose of this chapter is to lay the foundation for further discussion related to radio and various aspects of development in the chapters which follow.

Data obtained from the villagers through both the social anthropological method of participant observation and the use of questionnaires will be presented in order to outline their radio listening patterns. Comparable data from other available sources will also be adduced.

In addition, the interaction between radio and traditional culture with respect to such matters as relationships amongst members of the household, courtyard, and village; punctuality, ceremony and entertainment will be described.

I would like to make a brief introductory note on radio ownership. In the three villages of my study, there are three distinctive types of radio ownership within households. In most cases there is only one radio set in a household. The radio is bought by and therefore belongs to the head of the household. When he is at home he exercises authority over listening activity: it is his right to turn on and off and to select radio programmes. But his wife will take his place in his absence or when the radio is not in his use. This radio is usually installed

in the sitting room or an open space (toen) of the house for household use. In this case any other household members may join in listening if they would like to. The second type of ownership occurs when the head of the household buys or pays for another radio, usually a smaller one, and gives it to his children. This case often happens in households with young sons or daughters who do not have their own savings. The radios which are given to the children will become their personal property and hence are less listened to by other household members than the one which belongs to the household head. Finally, in some households, there are members who have their own savings and can buy their own personal radio even though there is a radio for household use paid for by the household head. Radios bought by or for household members who are not the household head will be kept in the owners' bedrooms. These radios might be shared among other household members, the owners' friends and neighbours but to a lesser degree than the one installed at toen (open household space).

5.1 Demand and Supply of Radio

In general, the demand for radio receivers among Thai people has increased very rapidly during the last 20 years. Kaufman reports that in 1954 eight households (14%) in Bangkhuaed owned battery-operated radios, and approximately 25 households used radio as entertainment in the evening, but in 1971 most homes had two transistorized radios; all had at least one (Kaufman, 1977: 172-221). Kingshill mentions that in the year 1954, with regard

to

"...a village in Chiangmai Province in the Northern part of Thailand, ... there is only one radio in the village, owned by the temple and operated by the head priest ... the villagers mainly come to hear the lottery result each week" (Kingshill, 1965: 223).

Schramm has pointed out that after the discovery of the transistor in 1947 (McGraw-Hill, 1982: 447) and the invention of battery-powered transistor radios, radio underwent a very rapid growth between 1950 and 1962. When Unesco introduced the five-dollar-radio project in many rural regions of developing countries including Thailand between 1952 and 1958, many transistor radios were purchased. The lack of electrification in rural areas concentrated demand upon battery operated models (Schramm, 1964: 97-282).

According to the report of the Thai National Statistics Office, between the years 1970 and 1976 a rapid growth in the number of households with radios in the north of Thailand continued to rise from 61.7% to 78.1% (Thai National Statistics Office, 1977: 4).

When we compare regional variation in the possession of radio sets in 1975, we see that 74.1% (1,138,524) of households in the North had receivers, compared with 81.6% (1,668,166) in the middle region including Bangkok. The total number of radio receivers in 1975 in the whole country was 5,111,235. There were 1,221,412 in the North, compared with 1,890,668 in the middle region including Bangkok (579,464 in Bangkok itself), i.e. a number of

households have more than one receiver. One year later, in 1976, radio ownership among households throughout the country had risen from 70.9% to 73.6%. In the North, the figure had risen to 76.2%. The number of radio sets in the whole country was 5,360,735 in the year 1976. There were now 1,270,606 in the North compared with 1,996,595 in the middle region including Bangkok (599,527 in Bangkok itself). Despite this large increase in the number of radio sets, (1975 was the year with the second highest increase) the rate of growth was not sustained in subsequent years, as almost every household already had a radio.

From this survey, we can see that in 1976, there was a total of 5.4 million radio receivers in Thailand. Thus, on average 12 out of every 100 people own radio sets (Thai National Statistics Office, 1977: 11-19). Unesco gives a more conservative estimate of a total of three million in 1975 (Unesco, 1979: 345).

However, according to this data, radio ownership in the middle region seems to be the highest, and ownership in the North is the second highest. As a result of centralization, Bangkok is becoming the centre of all cultural and political activities, and the high migration from various parts of Thailand into Bangkok and other suburban provinces around Bangkok accounts for the high percentage and high increase of radio ownership.

Compared with radio ownership of households throughout the country, 73.6% in the year 1976, the proportion of Northern Thai households who own one or more radios is a little higher than the average (76.2%).

In Lampang province, the number of radio owners in the year 1976 was 78.3% of the population (Thai National Statistics Office, 1977: 14).

From my survey of the population, I established that there were 128 households in Ban Mon Khao Khew, 129 households in Ban Naa Dong, and 102 households in Ban Lang. Among them, there were 408 radio sets in use by the villagers. A total of 946 out of all 1088 informants live in households which possess at least one radio. When the villages are considered separately, the number of Ban Lang people who own radios is 268, while 354 of Ban Naa Dong people and 324 of Ban Mon Khao Khew peasants have radios. From this data, we see that there is not much difference between these three villages in patterns of radio ownership.

On average, over all three villages, about 299 of the households have one radio set, but 27 have two, 19 have three, and 14 have more than three radio sets. A family which has teenage sons and daughters has a tendency to possess more than one radio set, because parents and their children often do not like the same kind of programmes. In many households which have more than one radio set, only one set works properly. (In such cases, only the working radio will be counted in the statistics.) This is a major problem for villagers. Most cannot afford

to buy a very good quality radio for regular use and the cheaper ones which they have cannot stand the wear and tear and often break down. When a radio is broken, it is unlikely that they will be able to have it repaired by themselves or even in the village. They have to come to town. Indeed, the money which they have to pay all at once for repairing the radio is a large sum in their terms. They told me that the cost of repair starts from at least ten baht (25 pence) up to 200 Baht (5 pounds). A new transistor radio costs from 150 baht to 3,500 baht (4-90 pounds). In comparison with their average income (see chapter 2), the cost of radio repairing is high. Incomes are about 15-20 baht a day. For comparison, the cost of other goods in village economy range from 300 baht for a one year old water buffalo to about 8 baht for a full grown chicken. The cost of radio repairing is a major expense from the village economic point of view.

Thus instead of having the broken one repaired when the repair costs more than 100 baht, villagers understandably buy a cheaper new one. If the broken radio still looks all right, the owner can sell it very cheaply to the repair shop or second hand shop in town. The repair shop will replace the parts that do not work but use the outer box and sell it as a second hand radio. Most of the radios in the households which have one or more broken radios are small cheap sets. The case is made of thin plastic, and is not suitable for heavy use. When this kind of radio

is broken, villagers cannot do much; they just leave it at home and do not want to throw it away. The majority (C.75%) of all informants (1088) had had a radio for between four and six years prior to 1979, the year of my field study. Amongst the three villages there are no significant differences between them in length of radio ownership, even though there are differences in other aspects such as electricity distribution, the distance from town, and the difficulties of transport..

Observation suggests that one important reason for the rising number of radio owners is the introduction of a system of paying by instalments. This system is very convenient for the villagers. They do not have to go to town in order to pay, but a cashier will come into the village monthly to collect money from the buyers and to check the condition of the radio set. In Lampang City, there are seven big electrical equipment shops and nine small second hand radio shops. There are different types of shops for repairing radios. Some of them are just platforms, stalls, or tables beside the pavement along the main streets, others are small shops which provide batteries for radios and repair watches, bicycles, and other electrical and mechanical equipment, but these repair shops do not sell radio sets. Just after the harvesting season, the big shops in town begin to send their salesmen to the villages in order to sell and advertise their goods, payable by the credit system. These salesmen will come a little before the villagers finish their work in the

fields. While the peasants work in groups, they will see a well-dressed respectable looking man on a handsome motor cycle coming into the village. First of all, the salesman will see the headman of the village and then he will approach the nearest group of farmers. Because of his respectable and friendly manner, he can approach the villagers quite easily. On the first day, he comes with a catalogue in his hand. He will greet everyone and use kind words, and kin terms to make friends with villagers. His speech is full of wit to create a sanug (fun, enjoyable) atmosphere, and he uses quite a lot of modern slang words to make himself known as a man from town. At his motorcycle seat, he will leave the radio-cassette player on, and of course, it must be a little bit louder than usual in order to create a modern atmosphere. All the villagers know his purpose for coming into the village. After a while, they will gather around him, asking about goods, and prices, and how to use things. Many villagers get to know about new kinds of modern equipment and become interested in these goods in this way. Even if they cannot afford them this year, probably next year they hope to have a new radio set or some other item.

Even within a small remote village of northern Thailand, differences in standards of living and the gap between the rich and the poor can be seen, but these gaps do not exclude people from use of the radio. I interviewed the poorest widow in the village of Ban Lang in her little bamboo hut with its thatched roof, and when she was asked

about radio listening, she willingly answered that she loved to listen to cqi (traditional northern Thai singing) and sq (traditional northern Thai chanting in genre style), but because she is a bit deaf now she has to put her small Japanese transistor radio very close to her better ear.

Many young villagers who are still living with their parents but have started to work and have their own income and savings, often through small financial enterprises of their own, count as one of the most desirable things which they plan to buy, a radio of their own, particularly among those whose parents have not given a radio to them. However, the most common priority of new wage-earners is golden jewellery. A girl in Ban Lang spent eight hours a day for three days catching big red ants which come out from their holes before the monsoon starts. Red ants are as delicious, rare, and expensive as cicada's eggs, and it brought the girl a good sum of money. She decided to combine it with her previous savings to buy a small golden ring and a small transistor radio. She explained that she bought the golden ring not only to wear when she went to the temple or the fair but she could sell the golden jewellery quickly when she was in need of cash. In some respects, she would have preferred a better radio but when she ran out of money she could not do anything with a radio set; it would not be a good investment.

There are a few (2.8% out of 1088) villagers who complain that sometimes radio annoys them, especially since their children have the radio on most of the time. In one family

in Ban Mon Khao Khew a boy whose father is a village taxi driver always has the radio on and often has arguments with his father about the radio. This situation has lasted a long time, until one evening after having a busy, exhausting day the father wanted a short nap before the evening meal, and asked his son to turn off the radio (a non-portable one), but the boy was enjoying Thai folk songs so much that he refused to turn it off and asked his father to go and sleep in the car himself. The father got very angry and lost his temper. He used a big axe to chop the radio into bits. He had bought that very radio three years before for 1,600 baht (40 pounds). This event occurred about six months before I came to this village. When I asked the father about his radio without realizing what had happened, he looked at me bitterly and showed me the damaged radio, which he still kept under the Buddha shelf.

In comparison with television as I have discussed in the previous chapter, radio is far more widely used. Transistor radio receivers can be found in the most remote areas, even among the hill tribes. The cheapest radios are from Japan. There is one radio factory which belongs to a Thai owner, but its products are much more expensive than the Japanese-made ones, and the make is not as well known as Japanese ones. Apart from this, there is a kind of social snobbery among Thai people which causes a preference for goods from abroad, especially electronic equipment from Western countries or Japan.

5.2 Implications of radio for social transformation

In studying the intrinsic elements of an innovation, the anthropologist Ralph Linton recognizes that every innovation has three intrinsic elements which should be recognized:

1. Form, which is the physical appearance and substance of an innovation.
2. Function, which is the contribution made by the innovation to the way of life of members of the social system.
3. Meaning, which is the subjective and frequently unconscious perception of the innovation by members of the social system (1936: 404).

Linton points out that because of its subjective nature, meaning is much less susceptible to diffusion than either form or function. A receiving culture attaches new meanings to the borrowed elements or complexes, and these may have little relation to the meanings which the same elements carried in their original setting. Based upon this theory, it is my main concern in this section: to explore the contribution made by radio and the way in which villagers perceive it. In this section, I shall attempt to answer questions such as: why some of the new ideas diffused by radio and other channels of communication are strong enough to overcome tradition? Wherein lies the strength of radio? Are there limits to what will be accepted? In this section, I shall briefly use examples to illustrate the overall idea or aspects of the strength of radio. Many examples will be cited briefly to support and to illustrate propositions

about the effective influence of radio. More detailed examples and further discussion will be made in the following three chapters: Chapter 6, Radio, Economy and Technology; Chapter 7, Radio and changing Institutions; and Chapter 8, Radio and Changing Values. Principally, in this section, therefore, I shall try to discuss the implications of radio within the three villages of my study along the three main topics outline: (1) triple interdependent factors: exposure to mass media, contact with town, and empathy, which reinforce or strengthen the capacity of radio to facilitate the flow of innovative ideas, (2) the role of radio as the vehicle of innovative messages from external sources to village communities, and (3) the selective response to contact determining what will be accepted. Although it is my intention that this section will be presented as merely a general review for further discussion in the following chapters, I will attempt to demonstrate the difficult and complex functional role of radio in relation to other elements of less developed communities such as the three villages of my study.

5.2.1 The interdependent factors which reinforce the capacity of radio in the process of the flow of innovative ideas.

The general theoretical viewpoint of this section is that communication processes are integral, vital elements of modernization and development. Many social anthropologists and social scientists, including Rogers and Svenning (1969), Rogers and Shoemaker (1971), Rao (1966), Schramm (1964a, b) and Lerner (1958), show that the flow of

information and the adoption of innovation is a complicated process which involves many functional factors. These factors are practically interrelated and effect each other. As Rogers and Svenning remark, "the strong interrelationship of these subcultural elements suggests the difficulty of finding a "handle" with which to prime the pump of planned change, for to alter one peasant value is to effect the others. Many of the complex connections that seem to exist among the elements in the subculture of peasantry remind one of a series of locked boxes, with each box containing the key to the next box" (1969: 39). From his point of view, in fact, to separate these elements, an integrated whole of mutually reinforcing parts, into components is to perform a heuristic violation that should only be allowed in an analytical sense (1969: 316-342). Here, I would like to concentrate on the three interdependent factors as mentioned above, especially within the context of radio use.

Probably, the best known analysis is Lerner's findings (1958) among the some 300 individuals he interviews in each of six Middle Eastern countries. For Lerner, the crucial variable intervening between mass media exposure and modernization effects is empathy; defined by him as the capacity to place oneself in the roles of others. Furthermore, "empathy" has been variously described by him as: "the capacity for identification with new aspects of (the respondent's) environment" (1958: 49), "the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation" (1958:50),

"the capacity for rearranging the self-system on short notice" (1958: 51), "mobile sensibility" (1958: 49), and "psychic mobility" (1958: 51). Throughout all these statements, presumably, there is a central theme: empathy is the individual's ability to identify with other's roles, especially with those who are substantially different from oneself. In defining empathy as the ability of an individual to project himself into the role of another, I would assume that if he understands this other's feelings he will take them into account when dealing with him.

Lerner considers empathy particularly as the ability to identify with those who were more modern than the respondent. Similarly, among rural Indian villagers (Rao, 1966) and Columbian peasants (Rogers and Svenning, 1969), empathy plays a significant part in either adoption or rejection the innovative ideas which I shall discuss later in this section. However, what I would like to mention here is that these recent studies of empathy have focused on modern roles of varying psychological distance from the respondent (see Lerner, 1958; also Rao, 1963; Rogers and Svenning, 1969), but always those more modern or of higher status than that of the respondent. From these findings, an important conclusion can be drawn: that a traditional individual without the ability to empathize with the roles of others (as might be represented on the radio, for example) would perhaps be entertained, but his attitudes would not be changed by radio, film, newspapers or even the trip to town.

Turning to rural northern Thailand, although the villagers' social structure is not a caste-like system, their social statuses have a structure related to social class which provides the norm of social dominance behaviour and the means of seeking to advance status (see De Young, 1955; Moerman, 1968; Kingshill, 1965; Turton, 1975; Potter, 1977). Of social class, Bohannan (1969: 164-172) notes that it is in fact a cultural ranking not of role, groups, or categories, but of culture traits. He argues that in a true class system, what is ranked are the culture traits. Then, one takes one's position by what culture traits one either practices, demonstrates, or stands for. From his definition, it would follow that class is a system based primarily on sophistication. Bohannan's definition of class-like social structure throws light on the rural northern Thai social system.

Of rural northern Thailand, Turton comments that among villagers, "to the extent that there is some mobility due to developmental factors this is likely to add to blurring of the sharpness of economic differentiation in the consciousness of villagers" (1975: 174).

From Turton's point of view, there is mobility which enables rural northern Thai households to upgrade their social status as the opportunity is available. (See also in Chapter 6, the discussion of "the tradition of imitation and the process of the flow of information".) According to this social class system urban people are psychologically perceived by rural peasants to have superiority. Besides,

in villagers' eyes, their local elites have more or less possessed this quality. It is evident that within the three villages of my study, the sophistication mentioned by local elites often relates to their cosmopolitaness. The headman and the abbot of the remote Ban Lang, for example, before introducing development projects, often start their speeches by describing "the urban bright light" (c.f. Middleton, 1970) which of course, they have experienced. In addition, it is noticeable that, following occasions such as meeting with district officials, or listening to radio educational programmes, the traditional leaders of these villages (formal and informal alike) often use the phrase "tha bun kam hu' hao pen poen" (if I were him, because of previously storing merit) in their conversation when they would like to picture themselves as one of those public figures. This reveals a degree of empathy. Culture defines patterns of behaviour which accord high status. In rural northern Thai culture there are opportunities for social mobility and Northern Thai peasants seek to advance their status. To this end they use radio and they are, therefore, predisposed to accept the messages radio conveys about economic and cultural innovations. I shall try to illustrate this phenomenon of empathy with reference to radio plays. I shall omit the discussion of the content and characteristic of radio play programme in detail because I would here like to concentrate on the way that programmes are perceived. The programme presents and transforms the scenery of urban life in the

big city into descriptive language, giving imaginative pictures which are different from villagers' way of living, and yet have an air of superiority to the peasant's community. At the well of a big courtyard of Ban Naa Dong, after a radio serial play came to its end for the day and a group of village women of mixed ages had nearly finished their washing, I witnessed their conversation about ideas of love and marriage related to what they had heard from radio serial plays. An elderly woman, the mill-owner's wife, is the "aunty" (pa) of the village. The northern Thai word, pa, literally means 'aunt', mother's elder sister. But in this case, the mill owner's wife is called pa by most villagers in her village including people of her own age or even some older people who are poorer or of lower social status. Giving and calling someone by a senior kinsterm is a way of paying respect to that person in rural northern Thai community. This lady mentioned how difficult it is for a woman to make decisions before choosing a man as her husband: traditionally looking for a hard working, faithful and sympathetic man. Only shortly after the topic had been introduced, stories and characters from radio plays are involved. Not only one but a few of these radio plays are based upon the well-known "Cinderella theme", the most popular one at the time of my stay had this theme. The "aunty" of the village eventually noted that probably nowadays it is not as difficult as it was for her generation to find and to choose a good husband in order to have secure and comfortable life because "pho nang ek nai la'kon Hua cai thu'an lo" (look at the

heroine of the play "Wild Heart" for example). There are a lot of better chances in the big cities to meet a rich educated gentleman just as the heroine met her hero by becoming a domestic servant in his villa. Noticeably, the younger women of the group looked at her with agreeable smiles. Accompanying her on the way back to her house, when I mentioned that perhaps not every woman would have as good a chance as the heroine of the play, she expressed the attitude that anybody who has a better karma (ethical causation) and previously has made a lot of bun (merit), then apparently it is his or her opportunity to live a better life wherever they are (see Chapters 3 and 8).

Then, therefore, if she were as poor, and an orphan like the heroine of the story she might go to town as well. In her opinion, it is preferable, with the support of better karma, of course, to have a happier life in Bangkok or Chiangmai (the ancient capital of Lana Thai) than to have a better or happier life in a small rural village like Ban Naa Dang. She referred to herself as a wealthier woman because she is the mill owners wife but, comparing herself with the rich urban women like the hero's mother from the play, who had a number of domestic servants and her own car with chauffeur, she would prefer to live a life like that of the character of the play.

This phenomenon exemplifies two important elements: the capacity for empathy and the efficiency of radio broadcasting which is reinforced by the empathy. This example illustrates how powerful radio can be and can overcome certain traditional attitudes. This is due to the fact

that radio partially relies on values already held by a village audience, such as the attraction and sophistication of urban life beheld by villagers which related to the social class system. Peasants can see the chance they might be able to use it to improve their social status even initially at the mental or psychological stage (see Chapter 6, radio as basic instance in introducing awareness of innovation and encourage alternative ways of earning a living). In every day life, most of villagers interact with others who are quite similar in social status, education and beliefs. And when they occasionally seek to communicate with those of a much higher social status, rank or class, the context of communication becomes more complex.

The description of social activities in the three villages in previous chapters has shown how villagers in rural areas of northern Thailand have made contact with modernization and industrialization in towns, the new style of life. I would like very briefly to refer to the role of radio within this context. Amidst the process of transformation of culture, radio functions as a channel of communication. It conveys to these peasants the superiority of urbanization and modernization. Perhaps because of this, it is likely by way of radio, to make city life appear desirable. Of course, it is not radio alone which arouses villagers' empathy, since they have opportunities to visit town for themselves and talk to people who have done so. A similar pattern of empathy is found in Tanganyika (Gulliver, 1957 in Middleton, 1970)

and Columbia (Rogers and Svenning, 1969). However, in different areas, the situation might not always be the same. Low empathy has been cited as characteristic of peasants in Turkey (Lerner, 1958), in Pakistan (Eister, 1962) and in India, (Rao, 1966). For these latter cases, without a highly developed empathy which might be related to the social system, there is a lesser level of exposure to other innovative ideas as well. Rao (1966) argues that many rural Indian villagers find it difficult to picture themselves as anything other than people in their own status. He notes of these villagers, that even though they often make trips to town there is a big gap between the way of life of these villagers and the urban style of life. Hence the exposure of nonempathic individuals to mass media, particularly radio or trips to cities, is unlikely to have much modernizing impact. Lerner (1958) notices that the limited exposure to other ways of life and extreme socio-psychological distance between peasants and elite urbanites make it difficult for villagers to imagine themselves in roles such as those more modernized than themselves. Yet from his opinion, there is reason to believe that until peasants can empathize with more modern roles such as those depicted in the mass media, they will have difficulty assuming a new style of life. In brief, the lack of empathy among peasants acts as a sort of "mental insulator" (Lerner, 1958), which immunizes the villagers against mass media and cosmopolite influences.

However, radio sometimes has another effect. Many

radio plays have spread only parts and often exaggerated highly coloured aspects of urban and Western way of life. As a result, many young women in remote rural villages have dreams of becoming rich in a big city without much effort, as happens in the plays which they have heard on radio. Furthermore, a conspicuous desire arose for new avenues of pleasure and enjoyment made accessible through extra time and income. Ban Mon Khao Khew villagers who earn subsidiary income by working in factories and who go to town for entertainment illustrate this phenomenon (see Chapter 6). Many of the newly enriched villagers are observed to squander their money on food and drink, cloth, jewellery, entertainment in town and on costly transportation to and from urban centre.

As I mentioned previously in Chapter 4, radio stations in order to play it safe, produce commercialized programmes. They seem only partly to have comprehended the social effect of the radio play. They might believe the villagers would enjoy the radio play in much the same way as listening to traditional folk tales, and draw some positive moral values out of it. However, my own observations suggest to me that the radio station makes an error in not predicting the meaning of the new idea to the audiences. They did not anticipate that the radio play might lead to more attractiveness of town, a dream of an easy but better way of life, prostitution, and perhaps a breakdown of social relationships. Organizations who control broadcasting frequently do not sense the social meaning of the innovations

they introduce, especially the negative consequences that accrue when an apparently functional innovation is used under different conditions (see Wild, C., 1983; Scandlen, G., 1978).

Mass media organizations are especially likely to make this mistake when they do not empathize fully with the members of the recipient culture. Linton (1936) concludes that the form and function of an innovation to recipients can be more easily anticipated than the meaning it will hold for them.

5.2.2 The role of radio as the vehicle of innovative messages from external sources to village communities.

The function of radio as a communication channel is exemplified in Schramm's (1964) investigation. He notes that communication is the transfer of ideas from a source with the intention of modifying the behaviour of receivers. A communication channel, here radio, is the means by which the message gets from the source to the receiver. The radio messages received by northern Thai peasants, like other mass media in Thailand, originate from external cosmopolitan sources which are centralized. In order to consider the role of radio in communication processes relating to the three villages of my study, I shall refer to the relevant findings of other authors and myself in order to explain this impact.

In discussion of social change, Rogers and Svenning (1969) note that the process of social change can be broken

down into three steps: invention, diffusion, and consequence. 'Invention' is the process by which new ideas are created or developed. 'Diffusion' is the process by which these new ideas are communicated throughout a given social system. 'Consequence' is change occurring within the system as a result of the adoption or rejection of the innovations. The strength of radio within the process of the flow of information tends to lie principally within the second stage (see also Chapter 6, the discussion of the multi-step flow of information), which will outline the major concerns of this section. The third stage or consequence, the adoption or rejection, will be discussed in the following section.

In Rogers and Svenning's opinion, innovations must spread to all members of the system for change to occur. As far as rural northern Thai peasants are concerned, the new ideas are created mainly outside their social system. Radio is one of the main channels by which these ideas are communicated. The other is interpersonal communication. For a remote isolated village like Ban Lang, about which I have a lot more to say later, and where outsiders very occasionally come to visit bringing information from external sources to them, the significance of radio use is proved to be even stronger. This is probably due to the fact that radio can bring news to many audiences rapidly and at a reasonable cost. A similar pattern is found by Schramm (1967) in the state of Orissa, one of the most traditional and least developed parts of India.

For centuries Orissa has been the site of wandering story singers called cakulia pandas, who play an important role in introducing news and new ideas to villagers. These storytellers walk from village to village with bells tied to their thighs to announce their coming. Then they promenade the main street of a village, singing recent news to guitar or accordian accompaniment. The story singers are literate and generally well read. In addition their cosmopolitan travel brings them into contact with ideas external to the village. Further, the story singers meet in occasional assemblies to exchange ideas and to agree on the regions that they will cover. The story singers are highly credible channels for villagers; the content of their messages represents a combination of religion, traditional stories, and modern technology. One story teller was heard to sing about a new fertilizer, which he advocated to villagers, and also about the number of tons of wheat being imported to India. Nevertheless, the story singer's messages are largely limited to relatively simple facts. As Schramm notes, "The mass media are necessary ... because the traveller and ballad singer come too seldom and know too little" (1967: 38). In fact, Schramm found that in Orissa today the number and importance of story singers as the major channel of communication from the external sources is decreasing, because their role is being diminished by the transistor radio.

Yet by saying this, I do not mean that the traditional channels of communication, the interpersonal contact,

will entirely disappear when radio or modern mass media are adopted. Traditional media of social communication: the bazaar, the coffee house, the puppet show, the storyteller, the salesman, the town trader, the local meeting and others, still continue to be influential long after the newspapers and broadcasts are available, because such agents play an important part in mediating the effects of the mass media by intervening in the process of the flow of information (see Chapter 6, 7, 8). These statements are largely represented in many of the village activities. This is due to the fact that within the process of the flow of information, radio as a mass medium is most important in creating knowledge or awareness of a new idea, whereas interpersonal communication channels are most important at the persuasion or attitude-change stage (see Lerner and Schramm, 1969; Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971; Rogers and Svenning, 1969).

A vital point which is clearly demonstrated by what happens in both rural northern Thailand and in Orissa is that rural villagers naturally are interested in news and informations from sources outside their social system. Hence, channels of communication become important and attract their attention. As Schramm has pointed out even very traditional societies had mass-like interpersonal communications because people seek new information, new knowledge and news of the events from both internal and in particular external sources and through various channels of communication. Modern mass media like radio can reach a greater number and can diffuse new ideas better because

of its effective promptness.

I shall conclude here that the strength of radio is derived from various interdependent functional factors. Because peasants want to hear information from outside the community, radio provides them a means to it, and the quality of radio itself: originating from cosmopolite source, promptness, affordable cost, carrying with it superior sophistication, all these elements provide accessibility of the flow of information through radio.

5.2.3 The selective response to contact determining what will be accepted through radio listening

In this section, I shall try to find an explanation for relative phenomenon of radio listening and the adoption or rejection of new ideas through this mode of communication. Attention will be drawn to a crucial point: whether there is a limit for the perception of new ideas, and if there is any, what the limit is. In order to demonstrate this impact, brief examples will be given. Many of these examples will be discussed and described in fuller detail in the following chapters.

When ideas from external sources are introduced or communicated to the rural northern Thai peasants, of the three villages of my study, the villages evaluate those ideas they wish to adopt or sometimes reject. As the receptors of these innovative ideas, they choose, interpret, adopt or reject according to their distinct needs and resources. Following Rogers and Svenning (1969) this process might be called "the selective contact change".

Observation of the rural northern Thai villagers suggests that numerous factors are taken into account: risk, both efficiency and yield in economic advantage and disadvantage, compatibility of the cultural background and accessibility of innovations.

First of all as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, when new ideas either in agriculture or domestic life are introduced to rural northern Thai peasants, there is both a degree of adoption and some resistance to different new ideas. By this I mean there are three categories in this context. Firstly, some new ideas are fully adopted by most villagers such as the use of washing powder, tooth paste, toilet soap for instance. Secondly, some certain items of new ideas are adopted by some villagers but are rejected by the other. This can be seen in the adoption of manufactured cosmetics by younger villagers but their rejection by some older generations (over 50 years of age) for example. Thirdly, villagers adopt new ideas while the traditional ways are also practised. (See more detail in Chapters 6, 7, 8.) The new varieties of seed and farming machines illustrate the third type of selective contact change. This might be due to the fact that villagers do not feel safe to give up their traditional way of living for innovations. At least in some cases where those who would like to try the new ideas and can afford them, traditional and innovative practices are exercised at the same time. This can be seen in the way some peasants plant subsistence rice by the traditional method and use the new kind of seed to plant rice which is for sale.

A similar behavioural pattern is evident in adoption of other innovative ideas. A person who is ill will go to any length to consult a variety of healers as well as buying modern medicine they have heard of on radio or from their friends, neighbours, and salesmen. He may not believe in the explicit powers of any doctor, whether he be a herbalist, one who communicates with spirits, or "injectionist", or modern medicine received from the chemist in town. This factor may be responsible for the relative ease with which modern medicine has entered into rural northern areas of Thailand and has been widely accepted by villagers. It is always safe, however, to consult as many authorities as possible. Nonetheless, by this means, new ideas have entered the villages without serious difficulties.

Closely related to risk is the factor of expediency: mainly economic advantage or disadvantage. This underlying factor might seem to be universal, but actually in some parts of the world as presented in Lerner and Schramm's finding (1969), it is not so. Lerner and Schramm's study of India will be cited later in this section. Amongst rural northern Thai peasants, they tend to adopt a new idea if it may adapt itself to produce a result regarded as valuable in terms of cultural prescription or traditional beliefs. In the field of agriculture the profit motive is evident. Listening to agricultural radio programmes, however, is not as convincing as seeing the new method demonstrated by some progressive farmers or local elites (see Chapter 6; the contact farmer groups). The same

applies in the field of medicine. Not only the physical utility, but also psychological stimulus leads rural northern Thai peasants to accept or not accept new ideas. For example, the fear caused by reports of starvation, poverty and other consequences of over population received from external sources, together with the work of traditional leaders, makes a medical development project like family planning acceptable (see Chapter 8: detail discussion about family planning adoption).

On the other hand, there is resistance to new ideas which conflict with traditional beliefs. The religious programme conducted by modern minded Buddhist monks who try to create a new concept of making merit has not been successful (see Chapter 8). The acceptance of this new idea is limited perhaps because villagers feel safer to retain this custom and it might bring disadvantages if they stop doing it. If it is not for this life, it might effect the next life. Similar resistance occurs in the sphere of new political ideas which come into contact with rural northern Thai political culture (Chapter 7).

Therefore rural northern Thai villagers, of their own choice and decision, perceiving an advantage or disadvantage in the new ideas, adopt or reject them of their own accord.

The third factor is the degree to which a new idea is perceived as consistent with the existing values, past experiences and aspirations of the peasant. This impact might be called the 'compatibility' (see Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971). I would like to note briefly here again

that in fact these factors discussed in this section are closely related and interdependent upon each other. Compatibility, for example, is very closely linked with expediency. The differences can only be observed when the perception of new ideas occurs under different circumstances. One good example of this phenomenon comes from India. Lerner and Schramm (1969) report the lack of compatibility of beef consumption in India with cultural values preventing the adoption of beef eating. Then again when milk goats were introduced as a substitute for cows, the incompatibility of the goats with status and religious factors prevented their adoption. Indian villagers regard goat raising as an enterprise for "untouchables" only, those at the very bottom of the social structure. Further, the social status of a villager is measured in part by how many cows he possesses. Hence, a profitable innovation that would effectively raise the nutritional level of India's starving millions was rejected because of its incompatibility (Lerner and Schramm, 1969). For similar reasons, in rural northern Thailand, the lack of compatibility of new political ideas with traditional values, together with the changeable situation of the Government (see Neher, 1979), reduces the appeal of new political cultures to them (see Chapter 7).

In the long run there might be an increasing degree of compatibility of new ideas which meet a need felt by peasants. Together with modern education, urbanization and industrialization, social transformation is created.

New ideas which were once rejected might become acceptable, as happened with family planning amongst rural northern Thai peasants (see Chapter 8). Yet at present, in many peasant communities the compatibility of innovation with existing values is one factor which determines the degree of adoption.

The final factor is obviously empirical and more universal than the others: the accessibility and ability to afford novelties introduced to the villagers of my study. The degree of geographical remoteness varies according to the availability of roads and means of transportation, nearness to the cities and the like. Among the three geographical different villages of my study, the adoption of agricultural innovations for instance, produces a complex network of results. The process directly benefits only a limited number of villages and a limited number of individuals in each village, mainly those already in the upper income groups and higher social status. The comparison of these three different villages of my study within this context will be discussed in detail in the following three Chapters.

Conclusion

The role of radio within the process of social transformation is a complicated phenomenon. Amidst this process there are many interdependent factors: exposure to mass media, direct or indirect contact with town and sense of empathy. These elements strengthen the capacity of radio. Among these factors, empathy, the individual's ability to identify with others' roles, especially with those who are notably different from oneself, has particular

significance. This is due to the character of the rural northern Thai social class system which provides individuals with the possibility to seek a different status, often higher from their point of view. Amongst many other means to this end, there is the use of radio. This phenomenon can be seen in perception of radio plays. Radio as a channel of information from cosmopolitan sources carries with it social values attached to urban sophistication. But not all results are positive. Sometimes exaggerated, highly coloured pictures of urban or Western way of living are presented. The strength of radio appears to come from two elements: the social values it carries and its intrinsic qualities such as the promptness with which it brings news and affordable price. And yet not all of the new ideas introduced by radio are accepted. This is because of various factors such as villagers' assessment of innovations in terms of risk, expediency, compatibility and accessibility. These define the limit of adoption or rejection of new ideas, whereas radio is central to diffusion, it is merely a part of the myriad decisions that taken together, constitute social change.

5.3 Radio Listening patterns amongst villagers: an overview.

This section is based upon empirical data both from my personal observation and from the answers to the preliminary questions of my field work. It is my intention to present the influence on radio listening pattern exerted by rural northern Thai social system particularly within the household

and the courtyard. In terms of the purpose of this chapter, this section also will present the background for further detailed discussion. Reference to particular individuals or villages will be omitted. While the exact pattern and timing of listening behaviour within the three villages are not identical, the pattern was generally similar. I shall try to conduct the discussion under these topics: differences in radio listening between the sexes and ages groups, radio listening place, radio listening and proximity of other persons.

5.3.1 Differences in Radio Listening between the sexes

Observation suggests that there are differences in radio listening pattern between sexes among rural northern Thai audiences.

In the very early morning, the one who always turns the radio on first is the head of the family. That is the time for news and short article programmes. However, the foreign news items seldom become a topic of conversation among friends or neighbours. Mainly people will discuss the events which occur in the neighbouring villages or provinces, such as the news of the theft of water buffaloes and murder of the owners, how the head of an important Buddha image has gone missing from a well known temple on the outskirts of the city, the discovery of gold dust in a river in the neighbouring province, etc. This kind of news which is not too remote from their daily life will be discussed for many days, and related to superstition

and folk beliefs. Horrific circumstances are however, seldom discussed by the women who speak of such events in whispers.

On weekdays, radio listening characteristics do not vary from day to day, but at weekends, especially on Saturdays, there is a sports programme, usually a boxing match from a television station in town. There is a boxing contest and this live event will be covered by television and radio commentators. Except in the ploughing season, most of the male villagers come, when this sports programme starts, to join each other at the grocer's which is the village cafe as well. They will listen in groups and make bets on the result.

Many kinds of general interest programmes including agricultural and religious programmes have been introduced to the audience, but the permanent listeners are men and most of them are in leading positions or of high rank such as the local teacher, headman, abbot and mill owner.

I have observed this behaviour among many villagers, mostly male and heads of families. In the early morning, they will turn the radio on and take it to a quiet corner of the house and listen to programmes including farming articles and news bulletins. Then, the other members of the family will know that they need privacy.

When we consider the audience during the week-day listening periods the following facts emerge. Before 7.00 a.m., the regular listeners seem to be middle-aged

village men. Morning is a busy time for women, but it is quite a free time for men. This is the pattern until about 8.00 a.m., when the village men start their work.

Then during 9.00 - 12.00 a.m., my women informants of all ages tend to tune in when their busy period has passed. They feel a little more relaxed now that the morning meal is over. Among the female audience, there is less difference between age groups than among the men. For example, during 9.00 - 12.00 a.m., there are radio plays and village women of all ages enjoy them.

Late morning is the time for serial radio plays. The housewives often carry the radio with them wherever they go; they have a remarkable ability to remember all the stories and can pick up the thread the next day.

Some stories last for two years or more. Their themes are almost the same (romances and 'rags to riches') and they invariably have a happy ending.

From 12.00 - 1.00 p.m., lunch time, not many villagers of either sex can concentrate on radio programmes. Observation indicates that even though village men stop working and have a rest before they have lunch, they tend to tune in to the folk songs. Of course, the women are busy preparing a meal again. This is the typical pattern during weekdays in the working season. In the afternoon, concentration seems to be rare, partly because the hot weather is not conducive to work of any kind. Farmers return regularly to rest under the shade of the tree at the middle of the field. Each field or large open area has a big

tree in the centre for rest and shade and to leave things under like drinking water, lunch pack and radio. For all these people, the entertainment programmes in the afternoon are always on. I found that the village women listen to the radio more than the men, but the men listen with more attention and are more likely to select specific programmes.

From Table 5.1, we can see that the percentage of men who listen to news programmes is higher than that of women in general, while in the audience for the entertainment programmes, the percentage of women is higher.

A digression must be made with respect to Table 5.1, to note Ban Lang villagers' interest in foreign news, which is greater than that of villagers in Ban Mon Khao Khew even though the latter is closer to town. In fact, the data presented in this table, which was obtained by questionnaire, corresponds to what can be practically observed. In both casual conversation and interview, (between which I tried not to make an obvious distinction to villagers), Ban Lang people more often mentioned their village's remoteness, and often expressed a kind of competitive feeling and desire to keep themselves up to date with the world outside their village. The old Lana Thai maxim hu ku'ang, ta ku'ang (widely open ears and widely open eyes), is often heard at the meeting and in the temple of Ban Lang (see also Chapter 7, the roles of traditional leaders of Ban Lang). It might be this kind of consciousness

Table 5.1

Comparison of Preferred Programmes Between Male and
Female Villagers with Percentage Distribution

| | Programme | BMKK | | BND | | BL | | TOTAL | | Total |
|-----|---------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|------|-------|
| | | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | |
| 1. | Home News | 43.4 | 32.2 | 78.4 | 63.2 | 73.2 | 70.4 | 65.0 | 55.3 | 60.2 |
| 2. | Foreign News | 31.9 | 26.4 | 45.0 | 27.8 | 52.3 | 11.6 | 43.1 | 21.9 | 32.5 |
| 3. | Sports News | 57.8 | 21.5 | 77.2 | 19.1 | 81.2 | 15.1 | 72.1 | 18.6 | 45.4 |
| 4. | Weather Forecast | 42.8 | 34.7 | 79.3 | 62.3 | 83.5 | 87.0 | 68.5 | 61.3 | 64.9 |
| 5. | Local News | 74.2 | 52.9 | 71.4 | 68.8 | 83.7 | 80.1 | 76.4 | 67.3 | 71.9 |
| 6. | News of Occupations | 39.5 | 27.3 | 68.3 | 54.3 | 72.9 | 57.9 | 60.2 | 46.5 | 53.4 |
| 7. | Religious Programmes | 33.9 | 36.6 | 61.4 | 76.6 | 68.9 | 76.0 | 54.7 | 63.1 | 58.9 |
| 8. | Political Programmes | 28.2 | 18.3 | 64.3 | 28.9 | 71.8 | 11.9 | 54.8 | 19.7 | 37.3 |
| 9. | Occupation Programmes | 35.2 | 28.1 | 74.5 | 70.3 | 62.5 | 59.7 | 57.4 | 52.7 | 55.1 |
| 10. | Health Programmes | 58.3 | 61.2 | 56.8 | 57.6 | 50.6 | 59.7 | 55.2 | 59.5 | 57.4 |
| 11. | Programmes for Children | 24.8 | 46.1 | 31.2 | 67.2 | 48.4 | 72.5 | 34.8 | 61.9 | 48.4 |
| 12. | Programmes for Housewives | 49.0 | 68.0 | 27.7 | 63.8 | 31.6 | 67.8 | 36.1 | 66.5 | 51.3 |
| 13. | Language and Literacy | 32.3 | 26.1 | 64.4 | 55.1 | 65.7 | 29.6 | 54.1 | 36.9 | 45.5 |
| 14. | Touring Programmes | 61.2 | 47.0 | 58.6 | 61.6 | 73.0 | 53.4 | 64.3 | 54.0 | 59.2 |
| 15. | Culture and Art | 40.6 | 31.1 | 74.3 | 46.4 | 81.0 | 61.8 | 65.3 | 46.4 | 55.9 |
| 16. | Serial Radio Plays | 23.7 | 81.8 | 30.3 | 76.6 | 67.4 | 88.6 | 40.5 | 82.4 | 61.5 |
| 17. | Traditional Thai Songs | 27.0 | 31.8 | 76.1 | 82.5 | 80.8 | 84.3 | 61.3 | 66.2 | 63.8 |
| 18. | Popular Thai songs | 55.1 | 63.2 | 23.4 | 46.5 | 51.3 | 62.9 | 43.3 | 57.5 | 50.4 |
| 19. | Popular Western Songs | 38.4 | 44.5 | 19.2 | 28.2 | 17.5 | 20.1 | 25.0 | 30.9 | 28.0 |
| 20. | Modern Thai Folk Songs | 60.1 | 63.5 | 58.4 | 66.3 | 55.1 | 71.4 | 57.9 | 67.1 | 62.5 |
| 21. | Folk Songs and Folk Plays | 49.2 | 51.0 | 68.2 | 64.2 | 74.9 | 65.8 | 64.1 | 60.3 | 62.2 |
| 22. | Quizes and Games | 63.5 | 65.1 | 71.9 | 76.5 | 73.2 | 77.1 | 69.5 | 72.9 | 71.2 |

that stimulates their desire to seek for information from external sources through radio news programmes. As a consequence, they simultaneously pay attention to foreign news. In this case, perhaps, radio should to some extent, compensate for the physical remoteness of the village. Another reason which might help to explain this phenomenon is that in Ban Mon Khao Khew direct physical and verbal contact with city people is more common. Besides, entertainment programmes on television principally occupy their interest. Thus radio itself plays a somewhat less important communicative role than in Ban Lang.

5.3.2 Radio Listening Differences between Age Groups

Radio listening patterns vary between the different age groups as well. The favourite programme of the teenagers consists of modern Thai folk songs. The wording of the songs is always funny and full of wit. Some satirise political events; others, from the point of view of the sophisticated town-dwellers, make jokes about dialects, (see Chapter 8), the slow-wittedness of country people, and describe the various types of rural girls. Radio listening among teenagers of both sexes follows almost the same pattern, except that some girls love to listen to the domestic programmes for housewives on topics such as cookery or beauty treatment. This type of programme always has songs inserted from time to time. From the elderly villager's point of view, the beauty treatment programme is vanity and nonsense.

The programme frequently listened to by all elderly people, consists of the traditional chanting called cqi

and sq. The chanters use the northern Thai language in rapid chanting. Because the melody of the song is always the same tune, the chanters have supposedly to sing really fast otherwise the listener would become sleepy from hearing the same musical phrases over and over. The chanted stories principally come from the Jataka in the Buddhist Scriptures and contain many symbols of good and evil. This programme is broadcast quite late in the evening because at this period of time it does not cost so much and doubtless because the sponsors assume that it is popular only among elderly people from whom they cannot make much profit (see Chapter 4). Another favourite programme for the elderly is the religious programme which comes on the Buddhist holy day once a week depending on the lunar calendar.

5.3.3 Radio Listening Place

Of all 1088 villagers of the three villages of my study, the majority (c. 63%) told me that they listen to radio at home.

Many mentioned the coffee shop. Villagers tend to use the coffee shop as the place to listen to radio, but this is an exclusively male preserve. The figures reflect the traditional segregation of the sexes. There are definite places which are supposed to be more suitable for men than women: the coffee shop, the front seat of a car or bus, a bench in the park or along a public route, or near a bridge, the entrance of the temple, and the cockpit where trained birds fight to the death, or places where similar contests are held between fish, crickets, and

bulls. These are regarded as very open, public places, where respectable ladies would be ashamed to be seen lingering. It is remarkable that to questions about where they listened to radio etc. villagers gave direct answers very quickly. There was little doubt about well established habits in this area. Observation suggests that village women have their own, rather more private, radio-listening groups. At the village hairdresser's or dressmaker's, groups of women often enjoy themselves listening to radio and conversing.

Of the villagers who could not afford a radio of their own the majority are non-immediate relatives, (i.e. not members of nuclear family consisting of the household head, spouse and children), like grandparents or younger relatives staying in the household. For these non-immediate relatives the household where they stay is their home even though they do not have direct authority within that household. In these circumstances they have to share the household radio with other members including the ones who have direct authority within the household such as the husband and wife (see the first page of this Chapter). For example, a household in Ban Lang includes the wife's widowed mother, the wife's unmarried aunt, the wife's orphan neice and nephew who are not immediate relatives like the successor couple and their children (two daughters and one son). Three non-immediate relative women of this household told me that they do not have their own personal radio receiver but there are two working radio sets in the household which they usually listen to, especially

the bigger set. And this bigger radio by the authority in the household belongs to the successor couple, the couple who inherited the house through the wife's right over property. In practice, this bigger radio serves most of the household members apart from the son who has his own smaller radio. And yet only the husband, the wife and two daughters claim a direct right over the bigger radio. This type of household structure reveals why the answer "at home" is still given as the main place of radio listening in spite of the fact that not all villagers as household members own the individual radios.

There are for villagers (c.8%) of all 1088 informants who said they listened to radio at the temple. The majority of the group who listen at the temple are elderly people who spend a lot of time there. Regarded as a community centre and a peaceful place for old people who are tired of the busy atmosphere at home and who would like to increase their store of merit, the temple has become a resting place for the old. Although they are supposed to be in retreat from worldly things, some of them take a radio with them during their stay in the temple, otherwise each abbot has a very handsome modern set which is often turned on quite generously.

5.3.4 Radio Listening and Proximity of other persons

When the villagers were asked whether they often listen to the radio alone or in someone's company, most of them answered that usually they listened to radio alone, despite my observation of groups. This controversy might

be due to the concept of receiving information. Villagers do not reckon illustration book, novel reading or reading for pleasure as "book reading" because "reading a book" to them means a serious kind of reading like that of a textbook. Deriving from this idea, radio entertainment programmes for them are part of rest and relaxation. They do not really count entertainment or any programmes which they listen to passively (mai tang chai) with friends, neighbours or relatives without serious attention (tang chai) as radio listening.

When they are with friends, the radio is little more than background noise. Alone, they will concentrate (tang chai) much more. However, many middle aged and elderly women who have families replied that mostly they listened to radio "with their children". They have a lot of domestic work to do and have not time to think or decide about the programmes themselves. They say radio is for children, because they enjoy it very much and children can listen to the radio from the time it is turned on in the morning until their bedtime. However, in fact the mothers listen to radio all that time along with their children. Besides, they add that they have not time to think about turning the radio on or off because they are busy. Usually, their children or their husbands would be the persons who attend to the radio, but I often heard the shout from mothers (mae) or aunts (pa) from somewhere downstairs to their children, "What are you doing up there so quietly?, why don't you turn the radio on?" or sometimes the shout from

a well ten metres away from the house, "It isn't eleven o'clock yet; the sun hasn't reached the middle of the sky; probably "Wild Heart" has started. Hurry up, turn the radio on, make it loud so I can hear it from here!", and then the conversation will switch to the latest events in the serial. Because of the characteristic social activities in the courtyard and the daily household routines, any real opportunity for the women to listen to the radio alone is quite rare.

However, in each family there seems to be a dominant person, usually the father, although the youngest child is often indulged in this respect, who selects the radio programmes in cases where there is only one radio in the household. The conflict which makes a family have more than one radio set often arises between father and children. A traditional sense of propriety dictates that the smaller set whether it be the old one or the new one will always be given to the children.

The sex role orientated distinction, especially among adults can be observed in radio listening as in other social activities. If the whole family does not sit down together, (and children would be the unifying factor here), husband and wife will be hardly seen sitting down and listening to the radio together. It is not a Thai tradition for husband and wife to engage in as many activities together as Western couples. Only at the family time in the evening may they gather in one room to enjoy themselves.

When villagers listen to the radio outside their families, particularly when they listen in groups, they tend to have fewer problems than when they listen with others in the same family, and between mother and daughter, or sisters, the problems are not as obvious as between father and son, or brothers. The social value kraeng chai (feeling guilty) (see Chapter 8) seems to have some influence on radio listening when they come to listen together either among friends or neighbours. Hosts and guests would both feel guilty if they felt that they were dominating the other by selecting a radio station without asking other people's advice. Another reason is that among friends or neighbours one or other interesting programme is often the principal reason for their being together.

Within a courtyard, sometimes there are two or three households of relatives (nyat) sharing the same courtyard (see Chapter 3). There will be at least one dominant person in each of this group who is the leader in all activities including radio listening. Generally, apart from the main household head of the courtyard, the young teenage uncle (wife's brother) of the main household will be the leader of all his nephews and the other boys in the courtyard. Of course in this case it is, therefore, this young uncle who will select the radio programme when they listen to the radio together and when they are not interested in the same one particular programme. The hierarchy in a group of girls will be similar. In the case of a large and rich village courtyard, the dominant

role of the small group leader will extend to friends and neighbours as well because the courtyard of a big household is used as a meeting place among neighbours and a playground for children.

5.3.5 Villagers' Programme Preferences

Based on the mass media programme categories by Unesco (1967) and on the programmes broadcast by Lampang radio station, radio programmes can be divided into twenty-two topics; (see Table 5.1). Among these twenty two programmes, the local news bulletin is most widely listened to.

A very popular programme, to which villagers of almost all ages look forward, is the review of interesting events or news. The reviewer uses the northern Thai language to tell the story and comments upon it or discusses it, giving his own opinion. Sometimes, he acts as a teacher, or lecturer, or even a preacher to advise people to do or not to do something. He can connect the news of events to Buddhist philosophy, traditional proverbs, or other events that have occurred in history. This method of presenting news greatly impresses the villagers. The use of their own language is another important factor that makes this programme popular (see details in Chapter 8). In addition to this, the producer uses songs which suit the story to prevent the audience getting bored. Some songs are traditional northern folk songs, and some are modern Thai folk songs. The news which he reviews is picked from newspapers, radio, television, or even current rumours. However, the five minute educational programme

before 8.00 a.m. is a very useful programme because villagers of all ages and sexes listen to it. Since it comes just before 8.00 a.m., many people will be paying attention to the time as the official working hour starts at that moment. Most of the educational programmes have gained only moderate popularity. These educational programmes would be more suitable for and more accepted among urban people than among the simple villagers. There are no songs or music or dialogues. The announcer simply reads a lecture which is in fact very grammatically correct and uses beautiful standard Thai; this is not to the villagers' taste.

There is no doubt that many entertainment programmes are widely listened to in all three villages as shown in Table 5.1, but there are some slight differences between the degree of popularity of ordinary educational programmes and of the agricultural programmes, varying from village to village. The programmes of direct interest to the farmers are the weather forecasts, news of vocations, and vocational programmes. People of Ban Naa Dong seem to listen to weather forecasts more, while a high proportion of Ban Lang people listen to all three. Compared with the other two villages, Ban Mon Khao Khew people listen to these three programmes less, but they listen to programmes on health and programmes for housewives more than the other two villages. Here again, the occupational and social background has effects on their radio listening patterns. Because Ban Naa Dong people depend mainly on

agriculture, weather is most important to them. At the same time, news about the guaranteed prices for crop produce and knowledge about agriculture or farming are necessary for them. Likewise, Ban Lang people need to know the weather forecast for their foraging or for going into the jungle to cut bamboo or to work with the elephants.

The reason why Ban Mon Khao Khew people are so conscious of their health has to do with the fact that there is a good second class health centre near this village, where commercial medicine companies show films, and people go to town more often than in the other two villages. These sources stimulate the villagers' interest in their health and domestic hygiene. Apart from this, many villagers who work as factory workers learn about modern sanitation and ideas on health from the factories, because most of these factories are food factories, and have to be very strict about hygiene standards among the workers, according to Ministry of Health guidelines and the international canned food market standard. It is noticeable that political programmes (see Chapter 7), religious programmes (see Chapter 8), culture and the arts, and foreign news bulletins do not arouse much interest in the audience. Among these, the religious programmes do better than the others; 59% of all 1088 villagers listen to religious programmes regularly.

Since the broadcasts about rural occupations concentrate on agriculture, and the villagers' main interest is in agricultural programmes, it is important to note among the various programmes on topics of agricultural knowledge

and instruction on other occupations which ones, despite the stylistic barrier of their presentation, are listened to. These topics are; gardening and planting, animal farming, fish farming, rice growing, craft work, and family industry. They are very interested in earning extra income by subsidiary farming (there will be more details and examples in Chapter 6).

5.3.6 Preferred Times of Listening

Most villagers (83% of the 1088 informants) said they listened to radio every day. On an average weekday, most popular times, the early evening and the morning respectively, are favoured because they are free from work at these times of the day. There is not much difference between weekdays and holy-days in the working season. During the villagers' working season for rice farming all days are the same. They do not stop working on Sundays or on Buddhist holy days. Rice planting needs continual attention, and farmers depend on rain water very much, therefore, as soon as they start their work and there is natural water available they have to take a chance and make the most and the best use of it. For that reason, they cannot stop for a rest on weekends or holy days as the office workers or the factory workers do. In rural northern Thailand the weekend is meaningful mainly for office and industrial workers. All shops are still open.

This contrasts with the dry season which extends from November till May.

Villagers have a feeling that it is time for them to rest and enjoy themselves with many ceremonies and fairs, but at the same time this season can become one of hardship and poverty when it is too dry and too hot for villagers to do anything, or to grow any crops. This often happens at the end of the dry season when a long line of migrating villagers floods into town. However, as their radios are still working, there is nothing to prevent them from listening to radios as they travel. Just after their harvesting, most of them have some grain in their barns, or some money. Besides, there is still some water left for them to cultivate some subsidiary crops such as kitchen vegetables. During this time, it seems that the villagers have more time to listen to the radio with real concentration and in a more relaxed manner than during their working season.

Observation suggests that the heads of families can stay at home and listen to the radio longer in the morning, after lunch time, and in the evening as well. Nearly half of my informants said they listened to the radio more when they had finished their main farming work, rice planting. This pattern is clearest, in the most traditionally agricultural of the villages, Ban Naa Dong, but in Ban Mon Khao Khew the factor of seasonal work in the factories and the fact that in Ban Lang handicrafts are as important as farming cause less typical responses.

The Director of the Lampang radio station, when I interviewed him, said that the peak hours for his station

are at 6.00 - 8.00 a.m., 12.00 - 1.00 p.m., and 6.00 - 8.00 p.m. He told me that in his opinion, the most suitable time for agricultural programmes would be from 4.00 - 7.00 a.m., and from 6.00 - 8.00 p.m. In comparing his ideal time of broadcasting with the empirical data from the 1088 informants in the three villages, I would like to note that more audiences listen to radio in the morning (39%) than the evening period (22%). Presumably, this is because from 6.00 - 6.30 p.m. is their evening meal time, and after that, even though they turn the radio on, it is their time for talking together as a family; this accounts for the peak listening figures but in fact they do not concentrate on radio listening when they are conversing. They turn the radio on just for agreeable background noise. It seems that listening to articles or educational programmes which need more attention or concentration is a very personal, individual pursuit. Therefore, the time when they rest, especially in the evening, is not a good time for any educational programmes. The only really good time is early morning before the day's work.

From the report of a seminar on broadcasts for farmers which the F.A.O. organized in 1963, a few important recommendations were made: that a suitable time for such broadcasts must be selected when farmers were free; that the programme should not be too long, and it should make only one distinct point (Unesco, 1967: 27-33). The aptness of these observations is quite clear in the context of the three villages I

studied and my own interview results suggest the same conclusion. Many useful and interesting programmes for farmers are wasted because farmers have to go to work while they are on the air or even though they have the radio with them at work they cannot concentrate on the programme as much as they would need in order to learn from it.

5.3.7 Radio Advertisements and Villagers

The villagers seemed not to be much annoyed by radio advertising even though it took up at least half of all the broadcasting time (see Chapter 4). Well known goods which are frequently advertised on radio are found in the village grocer's. Once, all these goods were regarded as luxuries, for people in the town only, but now they are part of their daily life. One obvious influence of radio advertising is in patent medicines. In Thailand, people can buy medicines without prescriptions; therefore, many villagers find it much more convenient to go into the chemist and see the shopkeeper, usually a Chinese or Mo Ti ("little Chinese doctor"), than to wait in a long queue and to face formal inquiries by the doctor or nurse at the Government hospital in town. Nowadays, this kind of chemist is more popular than the traditional practitioners of Thai medicine. The owner of the chemist's shop hears familiar brand names on the radio and buys them to pass on to villagers after a rough and ready diagnosis based on their description of their symptoms.

There are some kinds of goods that villagers have just heard about. Not many of them have really ever seen or used such things as the Singer automatic sewing machines, gas stoves or colour televisions which have been advertised on the radio. Mainly, villagers have heard about these modern goods from the radio and get details from their friends or neighbours who work as servants for a rich family in town or in Bangkok (see Chapter 6). Such people are regarded as very fashionable, important, and experienced after they return home from town or from the capital.

The housewife is often the person who brings changes into the household. They eagerly look forward to having the chance to use a new kind of washing powder which they have heard about from the radio and their neighbours. The young village women long to use new sorts of cosmetics popularised by radio advertisements repeated more than five times in half an hour. Indeed, the goods that are frequently mentioned on the radio are best sellers in the local grocer's. After trying these new products, some of them find satisfaction in using modern cosmetics or washing powders, but others have to see the doctor because of allergies or misuse. This problem happens with the misuse of modern medicines as well.

There are also adoptions of innovations in agriculture. But this is different from the adoption of domestic items. For small agricultural items such as fertilizer, insecticide and sprayers, villagers do not use them until there is someone who is of high social status and has enough courage

to start it first and get a good result; then the majority will follow. Besides, even though most of villagers have heard about farming machines such as hand tractor or motor pump, only few wealthy villagers can afford them. However, most of them would say they already knew about all these things from radio and other sources a long time before they started to use them (further detailed discussion will be in Chapters 6, 7, and 8).

5.4 Radio has taken the place of certain ancient traditional ways

5.4.1 Changing time-concept

In the development process, the perception of time is often subject to radical change. Even though there are different degrees of consciousness about "clock" time and measurement in different cultures, the use of clocks has become a symbol of sophistication and modernity in rural northern Thailand. Edward T. Hall (1967) discusses concepts of time, using the Hopi Indians as an example. Time for them is not a uniform succession or duration, but a pluralism of many kinds of things co-existing. He states "... it is what happens when the corn matures or a sheep grows up... It is the natural process that takes place while living substance acts out its life drama" (1967: 159). Another social scientist who makes an attempt to explain the concept of time is Marshall McLuhan. Referring to Martin Joos, he wittily presents "five clocks of style" according to five different zones and independent cultural climates. Different from the Hopi Indians'

concept of time, McLuhan shows us the concept of time among English speaking world. He argues that this zone is the zone of homogeneity and uniformity. It is the style-zone of standard English pervaded by central standard time. Within this zone the dwellers may show varying degrees of punctuality (McLuhan, 1967: 157-168). This gives us some comparisons against which to consider the role of radio, clock, and changing concepts of time among rural northern Thai villagers.

The radio announcement of the official working hour and the usage of clock time has taken the place of the natural and religious, ritual concept of time within rural northern Thai peasant community. As a result, it has affected their labour organization, method of cultivation, social gatherings and politically differentiated consciousness.

Before rural northern Thai villagers adopted watches and radio, their concept of time derived from two main sources: the natural and religious calendars. These two institutions draw a boundary for their annual life cycle. The end of a year is at the end of harvesting time. For example, the first plough ceremony is in the eighth month (May) at the beginning of the rainy season. The Buddhist lent starts more or less at the end of rice transplanting, the tenth month (July) (see Tambiah, 1970; also Turton, 1975; 1978). The Buddhist lunar calendar indicates the Buddhist holy day of the weekly round. For the time within a day, the sound of drum and gong in the temple for monks'

meals and prayers becomes the time indicator for both monks and laymen alike. Besides, the use of pace with sunlight give them a rough estimate of time within a day. These two initial time indicators frame their social and economic activities.

As I have mentioned above in Chapter 2, the economic infrastructure of northern Thai villages is based upon their communal and cooperative work and the reciprocal exchange of labour especially concerning rice cultivation. This same system of communal work is necessary for house building (see Turton, 1978) and in a number of ritual activities as well. Within this system, there is a hierarchical differentiation. The roughly estimated time of labour used traditionally helps exploitative land owners to take advantage of other peasants of lower socio-economic status. One day's work for rich farmers such as the village money leader, mill-owner, or even the headman means nine or ten hours, but in return to the poorer or lower status farmers, it is only seven or eight hours or even less.

This is the traditional means of estimating time before the use of watches, and the increased awareness of working hours and their exact measurement introduced by radio (see Rajadhorn, 1961). In contrast, dominant individuals are now unlikely to call their neighbours for a reciprocal day's labour before 8 o'clock or delay them after 4.30 p.m., as a consequence of this more exact measure of equivalent time. Moreover, in order to return the exact labour worked, the working hours are counted and noted down according

to clock time (see Potter, 1979). Of course, lower status peasants now expect the same amount of work within the exact period of time in return. In a system of wage labour, awareness of time and its value is even more obvious. The factory bells give the signal for the workers at precisely the same time as the radio time signal. The new way of measuring and giving value to time which affects villagers working in factories shows the close development of the idea of time as a commodity. The factory near Ban Mon Khao Khew has its motto painted on the wall, "ngan khu' ngoen, ngoen khu' ngan; ban dan suk" (work means money, money means work; this will provide you happiness). However, my intention here is to present the interaction between the changing concept of time and labour organization. As the result of using clock time and the awareness of official working hours, villagers become more conscious of their labour value. This kind of consciousness is crucial in the process of social change and development. The use of clock time has paradoxically helped ordinary villagers to avoid the exploitation of their labour within the traditional reciprocal labour system previously made possible by the rough measure of a day's labour.

Awareness of more precise measurements of time in relation to work and its monetary value have gradually become significant in villagers' agricultural methods and in their domestic affairs. As we shall discuss in Chapter 6, modern knowledge through radio educational programmes and the adoption of new technology has introduced

a new precision and new methods. In this case, radio plays an indirect role. It persuades villagers to use modern technology which require new forms of measurement, if it is to be used effectively. In utilizing insecticide, fertilizer, farming machinery or new kinds of seed, the measurement of time and volume has to be precise. Villagers of Ban Mon Khao Khew have experienced an example of the destruction of crops as a result of mistaken use of insecticide when a tomato farmer did not follow the instruction indicating that that kind of insecticide could not be used in strong sunlight after 8.00 a.m. Radio's role in teaching the precise measurement of time by counting seconds, minutes and hours is somewhat different from villagers' traditional concept of time and how it is measured. In educational radio programmes for farmers and housewives, broadcasters always recommend precision whenever time is concerned.

More directly, radio has created the idea of "clock time" by necessarily transmitting its programmes at very specific times. It makes people more aware about exact time in order to follow their favourite programmes. Radio listening has also had a social effect in the lives of villagers, which can be observed at the social gatherings of village women who like to listen to particular radio programmes together at definite times. At around 10.30 a.m. village women in both Ban Naa Dong and Ban Lang like to listen to radio drama plays together at the well of the biggest courtyard of the village when they are doing their domestic work such as washing. They find it enjoyable

(sanug) to listen to this programme with friends and relatives (see Kingshill, 1965). The former headman's wife of Ban Naa Dong, the owner of the village's most popular well, stated that it is the radio plays which are the main attraction bringing them together at that time of the day because as far as she remembers before radio plays became popular, village women did their washing at their own wells in many small separate groups and at various times depending on their personal convenience. But recently, some women even leave other domestic work when they notice first the position of the sun, and then look at their watches in order to join others at the well with their washing. The term "sanug" (enjoyment) is now attached to these new social gatherings, performing domestic work, accompanied by an entertaining radio broadcast.

Conclusion

Thus, either directly or indirectly, radio plays a part in producing changes in the experience of time, and how it is measured. The awareness of clock time is closely related to radio use, especially through the signal for official working hours time and also specific timed radio programming. Consequently, this impact has effect in the increasing awareness of exploitation hindered within the reciprocal exchange of labour measured roughly in time of days. Moreover, the awareness of 'clock time' is closely related to new understandings of social relations, new ideas in agriculture and education, new evaluations

of time concerning with labour use and money. In addition, this impact has formed a new kind of social group for entertainment and domestic work. In brief, the relation between radio and changing perception of time has created a form in which Village interaction takes on a new uniformity. In the economic structure, this process reveals conflict which has been hidden for generations.

5.4.2 Ceremony and radio use

This section would not be complete if I omitted to describe the villagers' use of radio on various special occasions and in their traditional ceremonies. This use of radio is common in remote rural villages, where other forms of accoustic entertainment like tape recorders or gramophones are still rare. In order to create a merry and boisterous atmosphere, they need amplified sound. By using a public radio speaker system, it is an indirect invitation to all neighbours within earshot of the loud speaker, sometimes including the neighbouring two or three villages, to come to the ceremony as well. Radio is already regarded as part of their daily entertainment, and therefore, they regard radio as the natural thing for such a purpose. Both in religious and domestic ritual ceremonies, villagers love to have their neighbours' and friends' company. Invitation cards or letters for special occasions are rare in the area. Usually, verbal communication, even though sometimes it happens to be in the form of rumour and gossip, and the sound of radio music broadcast through loudspeakers will be applied quite effectively as an invitation.

The testing of the loudspeakers and accoustic system will be done one day before the ceremonial day. The whistling and shrill buzzing noises from the loud speakers will attract a crowd of children or a first group of guests, perhaps, to come and gather round. Then in the morning the first programmes will be broadcast through the system for the general entertainment, and the radio will be left on all day until evening, when a live cōi and sō company will take its place.

General Conclusion

This chapter has laid the foundation for further discussion by illustrating the wide extent of radio use in rural northern Thailand. Most people within the three villages of my study listen to radio every day. Radio, as a channel of communication originating in a cosmopolitan setting, carries messages from external sources into the rural social system. Within the process of communication and the flow of information, there are various interrelated or interdependent factors, which while increasing the level of media exposure among villagers, reinforces the strength of radio in the diffusion of new ideas. One of these factors, empathy: the individual's ability to identify with other's rôles, especially with those who are different from oneself, shows its significant function in strengthening the power of radio and enabling peasants to open themselves to new ideas. This factor is also at work within the rural northern Thai community where

a social class system is evident. On the other hand, in some aspects there is a demeaning of the new ideas carried by broadcasting. An example of this phenomenon is the exaggerated, highly coloured urban and western way of living presented in radio plays.

To a certain degree, radio has taken the place the traditional channel of communication because of its promptness, ability to reach vast audiences, and affordable price. Yet, ironically the traditional channel, communication through interpersonal contact, still plays a notable role as a mediator in the process of the flow of information. However, not all new ideas are accepted or adopted. Also, these interrelated factors must be taken into account in studying rural northern Thai villagers' pattern of listening behaviour. Since radio has been adopted and integrated into many social institutions and traditional social activities, it has an impact upon the rural northern Thai community's social system which will be the major concerns of the following chapters.

CHAPTER 6

RADIO, ECONOMY AND TECHNOLOGY

In this chapter I would like to outline the role of radio in economic development and the introduction of technological innovations to the three villages which I studied. In order to clarify the role of radio in the adoption of innovations, the results of data collection and analysis obtained from the three villages will be adduced. In addition, the interaction and relationships between local social structures, traditional values and the process of adopting modern ideas and new economic structures will be assessed. Some theoretical models and examples from other studies will be used where comparisons may be found helpful.

6.1 Radio and Interpersonal Communication

Although there are important country-to-country and programme-to-programme differences in types of radio system, in underdeveloped countries, they possess certain common elements: a combination of mass media and interpersonal communication channels is the most effective way of reaching rural villagers (Schramm, 1960). Among Columbian rural villagers, Rogers (1969) finds that radio is of primary importance as the channel which first brings information to the community. Messages are then passed on throughout the village by the word of mouth (Rogers and Svenning, 1969:1-6). The effective use of radio as the vehicle for diffusion of innovations can be seen in many rural

areas. The use of radio for various development projects in India, Latin America, Africa, China in conjunction with interpersonal communication such as group discussion, ballad singers, story tellers, salesmen etc., shows that interpersonal communication functions to multiply and increase the effect of radio messages (see Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971 : 255-264; also Schramm, 1960).

In rural northern Thailand, radio comes into widespread use to supplement and complement the oral channels. Radio has an ability to inform large numbers of people quickly, but the process of acceptance usually involves talking it over, and most social control in a community is exercised by groups, not by media. I will discuss the latter point later in this chapter, but at this stage the effectiveness of radio - what radio can and cannot do - must be discussed.

6.2 Agricultural and domestic programmes

First of all, let us consider the agricultural programmes which occurred in a week's broadcasting from Lampang Province National Radio Station (Table 4.3, page 224-223). The main theme of the agricultural programmes is the level of demand for farming produce, the price of each crop in the market and development projects for farmers. Through this programme, announcements are made about the exhibitions, competitions, farmers' show, demonstrations of new agricultural techniques and other such events taking place in Lampang City or in the surrounding villages. The producers who have responsibility for these programmes

are appointed by the Government Agricultural Department.

The domestic programmes broadcast by the same station communicate innovative concepts about the relationship between sanitation and illness. These programmes explain how to get rid of bed-bugs, rats, and flies. They teach how to deal with water which is too soft or too hard, and how to use detergent properly when villagers wash near their wells. This last point requires explanation and is an interesting example of the confusion which the appearance of a new product or technology can cause in a community. The villagers had for years been accustomed to use a soap made from animal fat and ashes for washing clothes and utensils. This they could use near the well without any problem since the soap residues were filtered out of the water as it drained down through the soil.

But when they began to try the exciting new washing powder which they could buy in town, there were problems. The passage through the soil in this case did not filter out the chemicals in the powder. The polluted water seeped back into the well, making it foul-tasting and unfit to consume.

However, various factors obstruct the villagers' understanding. The first difficulty is, as we have already noted, that these programmes are broadcast in standard or middle region Thai; since people in the North mainly use their own northern Thai language, they cannot easily keep up with that of the programme. Secondly, by its nature, radio communication is one way only and therefore,

when the audience cannot understand something at any point they cannot stop and ask, or if they find they have not followed something they cannot go back to that point again. Since also the producer has to speak rapidly to cover all his points within the allotted half-hour, the audience, who are not familiar with standard Thai, lose some details and find the whole thing quite a strain. The third reason is that it is quite difficult for the producers to avoid using technical terms, especially when discussing new technology, and sometimes they use English words because there is no established word in Thai for certain things, such as "metre", "foot", or "gramme". Precise measurements are difficult for non-literate villagers, who are familiar with the Thai style of gauging the length of something by using the hand, forearms, or fingers as a measurement. Another difficulty is that sometimes the programme producers forget that the written and spoken language are different. Carelessly, they use abbreviations in their programmes, for instance, they say "N.B.F." instead of "The National Bank for Farmers". In these cases, only very few villagers can understand what they mean. The number of agricultural radio programmes broadcast by the Lampang province national radio station is too few to achieve the full potential of radio in helping the development of an agricultural nation, and what agricultural programmes there are need to be improved and simplified to suit the local people.

There are some differences between the agricultural and domestic programmes. The domestic programmes are

less academic in their presentation. Magazine programme technique is employed, songs and comic stories are inserted. This method of presenting songs and subject matter in one programme, has both good and bad points. The songs help people to enjoy the programme more, and it becomes more lively and less monotonous, but inevitably, the songs tend to hold the attention at the expense of the main subject matter. From my observations many listeners, especially teenagers, listen to the radio just when the songs come, and start their conversation again when the spoken word takes over. However, many of these domestic programmes do become favourites among village housewives.

The non-formal education programmes try to encourage agricultural development by producing and broadcasting various vocational programmes concerned both with rice cultivation and with subsidiary occupations. Unfortunately, because of the lack of cooperation and consultation between the producers, some programmes overlap or repeat the same themes. Another problem for non-formal education broadcasts is that the audience cannot follow-up the programmes regularly because they work long hours and can seldom afford simply to abandon what they are doing to listen to radio. This problem is complicated by the additional factor that the radio still needs financial support from commercial advertising and therefore must devote peak listening time to this.

In order to investigate the impact of radio in the diffusion of innovations, I set out 18 different innovations

with which three sets of data have been collected: (1) villagers have acquired awareness through radio listening (Table 6.1), (2) whether or not villagers adopted them (Table 6.2), (3) the consequent reaction (Table 6.3).

I do not mean by this that the importance of other communication channels will be diminished, nor that radio is the only cause of innovation adoption. Many other means of communication, particularly the face-to-face communication through which villagers find security and confidence in decision making, still play an important part at the stage of detailed discussion and decision making (Rogers and Svenning, 1969; Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971; Rogers, 1976; Schramm, 1960; Lerner, 1967; Berry 1971). But at this point, as it is my major concern, I would like to know what precisely radio can or cannot do in diffusing innovations or otherwise promoting modern technology. I will, therefore, concentrate on identifying the function of radio. Other communication channels will be referred to where necessary for comparative purposes. For example, the son-in-law of the Ban Naa Dong mill owner, whose case will later be referred to in more detail, told me that he heard about hand tractor for the first time from radio, then sought for more details from other villagers, went to see the real thing in town and eventually used it himself. His case is categorized in column one ("yes"), under "Farm Machinery" in Table 6.1; "Awareness of modern technology through radio listening", and column one ("yes") in Table 6.2; "Innovation Adopted as a result of radio listening", and also column one ("success") of Table 6.3 ;

Table 6.1 Contact With Instances of Modern Technology
through Radio Listening in the Three Villages
with Percentage Distribution

| Nature of Innovation | Yes | No | Don't Know | Not Applicable | NA/RF |
|---------------------------------------|------|------|------------|----------------|-------|
| Agricultural Innovations | | | | | |
| Insecticide | 56.4 | 18.4 | 10.8 | 7.1 | 7.3 |
| New Variety of Seed | 43.9 | 25.1 | 9.9 | 9.7 | 11.4 |
| Modern Irrigation | 46.2 | 26.5 | 10.2 | 6.1 | 11.0 |
| Rice Bank | 62.8 | 14.3 | 9.4 | 6.3 | 7.2 |
| Fertilizer | 68.1 | 16.8 | 7.4 | 4.4 | 3.3 |
| Farm Machinery | 51.3 | 27.2 | 7.5 | 7.6 | 6.4 |
| Land Development | 36.8 | 30.4 | 15.3 | 8.2 | 9.3 |
| Introduction of new Vegetable Species | 54.3 | 20.4 | 10.7 | 9.1 | 5.5 |
| Animal Farming | 67.6 | 14.4 | 6.8 | 6.4 | 4.8 |
| Fish Farming | 45.9 | 28.9 | 14.2 | 6.8 | 4.2 |
| Domestic Ideas | | | | | |
| Food Preservation | 45.2 | 33.1 | 8.9 | 7.1 | 5.7 |
| Cottage Industry | 52.4 | 25.2 | 16.9 | 3.1 | 2.4 |
| Handicraft | 43.5 | 31.1 | 13.8 | 6.0 | 5.6 |
| Washing Powder | 72.7 | 9.0 | 9.5 | 4.5 | 4.3 |
| Gas Stove | 45.9 | 32.1 | 11.0 | 4.7 | 6.3 |
| Electricity | 57.3 | 14.8 | 14.5 | 6.3 | 7.1 |
| Modern Medicine | 69.6 | 16.8 | 8.5 | 1.7 | 3.4 |
| Family Planning | 69.3 | 11.2 | 11.0 | 5.3 | 3.2 |

Table 6.2 Innovation Adopted as a Result of Radio
Listening in the Three Villages with
Percentage Distribution

| Nature if Innovation | Yes | No | Don't Know | Not Applicable | NA/RF |
|---------------------------------------|------|------|------------|----------------|-------|
| Agricultural Innovations | | | | | |
| Insecticide | 51.9 | 28.3 | 7.0 | 6.5 | 6.3 |
| New Variety of Seed | 42.6 | 30.1 | 13.2 | 7.2 | 6.9 |
| Modern Irrigation | 48.2 | 31.3 | 8.8 | 5.7 | 6.0 |
| Rice Bank | 33.1 | 44.8 | 10.7 | 6.3 | 5.1 |
| Fertilizer | 60.4 | 21.2 | 5.6 | 6.6 | 6.2 |
| Farm Machinery | 10.5 | 70.3 | 9.0 | 5.6 | 4.6 |
| Land Development | 28.7 | 56.2 | 9.1 | 3.9 | 2.1 |
| Introduction of new Vegetable Species | 42.1 | 35.7 | 10.2 | 6.3 | 5.7 |
| Animal Farming | 60.5 | 18.1 | 8.9 | 7.2 | 5.3 |
| Fish Farming | 35.3 | 36.8 | 9.4 | 12.6 | 5.9 |
| Domestic Ideas | | | | | |
| Food Preservation | 41.4 | 33.2 | 11.6 | 5.8 | 8.0 |
| Cottage Industry | 45.3 | 28.0 | 9.2 | 9.4 | 8.1 |
| Handicraft | 48.0 | 22.9 | 14.0 | 7.6 | 7.5 |
| Washing Powder | 60.5 | 17.4 | 10.5 | 6.5 | 5.1 |
| Gas Stove | 13.6 | 64.0 | 8.8 | 7.2 | 6.4 |
| Electricity | 12.5 | 75.6 | 3.7 | 4.1 | 4.1 |
| Modern Medicine | 61.8 | 18.7 | 7.6 | 5.7 | 6.2 |
| Family Planning | 57.0 | 24.9 | 9.4 | 4.6 | 4.1 |

Table 6.3 Reaction of People in the Three Villages who Bought
or Contemplated Adopting the Following Innovations
as a Result of Radio Listening with Percentage Distri-
butions

| Nature of Innovation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----|
| Agricultural Innovations | | | | | | | | | |
| Insecticide | 36.4 | 7.1 | 23.4 | 8.6 | 10.2 | 5.0 | 5.1 | 2.9 | 1.3 |
| New Variety of Seed | 14.5 | 4.0 | 18.6 | 26.3 | 6.9 | 6.5 | 9.3 | 10.2 | 3.7 |
| Modern Irrigation | 16.8 | 1.7 | 12.5 | 2.6 | 15.4 | 18.5 | 18.4 | 10.1 | 4.0 |
| Rice Bank | 40.6 | 3.9 | 8.2 | 4.8 | 4.2 | 18.4 | 4.2 | 7.1 | 8.6 |
| Fertilizer | 27.9 | 5.0 | 34.1 | 13.8 | 5.5 | 6.0 | 1.8 | 4.2 | 1.7 |
| Farm Machinery | 2.4 | 1.4 | 45.6 | 13.1 | 4.5 | 17.9 | 1.1 | 12.0 | 2.0 |
| Land Development | 18.9 | 5.0 | 9.5 | 2.6 | 7.7 | 28.4 | 12.4 | 12.0 | 3.5 |
| Introduction of new Vegetable Species | 12.0 | 7.5 | 15.1 | 9.8 | 14.0 | 18.4 | 6.7 | 15.4 | 1.1 |
| Animal Farming | 35.7 | 10.5 | 12.8 | 1.9 | 3.5 | 16.1 | 8.1 | 10.0 | 1.4 |
| Fish Farming | 14.8 | 8.3 | 9.8 | 5.5 | 15.1 | 26.1 | 7.5 | 11.7 | 1.2 |
| Domestic Ideas | | | | | | | | | |
| Food Preservation | 18.2 | 11.0 | 6.5 | 5.5 | 18.0 | 15.1 | 4.5 | 15.8 | 5.4 |
| Cottage Industry | 14.8 | 2.5 | 6.3 | 1.7 | 11.8 | 23.5 | 7.6 | 29.7 | 2.1 |
| Handicraft | 23.3 | 5.5 | 12.8 | 2.5 | 13.5 | 20.1 | 6.8 | 13.9 | 1.6 |
| Washing Powder | 48.7 | 5.6 | 21.6 | 7.4 | 5.1 | 5.3 | 0.8 | 2.2 | 3.3 |
| Gas Stove | 9.4 | 3.9 | 10.6 | 13.7 | 12.5 | 13.1 | 15.4 | 18.7 | 2.7 |
| Electricity | 4.1 | 1.3 | 24.1 | 1.5 | 3.2 | 32.8 | 1.9 | 26.1 | 5.0 |
| Modern Medicine | 39.1 | 5.2 | 19.1 | 10.3 | 2.2 | 10.1 | 5.3 | 4.4 | 4.3 |
| Family Planning | 36.7 | 11.0 | 5.5 | 10.1 | 19.7 | 3.4 | 1.6 | 5.9 | 6.1 |

1 = Succeed in Use, 2 = Failure in Use, 3 = Cannot Afford, 4 = Not supplied at the Local Market, 5 = Lack of Skill Resulted in Failure or not using Item, 6 = Government does not support this Project, 7 = Lack of Man Power, 8 = Not applicable to Conditions in this Village.

"Reaction of people in the three villages who bought or contemplated Adopting the Innovations as a result of radio listening".

Tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3. illustrate that although the awareness of innovation through radio listening is high in all three villages, innovation adoption is variable. Radio informs about innovatory techniques both domestic and agricultural, but its effect on the degree of adoption must be balanced with other factors. These tables show us that there are certain things which radio can do by itself and some things radio can only help to do.

On the other hand when we consider each different innovation (refer to table 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3.) we see that there is a significant correspondence between the awareness through radio listening and subsequent adoption of certain innovations. To illustrate this point I will compare the example of farm machinery and washing powder. Table 6.1 shows that whereas 51.3% of all 1088 villagers said they have heard about new farm machinery mainly through radio, only 10.5% (table 6.2) adopted this innovation. This is due to the fact that over half of all villagers (table 6.3) cannot afford it. By comparison with washing powder which is within all villagers' reach, 72.7% average of 3 villages (table 6.1) say they got to know the existence of washing powder for the first time through radio, and 60.5% (table 6.2) of all villagers use washing powder. 53.7% (table 6.3) succeed in using it.

This discrepancy can be directly related to factors

such as poverty and geographical remoteness. In the case of Ban Lang, for example, the effects of geographical remoteness from the city, poor support from the local authority in irrigation and land development projects and inconvenient transport, inhibit innovation adoption. Remote villages are poorer and thus less able to purchase items of modern technology which are in any case less readily obtained from remote villages. Similar problems can be seen in the adoption patterns of other innovations. There are a number of reasons why the people of Ban Lang are hindered from implementing the new ideas they hear about and these will be further discussed later in this chapter.

Therefore, as this data suggests, radio is utilized largely to impart information with a view to increasing awareness of and arousing interest in specific innovations. This is the principal function radio can perform. The diffusion of modern technology which occurs in the three villages can be broken down into three steps : (1) awareness or contact, (2) adoption, and (3) consequence. Awareness or contact is the initial stage of a process by which new ideas are created or developed. Adoption is the step by which these new ideas are practically communicated and used within a given social system. The consequence is change occurring within the system as a result of the adoption or rejection of the innovations. For the rural northern Thai villagers, radio can mainly serve them at the first step.

6.3 A village with a Good Highway and Electricity :

Ban Mon Khao Khew

We now consider the influence of radio on the people of Ban Mon Khao Khew. In order to link the village to the highway, the government gave 15,000 baht for the construction of a 2 kilometre road. The villagers were very happy to provide the man-power because they felt that the advantage of a new road would be tremendous; before this time their village was quite isolated. It would enable them to find new markets for their goods. A few months later the village was connected to the electricity supply. The headman told me the story of how electricity was installed in the village. He said the villagers went out and erected all the lamp stands themselves, and the government furnished the rest of the equipment. Electricity now lights the village streets at night. However, only 37% of all households in Ban Mon Khao Khew can afford to install electricity in their homes, since the householder who wishes to do so must pay 600 baht toward the initial cost and then of course pay monthly electricity bills. Even though their kerosene lamps cost them about 20 baht per month, they still cannot raise the large sum of money for the initial cost of installing wiring. However, they are enjoying the social benefits of having electricity in the village. In good weather people will use the street lights at night for their social activities. Children come and play under the street lamps while adults gather round and converse.

There has also turned out to be an unexpected source of extra cash from the street lamps because mangda (large flying beetles), which can be mixed into chilli paste in order to make it more tasty and strong smelling, are attracted to the lights at night in large numbers.

People of Ban Mon Khao Khew can now get into town easily. In the morning there are three mini-buses leaving the village to transport people to town; one at 6.00 a.m., one at 7.00 a.m. and one at 9.00 a.m. If they miss the minibus, villagers can now go and wait at the highway to catch one of the various buses travelling into Lampang. Many of them own motor-cycles which are very convenient, and motor-cycle owners can also earn extra money by taking pillion passengers from the village to the junction of the Lampang highway at a charge of 2 baht per person. Many young people in this village, particularly the women, work in factories nearby. One or two lorries take them to work in the morning, wedged like sardines in a can, and bring them back at 6 o'clock in the evening. On Saturdays and Sundays, there are more buses leaving for the town, because Ban Mon Khao Khew people love to go to the cinema and to do their shopping in town. Many of them go by motorcycle, or even by bicycle, a trip of one-and-a-half hours.

These two products of modern technology, a modern highway and electricity, have changed the characteristic daily activities of the people of Ban Mon Khao Khew, modifying both their use of leisure time and their standard

of living. With regard to the villagers' standard of living an improvement can be seen both in financial terms and in a broader sense. Ban Mon Khao Khew villagers have more alternative sources of income than the other two villages. Market women, factory workers, temporary casual labour for service in town are good examples. Before presenting figures on income and employment, some explanation is necessary. In the case of the individual household records, the imprecision of villagers' responses to my questions indicates that it is most likely some errors are still to be found in them, especially in the areas of off-farm work. The agricultural income figures appear to be more reliable. For the case of off-farm work for which villagers do not receive payment in cash or only partly in cash, payments in kind are converted to the cash value of such goods at the village level (Table 2.4). The figures can however illustrate the income levels, the intra-village income differences, the combination of different kinds of income and other interesting facts related to income. These enumerations began in December 1978 and lasted until November 1979.

The figures show that the percentage of Ban Mon Khao Khew people's income derived from non-rice cultivation is higher than that in other two villages. Compared with Ban Naa Dong, where the better irrigation scheme provides scope for second crops, Ban Mon Khao Khew villagers' income would be relatively low without non-rice cultivation, because of the problems of land holding and rice yield.

Viewing their standard of living from a broader perspective, the people of Ban Mon Khao Khew tend to be more aware of the agriculture and health programmes provided by various communication channels. This is due to the fact that this village receives more frequent visits from district officials, factory officials, salesmen of medicine or agricultural products etc., as well as by radio. Their improved contact with the outer world provides new channels of information and education and leads to a widespread familiarity with and adoption of modern ideas. They buy more commercial medicines, washing powder, insecticides than do members of the other 2 villages; make more use of family planning (as I show in a more detailed discussion of radio and the adoption of family planning in page 488 of Chapter 8), adopt more new crop species, and make greater use of the rice bank. Since the people of Ban Mon Khao Khew can now get into town easily, they are open to many new influences and the Lampang market place has become a centre for exchanging news and information. Stories always pass from person to person very quickly. The market women always have new things from town to tell their friends and relatives about. They will describe these in detail, what they look like, what they tasted like, or the marvels of labour-saving devices like sewing-machines; then they will persuade each other to come and see the real thing in town. Besides, those who work in the factories always have new things to show each other. Many of them come to work with a

small pocket-sized radio. A new way of life has started in Ban Mon Khao Khew. During the day for most of the year the village is very quiet, because most of the young people have gone to work. Only during the rice planting season will the village once again become a hub of activity when the demands of the rice crop require the cooperation of the entire population. At night time, even though not many of them can afford electricity for household use, the village street is lit, and so they can go to see friends and relatives very easily. Because of these circumstances Ban Mon Khao Khew villagers tend to have more activities to occupy their time besides listening to the radio. As a result there is much passive social listening to radio, an activity to which the entertainment programmes are most suited. They therefore listen less to serious programmes and since novelties are easily accessible to them by other channels their interest in descriptions of such things in the radio is less than that of the people of the other two villages.

Now that the Ban Mon Khao Khew village women can go to sell their produce at the great market in Lampang City, the demand for animal farm products has become obvious, and many villagers are now making a good profit from such things. With reference to the discussion of town markets in Chapter 3, it is evident that participation in the market is itself a source of information about market conditions and, where the potential to supply

market exists, peasants are progressively drawn further into market economy. 7 out of 128 households have chicken farms containing between 50 and 80 birds. There are some ideas of which they have learnt from radio and later adopted, especially from programmes which deal directly with their occupations. However, advertising also exerts a stimulus. For example, Ban Mon Khao Khew people absorbed information from advertising on such matters as new vegetable varieties. By advertising on radio that they could offer seeds or nursery plants of new varieties of vegetables at a low price, canned fruit and vegetable factories within the district encouraged nearby villagers to grow crops for processing. Villagers could buy seeds and seedlings on the condition that all produce was sold back to the factory. By this means, villagers often make a very good profit. But they do not learn or gain any knowledge about how to use that innovation from radio. They are simply persuaded to adopt it as a result of advertisements and have to learn to make use of it by trial and error, because little or no information other than details of price and supply is offered by the media. However, some farmers do not follow the conditions laid down to sell their produce back to the factory alone. Instead they sell it to the market traders because it makes a very slightly higher profit (only 0.5 baht per kilogramme).

Because of the convenient contact with town the adoption of modern medicine among Ban Mon Khao Khew villagers

is the highest. The Chinese shopkeeper will decide what kind of medicine they should have. Otherwise, the villagers will simply ask for the brand of medicine that they remember from radio advertisements. I have witnessed evidence of this when I went to town with a group of five villagers aged 45-55 years old. Two elderly women of the group would like to buy a kind of balm. They could not recall the precise name or trade mark of the medicine, but they remembered the title of a well-known radio serial play sponsored by the company who sells this balm. Through this information, the shopkeeper and villagers understood each other, and the two Ban Lang women got the exact medicine they wanted.

There is a further source of contact with modern medicine. More often than before, the medicine salesman comes into the village; sometimes he comes alone on a motorbike; at other times he comes in a pickup; often he comes with his assistants in a lorry to show a film in the open air by the rice fields or in the temple grounds. However, even though most of the villagers are pleased with modern medicines following the instructions from the radio or other sources, many of them have not been successful, as table 6.3 shows. One reason for this failure is that they have not understood the directions when taking the medicine, or the medicine was for a different ailment than that which the patient described. Sometimes, the way villagers use medicine is positively dangerous because they lack knowledge and information. Some of them have inadvertently taken overdoses, and had to spend a few days in hospital. Others

become addicted to painkilling drugs, which they can obtain across the counter.

Because of the presence of electricity in Ban Mon Khao Khew another medium is beginning to emerge and to undermine the importance of radio; that is, television. There are only two sets in the village, one at the Buddhist temple, and another one at the headman's house. Villagers enjoy watching television, especially the one at the temple. On weekday evenings, at about 6.30 p.m., and on Saturday and Sunday mornings, the Buddhist abbot will arrange a public television show at the sala.

6.3.1 The Contact Farmer group

In rural villages there are selected groups of "contact farmers" who will help the Agricultural Department Office to demonstrate new farming techniques or new varieties of seeds. These groups have at various times, succeeded in persuading the villagers to follow educational programmes on both radio and television. Being centralized, the present Government of Thailand has to find a means to introduce development programmes into rural areas. Since the Government officials appointed from the central Government have themselves a limited opportunity to conduct successful development projects (Sharp, 1950; Embree 1950; Moore, 1974; and Donner, 1978), and the northern Thai peasants enjoy their local self-government (de Young, 1955, Moerman, 1968). The Thai Government has found a way to make use of the leadership of local elites in development programmes. The village leadership system is again reorganized and made officially a part of development projects as "contact farmer groups".

Apart from agriculture, these groups also assist in other development projects such as family planning and sanitation. This scheme was established about six years ago, but the first two years saw numerous teething problems because people, including the contact farmers and the provincial Government officials themselves, did not really understand the idea, therefore it did not work quite as efficiently as it should have done. However, after the first three years, when people had got accustomed to the idea and gradually accepted it, the scheme began to work more efficiently.

There are some qualities that tend to cause particular farmers to become members of the contact group. These qualities might be regarded as indicative of social differentiation within a village. They gain their status from the quantity of land they hold and the amount of wealth at their disposal, which makes it possible for them to own many consumer items, to rent out their surplus land and to lend money to other villagers (see chapter 3).

The purpose in selecting contact farmers is to use a group of respected, popular and generous individuals elected by the villagers, as a means of passing on new ideas, and other kinds of modern technology to the other villagers and thus supplementing the main sources of information and knowledge, radio, newspapers, and the Government officials themselves. These contact farmers will work together with the Government officials or specialists,

primarily in agricultural experiments. On the other hand, the social status of contact farmers is closely connected with the need to distinguish between innovations which anyone can adopt and innovations which are only available to the relatively wealthy, a point to which we will return. Such a group is set up as follows. The local official will call a meeting to explain the usefulness and potential value of the contact farmer scheme to all the villagers; he then asks the villagers to decide whether they wish to try out the new idea in the village, and encourages them to listen to radio broadcasts on the subject. After a while the headman will work on this project with the village committee, and at the same time the headman and the members of the village committee go to see the villagers in order to inform them further about contact farmers. After a few months there is another meeting, and the members of the contact farmers' group are elected. A few of them are members of the village committee as well.

Conclusion:

In brief, we can say that the radio has played a part in the lives of the people of Ban Mon Khao Khew. It has served as a means of entertainment, and the effect of radio advertisements in conjunction with other channels of communication especially contact with town and interpersonal exchanges can clearly be seen both in home and in agriculture. The side effects of half-understood innovations are also clear, with such things as drug addiction or overdoses among the villagers. In the field of economic development,

radio advertising has strongly motivated these rural people to take an interest in new inventions which might raise their income.

The new road seems to have had a considerable effect on people's lives. It changes their social and economic activities, and at the same time reduces the importance of radio as a source of information by providing alternatives; Government departments, factory officials and salesman coming into the village instead. Also villagers can now conveniently investigate new things directly in the city. Therefore, even though it has diminished the significance of radio, it has in the end encouraged the people of Ban Mon Khao Khew to adopt modern technology which now seems much more accessible than before.

6.4 A village with Good Road Communication but without Electricity : Ban Naa Dong

The events of the day in Ban Naa Dong run at a slow pace. However, the alert observer will note some changes in their way of life. Now most of the housewives in the village have given up using home-made soap. They prefer to use chemical washing powder, which they think gives a better lather and is more convenient than the old fashioned bars of soap. The menfolk have found that chemical fertilizers have boosted the yield of their crops.

Various factors have initiated these trends. The people of Ban Naa Dong do not travel into town as often as those of Ban Mon Khao Khew. Going into town is still a big affair for them. The people are mainly peasants.

Besides growing rice varieties which yield two crops in a year, the development of the irrigation system has enabled them to grow other cash crops during the summer or dry season because they have enough good water for farming the whole year round. They occupy themselves most of the time with agricultural activities, and they can thus retain characteristics their village has had for generations, as an agricultural community unlike the developing semi-industrial community of Ban Mon Khao Khew. These villagers, therefore, spend a lot of time in their village and among their kinsfolk. They regularly meet the contact farmer group members, who give them advice and demonstrations. Because the government offices in town can be reached by villagers quite conveniently by comparison with other villages in the same district, the villagers have benefited greatly in this way from the proximity of the Asia Route. Government officials and advisors come more frequently to Ban Naa Dong than to more remote villages like Ban Lang. In addition, the contact farmer group in Ban Naa Dong shows a high level of achievement. They started their work by experimenting with second crops, using various kinds of rice seeds including the newest varieties. The Provincial Agricultural Department, with the cooperation of the contact farmer group, selects the location for their experimental fields. The contact farmer group will also contribute their own labour and part of their own land. The Provincial Agricultural Department will contribute samples of the new varieties of rice seeds, fertilizer, insecticide, and the help of agricultural officials

to follow up and look after the progress of this farming experiment. Fortunately, in Ban Naa Dong, the first experiment of the second rice crops in the experimental field did not fail, even though it did not yield a very satisfactory crop. However after the next two experiments, it yielded a very good result and since that time most of the villagers in Ban Naa Dong have planted rice twice in a year. Moreover, some farmers who have a lot of land offer part of it for experimental plantings of corn, peanuts and other such crops. The contact farmers, since they are the villagers' friends and relatives, can spread new ideas to their fellows more easily than people from outside like the Government officials. Moreover, these contact farmer groups have often persuaded other villagers to follow up useful information for their farms from other sources, including radio. However, at a certain level, this policy has caused increased social differentiation in the village. Like the result of "the green revolution projects" (see Rogers, 1976; also Lerner and Schramm, 1967) the ones who benefit most from these projects are sometimes the richer farmers who have bigger scope for investment (see also the role of Ban Mon Khao Khew headman in Chapter 3). This means the gap between the rich and the poor has not been bridged.

Because the economic base of the traditional community of Ban Naa Dong continues to be agricultural, the role of women in the village is the same as it used to be. Their main work is domestic, and they help with specific farming jobs. There are quite separate areas of work

in the rice fields or elsewhere on the farm for each sex. Some anthropologists working in Thailand have stated that there is very little formal sexual division of labour in Thai social life (Sharp et al., 1953, 71-86; Kaufman, 1960; 1977, 12-37). In my view Sharp's statement does not hold for the villagers in Lampang province, who have a clear idea of which jobs are to be performed by members of each sex. When exceptions are made, they are remembered and commented upon. Thus, even though the road leading into Lampang city is good, most of the women in Ban Naa Dong spend most of their time within the village, among relatives and friends.

A very small number of them, who are market women, go into town, not every day, just once or twice a week. In their free time, women engage in ancient crafts like hand weaving. While they are listening to radio in the afternoon, they will be spinning cotton to make thread and then they will weave it by hand, mostly for household use. However, there is one important privilege for the housewife, who looks after the family full-time and also has to help her husband in the field; the wife holds the family purse strings. The popularity of various kinds of domestic innovation as shown in table 6.2 shows the influence of women in their society, and indicate that even though they stay at home and spend most of their life in their family, this does not prevent them from acquiring the things they hear about on radio if they believe they are of use. S. Hutson finds a similar phenomenon

in Valloire, France, where "women have tended to be the force behind innovation" (1973, 24). This is because in the domestic sphere women have the most to gain from modern comforts and conveniences.

Let us consider the Ban Naa Dong villagers' radio listening habits. First of all, let us consider the usual activities of the villagers. Because they do not have electricity in their village, their social activities, especially in the evening, have not changed significantly. Thus, their radio listening is quite constant, because there is no competition from television or anything to encourage them to go outside like the street-lamps of Ban Mon Khao Khew.

Secondly, the good road they have helps in buying and transporting modern goods that they hear about on radio to their community. Moreover, reinforcing the innovations to which radio has introduced them, are the agricultural officials, who can now come to the village to demonstrate new technology with very little difficulty. They come through many projects, as the Government has borrowed large sums from many international institutes such as the World Bank and the Bank of Asia for Agricultural Development (World Water, 1980: 17) in order to invest in and develop agriculture in Thailand. This means of diffusion of new technology in farming is effective, because the villagers of Ban Naa Dong prefer to follow a concrete example, that can be seen and touched and they enjoy person to person communication, which is much more accessible to them. When coupled with the support of the contact

farmer group in the village, radio programmes can work more effectively. We will see this from their reaction to the rice bank project (see Chapter 8).

Finally, the third reason why Ban Naa Dong villagers have become a developing community and at the same time found radio programmes useful is that facilities are available to the villagers in farming, especially the irrigation scheme which helps to make the ideas promulgated on radio feasible. Success here further motivates village farmers to follow up the knowledge which they have received from radio and apply it in other ways to their traditional occupations and way of life.

In brief, Ban Naa Dong is a remote rural village which is retaining its traditional agricultural character, even where it has adopted innovations from outside. This can be seen in both household roles and village political structure.

In some ways the nature of agricultural practice has been diversified; participation in the external market has increased, and consequently more modern consumer items are to be seen in households. For example, there are items which have been adopted firstly by the village leading households, and then spread to other villagers; washing powder, modern medicines, cosmetics, polyester blouses and shirts, toothpaste and toothbrush, modern lavatories (draining into a septic tank), pressurized tilley lamps with mantles, to name but a few. The former headman of Ban Naa Dong proudly showed me his two lamps. He explained that he had bought the older lamp in 1969 when no one

in the village had ever possessed one. His lamp had served almost every village ceremony for at least four years, especially when they had a shadow play, until such lamps became cheaper. Another example which illustrates this phenomenon is the introduction of the modern lavatory. An interview revealed that village grocer, who was also the coffee shop owner, was the first in the village to replace his crude toilet with a modern one. Soon after that the village committee agreed to build this new type of lavatory each at the temple and local school. However, in spite of the fact that modern consumer items both in agriculture and for the household have been introduced, the division of labour within the household retains its traditional outlines and the political structures of the village have not been radically altered. The village elites adjust by accepting innovative knowledge in order to retain the status which their wealth traditionally conferred. This phenomenon is illustrated by their activities out of the rice planting season. During the time of planting the dry season crop, rearing livestock, repairing the house, spinning and weaving cotton, the traditional division of labour among men and women may be seen. The features of this division of labour are typical of an agricultural society. The centrality of rice growing in the people's way of life has established certain fixed norms with regard to the work expected of a man or a woman and innovations have not altered the basic pattern. Men and women then have different kinds of job and roles to perform which are different from factory workers. Moreover, in the

light of the pattern of change evident at Ban Naa Dong, it cannot be asserted that by introducing modern technology for rural development, radio is inevitably spoiling the cultural traditions of the rural villages because Ban Naa Dong at least is one example of an unspoiled yet developing village.

6.5 A Village with Neither a Good Road nor Electricity:
Ban Lang

The people of Ban Lang listen to the radio very often, and radio is almost their only source of information from outside the village. By comparison with the other two villages, the number of Ban Lang people who have adopted modern technology is quite limited, in spite of the very high percentage who have heard about it on radio. When we compare the novelties they know about and what they have in fact adopted, we see a very big gap.

Among Ban Lang villagers, 65% are aware of the existence of the rice bank, but because the institution itself has not reached this village, none of them have any practical experience of it. Apart from the fact that it is financially inaccessible to them, geographical remoteness is a major obstruction for this village. By comparison with wealthier villages like Ban Naa Dong where village leaders can support the rice bank project financially, Ban Lang would need some initial Government investment for such a scheme to get off the ground. But since there is no convenient transport to this village, the Government officials seldom visit. The only thing Ban Lang villagers can do under such circumstances is to wait. Other examples are the

adoption of modern medicine and new vegetable species. 61% of all Ban Lang villagers have learnt of new vegetable species and 75% have heard about various kinds of modern medicine, but only 15% and 32% respectively adopt these two innovations. There are many reasons why the Ban Lang villagers are slow to adopt modern technology. The first and most obvious is the geographical location. This village is situated in a very remote area and has the air of a forgotten place. When this land was still fertile, and all the area was covered with trees, the villagers had enough water for their farms, the society was self-sufficient and they had none of their present problems. However, now they have been deprived of the very important natural resource, water, they cannot do much in agriculture, although they have heard a lot about modern agricultural technology. They grow rice just for household consumption, and sometimes they do not even have enough rice for the whole year round. They, therefore, earn their living from other natural resources such as bamboo and clay or from food they can findⁱⁿ the woods. Their poverty makes it difficult to set about exploiting the resources they have in an organised fashion, and the drying up of the stream means that they can no longer build a reservoir or dam to save water. Available innovations are inappropriate. They do not have the means to adopt them.

The second reason is that the village has poor communications with the outside world. There is a bad road, which discourages people from inside the village from leaving it and at the same time discourages visitors from coming to Ban Lang. As a result transportation of the products of the village to the market not only becomes difficult and takes a long time; the car or truck needed to transport cheap products such as garlic, bamboo baskets or pottery uses up more petrol than the products can pay for. When their wares reach the market they have to fetch impossibly high prices compared with the same products from other villages, with better or cheaper transport. Very occasionally, once or twice in a year, a lorry from town comes into Ban Lang village with goods such as fish sauce, factory-made clothes, cooking utensils made of aluminium, and some dried food. Before returning, if they have space in their lorry, they will buy local products to fill it since they do not want to leave empty space. Ban Lang villagers know the outside world mainly from radio. As long as Ban Lang does not have a good road, it seems very unlikely that they will be able to have facilities such as electricity or that a development project will be carried out in the area.

Finally, we can say that the people of Ban Lang acquire lots of information from radio about all kinds of things, but the location of the village and the lack of transport facilities widen the gap between awareness of and adoption of new technology. Radio has given them a mental image of all kinds of things. However, even though radio has

not helped the people of Ban Lang very much to improve their standard of living or their agricultural methods, it does provide some useful information related to their way of life. They know from radio the price of bamboo products, fruits and mushrooms etc. in the market in town, and the trader from town cannot lower the price or deceive them in order to take advantage on the assumption that they are ignorant and foolish. They have tried to apply some new ideas which they have heard about on radio, such as using nylon string for the bamboo baskets to make them stronger, dyeing the bamboo strips to make their bamboo wares more attractive, using chemical dyes, or trying to produce a better quality and design for the tourist market. The degree to which they have adopted new things is in general very low in relation to the amount they already know about them, for the reasons we have outlined.

Here, the circumstances of Ban Lang show us what radio can do at the most elementary level to create awareness of modern technology and innovation ideas towards development.

6.6 Radio, village leaders and "multi-step flow of ideas"

many studies of the spread of innovations assume that innovations may be freely adopted if they are available and well understood. Hence, many studies of the spread of innovations focus on the question of how information flows from the producers to the consumers. It is this theory that we will discuss here. We will argue that it is not always simply a lack of information which prevents the adoption of innovations. Some of the innovations we discuss

in this chapter are within the economic means of every villager. Others are only available to certain communities or to certain members of the communities. Clearly, to understand the acceptance of innovations we cannot simply consider how information about them reaches the villages.

Rogers and Svenning (1969), referring to Lazarsfeld and others (1944: 147-159), discuss the role leadership plays in a community, endowing certain individuals with the ability to influence other peoples' behaviour in a desired way. Such individuals are often sought for information and advice on specific topics where others see them as experts. These individuals may be in formal leadership positions, but their influence is exerted informally through the interpersonal channel of communication networks. Hence, the crucial elements in the diffusion of new ideas are:

"1. the innovation, 2. which is communicated through certain channels, 3. overtime, 4. among the members of a social system" (1969: 124-241).

Deriving from this, the term "opinion leader" or "innovator" used by other social anthropologists (for example Layton, 1973) is often applied to these individuals who lead in influencing others' opinions in informal ways. It contrasts with formal leadership, which is exercised by virtue of the formal office an individual holds. Rogers and Svenning define "opinion leadership" as the degree to which an individual is able to influence the attitudes or behaviour of others without recourse to formal sanctions,

and with relative frequency. In this study, I use the term opinion leader to refer to those individual villagers who play a role in diffusing innovative ideas and information whether the new ideas are in agriculture, economy, domestic affairs, politics or other fields.

6.6.1 Models of communication flows of innovative ideas.

In order to understand better the nature of opinion leaders in diffusion, I would like first to discuss several models of information flow. There are 4 principal models (see Lazarsfeld and others, 1944; Lazarsfeld and Field, 1946; Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955; Rogers and Svenning, 1969; Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971; Rogers, 1976): A. "hypodermic needle" model, B. two-step flow model, C. one-step flow model, and D. multi-step flow model.

A. The "hypodermic needle" model is based upon the hypothesis that the mass media had direct, immediate, and powerful effects on a mass audience within which interpersonal relationships are only loosely formed. This model argues that the messages carried by media have direct effects on an audience. The mass media are conceived as an all-powerful influence on human behaviour. The omnipotent media are pictured as sending forth messages to atomized masses waiting to receive them, with nothing intervening (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955, 16). This model is most closely realized in an urban community.

B. The two-step flow model helps to focus attention upon the relationship between mass media and the interpersonal channel. The two-step flow model views the mass as made

up of interacting individuals. It implies that mass media are not so powerful nor so direct as was once thought. A peasant may be exposed to a new idea either through mass media or interpersonal channels. He then engages in communication with his peers. Developing this idea, Rogers argues that in most flows of information through mass media there is likely to be a flow of messages from a source to a primary receiver, who in turn reacts to the message and passes it on to other individuals (1962 : 311-313). When we consider the functional role of the contact farmer group, we see that these traditional leaders exemplify the "two-step flow model". However, Rogers (1976) and Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) argue that the two-step flow theory was proposed at a period when the concept of a passive audience was widely accepted in communication research (see Lazarsfeld and others, 1944; also Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955). Since the 1940's further research on the diffusion of innovations has increased our understanding. In brief, there are six limitations to the two-step flow model:

1. The two-step model implied that individuals active in seeking information were opinion leaders and that the remainder of the mass audience were passive. The activity of opinion leaders was thought to be the principle force initiating the flow of information. A more accurate model would probably show that opinion leaders can be either active or passive (c.f. the opinion leaders in French Jura Layton, 1973a,b), that they seek receivers, are actively sought by them, and that opinion leaders often play both

active and passive roles in most communication situations, sometimes actively seeking information and at other times passively receiving it (Rogers and Svenning, 1969, 222).

2. The view that the mass communication process consists essentially of two steps limits analysis of the process. The mass communication process may involve more or fewer than two steps. In some instances there may be only one step; that is, the mass media may have direct impact on a receiver. In other instances the impetus of the mass media may lead to a multi-stage communication process.

3. The two-step flow model implies a reliance by opinion leaders on mass media channels as their primary source of information. In less developed countries, village leaders may use other channels like personal trips to town, or conversation with shopkeeper or salesmen, which can be their initiating force. The specific channels utilized by opinion leaders depend on such considerations as the nature of the message, its origin, and the location of the opinion leaders in the social structure. The case of Ban Mon Khao Khew described above illustrates this, and will be discussed below in more detail.

4. The two-step model did not take into consideration the relative significance of different channels for early and late recipients of an innovation. Those who learn of, and adopt relatively early utilize mass media channels much more than those who learn and adopt later. Earlier knowers must necessarily depend upon mass media channels because at that time few of their peers in the system

are knowledgeable about the innovation (this crucial point will be discussed in section about "awareness: precondition to development" in this chapter, p.348-352). Interpersonal channels could, therefore, hardly function as very important creators of knowledge for the earlier knowers (Schramm, 1964, 7-11).

5. Different communication channels function at different stages in the receiver's innovation-decision process. The original two-step flow model did not recognize the role of different communication channels at varying stages of innovation-decision for any individual (Van Den Ben, 1964). Rogers and Shoemaker show that individuals pass from 1. awareness-knowledge of an innovation, 2. to persuasion of a favourable or unfavourable attitude toward the innovation, 3. to decision to adopt or reject, and 4. to confirmation of this decision (1971, 100-132). Mass media channels, here radio, are primarily knowledge creators, and as relevant to the discussion at the beginning of this chapter, whereas interpersonal channels are more important in discussing and persuading, that is, forming and changing attitudes. This notion was masked in the two-step model because the time sequence involved in decision-making is ignored. Such channel difference at the knowledge versus persuasion stage exist for both opinion leaders and followers. Thus, it is not only the opinion leaders who use mass media channels, as the statement of the two-step flow model seemed to suggest.

6. An absolute dichotomy between opinion leaders and followers was implied by the two-step flow model. In fact, opinion leadership is a continuous variable, especially in a community where "the tradition of imitation" is practised (see Barnett, 1953, 46-64).

The reassessment of the two-step flow model by Rogers (1976) and Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) shows us that the flow of communication in a mass audience is far more complicated than two steps. Nevertheless, they present two intellectual benefits from the two-step flow hypothesis: (i) a focus upon opinion leadership in mass communication flows, and (ii) derivations of the two-step flow, such as "the one-step" and "multi-step flow".

C. The one-step flow model states that mass media channels communicate directly to the mass audience, without the message passing through opinion leaders. The message does not equally reach all receivers, nor does it have the same effect on each (Troidahl, 1967). The one-step flow model probably results from a refinement of the hypodermic needle model discussed earlier. But the one-step model recognizes: 1. The media are not all powerful; 2. the screening aspects of selective exposure, perception, and retention affect message impact; and 3. differing effects occur in various members of the receiving audience. Further, it allows for direct effects of communication emanating from mass media channels. The one-step flow model most accurately describes the flow of messages to a mass audience when the saliency of the message is either

extremely high or perhaps very low. Greenberge states that "Initial mass media information on important events goes directly to people on the whole ..." (1964; 12).

Evidently, news events such as the astronauts landing on the moon, the Indo-China war, or the first ploughing ceremony attended by the King in Bangkok reach the rural northern Thai villages as a mass audience on the whole.

D. The multi-step flow model incorporates all of the other models. The multi-step flow model is based upon a sequential relaying function that seems to occur in most communications situations (Rogers, 1976). "It does not call for any particular number of steps nor does it specify that the message must emanate from a source by mass media channels" (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971; 209). This model suggests that there are a variable number of relays in the communication flow from a source to a large audience. Some members will obtain the message directly through channels from the source, while others may be several times removed from the message origin. The exact number of steps in this process depends on the intent of the source, the availability of mass media and the extent of audience exposure, the nature of the message, and salience of the message to the receiving audience. In rural northern Thailand, the diffusion of innovation can be seen to operate through the multi-step flow of information.

6.6.2 Radio listening, innovation adoption and social transformation

Villagers do not realize precisely how modern technology has entered their lives, how they first got to know about it nor what the effect might be if they adopted all these new things into their village society. They just think that all these new things are part of progress.

They will help them to have more rice, they are more convenient to use than the practices they used to have, and perhaps this is the culture of the future. However, from what is evident within the three villages of my study, there are four basic features which limit universal acceptance of innovations. They are: 1. Socio-economic status, 2. village etiquette, 3. accessibility of the community, and 4. knowledge of how to apply the technique.

6.6.2.1. Socio-economic status

When we consider the characteristics of the innovations with which the villagers have contact, we can divide them into three categories. These are; the use of small items of modern manufacture, farm machinery, and the improvement of farming methods. We have discussed the use of small individual items in each village already. In the case of farming machinery, small implements such as sprayers which are within the financial reach of the farmers are widely adopted in Ban Mon Khao Khew. But for the bigger machines like hand-tractors or motor pumps, there are major problems which deter villagers from acquiring them. The stimulus provided by radio on its own is not enough

to produce widespread use of new technology, particularly farm machinery. The main problem which prevents the people of Ban Mon Khao Khew from possessing farm machinery is its high price. From table 6.3 we can see that this problem is paramount in all three villages. It is true that other factors besides low income hinder the adoption of large items of agricultural machinery. These have to do with traditional order in society, and the Government administrative system. However, first, let us consider their income and the price of farming machinery. When we compare the price of a hand-tractor (5,000-6,000 baht) or a motor-pump (around 4,500 baht) with the farmers' average annual income in the year 1979 taken over all three villages (8,070 baht), it is clear that such items are beyond the means of all but the most wealthy. Distribution of income among these people is not even. The majority of farmers are poor, and few have much money saved.

6.6.2.1.1. Investment and bank-loan. The Thai Government invited several commercial Banks in Thailand, such as The Bangkok Bank, The Commercial Thai Bank and others, to provide a sum of money to fund loans to farmers. Money borrowed from this fund has to be paid back within five years. Northern Thai peasants have made use of this opportunity, and used the money to invest in their secondary income-source, for example, a sewing machine or a small herd of pigs may be purchased, or improvements may be made on the farm. Those rural

northern Thai peasants who have adopted no agricultural innovations need little money to spend on their rice cultivation. Money will be spent on rice seed or very basic farming implements or animals. Most peasants of the three villages cannot afford a large investment in expensive machinery, and in fact many of them (105 households) are already in debt as discussed in Chapter 2. The maximum legal interest rate is 15%, but private loans carry much higher rates. One old woman in Ban Mon Khao Khew I met has two young grand children to look after because their parents died in a car accident. She borrowed five hundred baht (about 12 pounds) from the mill owner. She has to pay fifty baht a month for the interest alone. The interest is more than one hundred per cent, and sometimes loans involving payment in kind may run as high as 60% to 120%.

21 Households within the three villages have taken out loans from the Cooperative Bank for Farmers or the commercial banks following information broadcast on radio and then personal contact with their local farmer cooperative group. They are expected to pay the money back, with 10.5% rate of interest, in five years or more, depending on the size of the sum. The size of the loan will be, according to the regulation of the commercial banks, within one fifth (20%) of their annual income. Usually, the sum will be between 1,200 to 1,500 baht (the range is from 700 - 5,500 baht). One condition attached to this kind of loan is that the borrower has to be a member of a farmers bank loan cooperative and the cooperative must guarantee

this person. Borrowers can use this money to buy sewing machines or implements for cottage industries such as wood carving or pottery or livestock. But as we see the loan is not high enough to buy large items of farm machinery. There is also a fear of risking money on a machine of which they have little knowledge. - When it breaks down they do not know how to repair it, and there is no local garage where it might be repaired (contrast Layton, 1973). Hence, they prefer to invest the loan on something they are confident will be remunerative.

Only a very few wealthy farmers have the confidence to buy farm machines if they have some contact with town to make sure that when the machine breaks down they would be able to get someone to come to repair it.

6.6.2.1.2. The hand-tractor owner of Ban Naa Dong. Among the three villages in which I carried out my field-work, there is only one village, Ban Naa Dong, which has a hand-tractor available within the village; the other two have to hire such a tractor from neighbouring villages. The hand-tractor of Ban Naa Dong is owned by the son-in-law of the mill owner, who is a member of the village committee. The hand tractor owner told me that he had first got to know of this machine from a radio advertisement. He had heard about it almost a year before he saw the real thing. It took him another two years to save up the necessary money and then eventually to decide upon buying it. The most attractive quality of this machine is its price. It costs no more than a

a medium sized motor cycle. However, even though this man was the son-in-law of the mill owner, it took him two years to save up enough money to buy it.

In Ban Mon Khao Khew, where no-one has a hand tractor, the hand-tractor owner from a neighbouring village will come to see people whom he knows before the ploughing time starts in order to hire out the machine and the labourer to use it. It costs about 40 baht (one pound) per rai (0.4 acre), as I will discuss more fully later (p.334), social convention determines this form of petty entrepreneurship and renders collective ownership impossible.

When we consider table 6.1, it becomes clear that about half of the villagers receive information about tractors and modern farming machinery from listening to the radio. However, my informants talk about these new ideas and novelties with their friends and neighbours as well. Such discussions among the farmers and the way they receive information from external sources promote the decision to buy the machines. Here, the multi-step flow of ideas is at work. Although the direct exchange of ideas in a social setting accounts for most of this trend towards innovation, it is still noteworthy that their initial awareness is motivated by radio (compare the Columbian village described in Rogers and Svenning, 1969; also see Lerner and Schramm, 1969). Moreover, when I interviewed them, all the shopkeepers and managers of the farm machinery shops in Lampang City were in agreement in considering it really worthwhile to advertise their

goods on radio, because most of their customers mention which goods they have heard about on the radio, and that source of information leads the villagers to their shops.

6.6.2.1.3 Correlation between wealth and innovation adoption. There is a significant link between farm size and the adoption of modern agricultural techniques. It should be noted in this connection that owning a large farm and being an important and respected figure in the local community are things which go together. Thus not only will one of these big land owners be able to afford new machinery, but also by virtue of this status in the village, he will be the obvious person to make such an innovation.

To understand the process of innovation adoption and social transformation of rural society we may cite firstly D. Bordenave, who studied the Timbanba of South America in 1965, and who states that:

"The illusion that the farmer is an individual who has access to information and makes his own decisions is gone. Today, we are aware that the farmers are dependent upon decisions made for them by international force ..." (Bordenave 1977 : 47).

By this, he means that the socio-economic structure has a considerable effect on the farmers' adoption or rejection of innovations. Bordenave states that individual considerations (like status, prestige, seniority etc.) are of little importance relative to economic considerations when it comes to the adoption of an innovation. National

and international economic structures dictate what a farmer does to improve his income much more than any personal wishes or interests. Whether the adoption of an innovation is good or bad depends on its effectiveness or otherwise in furthering the emancipation of oppressed farmers of South America.

This political analysis contrasts with the view of the processes by which innovations are adopted which is to be found in writers such as Pye (1963), Rogers (1962; 1976) and Layton (1973 a,b).

Pye elaborates a theory of the process of transition in a society which is adopting innovations by linking it with the flow of information. He says that the significant characteristic of the communication process in traditional societies was that it was not organized as a distinct system sharply differentiated from other social processes. Traditional systems lacked professional communicators, and those who participated in the process did so on the basis of their social or political position in the community or merely according to their personal relationships. Pye states that usually information flows along the lines of the social hierarchy or according to the particularistic patterns of social relations in each community. Thus the flow of information in traditional societies was not independent of the ordering of social relationships (1963: 24-25). In the same direction, Rolling and his co-author (1976), Rogers (1963), Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) point out that in rural societies the roles of community leaders

are the key to the study of their social transition and adoption of innovations.

Layton's examination of the relationship between the "village innovators" and other "potential acceptors" suggests that although there are other sources of information about innovations in a small rural community, it is the "innovators" who will have the most significant influence in persuading other villagers to adopt them. Whatever the incentive for them to adopt innovations; a sense that existing ways are now unnecessarily laborious, ambitious progression towards larger and more specialized exploitation (1973 : 504) or prestige, individual farmers will introduce innovations into their community. From this process of interaction Layton draws a picture of the innovator as he appears in the eyes of the traditional elements or to the more progressive members of the community. The innovator is the one who is well-informed and has better contact with sources of information outside the community; he will be a person whose experience helps other farmers to reach their decision to adopt an innovation (1973 : 52, 72).

When we compare the role of the contact farmers of rural northern Thai village with those of the French Jura, there is good parallel. The contact farmers of Ban Naa Dong have the same function within their community as the "innovators" or "opinion leaders" whom Layton found among the farmers of Pellaport. Although their status was less formally defined than that of the Thai contact

farmers their influence was considerable and he cites the case of one who bought a tractor with a petrol engine and was followed by all other tractor buyers of the village, who bought similar models. No-one deviated from the pattern until sometime later another influential opinion leader purchased one with a diesel engine which was cheaper to run. In similar fashion his lead was followed without exception by the farmers as they replaced their tractors (1973 : 56-58). In the Thai case however, the parallel only holds good when everyone possesses the ability to afford novelties.

Nevertheless, this picture helps us to understand the role of the northern Thai "opinion leaders". In J.M. Mosel's summary of transitional processes in rural Thai society, the social order is characterized mainly by a hierarchial status system in which it is possible to distinguish between almost any two persons a superior-subordinate relationship. Social transactions occur "when subordinates can 'lean' on superiors for benefits and resources which are reciprocated in terms of service and fellowship" (1967 : 187).

The case of the Ban Naa Dong mill owner affords a good example. From the proceeds of his mill and of his large farm, he can afford a motor cycle, a small Toyota lorry, a radio, and a sewing machine. In order to sell the rice which he has milled, he travels into town nearly every week, and because of this he has more opportunity to encounter modern technology than the other villagers.

He always has stories to tell his friends and neighbours about the goings on in town, the new things he has seen, the colour television set in the rice exporter's house etc. Not only the mill owner himself, but also his family are all familiar with new domestic equipment such as sewing machines. His wife can earn extra income with her sewing machine by making blouses or sarongs, the traditional skirts worn by many of the village women, and of course, his son-in-law who works his land, and in due course will inherit it, owns a hand-tractor.

Another prominent individual who has a large farm is the headman of Ban Naa Dong, who has purchased a motor pump. He told me that because of the large amount of land which he owns, he is unable to follow the traditional way of irrigation by using a bamboo tripod and scoop to flood his fields with water from the irrigation canals. He does employ labourers on his farm, but the watering season is so short that they cannot get the necessary work done in time. In the case of water pumps, radio advertising is as effective in arousing interest as it was for the tractors.

There is a clear correlation between the amount of land owned by a household and the desire for modern equipment to reduce the use of man-power. The headman who owns the water pumps has more than 30 rai (12 acres) of land, and the same pattern applies to hand-tractor owners as well. These examples suggest that only the rich villagers can adopt these types of expensive innovations, especially farming machinery. This, therefore, increases social

differentiation. These two cases of innovation ownership do not only exemplify the social differentiation between the rich and the poor within the same village, but also the differentiation taking place between villages whose standard of living has been improved and the remote villages which have been left far behind like Ban Lang.

There are a number of reasons why the farmers who own large farms accept or adopt new methods. One reason is that these groups are not subsistence farmers, and a large proportion of their time is taken up in marketing their surplus produce. They therefore employ labourers and are also able to afford modern equipment. The use of manual power continues, because certain items of agricultural equipment are beyond their means, and because no machine has been devised to carry out some jobs (like transplanting young rice seedlings from the nursery plots to the paddy field). Another incentive for owning modern farming machines is that the owner can earn extra money by offering his services to farmers who do not have tractors or motor pumps. In addition they can use the motor pump and hand tractor to do other jobs such as fish-farming, and grinding the rice to make rice flour, during the time when they are not needed in the fields.

Among poor farmers with a small acreage, the irrigation of their land is irregular and uncertain. They have to wait for rain, or water from the Royal irrigation System. Sometimes they have to use the water from the well in the middle of the field, a most laborious and time-consuming job, but for someone who has a motor pump, obtaining water from the well is swift and easy.

The other reason for the rich farmer to have modern implements is to enhance the respect and favour they gain from their neighbours and friends, because occasionally, when the villagers want to cooperate in some communal undertaking which is in the general interest or is an act of charity, the machine owner will gain in prestige. An example of this can be seen when the local school would like to store drinking water in their tanks, or the local Buddhist temple needs drinking water to be stored in tanks during the dry season after they have finished using the rain water, then the headman, who owns the motor pump, will use his own machine for this public purpose. It helps to increase his store of merit. The owners of modern equipment, therefore, are from the group of farmers who have large farms and are respected and powerful figures in the community. They tend to listen to the radio more as well. Often they pass on to others the new ideas they have picked up from listening to the radio, and at the same time they are a source of practical ideas from the experience which they themselves have gained from using modern equipment.

The ownership of new equipment can itself increase their social standing relative to other villagers.

From the discussion above, I would like to conclude that within the process of innovation adoption there are two different types of novelties, those which are within the average villagers' financial reach, and those which are not. In general, villagers can purchase the small items for their domestic or agricultural use. But

only wealthy peasants can acquire expensive innovations to increase their wealth and enhance their prestige. For such an expensive item, acceptance stops because other villagers could not afford it. Nevertheless, there are small items of novelties which the village leaders adopt first and then subsequently will flow on from this group.

6.6.2.2 Village etiquette. Among the rural northern Thai, there are expectations concerning the behaviour to be displayed by the incumbent of a social status. The degree of role clarity that exists is largely due to the respect and dependency prescription of such relationships between "leaders" and "followers". This has, to a certain degree, affected the flow of ideas and adoption of innovations, placing a premium on wariness and concern for the motives of others. Also, although there is a clear concept of the role appropriate to occupants of a particular status this status is not simply theirs by birth or seniority or caste as in Indian society. Rather, the ambitious may rise in the world and the ineffectual lose their prestige. Thus retention or achievement of prestige is an incentive for village leaders, whether established or aspiring, to inform themselves about technology or adopt innovations.

Observation suggests that in the three villages leadership status often comes with wealth, political power, or educational achievement. When radio introduces modern

technology, being better informed and in possession of innovations or knowledge about innovations leads in itself to higher status. Where financial means are available the process of modernization thus increases the potential for upward mobility and the pressure upon the traditional elites to justify and maintain their own position. It may be said that the structure of Thai social roles has to a degree, facilitated the transitional process by virtue of the elements of flexibility and mobility within the social organization, absence of which would have meant resistance to change on the part of an entrenched and conservative group of elites, the kind of pattern of defensiveness of the traditional order which Leach (1964 : 152, 159-172) and Lerner (1958 : 141-167) found in the north of Burma and the Middle East respectively.

6.6.2.2.1 The tradition of imitation and non-imitation. To define the issue in sociological terms we may say that in comparison with other more rigid social systems, the Thai social system is free of "the tradition of non-imitation" (Barnett, 1953 : 51-76). The terms "the tradition of imitation" and "the tradition of non-imitation" used by Barnett are among the most interesting in his analysis of the adoption of innovations in a society. Barnett illustrates the obstacles to this process in the rural societies in Guatemala and Micronesia, where the social system is very rigid, and the tradition of non-imitation dominant. The adoption of innovations

proceeds at a slow speed because no-one may "imitate" the ways of his superiors. Thus, competition and change of status are rare. Turning to consider an imitative structure, Barnett points out that "...competition for prestige can produce a wide range of novelties..." (1953 : 76). Besides the achievement or retention of status, he advances the desire to be imitated as another incentive for leaders (or innovators or opinion leaders). This reward is sufficient for some innovators, because their demand for ego satisfaction assumes the need to lead and influence others (1953 : 103).

Competition has given direction to the effort behind modern technological developments. Innovative efforts under this impetus naturally depend upon current and acceptable values relative to prestige credit. Competitive relations can be considered both within and between villages. This can be seen in many communities where the tradition of imitation is exercised such as the Tolai of New Britain

(Epstein, T.S., 1968, Epstein, A.L., 1969). Among the Tolai, the tradition of imitation is related to competition at both levels: within and between villages. As in many others, wealth is the symbol of, and the essential qualification for, social prominence and, to a large extent, political power. Discussing how a Tolai maintains his status, T.S. Epstein states that "accumulation of tambu (shell-money) remained a matter of prestige, but foreign goods also became status symbols" (1968 : 41). This is a result of European contact. Western goods, especially

European clothes, become a symbol of status; the tradition of imitation and competitive relations helps to diffuse innovation. An even clearer picture of the tradition of imitation related to competition among the Tolai emerges from truck ownership. Apart from building a better house, sending their children to school etc., in order to upgrade their status the young Tolai men try to own trucks.

The ownership of vehicles was not simply an economic enterprise. Nonetheless, presumably, because of being based upon the tradition of imitation, "their political ambitions were only of a rebellious nature and did not aim at revolutionising the social structure" (1968 : 47). Consequently, economic enterprise through novelties has been adopted into the pattern of Tolai society (1968 : 40-52). Furthermore, in consideration of competitive relations between villages, the Matupit (Epstein, A.L., 1969) "having quickly adopted certain patterns of behaviour from Europeans, 'made a better impression' than many of their fellow Tolai" (1969 : 37). A.L. Epstein argues that Matupi are proud of being ^{the} in/vanguard. Because of this the ownership of novelties helps to confer prestige and power in Matupi social system (1969 : 82-87). Among the Matupit, the introduction of a council system produces new concepts of power and authority. It is not merely the extent to which councils have modified the character of political competition; councils also provide an effective forum for the discussion of matters of upgrading social status within the area. This both provides the chance for young men to become members of

the council and creates competition among villagers. As involvement with the wider society has intensified; so has competition between villages (1969 : 304-308). In this context, to adopt innovations such as a modern house, a motor vehicle, education, a Western diet helps to strengthen the status differential among the Matupi themselves and with other groups. Hence the tradition of imitation turned early exposure to Western influence into a source of prestige for the Matupi.

In northern Thailand, both official leaders like the headman, and unofficial village leaders such as the mill owner, grocer, traditional chanter and the medium, whom we will discuss in Chapter 7 and 8, are good examples in the setting of a northern Thai community of a tendency towards innovativeness in an attempt to gain or retain status and also of the desire to be imitated; factors which may speed up the general rate of the adoption of technological novelties in the whole community. Such factors have also made it possible for the transitional process to preserve cultural continuity. When existing roles are flexible and permissively defined, new functions and behavioural elements can be incorporated without violating the essential identity of the role. Thus little social organization has to be broken to accommodate certain types of modernization. For some small novelties such as domestic items which most villagers can afford and are available for them, this is evidently true. However, there are expensive innovations described above which only few wealthy villagers are capable to possess, which may only lead

to increased social differentiation.

It is, however, traditional for villagers not to borrow or use expensive things belonging to someone senior or superior in social status. Although people who own large farms are often very generous, few small farmers are willing to risk losing face by appearing to be in need.

6.6.2.2.2. Role of ranks in innovation adoption. One could say that because of their religious and political background, the Thai people are conservative in the area of traditional social values such as respect for seniority, local leaders and the monarchy. Most villagers of lower rank have to put themselves into the position of followers rather than leaders. They have to wait until they have built up enough wealth and followers. This is evident, especially the younger ones (see example of individual case in Chapter 7), who feel that they are not old enough to play a leading role in the community. (This is a point of conflict for intelligent young people who, if they dare to make innovations in traditional methods, are frequently censured as rash and disrespectful). The installation, for example, of a new piece of machinery is a complex matter of social etiquette within a village. Even if a man has heard about some new agricultural gadget and is able to afford it, he will hesitate for a long time before buying it for fear, not only of financial loss, but also of appearing presumptuous

within the community. He will wait until the leading figures in the village start to use the same piece of equipment; if they are successful, he will feel free to follow them.

Because of the fact that the notable members of the society adopt the innovation first, other people in the villages will feel unable to borrow or try out the machine. They will of course, tend to follow the example of the innovator by acquiring a similar implement for themselves but meanwhile a deep-rooted sense of the social proprieties prevents them from borrowing the actual machine. Only when the owner offers to perform the service for extra income, will other villagers willingly accept the offer. However, the owner will be the person who uses the machine. Therefore, the hirer will have to pay for both the machine and the labour. Thus any way round the sharing of machines is fraught with social difficulties.

In brief, the northern Thai social ranks to some extent promote the flow of innovations. But on the other hand, this social system prevents subordinates from adopting novelties before their superiors. This social rank system also reduces the possibility of sharing ownership of the innovation. Moreover, it enhances the role of the opinion leaders by clearly identifying certain individuals as those whose opinion is worthy of respect and emulation.

6.6.2.3. Accessibility of communities. The geographical remoteness of a rural village like Ban Lang is another crucial factor related to innovation adoption.

Within the rural northern Thai area, the Government administrative office which holds the centralized authority cannot grant equal aid to remote rural villages. There are trucks and tractors which come from F.A.O. and the World Bank for agricultural development projects in the middle region provinces around Bangkok and in the big towns or provincial cities, but they hardly come to remote village like Ban Lang. People in such remote villages know about these projects, largely from radio, but do not share in them. In addition, these expensive items of equipment have not been fully used since the price of petrol rose sharply in the late seventies, and the Government had not taken account of this factor in its budget. Many trucks and tractors are just parked at the district office.

Turning now to consider the behaviour of the other two villages in innovation adoption and improvement of farming techniques, I would like to note that from the earlier brief description of the adoption of new ideas to improve farm products in Ban Mon Khao Khew and in Ban Naa Dong, there is evidence that many development programmes such as the second rice crop, the introduction of cash crops for the factory, chicken or pig farms have been accepted largely and are successful. However, table 6.3 shows that there are still some problems for new

farming improvement projects. Most of the farmers said they had heard a lot about new occupations on the radio, but that there were problems which prevented them from putting the new ideas into practice. The reason was that there is not support for such projects in the village (column 6 , Table 6.3) and some novelties are not supplied at the local market (column 4, Table 6.3). In addition, they are unskilled in these new activities (column 5, Table 6.3) and it takes some time to make contact with town and to learn about them and to acquire the necessary expertise. They have, in any case, very little free time and while they are learning, they have to maintain the present job on which they depend for a living.

Therefore, even though they would like very much to follow up these suggestions from the radio, they have not the financial security to risk neglecting their traditional occupations in order to experiment with innovations.

6.6.2.4. Education in Western technique.

In rural northern Thailand, the introduction of Western knowledge through various agents of change has brought with it both optimistic and pessimistic opinion among villagers when it interacts with certain traditional belief or practice.

6.6.2.4.1. Radio has introduced modern Western knowledge. Many agricultural, educational, or even domestic programmes utilize the terms of Western

measurement. Villagers who follow the agricultural programmes about using fertilizer must follow the method of application step by step very closely. The Ban Mon Khao Khew and Ban Naa Dong villagers who adopted fertilizer illustrate this phenomenon. They have to learn how to use exact quantities and measurements first. Then they have to follow the directions very closely at each step in order to achieve the expected result, by mixing the fertilizer with soil and sprinkling the mixture around the plants and watering within a certain limit of time. This is different from the traditional way. In earlier times when they put the home-made natural fertilizer onto their plants, if they put more or sometimes less fertilizer, they would assume that it did not matter. But when they use the new methods which they hear about on the radio they can no longer shrug off as unimportant such factors as correct measurements and quantities. Thus, radio is inculcating new methods in daily life as well as modern technology. Apparently, the villagers realize quite well what will happen if they do not follow scientific methods when they use modern tools, particularly after they have had some unfortunate experiences, because now it really "matters" to do things precisely according to instructions.

6.6.2 .4.2. Radio and the development agents. In 1973, Frederick J. Baker studied the role of the radio station in the north-east of Thailand in relation to community development in that area. He found that

" This station has become the most listened to and, hopefully, most effective in north-east Thailand. This input leads one to believe that good community development programming, done by people who care, could lead to village betterment due to the popularity of this unique radio station" (Baker, 1973 : 91).

Baker's findings are mostly based on the study of villages with many activities which have received Government aid. The data which he received come mainly from villages with such facilities as roads, electricity, irrigation systems, and Government offices. He has not concerned himself with villages where these facilities have still not penetrated. In another instance, the results that he reports follow from the work of the Government official in the Department of Community Development, and thus do not derive from the broadcasts by the radio station. All the development projects aimed at providing alternative ways of living in Baker's study had been carried out by the Government officials with labour supplied by villagers. Since his findings rely so heavily on such factors they cannot apply in any way to such villages as Ban Lang, which has no modern facilities and which Government officials seldom visit.

Nevertheless, the data I have presented in this chapter shows the potential that radio has to suggest alternative ways of making a living. Villagers have shown a degree of interest in both agriculture technology and new domestic ideas which they hear about on the radio. Despite their

geographical and other differences, the three villages show little variation in the degree of openness to such new ideas. The problem is just that they do not often find a favourable situation in which to get started (Whiting, 1976 : 99-121). Edward VanRoy (1971) has pointed out that the possibility of economic development in Northern Thai villages varies a lot according to factors which support and clarify Whiting's interpretation. Villagers need help other than that provided by radio broadcasting to achieve practical development. In order to demonstrate this principle, I would like to mention the rapid adoption of the rice bank project as a result of radio listening in Ban Naa Dong. Before these villagers adopted the rice bank, they had heard about and been indirectly in contact with this idea for about two years, since the time when it first started and was diffused by radio broadcasting, and they were very interested in this project. At that time there was no support from the Government to establish such a project in Ban Naa Dong, but in 1977, just two years before I went there for my fieldwork, they did succeed in obtaining both specialist and financial help from the Government. They started the project in their village and within only a year they were already reaping very good results. Now Ban Naa Dong is adduced throughout the region as an outstanding example of the success of the rice bank project. From this example we can see that even though at the initial stage the villagers may not be able to afford an innovation or are otherwise practically hindered from adopting it, they often possess the idea

already and are quite ready to accept the modern technology, and then when they have opportunity to do so, economic development will occur rapidly.

6.6.2.4.3. Innovative awareness : the pre-requisite to development. One can say that whenever people are already familiar with the concept of an innovation, development has started, even if as yet only at the level of attitudes and assumptions.

This is described by Barnett who states that the process of innovation in traditional rural areas starts psychologically. He argues "Fundamental to this point of view is the assumption that any innovation is made up of pre-existing components; and secondly, the new combinations are entirely the products of mental activity" (Barnett, 1953 : 162-195). From his study of the varying effects of innovations in six main culturally different groups : Europeans, three western American Indian tribes, the Palauans of Micronesia and a religious group, the Shakers, Barnett concludes that describing the social transformations arising from contact with innovations is well enough, but is only a statement of results and does not explain or define the process. The communities he studied show different degrees and directions of development but Barnett found similar psychological events underlying each. He describes "the innovative union of ideas ... a complex commingling of perception, cognition, recall and affect" (1953 : 181). His work suggests the importance of education, preparation, and a sense of awareness among people before they actually adopt innovations. Another

two scholars who show the importance of psychological preparation are D. Lerner (1958) and W. Schramm (1954; 1964). From his study of Middle East communities, Lerner, referring to Schramm's theory of the three roles of mass media, the watchman, policy and teacher role, concludes that the dynamics of social development require that before villagers have direct contact with urbanization, literacy, industrialization, and participate in transforming society, they need radio, "the device that can spread the requisite knowledge and attitude of social mobility and change" (Lerner, 1958: 54). Several other writers make a similar point. Layton (1973a, b), discussing Roger's theory of the process of acceptance, which is divided into five steps : awareness, interest, evaluation, trial and adoption, states that in Pellaport "actors operate within a situation in which they are constantly aware of the need to modify their agricultural techniques, and constantly presented with means by which this might be achieved" (1973 : 71). It emerges that basic to the process of innovation are two stimuli , a sense that change is necessary and desirable and contact with the innovation itself. E.M. Rogers and F.F. Shoemaker's summary of the typical features of an "early knower" of an innovation indicates the importance of their exposure to the sources of these stimuli.

- "1. Earlier knowers of an innovation have more education than later knowers.
2. Earlier knowers of an innovation have higher social status than later knowers.

3. Earlier knowers of an innovation have more exposure to mass media channels of communication than later knowers.
4. Earlier knowers of an innovation have more exposure to interpersonal channels of communication than later knowers.
5. Earlier knowers of an innovation have more change agent contact than later knowers.
6. Earlier knowers of an innovation have more social participation than later knowers.
7. Earlier knowers of an innovation are more cosmopolitan than the later knowers" (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971 : 108).

To support their theory of the value of preparation, they give an example of the bad results that may ensue if adopters are not provided with the background competence to evaluate innovations. Their example is taken from a peasant village in India. Peasants in India commonly refer to superphosphate fertilizer as "sugar" because of its appearance. Initial experience of its effects led to a popular saying "the more sugar added the sweeter the yield" but they had no idea of the effects on the soil of over-application and badly damaged their crops.

W. Schramm gives another example of the bitter results of change without sufficient preparation of the people in a traditional society. In southern Asia, there is considerable conflict between customs and novelties. Schramm states that "We might call the Bvanis limited people : limited by their conservative leadership, the

tight social system, and the traditional norms of their village, limited in their education and information" (1964:9). Schramm gives a picture of socially disruptive change within that village. The old men are the decision makers, and they usually make conservative decisions. There is a tight caste system, which limits the kinds of job any man can aspire to. Tension is now somewhat greater in the Bvani because change is pushing into the village. The Government is sending out community development workers to try to make agriculture more productive. They talk to the younger Bvani, who come home and report to the patriarchs. Schramm crystalizes the consequences of the lack of innovative awareness and preparation, the prerequisite for development.

Because of the sudden appearance of Government officials, the traditional leaders are not ready to trust a man from far away, who comes with strange and unfamiliar suggestions of change. Over the years the patriarchs have learned a relatively sure and safe way to farm. These lessons, from their fathers and kinsmen or neighbours, they trust. Schramm concludes "A social transformation is basically a set of human transformations - people to be educated and informed, attitudes and values to be changed" (1964 : 9-14). Rogers argues the necessity of pre-development preparation and discusses the role of the media in informing leaders who might otherwise obstruct the process of change because of the lack of a scientific understanding. To support this he gives examples of "self-development planning"

using mass media, particularly radio, in various areas such as the "group planning of births" at village level in the People's Republic of China. Another example presented by Rogers is the radio listening groups in Tanzania where villagers are encouraged by information and mass motivation for local participation in development activities (Rogers, 1976 : 129-141).

It is not my intention to present a complete survey of this process, drawing on many contributors. However, from the examples shown above, we may conclude that the existence of certain attitudes is a precondition to development. Our illustrations suggest the importance of educating clients about the basic scientific reasons why an innovation has its desired effect (Long, 1977 : 59, 246-7). This preparation should come before, or at least at the time when people adopt the innovation.

6.7 Radio, the flow of modern technological ideas and Social differentiation.

To understand the differentiation process, N. Long (1977) discusses a social anthropological theory of transactional behaviour and entrepreneurship in economic development. Long, referring to Smelser's model (1963), states that structural differentiation may be observed in the process of social transformation that accompanies economic development. There are four significant elements, which sometimes occur simultaneously and sometimes at different states:

1. modernization of technology,
2. the commercialization of agriculture,
3. the industrialization process, and
4. urbanization (1977 : 108).

But the important point is that these four processes tend to affect the social structure of "traditional" societies in similar ways. First, he finds that structural differentiation occurs as more specialized and autonomous social units are formed. Secondly, a process of integration takes place whereby these differentiated structures are united on a new basis. Long's theory shows that in the field of social stratification, "recruitment to various occupational, political, and religious positions tends to depend more on achievement criteria than on ascription, and individual mobility increases" (1977: 11). Thus within this process of differentiation, status may be acquired through successful achievement. I question the validity of a further point in Long's theory, that in a society where the pattern of authority is mobile it is necessary that the elders or traditional leaders will always lose the control they exercised. It is clear from my study of northern Thai villages that, as amongst the Tolai of New Guinea (T.S. Epstein, 1968), these leaders retain control by increasing their knowledge and experience. In this case of course, their role changes, but at the same time the traditional institutions can still be seen. T.S. Epstein's studies of village life in South India and New Guinea (1962, 1968), cast light on this phenomenon of the retention of traditional structures in the process of change and the interaction

between innovations and a traditional way of life. She explains:

"New economic opportunities did not provide an alternative to customary behaviour; rather, the inhabitants could superimpose their new cash earning activities on to their traditional life. This in turn enabled their traditional social system to survive practically unimpaired by the new forces of change" (1968, XXIII).

The mobility of status that does exist offers scope for social advantage to the enterprising individual. Examples are the mill-owner and grocer of Ban Mon Khao Khew (see chapter 7). T.S. Epstein finds similar processes at work in New Guinea^e. "Social mobility was based largely on economic criteria. However, contrary to Marxian theories, according to which economic differentiation was determined by the relationship to productive resources, social status was achieved on the basis of individual managerial ability" (Epstein, T.S., 1968, 32).

I would now like to return to the three villages of my study. Here we can see the process of differentiation working at two levels; that of the village social infrastructure and within the interaction of village innovators and town entrepreneurs (c.f. Belshaw, 1965; A.L. Epstein, 1969). I will discuss the latter briefly later in this section, but we will concentrate here on the differentiation among villagers. As I mentioned above, the northern Thai social system shows "the tradition of imitation" which leads to competition for prestige and novelties. This

determines the way differentiation works out in practice. Because leadership in Thai society comes with wealth and political power, when there is an interaction with an extrinsic force, villagers who already have the qualities which initially secured their leadership position will be the ones socially and financially able to introduce an innovation. The enhanced prestige brought by this will be coveted by other potential leaders, who will, where possible, imitate them in order to improve their own status. As radio provides information about marketing and methods of business, the traditional pattern of buying and selling, and the monopolising of business ventures by the wealthy has changed. To a degree this represents the replacement of old forms of differentiation (i.e. the rich and influential contrasting with the poor and powerless) by new and more complex forms.

Categories such as well-informed or less well-informed commercially aggressive or commercially backward then become important. But this does not negate the dominant role of the traditional leaders or the social taboo on innovativeness that goes beyond one's status or appears presumptuous (see p.341).

Thus through the value of information acquired from radio and other sources, new forms of differentiation are transforming the old ones of family, personal connections, age and property ownership. The possession of novelties and the knowledge of these items brings favourable status. The hand-tractor owner in Ban Naa Dong, as we see above,

is a good example of new forms of differentiation in his society. As a small entrepreneur with an innovation he has gained new status which sets him apart from other villagers.

Turning to the second level, the differentiation in relations between village and town entrepreneurs, we can see the transformation of the old structure, in which well-informed merchants bought at the most advantageous price possible from the peasants, who had little understanding of market forces. As the number of radio listeners increases, and as radio provides information about marketing, commerce and the standard or guaranteed price of many kinds of goods, peasants become more alert to exploitation than they were in the past (see Rogers, 1976; Berry, 1971; also Katz and Szecskö, 1981). In the cities of northern Thailand, in the past, most of the entrepreneurs or investors were Chinese. The language which they use in business is Chinese. People who can speak Chinese seem to stand a better chance in business. When exchanging information about prices or communicating with each other, merchants will use the Chinese language, while Thai customers wait in ignorance of the discussion. But now, when radio is playing an important part in the flow of information related to national economies, this has reduced the "in-group's" authority and the value of the language barrier in business. It helps to open the way to villagers, or at least village leaders if not all, to take part in the business of their own country (Long, 1977 : 9-13).

Conclusion

In this chapter, the diffusion of innovation is viewed essentially as a communication process. In rural northern Thailand innovative ideas reach the peasant via such communication channels as the mass media, interpersonal exchanges, and the villagers' contact with town. Amongst the external sources of information, radio plays a notable role in introducing the awareness of innovations. The study of radio and the technological changes which have influenced economic development in the three villages, indicates the circumstances in which radio can affect the process of innovation adoption, and the impact of this process of change on traditional social structures.

The innovative awareness can in turn raise the level of aspiration, and motivate the peasant to take steps to achieve the desired aspects of a new life style.

However, the present situation often presents a picture of imbalance between awareness of an innovation and the ability of peasants to adopt it. Geographical remoteness and poverty are the principal obstructions to innovation adoption.

For the rural northern Thai peasants, the tradition of imitation in a certain degree provides support for the diffusion of innovations. This phenomenon illustrates the model of the "multi-step flow of ideas". The village opinion leaders participate substantially in the interpersonal channel of communication which serves as a linkage between the followers and the primary sources. The process of

adoption of innovations and the knowledge and skills which may be acquired through radio enlarged the range of social differentiation. Nevertheless, because of the way in which radio and other innovations are acquired and used, traditional social structures are preserved in spite of the impact of modernization.

CHAPTER 7

RADIO AND CHANGING INSTITUTIONS

The aim of this chapter is to understand the interaction between the new ideas introduced by radio and the villagers' traditional institutions and leadership structures. Within a rural society like the three villages of my study, the relationship between politics and economics is a basic determining factor of the shape taken by institutions. A convenient starting place can be found in Malinowski's concept of the institution (1945). An institution, according to this definition, is a group of people who are united for a common purpose. They have the material culture and the technical knowledge to carry out their goal, or make a reasonable attempt at it. Moreover, they possess a kind of "charter", which helps to assure them that the purpose is worth carrying out. The crucial idea is that there is a definite mode of recruitment of members into every ongoing institution, that it has a definite power structure, and a motivating ethic. Deriving from Malinowski's point of view, institutions are characterized by a social organization, a purpose, by material and ideal culture. In Malinowski's view the major institutions are: kinship and family, work and production, politics and war, and those institutions that centre about the explanation of man's place in the cosmos—religion, witchcraft, and magic. Indeed, all these institutions are very closely knitted together. In order to analyze change, social life can,

therefore, be divided into various forms of institution each of which is characterized by a distinctive subsystems in the spheres of social interaction, material culture and belief. Institutions fulfill particular goals, and they are functionally interrelated because change in one is likely to precipitate change in some or all of the others. Bailey, discussing the process of changes in social structures, observes that the impact of change is usually initially felt in one of the social substructures, often in the politico-economic field. If a substructure collapses under this impact and yields to a new form, the other substructures of the whole either become modified to make them consistent or wither away (Bailey, F.G., 1967 : 240-2).

Following Bailey's approach, it may be anticipated that, when radio is used as a means to diffuse new ideas aimed at rural economic development, it might have an impact upon village political substructures, the working out of which I shall attempt to study in this chapter. I shall begin by discussing villagers' political attitudes in general. Then in order to acquire a thorough understanding of the process of change through "the flow of ideas" in these villages' social structures, the roles of individual community leaders will be described. Later, I shall discuss the interaction between radio and traditional institutions.

7.1 Political culture of rural northern Thai villagers

Within the three villages, in almost every house, at the far end of the room to the east, above head level, the Buddha image shelf will be built. Below the Buddha shelf, the present King and Queen, the Royal family (with the Crown Prince and Princesses), and other previous Kings or other Royal family members such as the King's Mother, will be displayed. Village scouts will hang their scout scarf at the edge of the Buddha shelf in order to display their membership. In addition, those who have gone to see well-known people who come to visit the province, either politicians or members of the Royal family, will have been given a small national flag, and even years after that occasion many of them still keep it and put it on the wall as a souvenir, and it becomes a topic of boastful conversation for many months. All these things on display are on the wall at an adult's head height or above and are regarded as high things (khongsung).

In Thai culture the head is khongsung, one should not touch another's head without respectful care, and vice versa the lower part of the body from the waist downward is regarded as a lower thing (khongtum). It would be very rude if someone showed his feet stretched out straight out to guests or in public, or used his feet for an unusual function such as shoving open a door, or resting them on something high up. These pictures and souvenirs, being inextricably bound up with religion, royalty and the "status quo", should not be left on the

floor or stepped over or made dirty, or used for any common purpose. For example the national flag and colours must not be used, as they are in Britain, for paper bags, shopping bags, or even underpants.

Pervasively, the peasants in the three villages exercise the traditional belief that people have various ways of life depending on their karma (ethical causation) (Tambiah, 1970 : 34). The rich and the governing class of people are supposed to have earned greater merit in a previous life. There is a large body of literature which discusses the belief in karma and social transformation. Notable studies include those of Kingshill (1965), Nash (1965), Moerman (1966), Bunnag (1973), Potter (1976), Keyes (1977), Neher (1979) and Osborne (1979). I will provide further detailed discussion of this belief in Chapter 8, but at this stage will concentrate on its impact in political culture. According to this belief, behaviour is guided by the urge to make more merit in this life in order to obtain a better life in their next incarnation. To offend, be unfaithful or disloyal will be regarded as a betrayal, and is supposed to be the cause of envy, and jealousy which means demerit and the spoiling of one's karma. Ringed as they are by these religious beliefs, habits of thought and social conventions, it seems as if the principal national institutions are khongsung.

Traditionally rural northern Thai peasants believe that legitimate power is vested in those who have merit (c.f. Keyes, 1977), that is, in persons whose status was

determined by previous karma. This idea, nonetheless, has in it an inherent problem. This is because it can be presented that one's karma entitles one to rule if one is ruling. The present situation can be regarded in two contrasting fashions. Firstly, if the political power is not inherited but has to be competed for, then those who involve themselves in such competition run the danger of acting immorally since they have to be aggressive. This might be the way, however, of creating had karma. On the other hand, the successful competitor may prove himself to have good past karma by virtue of having gained power. In northern Thailand, this dichotomous view of legitimacy is demonstrated by the continued existence of monarchy, both the northern Thai Royal family, and the central monarchy.

It can be seen from the above discussion that in very general terms the idea an individual accumulates merit or demerit by his karma actions provides an explanation for his present social status and for the vicissitudes of life which may befall him: holding that the past determines the present, and that the present combined with the past determines the future (see also Bunnag, 1973). But it must be stressed that as a theory of causation karma is very indeterminate; one's merit cannot be directly measured against another's. The actor is unaware of the precise value of his past and present actions, nor does he know when their effects will be made manifest. The fruits

of karma may result instantaneously, or on the other hand it may take several billion of years before they come to maturity (see also Keyes, 1977). Indeed, Buddhist doctrine concerning karma is itself flexible (see Chapter 8, page 492; also Conze, 1970; Tambiah, 1970; and Carrithers, 1983).

Whether or not the karma ideology is used to explain and to justify individual circumstances depends very much upon the viewpoint of the individual; a wealthy man can regard his own success as clear evidence of the deserving actions he has performed in the past, whereas an envious neighbour who suspects him of petty fogging and mean, heartless dealing can comfort himself with the thought that the effects of such evil action will not be evaded. Similarly, the individual who feels that he has failed in life might explain this misfortune by referring to events which might take place in his previous life, of course, which he could not recall. This pattern of thought can also be seen in other traditional beliefs of Hinduism and Animism.

In rural northern Thailand, Buddhist and non-Buddhist belief to some extent fulfil complementary functions (see also Tambiah, 1970; Bunnag, 1973). I would like to argue that for rural northern Thai villagers, belief in karma provides a very basic, generalized explanation of an individual's social condition, an explanation which is perhaps psychologically insufficient in a situation of crisis. In such circumstances Hinduism and Animism will be used to isolate the immediate

source of the trouble, and in the case of politics, the concept of guardian spirits can be applied. Belief in the intervention of ghosts or phi also consoles the individual Buddhist with alternatives to the explanation of events through karma. Whatever agency is instrumental in causing war or unpeaceful situation, the fact that one becomes involved in war, is of course, in theory, ultimately explicable with reference to the state of one's merit balance, although this link is rarely traced by the sufferer.

7.1.1. Traditional non-Buddhist beliefs in political culture

Traditional beliefs concerning national guardian spirits are still strong amongst rural northern Thai villagers. Like the Government, but much more wholehearted than the Government, rural northern Thai believe that there are spirits which both guard and rule the country (see Chapter 3; also Tambiah, 1970; and Irvine, 1982). In his study the cults of the guardian spirits of the rural north-east Thailand, Tambiah (1970) notes that the guardian spirits of various domains have significance for both village and region. The crucial aspect of the cult related to these guardian spirits is a ritual complex which not only involves relationships between people and spirits but also the interaction between members of social hierarchy (1970: 263-284).

In rural northern Thailand, there are many levels of guardian spirit ranked in a way which reflects human

systems of Government. I would first like to discuss guardian spirits as an aspect of political centralization, and then I will come to the village level. Generally, the rural northern Thai peasants believe that there is a supreme territorial guardian spirit. With the establishment of the new dynasty, Chakri, and the new capital Bangkok in 1782 by King Rama I (1782-1809) at the time when Western influence was beginning, with its new ideas and threat to established ways, the guardian spirit of Siam, as the country was still called at that time, was selected and veneration of it began. In the establishment of the capital or major city of every province including Lampang province, people will set the city-stone at the centre of the city. This stone, like other significant things, will have a spirit which looks after the city and its boundaries, chaopho lug mu'ang (the guardian spirit of the city stone). This guardian spirit of the capital stone corresponds within the spirit hierarchy to the Prime Minister of the central Government, and he is held to be responsible for the affairs of the whole country as well as of Bangkok. In 1831, King Rama IV, King Mongkut, the religious King who was an astrologer, decided that there should be a guardian spirit in the Royal palace, to represent the Royal family. The image of this spirit, the Phra Siam Dhawathiraj or guardian spirit of Siam, is in the shape of dhawada "the heavenly spirit" made of pure gold and is six inches tall. This guardian spirit looks after the whole country and belongs to the whole

nation more or less in the same way as the King does.

In addition, there is a story that when King Rama I decided to put up the capital city stone, the astrologists who calculated the duang or fortune of the country had made a proposal with two alternatives to the King to decide. First, the country would be independent and retain its freedom but internally it would not be so peaceful. There would be conflicts between the Government and rulers most of the time. Alternatively, the country would have internal peace, the governing system would go on smoothly, but there would be one period during which the country would lose its freedom. The King decided to choose the first alternative.

From history, especially during the colonial age, events such as the First and Second World Wars, have made rural northern Thai peasants, who have an animistic background, believe that the guardian spirit of the country has helped to protect them from danger from outside, and as they have seen, internal political affairs are not really going smoothly. When the University students in Bangkok revolted against the Government in 1973, and the situation came to a crisis, many villagers concluded that this was the fulfilment of the duang mu'ang or the fortune of the country which had been prophesied. Generally, because rural northern Thai peasants have believed in this prophecy, they feel confident and secure that the enemies of the country will be able to cause disturbances at the borders only. As long as they still have chaopho lukmuang and Pha Siam

Dhawathiraj with them, the enemies of religion and the King or the nation will be got rid of, and they will be protected. Secure in this idea, when they listen to news on the radio, they will accept it and receive the news as information of what has happened. It seems as if they already know the end of the story and there is nothing much left to be concerned about.

There are guardian spirits at lower levels; the spirit of the province, the spirits of the area, the spirits of the district, the spirits of the ancestors, the ethnic spirits, the spirits of kinship, the household spirits, and the spirits of definite places such as mountains, but I shall omit any further discussion of these spirits because at this point I would like principally to concern myself with the spirits whose cult has a political significance.

Anthropologists have already studied the spirit cult in Thailand (for example Tambiah, 1970; Bunnag, J., 1973; Turton, 1972, 1975, 1978; Kaufman, 1977; Irvine, 1982).

It is evident within the three villages that peasants tend to pay more attention to traditional animism beliefs related to political events. Indeed, not all villagers hold the same opinion. There are different levels and different attitudes towards political news. But at this stage I would like to discuss the norm first, later in this chapter the individual cases will be studied.

For example, the reasons why Vietnamese troops invaded Laos and Cambodia, how the civil war occurred in those countries, the direct and indirect effects this had for

Thailand, how the Thai Government prepares to face this situation, and the attitude of other countries in south-east Asia and the great powers towards this situation seem to be less important than traditional factors. These include such things as what the well known monks, who are believed to have speicla intuitions or visions from meditative practices, say about the fate of the country and about the situation, how valuable the soldiers find it to use a coin, the small Buddha image and a piece of yan (amulet) made of cloth or metal while fighting. Similarly, rural northern Thai villagers' interest is concentrated on items of news such as the one relating that a well-known Buddha image in the Royal temple in Vientiane produced tears in its eyes before Laos was occupied by the Vietnamese, or rumours about a big black bird, probably a crow, that alighted on a spike of the most important Royal Buddhist temple in Pnom Penh, the capital of Cambodia before that city was beaten. All these bad omens were discussed among villagers more than the political purposes of the Vietnamese troops.

In brief, in almost every incident of a rural northern Thai peasant's life including the way through which he perceives news from external sources, his traditional beliefs are still propitiated, especially the beliefs about the spirits (phi). Spirits exist in many forms, But within the political sphere, the guardian spirits who reflect the Government are believed to be greatly concerned with national survival.

7.2 National politics, the use of radio broadcasting and the perception of modern political ideas

In order to exemplify the function of radio in the political sphere the interaction between political ideology and radio broadcasting, some important political events in Thailand will be outlined. Broadcasting programmes will be considered. The use of radio as the principal vehicle for news illustrates the direct access of the village community to media. Here there is a one step flow of information and the hypodermic needle model is appropriate. Nevertheless, this direct impact upon the audience is mediated by the villagers' traditional background. I would like to discuss the relation between political institutions and radio broadcasting in general first.

Because of the Government's tight control over radio stations at the critical period of each Government, before it collapses and a new one is established, all the national radio stations have a very hard time. Many news announcers, political editors etc. have to flee the country and many of them have been imprisoned or interrogated because of their role in serving the outgoing Government, particularly when it has been violently deposed (See Mosel, 1963; Lent, 1978; also Wild, 1983). Any programmes produced by the national radio stations have to be censored and adjusted to support the Government; occasionally radio programmers are personally involved in politics and have to face their political fate in the same way as politicians. When

they work with a Government some newscasters and other radio staff become very involved in its political circles and are offered financial and status incentives to present the Government in a particularly favourable light. Soon their public image is that of a committed Government spokesman, rather than a detached, politically neutral news reader. Obviously such individuals have at least the potential to influence public political opinion to a great degree. When the political atmosphere changes, the same radio station which used to speak for one Government the previous day, turns to speak against the Government the next day and in favour of its erstwhile opponents. Sometimes, this kind of change happens very quickly, even overnight. Therefore, from time to time, the villagers, for whom radio is often the only news medium, become confused by contradictory news reports. Not only is the news coverage contradictory and fluctuating in its political slant but it is highly selective. Serious issues such as trouble at the border, or major strikes may go almost unreported because the Government is afraid that the news may alarm people or even worse set a bad example or give them subversive ideas (Scandlen, 1978 : 83).

7.2.1 Political broadcasting programmes

The political principles by which Thailand has been governed are somewhat different from those of Communism and the spread of Communism in South-east Asia poses a challenge to Thai society. Generally, we can identify two levels where this threat is in existence; the first one is at the level of national Government, and the second

at the local level.

At the national level, the military defence of Thailand against Communism is organized, and the programme of education or propaganda (according to the observer's perspective) is mounted which aims to secure the legitimacy of the existing Government, and the illegitimacy of Communism. To understand the potential threat which Communism imposed to the existing structure at the local level, we need to consider whether there are any tensions embodied in that local structure which Communism might exploit. As we have seen in earlier chapters, there exist several; firstly within the village the tension between age groups based on differing educational background, the traditional elites and other villagers, wealthier or larger land owners and poorer peasants, the noble or Royal family members and commoners, the bureaucratic officials and villagers. But to a certain extent, these conflicts are mitigated by tradition values. Secondly, at the town market, conflict is evident between urban traders particularly ethnic Chinese and the local producers. Finally, the problem arises from the new work pattern developed by the factory employment. Tension between traders and producers has been discussed in Chapter 2. I shall consider the other sources of tension below.

When we consider the programmes broadcast (Table 4.3), we will see that very early in the morning, before the station opens, there will be nationalistic songs to

stimulate a sense of national identity and unity. Paradoxically this nationalistic music sounds very Western and is performed by a military band, using Western instruments. The traditional Thai stringed instruments are regarded as unsuited to a rousing military musical idiom. At the daily opening of the station, there will be the national anthem and the song "tu'n thoet chao Thai" ("Please awake Thai people"), and before starting any news programme, when announcing the radio station's title and giving the time, the announcer will read extracts from the royal speeches, royal words of advice, or the Prime Minister's speech. On other occasions they will broadcast old proverbs and maxims. Table 4.1 shows that straight news bulletins make up 27.14% of the total broadcasting time. From Table 4.1 and 4.3, we see that during about one third of broadcasting time, radio is used to serve the Government in giving news and political propaganda. There are two general programmes produced by the academic department of the Thai military. The theme of these two programmes is more or less the same, being part of the recruitment effort. The content is a combination of interviews with soldiers who are on duty in various sensitive areas, interviews with a converted communist underground party member who has given up communism, speeches by well-known officers, stirring drama sequences, dialogues with well known people who are against communism, critical articles about the decline of communist countries in economic standing, etc., both in neighbouring areas and in the West.

7.2.2 The perception of new political ideas

In general, the villagers are interested in the immediate news which is close to them. Even though some news items announce major events for south-east Asia or for the world such as the Vietnamese troops invading Laos or Cambodia, the war in the Middle East, revolution in Iran etc., villagers simply listen uncritically, showing no eagerness to know more about these items of news. They tend to dismiss even major news item until they realize that the events will have a direct effect on them.

An example of this can be seen from their attitude and reaction to the war in south-east Asia among neighbouring countries. When the political conflict started in Vietnam between the north and the south during 1955-1956 (Diem began his terror campaign against Viet Minh and the first U.S. military advisers arrived in southern Vietnam) and then led to the civil war which openly broke out in 1964 (Gulf of Tonkin Resolution; U.S. began bombing and sending large numbers of troops to Vietnam). (Bergman, A.E., 1975: 14-15) and lasted for at least ten years, the national radio in Thailand reported events, and at the same time tried to speak against communism by concentrating on communist atrocities in Vietnam, and by depicting the democratic world, particularly the United States of America in a favourable light (Kaviya, 1971). From my own experience with rural northern Thai villagers in general they absorbed this sort of information, but lacked an appropriate means for talking about such politics. There was not much criticism

or reaction to these events until the situation became critical for them. The fear of war arose among Thai villagers when the American Air force bases were allocated in Thailand during 1963-1971 (see Burgman, 1975; also Keyes, 1977; Neher, 1979; and Osborne, 1979). It started first in the north-eastern part of Thailand. The frightening sounds of the aircraft and bombs, the rumours about Thai army troops who went to join the Americans in fighting at the Vietnamese border, and the injured or dead bodies of the soldiers from the battle, all these impressions created and aroused discussion and reaction among villagers. At that time they did realize the direct and dangerous relevance to them of the political issues. However, this was mainly confined to the north-east. At that stage, the rest of the northern Thai were still in no hurry to prepare themselves to face the critical political situation, until recently, during the last four years, when refugees started to move to this area. Then the northern Thai villagers started to think about political issues because the refugees, who arrived in poor condition, told them what had happened in their countries and how it happened.

However, most of the refugees I met in the area could not explain the real cause of the events in their countries, even though it was these developments which forced them to leave. The refugees, innocent victims of opposed political interests, were even less well-informed than the Thai villagers. All they knew was that the anti-Government army and the Government army were taking turns to come

to bomb their villages so heavily that they could not live there any longer. When the northern Thai villagers realized how critical the political problem was, they began to pay more attention to news programmes on radio and became more involved. Fortunately, in 1973 the United States, the Thieu regime, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and Democratic Republic of Vietnam signed the Paris Peace Agreement and American involvement in Vietnam came to an end. During 1973-1975 violations of the Peace Agreement took place until, on April 30th, 1975, the flag of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam was raised over the Presidential Palace in Saigon marking the decisive victory of the liberation forces (Bergman, 1975 : 15). Even though there is still news of Vietnamese troops in Laos and Cambodia at the Thai border, and refugees still flood into Thailand and other neighbouring countries from time to time, the situation has become a little better from the villagers' point of view.

As shown in table 5.1, the most significant political programme for rural villagers is the home news bulletin. Thus the political ideas to which villagers are exposed come mainly from the news. The events reported in news programmes reflect the political situation, impart political ideas, and shape the political opinions of villagers. The learning of politics from the filtered and censored version of events which occur mainly at the Laotian, Cambodian, Burmese, and Malaysian borders and from interviews with

refugees, establishes prejudice and builds up a fixed picture of political systems quite unlike that of the theorists.

My observations amongst rural northern Thai villagers suggest that after the news programme, the favourite topics of discussion generally concern domestic affairs, not political ones. One evening in Ban Naa Dong, I went to see a family while they were listening to the evening news programme. The father, who listens with the most concern and solemnity, will heave a sigh from time to time when he hears that there is fighting at the border, that refugees from neighbouring countries are flooding into Thailand, and that the villages near the border have been bombed by the Vietnamese troops. However, the main interest of the family as the whole is in the items about such things as a big flood in Bangkok where people have to use boats instead of cars. Just a short while after the news programme they tend to forget about the border problem, or the communique by the Prime Minister about the national budget. The big flood in Bangkok remains a subject of eager speculation until bed time.

This example pictures the typical listening behaviour pattern and the perception of news of political events. Of course there are few exceptional cases within the three villages which will be discussed later, but on the whole the discord between political culture and the perception of new political ideas continues. A glance at the British

local newspapers suggests that the British people also take more interest in floods, car accidents, and beauty contests than world political events. Eventhough the political-event news is received as significant information, it is not the prime interest for villagers' discussion and involvement.

In the sense of nationalization, the Government is able to reinforce its propaganda by the use of local organizations which foster unity and patriotism. The outstanding group which has branches in most villages even in remote areas is that of the "village scouts" or luksuer chao ban. This organization was formed by the King's mother. For the village scouts, there is no age limit. Many old people over seventy, following the example of the King's mother, very much enjoy attending the village scout camp and keep listening to the radio for news of meetings to attend nearby. Many old people told me that the activities at the village scout camp, particularly the entertainment, games, dancing, and sports give them good exercise and after some time they have found that it helps to relieve the pain at the joints of their legs or arms. In this case the political project has helped to improve the physical health of the villagers. Old people in the village enjoy travelling and social activities at the temple for the sake of making merit, but now there is a new kind of activity for them to enjoy. It seems to me that the elderly villagers enjoy the new kinds of social activity as much as the traditional ones. Perhaps the newer occasion is a little

more exciting than the traditional one which they have known for a long time. Dressed in the formal clothes they wear when they go to the temple they get into the village taxi which is hired by their group for this special occasion. Some of them repeatedly request the driver to drive slowly. The young driver laughs and replies, "Granny, this is not a water buffalo cart!", as he starts the engine with a jerk. The village scout camp is a source of genuine pleasure which is granted high prestige by the media; the provincial radio station broadcast the King's mother's speech to invite villagers to join this organization. At the camp, on the first day of training, in front of the national flag, they are asked to make a promise to be faithful to the nation, religion, and the King.

Once every fortnight, there will be a meeting for young people in the village at the local school playground. This meeting is organized by the district officials and the local school teacher. Originally derived from the precedent of the villager scouts, this group consists of young people both male and female under twenty six years old, and is called the youth working group. Its main purpose is to increase patriotic feeling among young people by persuading them to share in cooperative work and public activities. They will also learn how to protect their village by being trained to use simple weapons. During the meeting there will be entertainment as well,

such as games around the bonfire in the evening. The steering committee of this group has been trained to know how to conduct the group and make the activities attractive, especially the entertainment programme. This event is announced on the radio in the local news programmes a few days before and, on the appointed day, the members of the group (see table 7.15-7.18) will come to the local school playground, where the boys join the girls, who have assembled separately. Politics has brought changes in social activities and indeed these activities are regarded as a modern idea by the older generations. After military training, this group will be the mainstay of village development projects, such as drilling wells, repairing the irrigation canals, repairing roads, building earth dams, etc. Sometimes, they will join with other villages for the same purpose, through the district official's network and following public radio announcements. In isolated villages, like Ban Naa Dong, young people must register with their headman. Elsewhere, as in Ban Mon Khao Khew, young people go straight to the district office.

7.2.2.1 The interaction between the perception of communism and rural northern Thai villagers' political culture. The underground communist party endeavours to use radio broadcasts to diffuse their ideology among the villagers by transmitting programmes produced by the party in Thailand and from Thai language transmissions by Peking radio. The external broadcasting service of the People's Republic of China, known as Radio Peking, started its

broadcasting in 1950 in six foreign languages (English, Japanese, Vietnamese, Indonesian, Burmese, and Thai) (Lent, 1978 : 21-41). During my fieldwork in 1979, there were a few programmes produced and broadcast directly from the underground communist camps hidden in the deep jungle in various parts of Thailand, including the northern hilly area. The time of broadcasting are twice a day; one very early in the morning at 5.30 a.m. until 6.30 a.m. and another one at 9.30 p.m. to 11.00 p.m. The principal purpose of the Peking radio station is to wage ideological war against capitalism and imperialism (Yu, F.T.C., and Worth, R.M., 1969). The broadcasts have a certain style. The language which the presenter uses is very grammatically correct and full of technical political terms. Sometimes, there are political songs, most of which are in the Chinese language and set to Western music.

In general, villagers tend to associate communism with the aliens from China or Vietnam who will invade the border areas in army uniforms. According to information I received from the district office and from the headman, some students who spoke the standard Thai language in fact came into the Ban Naa Dong and introduced communist ideas during the few years after the students' reaction against the Government under the General Thanom Kitikachon in 1973. This reaction took place in Bangkok and almost caused a serious civil war. At first, the villagers were told that there would be no difference between rich and

poor; everyone would be the same and have equal possessions. Everyone would work more or less the same. The standard of living would be better in the communes. Thailand should be a better country if it followed that ideal. Many villagers seemed to agree and wanted to adopt this theory. After some time, when this group of strangers came into Ban Naa Dong again and saw that the villagers were enjoying themselves by listening to the boxing match transmitted by the Lampang radio station and that some were gambling on the boxers, these strangers asked the villagers to stop listening to such programmes and said that gambling and all entertainment in this form including illegal lotteries were against communist principles. Good socialists should not do such things. These considerations made villagers hesitate about becoming communists, and then finally, when they realized that communism frowned upon the temple fair, lika (the local comic-opera style), cock fighting, bull fighting, fish fighting, cricket fighting, and kwang fighting (a kind of beetle which has horns and a dark deep brown colour and is very fond of sweet sugar cane) the new ideology rapidly lost its appeal. The fun loving nature (sanug) and the traditional culture, which is deeply rooted in northern Thai villagers' habits makes communism seem stern and unattractive to them.

Radio broadcasting has created an image of communism in the villagers' minds of illegal underground guerilla armies from outside the country. Being aware of that,

the strangers who come into Ban Naa Dong never mention the word "communism". They occasionally use the words "socialism" or "the people's republic", which do not make clear sense to villagers. In general, the visitors call themselves sahai khong pracha chon which means "the people's friends". They dress in the normal way like poor urban teenagers without arms or any weapons.

Another factor which at present hinders the spread of communism or socialism in some parts of the region is the politico-economic status of the villagers. Ban Naa Dong people for example, have developed their economic security simultaneously through the efforts of the traditional leaders, as discussed in previous chapters, coupled with development projects on irrigation, cooperative initiatives and other agricultural development projects. Thus, they might feel quite disinclined to abandon the relatively familiar ways for an uncertain future. Again, in order to secure their social status the village leaders and the older generation who are traditionally the influential elite, have played an important role in speaking against communism especially by passing on what they have heard from governmental radio broadcasting.

On the other hand, there is some conflict. Here I note this merely to anticipate further discussion. The value summed up in the Thai proverb "doen tam lang phu yai, ma mai ka't" (when you keep walking or following behind your elder you will not be bitten by a dog; i.e.

you will be safe), is still observed in rural northern Thai society, but even apart from the students' turmoil in 1973, there are signs of internal tension. This can be seen in the role of some younger individuals who will be described later in this chapter. Presumably, because the older generations have been brought up with the idea that they should be faithful to religion and the Royal family, even though sometimes they have suffered under the domination of these two institutions, they accept their karma. When they hear or understand that the new creed is inimical to these two traditional institutions, they resist involvement and try to forbid their children from falling prey to its influence. Of course, the young rural northern Thai peasants are dependent economically on their parents, and even though some of them are quite interested in the new political trends, they cannot do much, otherwise they will lose the support of their family.

Conclusion

In sum, the nature of villagers' political interest is revealed by the way in which they receive political news from outside and link it with their traditional religious beliefs and cultural background. Moreover, their prime interest is with domestic affairs rather than politics in an ideological sense. News of big floods or rumour about ill omens related to south-east Asian political events are their major concerns. In this context, use of radio to enhance traditional political culture is

conspicuous.

Nevertheless, villagers respond more fully towards the immediate topic of political news when that event becomes closer to them. The report of the border problems becomes more alarming when it is coupled with visible evidence in the form of refugees.

In addition, broadcasting in the political sphere is used more for self-conscious justification than to present educational programmes in political ideology. In other words, broadcasting is used for self-defence by the owner more than to inform or to teach the audience. This can be seen in the Government's anti-communist radio programmes as well as the communist broadcasts. For the latter, although at the present it has not been received by numerous audiences, in the long-run, there is the possibility that more people will listen and consequently develop more awareness of the issues.

One evening when I went to see a young village committee member at home after the evening meal, his children were playing around, his wife was doing the washing up downstairs at the well, and he was listening to the radio, but as soon as he realized that I was coming he politely turned the radio off and invited me to have a seat; from a quick glance I noted that the radio had been tuned to the underground communist radio station! Occasionally in this way a person's choice of programme reveals unexpected and hidden attitudes. In this case, underneath his agreeable personality which

seemed to conform absolutely to tradition, uncertainty, curiosity, and disagreement with the things to which he has to submit had been secretly fermenting. Radio seems to be the only private means of finding answers to these forbidden questions, particularly in political matters and especially when one is supposed to be a supporter of the Government and to encourage others to conform to the traditional ideas.

The above discussion indicates that to rural northern Thai villagers, communism is presumably an introduced and imposed phenomenon and a largely alien ideology. Evidently, then, this political issue is activated in this area by external sources of information; through personal channels of communication such as college students from the capital and through mass media like the communist underground party broadcasting. Perhaps, amongst rural northern Thai, a new pattern of politics is still in the process of formation. The strike at a factory near Ban Mon Khao Khew demonstrates the manifestation of socialist principles which had a direct relevance to some villagers' position.

7.3 'Strike', the formation of new political idea deriving from industrialization and urbanization.

The effect of industrialization and/or urbanization on traditional people like the rural northern Thai is clearly of import. It has a direct effect on their economic and political system. The exposure of Ban Mon Khao Khew to industrial work and the labour market is a dual phenomenon. As they become involved in the modernization process,

change is brought to them in three principal spheres: the industrial, urban and ideological. These three issues are illustrated by a local strike in Ban Mon Khao Khew which will be the subject of my discussion in this section. It is also my aim to picture the relationship between industrial and social change in a particular situation in terms of the particular factors operating in that context.

In order to understand fully the process of industrial and social change occurring in the less developed areas like rural northern Thailand, it is necessary to differentiate between types of new political ideas, industrial activity and the social interaction associated with them. One of the relatively few inquiries into the effects of industrialization is a comparative investigation conducted by Inkeles (1967). His study concentrate on the effects of factory experience in Argentina, Chile, India, Israel, Nigeria, and Pakistan. Inkeles concludes that "Each year in the factory contributes to significant change, and the process is continuous, so that after ten years in a factory the typical worker will, on our measures of individual 'modernity', far outscore his compatriot who continued in his native village" (Inkeles, 1967 : vi). Inkeles describes modernity as not only the improvement of the standard of living but also as a kind of mentality indicated by literacy and education, political participation, cosmopolitaness and exposure to mass communication. The transformation of classic peasant societies into modern

states, inevitably accompanies urbanization and industrialization. Ultimately, modernization and industrialization so transform traditional peasant societies that almost all features which characterized the traditional peasant social, economic, and cultural order are significantly altered.

Amongst many other social anthropologists, Kahl (1962) has made an attempt to answer two questions: Is it the effect of the occupation, or of residence in the city, which produces changes in the values held by individual? Can we establish that industrialization is responsible for certain kinds of changes, whereas urbanization is responsible for others? Kahl investigates the consequences of both urbanization and industrialization on Brazilians. He concludes that both variables strongly affect values associated with "modernization" because, for instance, most factories are located in or near cities and towns.

A case study analysed by Geertz (1975 : 142-169) in his study of ritual and social change in Modjokuto, Java, illustrates the process. Geertz is interested in documenting the transitional sort of society, where its members stand "in between" the more or less fully urbanized elite and the more or less traditionally organized peasantry. His study centres on a funeral in a rural Javanese village.

A boy who died was a nephew of an active and ardent member of a nationwide party which is a fusion of Marxist politics. This political party's most notable characteristic is

its strong anti-Moslem stand. But the boy was born and brought up within this small rural Islamic community and his father is Moslem. Villagers who came to the funeral, including the parents and the village Moslem religious officials who are traditionally responsible for conducting funerals, were caught up in the development of a new political formation. To these rural Javanese, a funeral is a matter of custom rather than law and bureaucracy. Nonetheless, the new political ideas affect and entangle traditional village life since the traditional religious official were not supposed to participate in the ritual of any member of an anti-Moslem party. This Javanese funeral case reveals that interaction between traditional practices and a new political ideology are the result of sceptical perception and partial understanding of the new ideas. A major finding of Geertz's study is that a specific ideology had only a minor effect at the initial stage of political change. But as the political movement has been formed, unified and moved towards the eventual realization of the new political ideology, the masses too began to be affected mainly through their traditional symbols. He concludes that: "The driving forces in social change can be clearly formulated only by a more dynamic form of functionalist theory, one which takes into account the fact that man's need to live in the world to which he can attribute some significance, whose essential import he feels he can grasp, often diverges from his concurrent need to maintain a functioning social organization"

(Geertz 1975 : 169).

As these studies show, it is a difficult task to separate the effects of these interrelated elements: industrialization, urbanization and new political ideas. However, I shall try to illustrate the process from what happened in Ban Mon Khao Khew.

The sound of drums, alto-cymbals, castanets, woodwind instruments, and the sueng stringed instruments playing traditional dance tunes in the yard of a canned food factory near Ban Mon Khao Khew aroused the curiosity of villagers to find out what was going on there. They could hear the Northern language and standard Thai through loud-speakers; from the distance, villagers could not catch the words, but there must be something extraordinary going on, probably a fair; however they were usually informed if there was going to be a fair or ceremony in the village or at the factory.. Not long after they had heard the music, just half an hour or so, the news had spread throughout the village that they had a "strike" at the factory. The word (they use the English word "strike") did not make any clear sense to most villagers. "Strike" is an alien word even to the people of Ban Mon Khao Khew who live not far from town. Some young girls who sold goods to the market women or who were part-time market women themselves started preparing their baskets to sell goods at the "strike" as soon as they heard the music and the speeches. They prepared their goods to sell at the "strike" the same way as when they sold them at the temple fair, the film

shows given by the medicine company, or the factory fairs. Other villagers prepared to go with their friends or relatives who came to ask them to join the crowds at the factory. There were quite a number of Ban Mon Khao Khew people who worked in the factories nearby. In late morning, the number of people who came to join the strike was increasing. Apart from Ban Mon Khao Khew, villagers from nearby areas had come as well. Foods and snacks were selling well; the market women had to go back to their villages to obtain more. Many of them carried transistor radios with them. While the speakers put their case by making speeches through the loud speaker, the music groups were playing, and radios had been turned on. At this stage, the factory compound was full of various sounds just like a temple fair. Before midday, the general atmosphere became a little more serious when most of those present understood that this strike would help the workers in the factories to get more money if they won by keeping the strike going on and if the employers agreed to make an offer. With support from their friends and families, most of the workers decided to go on with the strike, but when the weather became hotter only young people from the middle region who spoke standard Thai were still on the stage, speaking against the employers and the capitalist system through loud hailers. Many market women had returned home since they could not find any more food to sell for the day. Villagers and their friends or relatives who

were factory workers gathered under the shade of the trees or any buildings they could find. The musicians became quiet for a while. Then in the late afternoon, when they started to feel hungry, the village women, feeling that it was their duty to look after the men, volunteered to go back home to find some food while the men made the excuse that they had to attend the strike to keep it going. If they went back home, it would perhaps fail and their wages would not be increased. The women came back with the lunch, and with forethought, so they would not have to go back home again in the evening they had brought something for the evening meal as well, but it was still not cooked because they intended to do the cooking at the strike. They had great fun cooking together at a meeting such as this. Some of them had had this experience when they trained at the village scout camps or at territorial army volunteer training sessions and they enjoyed those occasions very much.

In the afternoon, the employers' representatives came and made speeches asking them to go back home to break up the strike and to appoint and leave behind representatives of the work force to negotiate on their behalf because the employers could not make an immediate agreement. The employers, after a while, found that they had failed to make their requests heard, because the crowds gave a loud burst of forced laughter expressing contempt and mockery of them, and they returned home.

In the evening the strike atmosphere became more lively, when they started cooking by making a temporary stove with whatever bricks and wood they could find. The whole compound looked like a picnic area or camp site. The musicians started their music before the meal. Some alcoholic drinks had been provided. Then when the food was ready they invited each other to come and taste it as they would do at a ceremonial or festive occasion. In the evening, on the stage, a group of college students from Bangkok and Chiangmai province, who called themselves the speakers for the oppressed workers, performed role-plays mocking the employers and well-known public figures in the Government. However, many villagers told me that they do not enjoy this as much as lika. They did not have beautiful costumes, settings and music and moreover, they did not understand the stories because they were just talking. Almost half of the strikers had gone back home by midnight. In the morning, when the employers' representative came, the small crowd of workers decided to send their representatives to negotiate on condition that they would be accompanied by the head of the student group. After this compromise was agreed upon, the strike ended.

From this standpoint, the villagers had been found to possess low levels of political efficacy and to feel rather helpless in influencing the nature of public political decisions. Political powerlessness depends in part on

the degree to which an individual perceives his efforts to be inadequate in influencing public political decisions. Consequently, there is a level of conflict and dissatisfaction among Ban Mon Khao Khew factory workers. Satisfaction is a ratio of what one has to what one wants; of achievements to aspirations. This conception of satisfaction versus frustration with the rate of modernization is based on that of Lerner (1963). Before I left Ban Mon Khao Khew in December 1979, I was informed that instead of the 10% increase they were asking for, the factory workers received only a 3% rise. However, that was the only strike I came across during my stay in the area. After that occasion, many villagers whom I questioned concerning their feelings about the strike, replied immediately that it was not really sanug or enjoyable.

In the case of the strike at Ban Mon Khao Khew, it was primarily not the workers in the factory themselves who wanted to have a strike, but a group of college students who came to create the situation. Before the strike happened in the factory near Ban Mon Khao Khew, there had been many strikes in urban areas, especially in Bangkok and the outskirts of the capital. Radio and other media reported some of these strikes and student movements. After the college students had succeeded in expelling General Thanom's Government, they became popular and more acceptable among the labour workers in Bangkok and helped to foment strikes in order to demand more security from the employers. In this they have been fairly successful

because strikes were not usual in Thailand at that time and the new government under Achan Sanya tended to support student activities (see more details in Neher, 1979). Workers understand the purpose of strikes to be the security of more money and less work. In this context, factory work offers subsidiary income and could provide work for villagers, often on a temporary basis and supplements the main substantial occupation, rice cultivation. To these villagers, factory employment was, in the main, a short term source of income. Besides, there are many villagers who view industrial production as a useful but subordinate activity to their economic interests. Not many have gone deeper into understanding the political ideology or the economic structures of the industrial system. In the matter of modern politics and economics, unfortunately radio has not sufficiently helped to prepare these villagers to face the process of change (see Chapter 5; also Scandlen, 1978; Wild, 1983). As many Ban Mon Khao Khew people become factory workers, the social position changes. They have been released in some degree from the pressure of land ownership, but they have become involved in another kind of economic system which is related to a larger structure, i.e. the national economic policy. These people need to be informed and educated to live at least in contact with the industrial world. In radio a medium for this kind of education is already established (see Lerner, 1963), but for the Government's failure to address itself comprehensibly and honestly

to these needs.

A simple view might be that peasant farmers cannot become industrialized. A closer inspection of this region, however, reveals a more complex relationship between economic and social changes. I will now illustrate the variety of outcomes accomplished by, and emergent from, the interaction of actors participating in the social transformation process. It was industrialization that brought the area into closer contact with the outside world. Moreover, from the evidence of the strike near Ban Man Khao Khew, villagers are being drawn into situations that are already part of a wider economic and political structure. Yet, in such a rural village context, they are denied an understanding of the implication of industrialization and the shifts in ideology it can cause. Under the present circumstances, Ban Mon Khao Khew factory workers had no reason to think that their future lay with industrialization, and their assessment was a correct one. But on the other hand, in the long run, rural northern Thai peasants as a community (and not as individuals, of course) will be affected by capitalism. This is due to the fact that not all villagers will work in factories, but all will be producing food for towns and buying factory goods. This system inevitably alters the traditional peasant social and economic order by the gradual effects of industrialization and urbanization.

7.4 The role of the traditional leaders

Because the communal leaders play an important part both in the process of information flow and in the politico-

economic structure of the village, I would like to discuss their function. I will exemplify the distinctive features of each village and its notable individuals. I shall start with a brief discussion of the general characteristics of rural northern Thai village leaders.

At the village level the headman often seems to be in an uncomfortable position. The tension between locally derived power and power emanating from the state is particularly evident in his role. A similar tension between natural groupings and state boundaries (Keyes, C.F., 1977: p.86-106, 151-166; 1979: 1-25) has to do with the problems of the division of groups of worshippers of the same ancestor spirits by Government area boundaries. These state boundaries have been drawn up without regard for cultural tradition and practice (Wyatt, 1969: 35-58, 145-299). The northern Thai villagers submit themselves to the spirit of the village, the spirit of the ancestors and the spirit of ethnic groups. Sometimes the spirit occupies a larger area than one village and has a connection with villages in various areas. In this case, the village units defined in modern Government boundaries and the local administrative system which has been drawn up from the map do not correspond to units defined by local cultural tradition. Moreover, reforms in local administration have also placed increased demands on the headman in the region, and at the same time they increase conflict between the headman and the appointed Government district officials (Bunnag, T., 1977:

4-17, 99-118). A headman is expected by officials of the State to transmit and implement those directives that serve the purposes of higher administration, while the headman himself has a feeling that he belongs to the village, all villagers are his friends and neighbours, and indeed, it seems that everyone in the village is related to everyone else. If something happens, they will regard the event as a family affair, and from the villagers' point of view, of course, the Government district officials are outsiders. With improved communications and expanded administrative bureaucracies, the directives sent to headmen have multiplied. At the same time, a headman is still expected by his fellow villagers to mediate in their disputes and to represent their interests to the state.

A headman might well have to choose between reporting a crime such as cattle rustling or bodily injury to the State authorities, as the latter expect him to do, and not reporting such a crime because of pressures exerted on him by fellow villagers. Another obvious conflict between traditional leaders and State officials is the work of the police. Most of the villagers have the feeling that the police are their enemy, and the police can rarely follow criminal cases on their own without help from the headman because villagers will not open their lips to answer any kind of question from the police. They prefer to be investigated by someone familiar to them, either the headman, or another leader, sometimes the abbot of

the local temple. Then the decision rests with the traditional leader, whether to report the case to the district office or not. Generally an informal meeting among the village leaders takes place, and only serious cases, where the culprit has committed a crime many times even though he has been warned before by respected figures in the village, will be reported to the district office and the police. The officials will not go straight to arrest the wrong-doer, but they must be led by the headman, and it is the headman who will hand the culprit over to them. Therefore, we can see that the headman's position is not so comfortable in practice (see also Turton, 1975: 356-421).

Equally as powerful as the headman, but with a different functional role is the Buddhist abbot. In the traditional rural northern Thai villages like Ban Naa Dong and Ban Lang, the abbot or the Buddhist monk will, in spite of his secular renunciation, usually chair the village committee, whose members are elected by the whole village. At a meeting the abbot will first preach a sermon so as to lead the group to think about the law of Buddha and good works in general.

When the interest of the people has in this way been awakened, the abbot will ask the help of the committee in a particular project. The headman will also make a speech to support the abbot (c.f. Moerman, M., 1966). In the eyes of the Government the headman should have

full authority in any public affair, but in the local cultural tradition he must be below the abbot of the village temple. Not only the headman, Government officials or the State Governor but even the King is supposed to give great respect to the monk, with the highest degree of honour in any affair, even political, being accorded to him (see also L. Dumont, 1970; 1972).

When the village needs to cooperate in some task, after the village committee has discussed it and agreed with each other to do a certain thing, they will call a secondary meeting with the heads of the political and development project groups of the village.

Even though rural northern Thai villagers receive current news and general information mainly from radio, they obtain information on Government development projects and policies principally through direct interpersonal communication through their local leaders. Peasants within the three villages are more often led to adopt development projects by their traditional leaders than by either the media or Government officials. This is contrary to what F.R. Baker (1973) reported in his research on the radio station in North east Thailand, where the Government official achieved very effective results in development projects. However, I believe that Baker has failed to allow for the fact that he visited only communities where the development process was already well underway, with electricity installed, a good road laid, etc., or that the officials who took him to these communities were naturally eager

to be seen as important figure in this process.

As we observed in Chapter 6, traditional leaders occupy a major point in channels of information, since they pass on and interpret important messages from the radio and provide their neighbourhood with a secondary sources of information and knowledge from the radio.

As their leadership roles are still very highly respected and their views accepted, especially in the field of politics and village government, it is interesting to study the functions of these leaders and observe the process by which they pass on information to the rest of the community. I shall attempt to illustrate this process through an analysis of village leaders in the three villages studied.

7.4.1. Ban Naa Dong : An Illustration of Traditional Leadership Powers. There is a group of Ban Naa Dong residents who involve themselves in leading village activities. This group is formed under the structure of the village committee, the temple committee, and the local school committee. These committees work coincidentally with other governmental development project working groups.

In Ban Naa Dong, there are seven working groups; the contact farmer group, the local cooperative committee, which includes the Rice Bank project, the Royal Irrigation for Farmers committee, the villager scouts, the village guards, the territorial army volunteers, the Bank Loans for Farmers committee, and the working youth group. A bigger meeting, involving those who will perform the labour

on a project, usually takes place in the temple at the big sala like the other meetings for the villagers. I have been informed that generally there is no objection either at this stage or at the next when the headman calls for the whole village to meet in order to request their help in public work. Such work usually is done in the dry season when the farmers are free from their main occupation and most of them do not have much to do. The people of Ban Naa Dong can often afford some financial support for public work since they have double rice crops every year. The objectives of other groups in the village which have been established for the sake of politics are similar to those of the youth working group i.e. to encourage villagers in their patriotism and to reinforce the unity of the community.

Before we discuss the function and role of traditional leaders in their community, and the effect of radio on their ability as leaders, some data which I received from my informants in all three villages must be considered. These comparative figures cast light on the effect of radio on local political structures and attitudes, and are contained in tables 7.1, 7.3-7.6, and 7.14. The figures show the extent to which the leaders (especially those of Ban Naa Dong) use the radio. The effect of their exposure in this way to external influence, coupled with their power and status in the village is a key factor in development. This will be explored later in the chapter.

The Commune Headman of Ban Naa Dong

Perhaps because Ban Naa Dong has for many generations had a resident commune headman (kamnan; but village headman is called phu yai ban) it has been a peaceful village, although the location, the type of land, and the occupations of the villagers have undoubtedly as much to do with the tranquillity of the village as does the presence and personality of the headman. In his work as leader of the village, Kamnan Tone is assisted by various elected local officials. The election of this group is carried out by vote at the village meeting, in a similar way to that of the election of the headman, everyone voting except the abbot, and the group forms a kind of village council or committee. As the purveyor of official and government information to the village, the headman may call a meeting of the whole village, at which he may announce the information which he obtained at district headquarters or from radio.

When roads or bridges have to be built or repaired, the village committee will come to an agreement, and the kamnan is the person who organizes the working party. In some cases he will send his messenger or go in person to a number of houses, requesting the villagers to send one or two representatives to help build the road or the bridge. The district usually has a small budget for building roads, which however is far from adequate for the needs of the villages. When there is no further money for road building the nai omphoe (the Chief of District Official) cannot ask the villagers to do any road building, he can only ask the headman to assist with the problem. The

head of the district government office told me that he had absolutely no authority to give orders to any villagers in his district.

For all practical purposes, the headman is in charge of law and order in his village. The kamnan (Commune Headman) himself has power to arbitrate differences between villagers. The headman of Ban Naa Dong told me that it was entirely within his power to decide whether to send a delinquent to the district office for punishment or to attend to the matter himself.

The headman also has a religious role. When a village boy is to be ordained as a novice in a monastic order, it is the headman who discusses with the parents and other villagers the events which are to take place that day. It is he who will proceed with the cooperative work in preparation for the ordination. Discussions about the repair, repainting or erection of temple buildings are often led by the headman. For the major events in the temple, such as fairs in connection with ordinations, permission has to be secured from the district office. Usually, the headman has to approve the request before it will be considered by the district office.

In addition to all the functions described above, the headman is the general representative of his village. He is invited to the weddings, ordinations, and funerals simply because he is the head of the village. When there is a new project coming to the district and there are

district meetings such as the UNICEF training project on the delivery and care of infants, the headman, as well as the midwives, is present. The headman, by temperament and personality, is the principal representative of the people in dealings with the outside world at least in the cases which I was able to observe. It seems to have been a wise decision on the part of the national government to retain the services of the kamnan, phu yai ban, and of the leaders in their traditional roles with only gradual change in or additions to their responsibilities, although how far this indicates an awareness on the part of the Government of the significance of traditional structures is another question.

The Abbot

The Abbot Charoen is another member of the village committee. In general, the monks assume a great share of the secular leadership along with other leaders in the village (c.f. Klausner, 1974). From a religious point of view, the monk should keep aloof from the ways of the world, particularly politics. However, since all the leaders respect the monks as the representatives of Buddhism and the abbot is a member of the village committee, he is supposed to be the person selected for the meeting. He is considered to be the representative of happiness, wholeness, and unity, sacrificing things in order to make merit through unworldly behaviour. People who come to consult him always expect to feel better or happier after. An old woman who had been continuously ill for years came

regularly to ask for holy water from him in the hope that it would help to heal her. Each time she came she would spend at least an hour telling him in endless detail about her symptoms, and however bored and impatient he might have felt, it would have been unthinkable for him to show it. He was born in a village nearby but his family and most of the people in Ban Naa Dong share the same ancestor spirits. They know each other very well and his origins make it easier for Ban Naa Dong people to accept him as one of their community. He was fifty three years old when I stayed in his village. He was ordained at this temple and spent most of his life in the community there. He used to look after the education of the children, mostly boys, in the village before they acquired the local school. All the monastery affairs are under his control, even domestic activities such as repairing or rebuilding the temple or the monks' and novices' quarters and providing food for all the people who live in the temple. In addition, he has to preside at ceremonial occasions. He modernized the temple and built the school, completed some fifteen years ago, of which he had been head teacher from the beginning. The abbot was instrumental in establishing the village as a separate community. Besides his counselling and religious role in healing by providing holy water at various times, the Ban Naa Dong Abbot also has knowledge of herbs and medicines or sacred words to heal various diseases.

In the field of education, the Abbot still sits on the school board of governors. As a member of the local school committee, the abbot is respected more than the head teacher of the school, and the head teacher himself gives high honour to him, not only because he is the abbot but also as the founder of the school.

There is another notable function of the abbot as an astrologer, a function which some monks are called upon to play. The abbot of Ban Naa Dong is consulted especially for weddings and names for young infants. Thus there are potentially many roles arising from his leadership position which an abbot can assume.

His importance in village life makes it easy for him to pass on news and information from the Government to the villagers, not only religious information, but also other sorts of news. The abbot is one of the regular radio listeners. However, the abbot and the headman have different ways of spreading information. The method adopted by the abbot is to add to the end of his sermon in the temple hall the official announcements which he has heard from the radio or through the district office's letter, which has been sent for him to post on the temple notice board.

During my stay in Ban Naa Dong, there was a big flood. The temple became the main refuge for the people, and the abbot, with the assistance of the headman and other leaders of the village, tried to comfort the villagers.

Many villagers, particularly the old people, tend to feel more secure and confident if they can just see their leaders walking around. The unity and public spirit of the villagers can be seen most clearly when they face a disaster like this. These qualities have been preserved and handed down through the care and sacrificial work of the traditional social leaders.

Leadership is therefore important for the villagers, as we can see from the respect paid to the leaders of the community and the burden of responsibility which they are expected to carry. Most of the Government development projects concerned with occupations or training in skills or special lectures always take place in the temple; even public talks from the provincial health officials about family planning are held in the sala, as are the election of the headman, the election of the village committee, and the village meetings called by the Chief of the District Office or the headman. Thus as well as being used for the other social activities in Ban Naa Dong, the local temple serves as the centre for any Government development project schemes, and indeed the abbot as the host has some influence on these activities.

The Headmaster

Kru Muang Chai, the head teacher of the local school is another leader of Ban Naa Dong. Even though he was appointed by the district office and was not born in the area, he has become a permanent resident of Ban Naa Dong

by his marriage to a local woman. Because of his age and non-religious position, he tends to have a less significant role in village activities than the Abbot and the Headman. Moreover, he is only thirty seven years old and is thus still regarded as a young man. Besides, he is not wealthy like the mill owner who is also more senior than he. Even though the head teacher does not listen to the radio much, there is, in front of the school, the village loud speaker which broadcasts radio programmes at the times that the head teacher walks around the school courtyard to check the grounds and buildings.

The head teacher makes his contribution to the village in many ways. Despite his socially cramped and unenviable situation he is able to exert considerable influence behind the scenes and has concentrated on developing a sense of patriotism in both children and adult villagers. He is directly responsible for the elementary education of the children of the village. He told me that the first few years of his work when the school had just been separated from the temple were his hardest time. His image as an interloper was gradually altered after his marriage, and when the people realized that the school was still largely under the Abbot's control. Besides, as he is the best educated man around, he is the principal link between the district office and the village office. He is the secretary of the village committee. Before all the reports are sent out, they have to be passed by the Abbot and

the Headman. However, if there is any villager who comes straight to consult him, he will ask them to see the Headman or the Abbot beforehand, and then when those senior figures have suggested that the villager see the head teacher, he will not hesitate to help. In a traditional society like this it is very important to avoid the antagonism that may arise when senior individuals feel they have been by-passed and therefore insulted.

Leadership traditionally depends on seniority, rank, or wealth in a rural northern Thai community. Someone like the teacher Kru Muang Chai is thus in an artificial leadership situation created by outside intervention. He has to try very hard to adjust and survive in that community. He has to hold down a responsible Government post, but he has to live and work among the traditional leaders who are accepted by their community in a way that a Government-appointed leader could never be.

The Mill Owner

The Mill Owner is a member of the village committee. His image in the eyes of villagers is that of a wealthy man. He has a good reputation for generosity and hospitality. Many villagers borrow money from him, not only when there is a natural disaster, but from personal necessity as well. Because there is some conflict between him and his mother-in-law, his family situation tends to make him more ready to undertake public activities than to participate in household affairs. He enjoys village meetings,

the village committee, the development projects, the irrigation scheme for Ban Naa Dong, working in the demonstration fields as a contact farmer, and seeing or conversing with other villagers at the village coffee shop which is also the grocery store. Largely because of these circumstances, the Mill Owner has quite close contact with other villagers and is regarded as a good and patient man who has sympathy for the other villagers.

The Mill Owner is a regular radio listener. The first thing that he does in the morning even before he washes his face is turn the radio on. He told me that radio has been his friend, his teacher, and his faithful companion for a long time. From the radio, he keeps in touch with official announcements, government information about the seed market, food prices, and the official recommended prices for rice which alter seasonally. This man occupies an ambivalent position. His occupation as a business man who has to make a profit from the villagers and farmers contrasts with his other role as the leader of the community who should demonstrate a high minded public-spirit and high moral standards. There is a kind of internal conflict, which arises from the difficulty of combining personal advantage and public responsibility. In spite of this, the mill owner succeeds in retaining both the respect of the villagers and his own integrity. He always passes on information about the recommended rice prices. When the farmers of Ban Naa Dong would like to sell their rice to him, he is willing to buy it at this guaranteed price

which means he will have a smaller profit. Although he does not lower the buying price for villagers, he does try to make a good deal with the wholesale dealers from the town, from other provinces, or from Bangkok who come into the village from time to time. The mill owner receives respect from other villagers in a different way from the Abbot and the Headman. The respect which he earns does not depend on an institution as does that of the Abbot or on a responsible post like the Headman, but it comes from the fact that in many ways he holds the purse strings of the village.

Ex-Novice, Manut

Manut is a diligent young man and the youngest member of Ban Naa Dong's village committee. He was only twenty-nine years old when he first became a member of his village committee by local election. He was born in Ban Naa Dong. His father, the grocery store owner, used to be in the village committee before he retired four years earlier. Manut himself is a part-time house builder and carpenter. Before he got married, when he was eighteen years old, he spent five years in the Ban Naa Dong temple as a novice. At that time he acquired the reputation of being intelligent, diligent in study and work, and particularly in Buddhist chanting.

Like his father, who turns the radio on as soon as he wakes up in the morning and leaves it on till he goes to bed, Manut is also a great radio listener, but listens especially to modern folk music programmes. Because of

this interest he has built up a reputation as the local musical expert. Young villagers enjoy having conversations about music with him. He has been appointed as the headman's assistant and looks after the interests of the contact farmers who grow tobacco. As I have observed, the headman and the village committee always give him responsibility for the entertainment programme when they have a temple fair or other ceremonial occasions, and Manut seems to enjoy this very much. From the radio, he knows the popularity of particular like (local comic-opera) troupes, folk song groups, cqi (traditional northern Thai singing) and sq (traditional northern Thai genre of chanting in dialogue fashion) groups, and can then invite them to perform at Ban Naa Dong. Of course, at his age, he cannot take much initiative in village affairs, and in this matter he submits to tradition. He remains a subordinate in the group in spite of his cleverness and ideas, which are much more advanced than those of the others, and his strength in active, practical work. Because of his family's economic background, he is free to devote much of his time to work for the committee.

Conclusion

It is clear that in Ban Naa Dong local leadership still plays a notable part in the social structure. Rank, seniority, wealth, confer rank not only between the leaders and other villagers but also even amongst these traditional leaders themselves. The abbot, the headman, the mill

owner demonstrate the more respectful authority than the local school head master and other less senior members of the village committee.

To other villagers, these traditional leaders are regarded as holding the higher social status. They can afford a show of prosperity which supports their leadership and social prestige (see Kingshill, 1965; Moerman, 1966; Klausner, 1974; also Turton, 1975). At the same time, their higher politico-economic status ensures that other villagers become dependent on these leaders. Radio is one significant means which helps these leaders to boost their popularity and reinforce their leadership, and it is used in various different ways depending on the individual.

A relatively harmonious adjustment between traditional leadership structures and new political institutions has been achieved by the efforts of this group.

Of course, things do not go smoothly all the time, and we can see conflict arise here and there from time to time. However, one may say that generally Ban Naa Dong illustrates successful accommodation between old and new, which can be seen in the local political structure as well as in other areas of life.

7.4.2 Ban Mon Khao Khew : The formation of modern bureaucratic village leaders

Even though the national reorganization of the bureaucracy of Thailand has been introduced to the Lanathai since 1890's (see Chapter 3; Von der Mehden and Wilson,

1970; and Bunnag, T., 1977), village government is still effectively in the hands of local leaders. In studying the transformation of rural northern Thailand during 1969-1970, Turton concluded that "in so far as village communities continue largely to reproduce themselves economically, and to some extent ideologically and politically at the local level, some of the old ideological and political forms and features are also useful within the new mode of production and are being selectively co-opted and transformed by the dominant classes" (1975 : 42). Using Turton's term, the village leaders of Ban Mon Khao Khew at a certain aspect have to "reproduce" the conditions for maintaining their status when they encounter urbanization and industrialization (see also Evers, 1966; 1969; 1973; Baker, 1973; Fuhs, 1980). I shall try to draw attention to the role of bureaucratic leaders, which is different from traditional leadership. Together with the brief description and discussion of each individual, the use they make of radio shall be considered.

The Village Headman of Ban Mon Khao Khew

The headman of this village, Phu Yai Ban Naun, thirty-three years of age, is the son of a grocer. He is the image of a new generation of leaders; educated, energetic, and comparatively youthful. His popularity derives originally from his business dealings with the villagers. As a middle man who guarantees to supply the factories, he gains profit and favour from both villagers and factories. Because of his role, which is different from that of the traditional leaders, headman Nuan cultivates a close relation-

ship with the district office. Where his headmanship is concerned, he regards himself as a government official, and runs the village by official laws.

As a regular radio listener, Nuan keeps very closely in touch with government information and the development projects and because of his relationship with the district office or even the provincial office, he has asked for help from these offices to develop his village. In the area of development projects, there are many new programmes designed to help villagers to make money. After some time, this headman became a middle man, buying produce and selling it to the merchants in town. Many villagers have increased their income by means of secondary occupations and the headman himself is glad to be able to supplement his small income from the Government by playing the lucrative role of entrepreneur. Even though he has gained a lot of useful information about the development projects and knowledge concerning the villagers' occupations, this headman does not pass on this information to the villagers directly. On the contrary, he uses it to equip himself to deal intelligently with the Government district or provincial office, and then various village groups will receive different advice or useful information according to their individual needs. In this way, not every individual villager will have the same information from the headman directly or from their neighbours, as happens in Ban Naa Dong. He enhances his power from the control of information. Usually

this headman will use official letters to invite or to inform villagers in the same way as they do at the district office.

The Abbot of Ban Mon Khao Khew

The Abbot of Ban Mon Khao Khew lives in the quiet peaceful monastery and waits for his time to come to die. Anyone can feel the silence and air of faded, deserted neglect as he enters the temple of this village. The Abbot Bun-Ma, seventy-eight years old, has lived in this village all his life. He told me that nowadays people have too many things to do and they cannot concentrate on any single thing. He felt that the young people of the present generation do not respect their elders any longer because they think they know better. Once the village school was in the temple, but it was separated from it seventeen years ago and the Abbot does not have a seat on the school committee. Apart from the elderly villagers who live in the temple or who have been good members of the temple for a long time, there are few people who come to see the abbot to ask him for holy water and astrological forecasts which, he told me proudly, function quite well. The Abbot mentioned that had he learnt magic when he was young, a lot of people would have come and the temple would be rich. It would not be as it is. The Abbot nonetheless holds one trump card, the temple television shows, attended especially by children and the elderly in the evening and at weekends. Of course this has little to do with religious ritual or

religious activities, but because of the shows, and only for this reason, the temple is still regarded as the centre of the village and a living institution. Together with deriving entertainment from watching television, Ban Mon Khao Khew people get to know the top politicians and are familiar with the names and faces and voices of the people in the Thai parliament. Even though the political programmes are not as popular as Thai boxing on television these villagers have a better chance than those of the other two villages to have a clear image of and familiarity with national leaders. By this means, their understanding of political issues has been enlarged, and with the additional factors of better transport, proximity to the town and factory work, they are more broadly informed politically than the Ban Naa Dong and Ban Lang people.

For the people of Ban Mon Khao Khew, the image of leaders is no longer limited to the specific examples of the headman, the Abbot or other village committee members of wealthy persons in the village, but extends to the Prime Minister and Cabinet, the Provincial Governor, the Head of the District Office and even well-known foreign politicians.

Industrialization exerts a very strong influence over a traditional society often marked, as we have seen, by the decline of the traditional elites. Although the Abbot listens regularly to the radio, he has had little chance and little inclination to develop those new ideas of which he has heard on the radio or to put them into practice.

Actually, he is a member of the village committee, and the temple is still its meeting place, but because most of the members seem to agree with everything that the headman says, after some time the Abbot does the same. A new image of leaders is taking the place of the old one. The villagers, especially the younger ones, regard the temple in the same way as they regard the Abbot, as a redundant institution. However, by virtue of his function as host at the television shows, the Abbot does help to bring villagers and Government into contact, and the temple is still used as the centre of most social activities even though its authority is less.

The Headmaster of the Local School

During my stay in Ban Mon Khao Khew, there was a serious criminal case. The Head Teacher Som Sak was shot in the shoulder. No one knows the real cause but he believes that an attempt was made on his life because of the village scout camp. Kru Som Sak was born in this village and is a resident of Ban Mon Khao Khew. He has attended a teacher training college. He married a wife from the middle region who could not speak the northern language and the villagers regarded her as a lazy, vain woman.

When the Government passed on the project of training the village scouts to the Ban Mon Khao Khew headman the Head Teacher was asked to conduct the training programme. The first training camp in Ban Mon Khao Khew went very smoothly. The headman noted that there was a high ratio

of adults over thirty five in the first training camp. But the second one had more teenagers and many factory workers, many of whom were not local villagers, but had travelled in from other nearby villages or even from other provinces. There was a rumour about a secret affair between two young people on the camp. The girl was from the village, but the boy was from Tak province, south of Lampang province, could not speak the northern language and was regarded as a "Thai".

To understand the significance of this, I must digress briefly in order to provide some background information about attitudes towards illegitimate birth. According to recollection of several villagers including the local midwives, there have within living memory (c. 60 yrs.), been 6 in Ban Mon Khao Khew and 4 in Ban Naa Dong, but the information is inaccessible in Ban Lang. The Ban Mon Khao Khew midwife, 58 years old, informed me that for as long as she could remember there had been only four or five requests for abortion, which she has consistently refused, even though much money was offered. They then obtained an abortion outside the village. One elderly villager told me that now young unmarried people occasionally slept together at home. They did not do it outside for fear of spirits. Hence if it is done at home, presumably, the parents must usually have full knowledge of what is going on. Again, most of the boys were from the same village. In such a case, talk between parents on both sides could achieve a compromise, either by forcing

them to marry or, very occasionally, the boy's family pay a great sum of token to the girl to have abortion. These are cases of course, when traditional courting (see also Wijeyewardene, 1966, 1967) was the principal activity for rural northern Thai teenagers.

Now, turning to the situation in Ban Mon Khao Khew, when the training camp was over, one day the parents of the girl came to see the Schoolmaster with their daughter declaring him to be responsible for the pregnant girl, but the Schoolmaster denied that it was his responsibility and suggested that they go to see the headman in order to summon the boy and force him to arrange a marriage. The Schoolmaster told me that he was not sure that this event had happened at the village scout training camp. Unfortunately, the parents did not want to see the Headman because the case would go to the district office, and they would be disgraced and ashamed. They became very angry with the head teacher and accused him of criminal irresponsibility. The boy ran away back home and could not be found. Finally, the girl, depressed and ashamed, moved to live with her relatives in another village north of Lampang province. About six months later, the assault on the Schoolmaster took place. However, some villagers say that the school master was treated badly because of the hatred people have for his wife. The head teacher still controls the village scout training, even though he is not happy, and after some time, the Ban Mon Khao

Khew villagers seemed to hesitate to send their young children, particularly girls, to join the camp. The whole incident demonstrates the kind of problems that can arise from sudden exposure to a kind of life-style, in which the sexes are brought together in a free atmosphere away from the traditional restraints of village society, for which these people, however modern they may like to consider themselves to be, are unprepared.

The Schoolmaster himself is a regular radio listener. He is a student of the non-formal education programmes and he told me that these programmes had been very helpful in his teaching career and even though he did not enjoy training the village scouts and other camping groups as much as he used to, the political news, information about Government development projects and propaganda which are broadcast on the radio were still the main source of political information for him to pass on at the camps. He understands political theory and keeps himself up to date with the current news and Government policy. Unfortunately, he does not have much chance to pass on to the community his understanding of political issues and of the necessity and value of voting and playing one's part in a democracy.

Apart from the training camp, in which he no longer feels eager to sacrifice his time and energy for political purposes, he has only poor ignorant pupils whose parents cannot afford to send them to schools in town who can benefit from his knowledge and his real desire to serve

his community. Unity, and the importance of traditional leadership have gradually declined in the changing society of Ban Mon Khao Khew, where urbanization and individual independence are increasingly in evidence.

The Canned Food Factory Manager

Though the manager of the canned food factory does not live in the village, most people of Ban Mon Khao Khew feel that he is a leading figure of their village, because many of them either grow crops for his factory or work in it. They respect him because he is rich, educated and embodies urban values.

He is only twenty eight years old and his father immigrated from China some fifty years ago, but his mother is a northern Thai. Socially he mixes with Government officials in Lampang on equal terms, but he is not interested in politics. He refused to become a member of the Ban Mon Khao Khew village committee claiming that he is a very busy man. He likes the villagers, he knows, for instance, that the strike was not their idea, but he does not know them as individuals except for the headman and the schoolmaster.

The Government Agricultural Official

As the direct representative of the Government Minister, the Agricultural Official, Sam Ran, who is by origin from the Suk-Kho-Thai province, has done very little to serve official aims. He told me that it does not matter much how hard he works, because usually his salary, as is the case with other government appointed officials, will be

increased one level every year. He feels that the area where he works is not his home town. He always has it in his mind, as he mentioned, that he will try to move to go to a better and bigger town like Bangkok or Chiangmai where his career chances will be greater, and where he can make more money by working overtime or dealing with private businesses.

Sam Ran is only twenty six years old, and single. One day he made an appointment to come and see a group of farmers during the rice planting season. This group of peasants had problems with a fungus which was spoiling the rice seedlings. They went to the district office at the suggestion of the headman in order to see Sam Ran, to ask for help and advice. Sam Ran told them that the day after the next, (he often postpones work for no reason), he would come to the village at 10.00 a.m. On the appointed day, the four farmers came and waited for him at the entrance to the village in front of the temple at nine o'clock in the hope that he would perhaps come earlier, but it was not until about half past five in the afternoon, when Sam Ran came into the village on his motor cycle. His inspection of the fields including the time taken to walk there had lasted no longer than twenty minutes. He thought that the fungus was not a serious matter. Then he concluded that today he had done a lot of work and that should be enough because he felt tired and hungry already. The owner of the house, the eldest of their group is a very good host. Sam Ran enjoyed that evening with them drinking

and having a meal. The host had ordered his children to go to the grocer's to find some more whisky to replenish the glasses, and two of the chickens in his run had been killed to make a curry.

The next day Sam Ran came with insecticide. He tried to use it sparingly because sometimes when the tomatoes for the factory are infested either the headman or the manager comes to see him to help with this problem. He uses insecticide from the office for that purpose and of course, he derives quite a lot of extra money in the form of the traditional "white envelope", or tip. He finished his work before lunch. As on the previous day he was invited to lunch. He spent the whole afternoon talking with the farmers mainly about Buddha images and their magic powers. He asked to see the very old Buddha images belonging to those villagers. He stayed with them until the evening. When he left it was almost eleven o'clock and he was drunk. However, he has got used to that, and it seems to be part of his daily work. Because of his daily routine, Sam Ran told me, he does not have much time to listen to the radio.

In general, villagers respect Government officials and regard them as their superiors because of the uniforms they wear and the authority they have from the Government, but they do not regard them as part of their indigenous community. They feel unwillingly subjected to an official authority which is derived from the Government. Their

respect is not based on real admiration or appreciation but on fear, suspicion and uncertainty. To villagers, a Government official evokes formality, unease, and feelings of inferiority. Even though the Ban Mon Khao Khew villagers have to make contact with the district officials more than the inhabitants of the other two villages because of the absence of traditional leadership in the village and the fact that the structure of the village is becoming more urbanized, their preconceived image of the officials has not changed but has become even gloomier. But for the village modern bureaucratic leaders it is convenient to ensure the conditions for "reproducing" their status by attaching themselves to the Government official bureaucracy. Paradoxically, Ban Mon Khao Khew villagers are less informed than those of Ban Naa Dong. The roles of radio and personal contact channel of communication within the process of the flow of ideas play a less significant role than in a traditional village like Ban Naa Dong (see Chapter 6, page 296-306 for the discussion about the Ban Mon Khao Khew villagers' radio listening pattern and their other social activities, particularly when they have contact with town). When we consider leadership and the relationship between the villagers and their leaders in Ban Mon Khao Khew in comparison with the situation in Ban Naa Dong, we can see that the Ban Mon Khao Khew people are more individual and independent but less well informed and with less social unity. Radio is used rather less for obtaining information and education. Besides, because

of the lack of traditional leadership, the secondary sources of practical information seem to be missing in Ban Mon Khao Khew. For this among other reasons, many Government development projects do not achieve such good results as they should, especially in a village where the traditional leadership has been undermined. In the case of Ban Mon Khao Khew, the economic status of the village has become better since factories have been established nearby and because there is a good road from town to village, but these are external factors which have brought benefit to the village. For the village itself there has not been much development from inside. There were only some small projects for a few groups of villagers arranged by the headman and related to his own business undertakings. Adoption of Government development projects directly by the village as a whole has been hampered by the absence of community spirit and an uneasy formal relationship with the district office. Ban Naa Dong, on the contrary, reflects a process where radio, with the assistance of village leaders, has been used as a stimulus for development, even though those leaders use radio partly to bolster up or defend their own status. Profit and favour are received by both leaders and villagers.

7.4.3 Ban Lang: A Close Relationship between Leadership and Hierarchy.

For the people of Ban Lang all public activities including political ones (although they themselves would

never see such things in terms of political activity) are connected with the temple. The temple is a source of knowledge and information about development projects. Leadership groups such as the village committee are still closely associated with the temple in Ban Lang. The school is adjacent to the temple and although like all schools it now belongs to the Government it is mostly staffed by the monks; most of the village committee members are on the temple's school committee as well. This committee is an important focus for village politics, since it is made up of the richest and most powerful men in the village, representatives of every faction. The committee members spend a great deal of time at their meetings. For them the temple is essentially a political forum, in which the prominent men of Ban Lang village jockey for position, form alliances, intrigue, come to the brink of open quarelling, and then retrieve the situation. In spite of the remoteness and small size of the community, the distinction between villagers who worship the different groups of ancestral family spirits (see Chapter 3) is quite obvious. In fact, there are only three main groups of family spirits for the Ban Lang people, but because of these spirits people feel that they do not belong to one big family. Much of the partisan "them and us" feeling which divides the village can be traced back to the rivalry between venerators of different ancestor spirits. Therefore the temple, which offers an alternative to animism, is regarded as the centre of the village and is felt to be a neutral

place. The temple represents the unity and sense of community identity of the whole village. As a forum, then, the temple and its hierarchy have become equated with leadership and the direction of local community affairs. Typical leadership and local power structures are seen clearly in Ban Lang because of its isolation from changes wrought by the forces of development.

The Village Headman of Ban Lang.

The headman of Ban Lang village, Phu Yai Ban Maa, is deeply involved with the community in quite a different way from the headmen of the other two villages. Since he lives in the village in close proximity to his many friends, allies and relatives, he is not in a position to be in any way a detached judicial figure in village affairs. His allies are linked to him by three main kinds of social ties: residence in the same neighbourhood, membership of the same cooperative labour group, and membership of the group which worships the same matrilineally inherited ancestral spirits. The headman's closest friend and ally is the traditional chanter, Achan Joo, a former monk, his assistant headman of the village, who is also on the school committee. Joo lives adjacent to the headman Maa on the north side of the courtyard, so he is a near neighbour, and he shares with him both the other kinds of social ties; the cooperative labour group and common spirit group. Another important ally of the headman's is the schoolmaster, who also runs the village grocery store. He lives not far from the headman's house, and is part of his cooperative

labour group, but allied with a different matrilineal group. The headman and the school master exchange a variety of favours.

When I was there these three allies, the headman, the chanter of folk epics and temple ritual, and the schoolmaster were on one side of a tangled controversy over some missing funds, a controversy which can serve as an example of the sort of tensions which are played out in the committee, and as an example of the way in which the headman acts politically with his allies. The funds had been collected from the villagers by the chanter, in his capacity as financial secretary of the temple committee, and allegedly handed over by him to another member of the committee. The other member of the committee was supposed to give the money to the abbot to keep until government agents came, so that the agency would provide tin for the temple roof under a matching funds programme. The money never reached the agency. The headman and the chanter claimed that another member of the committee had taken the money for himself. That member claimed that he took the money to the temple but that it was lunch time and the abbot was having lunch. His patron, the wealthy retired village headman claimed that he was holding the funds in a sort of escrow for future payment. The abbot, allied to the retired headman by birth and family ties, denounced the headman over the temple public address system as an irreligious maker of irresponsible accusations. The headman, his assistant, and the school

teacher were very angry, but did not express that anger openly. The truth was lost in the confusion of charges and countercharges. This working out of factionalism and alliance in a politico-religious forum was of endless interest to the headman. This is the way he involves himself in the temple as an institution. It is also in accordance with his position at the head of a relatively wealthy and powerful family.

However, such conflicts are only occasional, and as time goes by they seem gradually to be resolved. In general, the headman Maa is loved by the villagers. The favour which he gains from his community is of different kind from that enjoyed by the abbot; the abbot tends to receive more respect and fear from the villagers, but the headman has gained love and admiration for his goodness, strength, directness, honesty, and generosity. It is he who tried very hard to introduce useful and practical development projects for the village. For example, he told me that one morning he had heard an article about the government project for nutrition and health, a five minute article after the morning news programme, which was his special time for radio listening. From that he received the idea of the villagers' foraging into the forest to find bamboo shoots. Using their own money, the headman and his two friends went to the non-formal education centre in town. The outcome was very satisfactory. This project was widely adopted in Ban Lang after villagers had seen the good results from the headman's family's

canned bamboo produce. Now it has become a seasonal cash crop for them. As the leader of a poor community it is difficult for the headman to promote or adopt any development projects because most of them need both financial and labour investment. Without help from the Government the headman, like the other leaders, could hardly find a way to improve his standard of living.

The Chanter of the Traditional Songs and Temple Ritual

The name Joo comes from Boon-Chu in standard Thai, which means "by the support of bun or good deeds". Joo is very fond of the radio. More than anything he is very musical, and says he always gets new ideas to insert into his chanting (little topical jokes and comments which he inserts into his traditional recitations). Because of his skill he has achieved great popularity and his additions to the folk epics have a surprising influence on village opinion. One evening after New Year's day, there was the ceremony of cutting a little girl's top-knot, and the chanter was hired to do his duty. After the meal and drinks, at about 7.30 p.m., when everybody was merry and praising the strength of the rice wine, which they declared to be so strong that it could revive a dead tree, the chanter started to play his stringed sueng and began his chanting by describing the beauty of the world, the age of youth and then the dignity of adulthood. At this point, he added something he had heard on the radio news bulletin that very morning about a group

of young students in Bangkok who were regarded by the older generation as being "hippies" and "left-wing". The chanter told this story which he had heard on the radio in his own way by inserting humorous asides to make people laugh. In addition, to make it suitable for the occasion, he warned the young people, especially the host of the ceremony, not to be "hippies" but be good citizens as the Government and religion require. Unconsciously, he becomes the instrument of the Government by diffusing its propaganda. Thus, the villagers adopt and absorb such ideas automatically from one of the traditional leaders, whom they regard as the "uncle of the village". Before 11.00 p.m., he finishes his chanting by telling the story of Sawadi Mong Khon "The Blessed and Glorious Child", a story with a happy ending, and all the villagers, both host and guests, go to bed feeling soothed and refreshed. Probably the chanter does not really realize that he has exceeded the traditional role of village chanter, by becoming a Government spokesman; not by direct appointment but as a result of the effectiveness of radio.

The Schoolmaster

At one corner of the school compound is a small one-bedroomed house made of wood and with a tin roof. The local schoolmaster and his wife live there with their three children. The schoolmaster, who is an ex-novice, has never been to a teacher training college or even to school in town. When he was twenty-three years old he

withdrew from the monastic life and became a teacher in the temple school of Ban Lang. Just recently, in 1975, the village received a sum from the provincial office.

Even though the sum only covered the cost of tin for the roof and the transport of the tin from the town to the village, the Ban Lang people at the request of the village committee cooperated in cutting trees, sawing the wood and building a four class-roomed school building next to the temple. The villagers conducted an election and the schoolmaster, with the agreement of the village council, was appointed headmaster.

The schoolmaster is very active in his job. He will walk to see the abbot and then the headman almost every morning in case there is something he can do for the school committee. Occasionally, there will be some writing to do such as answering official letters or there may be some letters for villagers. In this case, the schoolmaster will bring the letters to the addressees. He mostly has to read them out because many of the recipients cannot read and write and depend on the schoolmaster. While he walks through the village he will carry his little transistor radio with him and listen to it along the way.

He is very interested in development programmes and political training programmes like the village scouts which he has heard about on radio. He used to try to ask for an assistant teacher and for leave to be trained in town and join a political training camp but his requests were refused. The district office gave the reason that

Ban Lang is such a small village and is not in a sensitive area like some other villages which they have to regard as urgent cases where there are strangers coming to teach communism to the villagers. Ban Lang is still the same as it used to be, so they see no need for such training.

The schoolmaster told me that since he had grown up in Ban Lang and was a native of the village, he felt that the Ban Lang people do not pay much attention to politics and many of them, inheriting attitudes from previous generations, think that politics is an affair which is of interest only to Government officials. There is not much that they can do about political issues. They regard themselves as outside the political circle and consider it the duty of the officials to manage the problems of government and national security. The schoolmaster, therefore, has found few ways to serve his local community, apart from his membership of the village committee. Any involvement in political affairs directly related to the national government has proved impossible for him and would be felt to be highly unsuitable by the village. However, like the other frequent radio users he has passed on ideas and agricultural tips and in his capacity as schoolmaster does a lot to inculcate a sense of national pride into the children.

The Abbot of Ban Lang

This Abbot was born into the family of a strong nakleng, or "bold outlaw". (The concept is similar to that of a mafia "Godfather"). After spending his childhood in the monastery, the Abbot of Ban Lang has come to be regarded as a charismatic individual and patron of the village. Even though as a Buddhist monk he is a representative of peace, calm, and neutral non-aggression, the Abbot has become a dominant figure in the village committee, a fact which certainly has to do both with the respect of awe felt for his background and his own subconscious desire to be a leader like his father.

In almost all cases, the monks, especially the Abbot, will be consulted and their views and agreement concerning a particular village project solicited before work begins. For Ban Lang, any project like the erection of a school building must have, at the very least, the Abbot's sanction if it is to have a chance of success. More important is the fact that if a project requires labour or financial contributions, the temple often assumes responsibility for the collection. A trusted lay assistant to the Abbot is in official charge of the collection. In this way, the funds given acquire a "merit making" guarantee, and there is consequently less resistance to parting with scarce funds. In some cases, such as the building of the Ban Lang school, the Abbot offered land belonging to the temple in addition to other help given. The Abbot does not confine himself only to giving his approval for

a project or asking for funds, but he also works actively in the project as well. The Abbot's very presence and words of encouragement at the work site stimulate the villagers to work steadily and to carry the project to its "meritorious" conclusion. The Abbot of Ban Lang takes an active and leading role in the community development project now in operation even though it is, sometimes, carried out without help from the Government. He is one of the most active radio listeners in the village although he omits the entertainment programmes. He told me that sometimes sin or demerit (bab) comes with the radio as well, but he understands that all the "sinful" programmes come with the commercial part of broadcasting, not with programmes from the national central radio station. Besides, he says the bab things always have to do with money. He mentioned that nowadays money, cars, and materialism are the main enemies of Buddhism because they make some people think that they can buy merit by money, a view which goes against Buddhist principles.. Moreover, he believes that communism, from what he has heard on these programmes, is an offence to Buddhism. Because of these convictions, he quite agrees with the idea that killing communists is not sin because it is a way of protecting religion and the nation. He often inserts this idea in his preaching. Listening to the radio, especially to the morning news bulletin has long been part of the Abbot of Ban Lang's life, in the same way as his chanting of

the morning prayers.

Because of the significance of their two different positions and the fact that they worship different family spirits, the Abbot and the Headman seem occasionally, and secretly, to suspect that the other is gaining more favour from the villagers than himself. Usually, being older, the Abbot feels more conscious of this than the Headman, and therefore, he tries to take a dominant part in the committee and becomes authoritarian with the other members. Being a regular radio listener, he has acquired knowledge which supports his position. Besides, he has a better chance of showing off his modern ideas and knowledge in public by his preaching and teaching. He keeps telling people that the Government officials who very occasionally appear in the village are royal servants. Therefore, villagers should respect them and do what they are told, including what they have heard from the radio. He says that they will not broadcast bad or misleading things to the people because the radio is the instrument of the King's Government, and he believes that the country is developing, especially in the capital, where the important emerald Buddha image and the royal family are.

It does not matter much, he believes, if a small village like Ban Lang cannot take up those development projects at the present time. He does hope for the future of the village, and tries to make the villagers share his vision that development is progressing well, just

as he hears on radio. However, at the present moment, they must be patient and help themselves by being chai yen (unflappable or possessing "sang-froid", see Chapter 8) and not worrying about material happiness. After he has finished his sermon, he asks for cooperation in work and for a financial contribution from the villagers of two baht for each family (five pence) to repair the roof of the temple which has been damaged by the storms of the previous week.

Conclusion

The single most important social institution in Ban Lang is wat (the temple). In spite of the factionalization which divides monastic from secular life, it symbolizes the unity of the village and the village's cultural ties to Buddhism. But from another point of view, as a major institutional context in which the members of the village committee act, competition for prestige, and political activity are connected to the temple. This reflects the interplay between the social structure of village life and the individuality of the members of the village committee in a variety of economic and political contexts; each leader moving in his own idiosyncratic way, through a culturally established pattern of obligations and expectations which has the force to shape lives. In this context, the use of radio can be found at work as a means to retain prestige at various levels: both as individuals and as part of larger institutions. Beyond the smaller social world of the courtyard of this remote village, the temple,

as the representative of both sangha (order of Buddhist monks) and nationalization, is perhaps the most important social context for villagers. Yet each village member experiences the temple differently and acts differently in the context of temple life, which offers many choices.

7.5 The role of radio in Government policy

Thailand, inevitably, has had to open itself to a flood of modernization, westernization, and modern technology which has interacted with traditional culture. Embree, who forgets to consider this background, might call this combination a "loose social structure" (see details in Embree, 1969; and Evers, 1969). The absolute ownership of broadcasting reduces the effectiveness of radio broadcasting in diffusing political ideas. When questioned as to how much they believed that radio news programmes and official announcements had given them the truth, 25% (Table 7.2) of the 1088 villagers replied "very much". Because of the low level of literacy, the lack of other informative sources and the lack of political knowledge, it seems to me that these rural northern Thai villagers have never had a chance to see anything beyond political caricatures, exemplified by their picture of communists as Chinese or Vietnamese soldiers and their image of left-wing students in Bangkok as immoral hippies.

Table 7.1 shows that however uninterested they may be in politics, radio is the main source of contact which the villagers have with the national Government. But

from my observation of the general radio listening, the pattern appears to be that the group of villagers who listen most to news and political programmes are the adults, especially the leaders in their community, and it is this small group of villagers who have a genuine interest in politics (c.f. Wilson, 1962; 57-58; 1979: 271-280; Turton, 1975: 356-389; Bunnag, J., 1979: 138-142). It is these traditional leaders who act as a channel of contact between the Government and the villagers. Indeed, in the modern world, as the social structure becomes more complex and politics becomes more developed, these leaders have to promote themselves and to be open to modern ideas in order to retain their popularity. The arousal of a sense of patriotic pride seems to be the most successful aspect of the political use of radio. As we have seen the first item in the daily programmes is the national anthem, followed by slogans concentrating on the three main national institutions: the nation, the religion, and the King. Then at 8.00 a.m. and 6.00 p.m., there will be the national anthem again to accompany the hoisting and lowering of the national flag. The habit has arisen of checking the time by these broadcasts and where there is a public radio speaker, people of all ages will stop their work even in the street when they hear the tune of the national anthem, in order to focus their minds on paying homage to the national flag which represents the unity of the whole nation.

Each successive Government elaborates a series of

development projects. For instance, during my field work, it was the "year of agriculture". The Government has introduced many agricultural development projects mostly to do with conservation and forestry; there were meetings, conferences, seminars etc. But nothing much was put into practice and not many villagers attended those meetings. The most obvious outcome of the agriculture years was a T-shirt printed with the slogan of the initiative. However, here again, the traditional leaders were active in calling meetings, in telling villagers about the Government's policy of developing the forests, in warning them that cutting trees is illegal. The Government seem to have very little awareness of the way the traditional leaders further the influence of radio with practical results that are in harmony with Government aims and they have in general shown little inclination to build on or utilise this natural leadership structure. In the field of communications it has been ignored. To my knowledge, not one of the traditional leaders of the three villages I studied has ever been invited to join the planning committee for radio broadcasting of that province. None of them has been interviewed or consulted in order to improve the programmes to suit the people's needs and practical way of life and none of them has ever been to the radio station of the Lampang province.

In the budget for social development money is allocated to the media, but only a tiny sum when compared with other

grants such as that to the unit of rural development, which makes hardly any contact with villagers in the remote areas, where radio has become part of their daily lives. The budget for radio amounts to only c. 0.1% of the spending for the rural development unit (Thai Government, 1979 : 33).

The main development projects which are planned for the future for the northern Thai people can be divided into three main types: the provision of jobs to offset unemployment and the wastage of manpower during the dry season, family planning to control the rapidly increasing birth-rate, and non-formal or information education. The projects for labour development are very important in the long term. As well as stimulating private investment in industry, the Government has to find areas for subsidiary jobs, and of course this project must go along with the development of their facilities by such things as transport, electricity, and irrigation schemes (see also Lerner and Schramme, 1969: 11-24). The second important project, family planning, has actually made very satisfactory progress, but when we look at the national census of the year 1977, there was a 4% rise in the birth-rate. The aim of the Government was to bring the birth rate down to 3.2% within the year 1980 (Thai Government, 1979: 25). In urban areas of northern Thailand, birth control or family planning have become normal, but although people who live in really remote areas have heard about such things on radio, the difficulty of transport and the ineffectiveness of the Government officials results in the birth rate and the

number of children in each family remaining quite high. Therefore, family planning has become the second most important development project for the Thai Government.

In the north of Thailand villagers have cut down trees and destroyed forests at a great rate. There are not sufficient radio programmes to educate villagers in the field of forestry conservation and national natural resources. One example of failure in development projects is the political training camp. Because of the lack of basic understanding of the nature of politics, a misconception of democracy and lack of any clear purpose for the training, the ideas of arms training and military style exercises have been abused. Many young villagers who have been in the camp misunderstand the purpose and as a result they strut around like half-grown sergeant-majors and dream of terrorism and bomb-scares. There are other problems caused mainly by the corruption of the Government officials in both material and time. As a result many projects cannot be finished because the money has been used before the end of the project (see more details in Neher, C.D., 1979: 320-336; Scott, J.C., 1979: 294-316).

In terms of propaganda, in its use of radio the Government has had a large measure of success in making political alternatives seem unattractive, not only by direct propaganda, but by distracting people from the realities of their situation with various Government-sponsored "sops", which kill any desire for wider-ranging

changes in the social order. The way the national radio station broadcasts the Government lottery every ten days, reports of boxing matches, and horse racing results has gained a great deal of favour from Thai people. When people realize that these kinds of sanug or fun are offensive to communism, they become supporters of the Government. Indeed, the Government has approached these people at their weak point, although how much this is a conscious political exercise is another matter.

7.6 Radio as the vehicle of communication, the rural northern Thai political culture and political development

From the earlier discussion, there is evidence of a low level of interest and understanding among rural northern Thai where political issues of ideologies are concerned. This might be due to two main spheres; the lack of vision on the part of the Government in planning the use of the national radio station and the traditional background of the villagers. Besides, the national level of education which has a very close link with the level of understanding of an individual's responsibilities in a democracy is not in a satisfactory state.

Having been under a monarchy and under Buddhism for a long time, the Thai people are used to the idea of stratified status determined by conduct in a previous life. Vis-à-vis the monarchy, Thai people, particularly the middle-aged and elderly, regard themselves as subordinate. Not only does the language which they use convey this but their

inferiority is also apparent in all their behaviour and a self-image of social inferiority is deeply rooted.

This cultural tradition of social rank has characterised Thai society for so long that it is hard to see how it could be abolished.

Moreover, another factor discussed above concerns rural northern Thai political culture. Their political culture must, through the impact of extrinsic modernization and modern values, face development and change. Due, however, to the deeply rooted values characteristic of northern Thailand, rural northern Thai people do not take politics so seriously that democratic growth yields the immediate results that it does in other South-east Asian Countries (see Osborne, M., 1979: 21-36; Neher, C.D., 1979: 277-279). In addition, Thai people have never faced the problems of the preservation or restoration of their culture or the problems of establishing an imposed democracy or even the abolition of slavery, which was achieved in a very compromising way (see also Wyatt, 1969; Bunnag, T., 1977; Somvichian, K., 1979). Other countries in the same area, after achieving independence from their colonial masters, changed and established a new governing system, democracy, socialism, or even after some time, communism, together with a revival of the national culture. This has never happened in Thailand. There are two obvious consequences: Thai people tend to be slow in adopting new political ideas and modern forms of government, and

seem to prefer the inherited social values and traditional social structure to the attractions of more egalitarian systems (Osborne, M., 1979: 73-87). Thus, the Thai people have retained their national habits and characteristics (Bunnag, J., 1973: 20-28, 1979: 133-169; Potter, J., 1967: 15-31).

In spite of their vague understanding of democracy, the villagers are beginning to learn that they have the right to elect their political leaders. Before the general elections in Thailand we can hear songs from radio which call on people to cast their vote. Politicians who had never been in the village before now appear there regularly. Of course, the names of these politicians first become familiar on radio. They buy broadcasting time and announce their policies and make promises. Most politicians know that these villagers enjoy entertainment more than serious political argument and they therefore provide open air film shows when they come to the village, just as the medicine salesmen do. Before the film shows and during the intervals, they canvass for their party. Although the villagers draw back from direct involvement with politics, indirectly they are participating at the political meetings by listening to the radio and coming to see the film shows.

The flow of information through radio can not only lead to a closer understanding among nations but it can help to create a close relationship among people of the same nation (Schramm, 1963: 109). People have a closer

feeling towards each other and feel more familiar with each other when they have often heard about each other, even if only on radio. News reports etc. evoke sympathy for people who have had bad fortune and who share the same nation and the same culture. This kind of sharing of experience and feeling, sympathy for each other in difficult times, helps to create a better understanding, and leads to unity (Roger, E.M., 1976: 268-9).

During my stay in the Lampang province, there was a big flood. At that time, a village at the bottom of the valley near Ban Lang was severely damaged and because of its location at the bottom of the valley, usually a very fertile place, it suffered worse damage than any other neighbouring village.

Many of these villagers are from hill tribes. The radio station of Lampang province broadcast this news and asked for donations of food, clothes, and any other basic needs to help them survived. Although floods have become quite a frequent phenomenon for rural northern Thailand, this natural disaster can be the last straw to villagers especially the hill tribe who are nomadic farmers. I have witnessed the prompt effectiveness of radio in bringing information. Perhaps, because Ban Lang villagers were busy and worrying about themselves, they did not have time to think about the neighbouring village. But both the Abbot and the Headman mentioned to me later on that news from radio reminded them of the village at the bottom of the valley. I presume that this might be true

because the next day after this item of news was broadcast, in spite of their poverty, the Ban Lang village committee called a meeting and asked all the villagers to give donations. Without radio at that very moment, they might not realize that the neighbouring village was in an even worse condition. Besides, other kinds of usual communication were cut off. As a result of the charity appeal on radio, the Ban Lang people provided nine tangs of glutinous rice and some other dry food such as salt, dried chillies, fermented fish, and dry bamboo shoots. The Headman, his assistant and the local schoolmaster had to use elephants to bring this aid to the distressed village. After four days, when the water level decreased, a Red Cross truck came to the area. The charity extended to this village brought about by radio listening was a good example of the power of radio. It can be seen that radio helps to bring together people of various regions, languages, cultural interests, or other potentially divisive characteristics, to form a unified community or nation. The flow of information by radio as the vehicle of those messages has created a good understanding among people who live in different parts of the country.

Radio, in itself, brings changes in human interaction, leading to a reassessment of the social structure. While the traditional leaders of all three villages have to use radio to retain their prestige, radio has popularised the view that in the present age leaders have to find a way to relate to others on their own level. Radio,

by informing the public of issues and candidates, plans and programmes, in some respects narrows the gap between the leaders and the followers to a point where each respects the other, depends on the other, and, therefore, interacts with the other on a more equal basis. This interaction is important, for it gives them a dignity which they lacked in the traditional society. Of course in that society everyone knew his place and the social strata co-existed with a muted conflict, but with industrialization, modernization, greater mobility and the effect of western political concepts, social interaction became more complex, greater demands were made on tolerance, imagination, and sympathy between disparate groups, and areas of conflict and alienation emerged. The example of Ban Mon Khao Khew shows an obvious clash between the old and the young, tradition and modernity, which have not reached a stage of harmonious synthesis. Ban Naa Dong on the other hand is a well-integrated community, where new trends have been assimilated into a culture whose structures have absorbed them without being destroyed. The role of radio in preparing the people for change, and interpreting social cultural and technological innovations to them as they take place, has already been described.

In rural northern Thailand, equilibrium maintains forces in some degree of balance. Anthropologists have traditionally studied the stability of equilibrium. Evans-Pritchard (1951) gives some examples of "the structure of equilibrium systems". He describes certain traditional

societies whose various elements exist in established equilibrium.

"It is of significance for us in our own society to learn that the Trobriand Islands expend their greatest energies in pursuit of honour and not of profit; that if the Samoans lack a diversity of ends, and the greater variety of personality these ends engender, they have personal security and the happiness that goes with it; that though modern science rejects the assumptions on which the Zande system of beliefs is based the system has a philosophic and moral validity; that to understand Nuer concepts of time we have first to understand their social structure; and that in Southern Ireland debt serves to uphold harmonious relations between countryman and townsman" (Evans-Pritchard, 1951: 107) .

But more recently, some anthropologists have realized, amidst the equilibrium, there are forces opposed to each other which create tension. Hence, even though the system is in the state of equilibrium, any external forces bringing change may upset this equilibrium by unbalancing the opposed elements. Sometimes rapid change is imposed and fragmentation may result. Bailey (1960) gives the example of conflict within the declining traditional caste structure in India, where ancient agricultural patterns which coincided with social status were disrupted by the development of a mercantile economy with an administrative system, independent of the caste system and its local operation. As a result, the village of Bailey's study is losing its politico-economic identity and its social structure is being undermined. Leach argues that "real societies can never be in equilibrium" (1964: 4). He states that the ultimate causes (of social change) are always to be found in the external environment; but the form which any change takes is largely

determined by the existing internal structure of a given system (1964: 212). Of course, the change that we have observed is change within the local traditional system, and therefore, there will be some continuity between the old and the new, "a process of involvement" as used by A.L. Epstein (1969: 4) and interaction between the old and the new. What is particularly interesting to a social anthropologist is how well the existing internal structure can adjust itself to external forces for change (see also Epstein, A.L., 1969: 294-309). These forces can never destroy the existing structure entirely, at least in the short term there will be some degree of continuity. In considering the role of traditional communal leaders within the three villages of my study, the existing tensions in their society may persist during the change. Nevertheless, their status can be preserved by adjusting themselves to the new conditions. When they are involved with the dynamics of social change, they still have possessed wealth which enables them to acquire novel and useful information more conveniently than other villagers. At the same time, being better informed and owning novelties not only increases their chance to improve their standard of living but also provides them with prestige. However, I would like to note here that the persistence and continuity which are still evident in the rural northern Thai community is principally based upon the improvement of agricultural production, and within the rural villages where people

depend on each other in various ways (see Chapters 2 and 3). Because of this characteristic of the peasant community, these traditional leaders can still play a significant part in the process of the flow of information. Besides, the improvement of agricultural production is closely related to changes in the political structure. Therefore, this type of change does not disrupt the traditional system, but in fact paradoxically, it relatively reinforces the persisting roles of traditional leaders (see also Chapter 6, the discussion about the role of traditional leaders in the process of the flow of ideas).

The following story from my own fieldwork indicates a way in which the structures of a society can absorb and modify a new factor and in doing so are themselves strengthened. It also shows the characteristic form taken in northern Thai society by what A.L. Epstein calls "modification of the traditional conception of leadership".

7.7 The Origin of the Rice Bank Project

During my stay in the area the Government had a project on "rice banks"; there were news items and programmes about the rice banks on radio, and television, in newspapers etc. There were radio programmes and articles about the successful and satisfactory rice bank project in one village called Ban Taa Kee Lek. The person who started this particular concept of cooperative work was an old man. He used to be a local school headmaster for many years. After his retirement he spent most of his time on farming

and gaining information from many kinds of media. He had time enough to observe the causes of the poverty of his neighbours. There were many causes, but the main causes were the debt of farmers, land ownership, the unstable price of rice, lack of knowledge about cooperatives and the marketing of farm products. After some time, he found that cooperative work was needed for this project. He proposed to extend the traditional patterns of mutual help into a new field and worked through the existing channels of authority, prestige and leadership. First of all, he asked for cooperative work from the abbot to build a big barn at the local temple, in the temple courtyard, borrowing all the materials for construction from the temple as well. Then, he asked the leaders and all the people who might support the first stage of his scheme, such as the owner of the mill, the Headman, the grocer etc., to come for a meeting, and asked them to be members of this project and at the same time asked them to lend some of their stock of rice to put into the rice bank. From the first meeting he managed to obtain about 130 tang of rice (equal to 2600 litres). Then, he spread this idea to the villagers with the help of the abbot, the headman and his other colleagues. People who wanted to be members of this rice bank could put at least 2 tangs of rice into the bank and then when they run out of rice, they could borrow 4 tangs. There was interest to pay; when they finished their harvesting,

they had to return 5 tangs of rice, 1 tang for the interest. In this way, the poor farmers did not have to borrow money and become debtors to any one person. There was a committee to consider genuine cases of need to borrow rice when there was not enough for all the applicants. After two years, this project had very good results. Through the local authority, this idea was passed on to the Government. Therefore after a while, people in many villages got to know about the rice bank and its value.

In an interview, this ex-school teacher told me that radio had inspired and encouraged him in many ways. He had received the idea of cooperative from a 5 minute radio programme one morning. After that he kept on with his reading until he understood the main ideology of cooperative work. Then he applied it to the traditional way of life of the local people incorporating ideas.

This is one example of many traditional leaders who have been able to retain their influence and social status by gaining knowledge of innovations and becoming more useful to the community.

Conclusion

The role of radio within the dynamic of institutional change and development can thus be summarised as follows. It carries the impact of new ideas to the economic and political substructures of the village, to institutions like political culture, traditional leadership and social dominance within an agricultural way of life. The way

these substructures have adjusted to the impact is characteristic of this stratified but not immovably rigid society. Ancient traditions of social dominance by the elites have meant that few villagers have any clear understanding of democratic ways, and obedient respectful following of established leaders is the norm. However, in the recent climate of innovation and development new qualities are required of leaders, and the concept has emerged that younger men, not necessarily wealthy or of noble family, can occupy positions of responsibility. This has meant that, by acquiring expertise in areas of modern technological competence, an individual may rise to occupy a position of influence and even render the traditional sources of advice redundant; to a degree this may be seen in the village of Ban Mon Khao Khew whose Abbot and temple have much less influence than the new-style modern bureaucratic headman, a young man who considers himself a Government official. However, since in many cases the established leaders have listened carefully to radio to retain their prestige and taken the initiative in making innovations within their society, they remain influential figures and the tradition of imitation within the community continues to accord them that place. Because of the strength of such structures and the resilience which the leaders have shown, development has spread in the communities at a much greater speed than it would have done in a more rigidly structured society and arguably in a more balanced and

less destructive fashion than the processes that may be observed in less authoritarian or imitative societies. And of course, the successful adjustment of the elites has bolstered the existing structures of the whole community, which though they have adjusted to new influences and been modified by processes of change, retain the same basic outline.

TABLE 7.1

Comparison of Sources of Political Information
or News of Current Events for Villagers with
Percentage Distribution in Three Villages.

| | BMKK | BND | BL | Total |
|-------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. Radio | 41.0 | 56.5 | 61.1 | 52.9 |
| 2. Newspaper | 11.4 | 6.7 | 3.0 | 7.0 |
| 3. Television | 7.5 | 1.3 | 0.8 | 3.2 |
| 4. Film | 13.7 | 4.1 | 1.6 | 6.5 |
| 5. Traditional leaders | 11.8 | 19.5 | 17.2 | 16.2 |
| 6. Government Officials | 6.8 | 2.1 | 1.7 | 3.5 |
| 7. Temple Notice Board | 7.8 | 9.8 | 14.6 | 10.7 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

TABLE 7.2

Villagers' Assessment of the Accuracy and
Reliability of News and General Interest
Programmes Broadcast by Government Radio Station

| | Very Reli | Reli | Fairly Reli | Not Very Reli | Very Rarely Reli | Not Atal | Dont Know | Na/Rf | Not Appl. |
|---------------------|--------------|------|----------------|---------------------|------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------|--------------|
| Political Broadcas. | 15.4 | 19.1 | 22.0 | 5.7 | 3.3 | 1.6 | 18.4 | 8.2 | 6.3 |
| Home News | 25.6 | 29.4 | 13.3 | 3.2 | 1.7 | 3.5 | 13.7 | 2.0 | 7.6 |
| Foreign News | 18.9 | 27.5 | 15.5 | 1.2 | 0.8 | 9.5 | 12.8 | 5.1 | 8.7 |
| Dev. Projects | 13.8 | 16.4 | 23.0 | 19.1 | 7.7 | 8.0 | 3.2 | 2.6 | 6.2 |
| Local News | 20.8 | 26.2 | 22.3 | 3.7 | 2.8 | 1.3 | 10.9 | 4.2 | 7.8 |
| Offi. Announcement | 22.2 | 24.5 | 18.2 | 9.5 | 5.7 | 7.2 | 7.3 | 4.6 | 0.8 |
| Pub. Rela. Announ. | 16.8 | 18.7 | 19.9 | 8.5 | 7.6 | 6.6 | 8.4 | 8.0 | 5.5 |
| Sports News | 23.2 | 25.1 | 18.1 | 11.0 | 6.4 | 0.1 | 7.6 | 7.5 | 1.0 |
| Weather Forecast | 13.1 | 17.7 | 21.0 | 14.1 | 9.1 | 7.4 | 5.4 | 9.1 | 3.1 |
| Pro. of Discussion | 11.8 | 19.8 | 24.5 | 8.0 | 7.5 | 4.2 | 21.6 | 2.5 | 0.1 |

TABLE 7.3

To What Extent Have you Received Official
Government Information from the Following
Sources? (BMKK)

| | Very Much | Much | Mode- rately | Seldom | Very Seldom | Not Atal | Dont Know | Na/Rf | Not Appl. |
|-------------------|--------------|------|-----------------|--------|----------------|-------------|--------------|-------|--------------|
| Parents/Relatives | 7.4 | 11.1 | 13.8 | 5.6 | 10.0 | 9.1 | 16.3 | 13.0 | 13.7 |
| Friend/Neighbour | 16.8 | 18.2 | 10.7 | 6.2 | 10.4 | 7.3 | 3.1 | 15.6 | 11.7 |
| Gov. Official | 9.0 | 11.3 | 15.6 | 10.1 | 12.7 | 3.3 | 12.6 | 9.4 | 16.0 |
| Newspaper | 8.5 | 14.7 | 12.3 | 7.1 | 5.2 | 9.4 | 17.6 | 12.3 | 12.9 |
| Radio | 12.8 | 13.1 | 16.9 | 8.8 | 11.0 | 5.3 | 13.3 | 11.0 | 7.8 |
| Television | 10.0 | 20.6 | 16.2 | 7.4 | 5.1 | 7.3 | 10.1 | 9.0 | 14.3 |
| Your Children | 2.6 | 9.1 | 19.8 | 14.2 | 4.5 | 5.5 | 10.8 | 16.1 | 17.4 |
| Temple /Monk | 6.3 | 6.2 | 9.0 | 7.8 | 10.1 | 18.2 | 9.4 | 13.5 | 19.5 |
| Film | 9.2 | 8.8 | 9.7 | 11.6 | 9.3 | 4.0 | 17.5 | 18.7 | 11.2 |

TABLE 7.4

To What Extent Have You Received Official Government Information from the Following Sources? (BND).

| | Very Much | Much | Mode- rately | Seldom | Very Seldom | Not Atal | Dont Know | Na/Rf | Not Appl. |
|-------------------|-----------|------|-----------------|--------|-------------|----------|-----------|-------|-----------|
| Parents/Relatives | 11.7 | 19.1 | 25.1 | 4.9 | 6.4 | 9.0 | 8.2 | 8.0 | 7.6 |
| Friend/Neighbour | 21.0 | 17.5 | 18.1 | 14.2 | 11.1 | 7.6 | 1.3 | 6.8 | 2.4 |
| Gov. Official | 7.6 | 7.9 | 11.5 | 19.2 | 17.0 | 14.3 | 5.3 | 9.4 | 7.8 |
| Newspaper | 3.3 | 1.2 | 9.2 | 21.4 | 25.1 | 12.7 | 9.2 | 11.3 | 6.6 |
| Radio | 19.5 | 26.4 | 19.4 | 3.0 | 6.6 | 7.1 | 9.8 | 4.2 | 4.0 |
| Television | 1.6 | 4.4 | 8.2 | 22.5 | 17.3 | 24.2 | 6.1 | 6.0 | 9.7 |
| Your Children | 2.5 | 1.9 | 9.1 | 19.0 | 20.7 | 21.1 | 7.5 | 10.0 | 8.2 |
| Temple/Monk | 18.2 | 27.1 | 19.1 | 9.6 | 11.5 | 7.0 | 2.1 | 0.7 | 4.7 |
| Film | 6.1 | 8.2 | 20.3 | 17.6 | 18.1 | 9.1 | 4.3 | 8.6 | 7.7 |

TABLE 7.5

To What Extent Have You Received Official Government Information from the Following Sources? (BL)

| | Very Much | Much | Mode- rately | Seldom | Very Seldom | Not Atal | Dont Know | Na/Rf | Not Appl. |
|-------------------|-----------|------|-----------------|--------|-------------|----------|-----------|-------|-----------|
| Parents/Relatives | 25.5 | 19.2 | 11.7 | 6.6 | 3.7 | 0.9 | 9.7 | 15.0 | 7.7 |
| Friend/Neighbour | 22.2 | 20.0 | 19.2 | 8.4 | 5.8 | 1.5 | 8.2 | 6.4 | 8.3 |
| Gov. Official | 3.7 | 1.6 | 7.0 | 22.3 | 24.1 | 21.6 | 8.0 | 5.6 | 6.1 |
| Newspaper | 6.1 | 7.1 | 23.5 | 26.1 | 12.2 | 11.7 | 4.4 | 6.3 | 2.6 |
| Radio | 24.0 | 26.1 | 12.4 | 9.7 | 4.6 | 11.2 | 0.7 | 4.3 | 7.0 |
| Television | 0.8 | 5.7 | 3.1 | 24.1 | 26.2 | 17.4 | 6.1 | 8.0 | 8.6 |
| Your Children | 12.4 | 15.3 | 19.6 | 16.5 | 6.0 | 8.6 | 8.0 | 3.7 | 9.9 |
| Temple /Monk | 26.2 | 18.8 | 10.8 | 3.5 | 0.4 | 6.1 | 11.8 | 15.1 | 7.3 |
| Film | 0.7 | 0.8 | 5.2 | 23.0 | 38.1 | 7.3 | 9.7 | 11.6 | 3.6 |

TABLE 7.6

To What Extent Have You Received Official Government Information from the Following Sources? (Total)

| | Very Much | Much | Mode- rately | Seldom | Very Seldom | Not Atal | Dont Know | Na/Rf | Not Appl. |
|-------------------|-----------|------|-----------------|--------|-------------|----------|-----------|-------|-----------|
| Parents/Relatives | 14.9 | 16.5 | 16.8 | 5.7 | 6.7 | 6.3 | 11.4 | 12.0 | 9.7 |
| Friend/Neighbour | 20.0 | 18.6 | 16.0 | 9.5 | 9.1 | 5.5 | 4.2 | 9.6 | 7.5 |
| Gov. Official | 6.8 | 6.9 | 11.4 | 17.2 | 17.9 | 13.1 | 8.6 | 8.2 | 10.0 |
| Newspaper | 6.0 | 7.6 | 15.0 | 18.2 | 14.2 | 11.3 | 10.4 | 9.9 | 7.4 |
| Radio | 18.8 | 21.9 | 16.2 | 7.2 | 7.4 | 7.9 | 7.9 | 6.5 | 6.2 |
| Television | 4.1 | 10.2 | 9.2 | 18.0 | 16.2 | 16.3 | 7.4 | 7.7 | 10.9 |
| Your Children | 5.8 | 8.8 | 16.2 | 16.6 | 10.4 | 11.7 | 8.8 | 9.9 | 11.8 |
| Temple/Monk | 16.9 | 17.4 | 13.0 | 7.0 | 7.3 | 10.4 | 7.8 | 9.8 | 10.4 |
| Film | 5.3 | 5.9 | 11.7 | 17.4 | 21.8 | 6.8 | 10.5 | 13.1 | 7.5 |

TABLE 7.7 The Sources of News for BMKK Villagers.

| | Head Man | Dist Offi | Radio | News Paper | Local People | People Outs | Other | Na/Rf |
|--------------------|-------------|--------------|-------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|-------|-------|
| Political Events | 15.7 | 10.0 | 17.1 | 14.3 | 13.5 | 19.2 | 7.0 | 3.2 |
| Home News | 6.3 | 4.5 | 23.8 | 16.1 | 21.0 | 19.6 | 8.6 | 0.1 |
| Foreign News | 3.8 | 2.2 | 24.6 | 9.1 | 16.5 | 22.1 | 19.5 | 2.2 |
| Dev. Project | 20.5 | 16.0 | 19.5 | 5.7 | 17.1 | 8.6 | 12.1 | 0.5 |
| Offi. Announcement | 18.2 | 15.2 | 19.8 | 6.3 | 18.2 | 8.4 | 13.1 | 0.8 |
| Pub. Announcement | 14.0 | 7.3 | 20.7 | 10.4 | 13.5 | 7.2 | 21.7 | 5.2 |

TABLE 7.8 The Sources of News for BND Villagers

| | Head Man | Dist Offi | Radio | News Paper | Local People | People Outs | Other | Na/Rf |
|--------------------|-------------|--------------|-------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|-------|-------|
| Political Events | 26.3 | 4.1 | 24.0 | 6.1 | 18.2 | 15.3 | 5.3 | 0.7 |
| Home News | 21.1 | 1.2 | 23.9 | 6.3 | 21.8 | 20.0 | 5.4 | 0.3 |
| Foreign News | 16.2 | 3.4 | 27.3 | 8.1 | 12.2 | 18.3 | 12.7 | 1.8 |
| Dev. Project | 25.9 | 16.2 | 18.5 | 5.5 | 20.3 | 3.8 | 9.6 | 0.2 |
| Offi. Announcement | 22.2 | 15.2 | 25.5 | 3.3 | 20.2 | 7.1 | 5.2 | 1.3 |
| Pub. Announcement | 24.3 | 8.8 | 26.7 | 7.2 | 25.3 | 6.2 | 1.1 | 0.4 |

TABLE 7.9 The Sources of News for BL Villagers

| | Head Man | Dist Offi | Radio | News Paper | Local People | People Outs | Other | Na/Rf |
|--------------------|-------------|--------------|-------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|-------|-------|
| Political Events | 27.7 | 3.8 | 25.4 | 5.3 | 21.1 | 5.3 | 7.0 | 4.4 |
| Home News | 20.0 | 1.9 | 31.5 | 6.7 | 23.2 | 4.6 | 11.5 | 0.6 |
| Foreign News | 17.1 | 3.2 | 36.4 | 8.2 | 15.1 | 5.7 | 8.0 | 6.3 |
| Dev. Project | 22.6 | 4.7 | 20.1 | 3.8 | 29.0 | 3.0 | 12.8 | 3.9 |
| Offi. Announcement | 21.2 | 6.1 | 24.1 | 3.3 | 27.3 | 8.2 | 9.1 | 0.7 |
| Pub. Announcement | 23.5 | 4.7 | 25.4 | 5.1 | 28.5 | 2.0 | 6.4 | 4.4 |

TABLE 7.10 The Sources of News for the Three Villages, (TOTAL)
(TOTAL)

| | Head Man | Dist Offi | Radio | News Paper | Local People | People Outs | Other | Na/Rf |
|--------------------|-------------|--------------|-------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|-------|-------|
| Political Events | 23.2 | 6.0 | 22.2 | 8.6 | 17.6 | 13.3 | 6.4 | 2.7 |
| Home News | 15.8 | 2.4 | 26.3 | 9.7 | 22.0 | 14.7 | 8.8 | 0.3 |
| Foreign News | 12.4 | 2.9 | 29.4 | 8.5 | 14.6 | 15.4 | 13.4 | 3.4 |
| Dev. Project | 23.0 | 12.3 | 19.5 | 5.0 | 22.1 | 5.1 | 11.5 | 1.5 |
| Offi. Announcement | 20.5 | 12.2 | 23.2 | 4.3 | 21.9 | 7.9 | 9.1 | 0.9 |
| Pub. Announcement | 20.7 | 6.9 | 24.3 | 7.6 | 22.4 | 5.1 | 9.7 | 3.3 |

- *1) "Local People" including Parents, Neighbours, Friends, Monks, etc., who live in the same village, but excluding the Official Leaders.
 2) People Outside the Village including Salesmen and any Townspeople or Neighbouring Villagers.
 3) Other, including Television, Film, etc.

TABLE 7.11 The Sources of Information about Development Projects for BMKK Villagers.

| | Head Man | Dist Offi | Radio | News Paper | Local People | People Outs | Other | Na/Rf |
|------------------|-------------|--------------|-------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|-------|-------|
| Village Meeting | 22.4 | 19.6 | 6.1 | 5.6 | 16.4 | 8.1 | 18.0 | 3.8 |
| Cooperative Work | 24.3 | 22.4 | 18.3 | 7.2 | 9.6 | 7.7 | 5.8 | 4.7 |
| Irrigation Proj. | 20.8 | 13.3 | 14.7 | 5.1 | 26.7 | 10.3 | 1.5 | 7.6 |
| Transport Proj. | 15.9 | 10.0 | 14.1 | 6.7 | 18.8 | 15.2 | 16.0 | 3.3 |
| Education Scheme | 19.0 | 17.3 | 24.3 | 7.8 | 10.8 | 5.1 | 9.8 | 5.9 |
| Sanitation Proj. | 17.7 | 11.1 | 16.3 | 8.8 | 12.2 | 8.2 | 14.4 | 10.3 |
| Agriculture | 12.7 | 14.3 | 26.5 | 16.2 | 17.1 | 2.3 | 4.3 | 6.6 |
| Election | 15.0 | 6.6 | 18.2 | 3.9 | 10.6 | 11.6 | 26.5 | 7.6 |

TABLE 7.12 The Sources of Information about Development Projects for BND Villagers

| | Head Man | Dist Offi | Radio | News Paper | Local People | People outs | Other | Na/Rf |
|------------------|-------------|--------------|-------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|-------|-------|
| Village Meeting | 31.6 | 13.7 | 5.3 | 2.2 | 27.6 | 6.3 | 12.3 | 1.0 |
| Cooperative Work | 27.0 | 8.6 | 20.3 | 3.6 | 24.4 | 5.5 | 9.6 | 1.0 |
| Irrigation Proj. | 26.7 | 8.7 | 20.5 | 2.2 | 25.0 | 2.2 | 10.5 | 4.2 |
| Transport Proj. | 30.2 | 5.2 | 22.8 | 0.1 | 33.0 | 2.1 | 6.2 | 0.4 |
| Education Scheme | 22.9 | 11.4 | 32.6 | 1.5 | 18.2 | 0.5 | 12.3 | 0.6 |
| Sanitation Proj. | 24.2 | 13.7 | 26.5 | 9.1 | 16.4 | 3.4 | 6.7 | 0.0 |
| Agriculture | 29.5 | 7.0 | 27.2 | 5.0 | 22.2 | 6.6 | 2.4 | 0.1 |
| Election | 32.8 | 1.1 | 30.9 | 3.2 | 18.3 | 10.1 | 3.1 | 0.5 |

TABLE 7.13 The Sources of Information about Development Projects for BL Villagers

| | Head Man | Dist Offi | Radio | News Paper | Local People | People Outs | Other | Na/Rf |
|------------------|-------------|--------------|-------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|-------|-------|
| Village Meeting | 30.8 | 0.5 | 14.6 | 1.7 | 26.2 | 2.1 | 22.2 | 1.9 |
| Cooperative Work | 25.7 | 2.6 | 20.6 | 0.4 | 32.2 | 1.7 | 16.6 | 0.2 |
| Irrigation Proj. | 16.6 | 0.3 | 24.1 | 0.2 | 23.4 | 13.2 | 9.1 | 13.3 |
| Transport Proj. | 16.7 | 1.9 | 22.5 | 2.5 | 29.0 | 3.8 | 19.2 | 4.3 |
| Education Scheme | 13.5 | 2.5 | 33.8 | 5.2 | 22.8 | 2.5 | 16.1 | 3.6 |
| Sanitation Proj. | 24.4 | 2.1 | 32.0 | 2.0 | 18.5 | 6.6 | 12.7 | 1.7 |
| Agriculture | 19.0 | 0.8 | 28.9 | 1.9 | 28.0 | 9.6 | 11.0 | 0.8 |
| Election | 23.6 | 4.1 | 31.7 | 3.0 | 16.2 | 15.6 | 5.4 | 0.4 |

TABLE 7.14 The Sources of Information about Development Projects for the Three Villages (Total)

| | Head Man | Dist Offi | Radio | News Paper | Local People | People Outs | Other | Na/Rf |
|------------------|-------------|--------------|-------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|-------|-------|
| Village Meeting | 28.3 | 11.3 | 8.7 | 3.2 | 23.4 | 5.5 | 17.4 | 2.2 |
| Cooperative Work | 25.7 | 11.2 | 19.7 | 3.7 | 22.1 | 5.0 | 10.7 | 1.9 |
| Irrigation Work | 21.4 | 7.4 | 19.8 | 2.5 | 25.0 | 8.6 | 7.0 | 8.3 |
| Transport Proj. | 20.9 | 5.7 | 19.8 | 3.1 | 26.9 | 7.0 | 13.8 | 2.8 |
| Education Scheme | 18.5 | 10.4 | 30.3 | 4.8 | 17.3 | 2.7 | 12.7 | 3.4 |
| Sanitation Proj. | 22.1 | 9.0 | 24.9 | 6.6 | 15.7 | 6.4 | 11.3 | 4.0 |
| Agriculture | 20.4 | 7.4 | 27.5 | 7.7 | 22.4 | 6.2 | 5.9 | 2.5 |
| Election | 23.9 | 3.9 | 26.9 | 3.4 | 15.0 | 12.4 | 11.7 | 2.8 |

TABLE 7.15 Percentage Distribution of Membership of Various Groups (BMKK)

| | Memb | Non Memb | Comm | Dont Know | Not Appl | Na/Rf |
|----------------------------------|------|----------|------|-----------|----------|-------|
| Local Cooperative Scheme | 42.1 | 36.2 | 1.4 | 4.1 | 6.0 | 10.2 |
| Royal Irrigation for Farmers | 52.5 | 34.8 | 1.8 | 0.6 | 3.5 | 6.8 |
| Water Users Organization | 53.0 | 19.5 | 1.2 | 10.2 | 2.7 | 13.4 |
| Farmer Union | 58.2 | 21.5 | 2.1 | 7.2 | 2.4 | 8.6 |
| Gardeners' + Rice Farmers' Union | 53.0 | 26.4 | 1.4 | 11.5 | 5.3 | 2.4 |
| Villager Scouts | 67.8 | 21.9 | 5.4 | 0.8 | 3.9 | 0.2 |
| Village Guard Volunteers | 32.9 | 40.0 | 1.6 | 14.3 | 4.2 | 7.0 |
| Territory Guard Volunteers | 27.1 | 30.1 | 1.3 | 13.7 | 11.7 | 16.1 |
| * Na-Wa-Pol Group | 43.6 | 41.4 | 1.2 | 4.6 | 3.8 | 5.4 |
| Farmers' Cooperative | 56.5 | 33.2 | 1.6 | 4.1 | 2.1 | 2.5 |
| Bank Loan for Farmers | 59.2 | 8.8 | 9.9 | 1.4 | 9.7 | 11.0 |
| Working Youth Group | 21.7 | 45.3 | 2.8 | 7.2 | 18.6 | 4.4 |

TABLE 7.16 Percentage Distribution of Membership of Various Groups (BND)

| | Memb | Non Memb | Comm | Dont Know | Not Appl | Na/Rf |
|----------------------------------|------|----------|------|-----------|----------|-------|
| Local Cooperative Scheme | 75.1 | 19.1 | 1.3 | 0.4 | 3.8 | 0.3 |
| Royal Irrigation for Farmers | 65.9 | 26.2 | 2.1 | 1.8 | 2.7 | 1.3 |
| Water Users Organisation | 77.8 | 16.6 | 2.7 | 0.7 | 1.1 | 1.1 |
| Farmers' Union | 66.4 | 23.7 | 3.8 | 1.6 | 3.6 | 0.9 |
| Gardeners' + Rice Farmers' Union | 63.6 | 31.6 | 2.2 | 0.2 | 2.2 | 0.2 |
| Villager Scouts | 76.1 | 8.1 | 10.7 | 1.2 | 3.2 | 0.7 |
| Village Guard Volunteers | 22.0 | 52.3 | 1.1 | 11.3 | 13.2 | 0.1 |
| Territory Guard Volunteers | 23.2 | 47.0 | 0.7 | 12.0 | 15.0 | 2.1 |
| Na-Wa-Pol Group | 11.6 | 50.2 | 0.2 | 15.6 | 12.3 | 10.1 |
| Farmers' Cooperative | 84.3 | 7.2 | 4.8 | 0.7 | 2.4 | 0.6 |
| Bank Loan for Farmers | 53.1 | 26.6 | 11.9 | 1.6 | 6.0 | 0.8 |
| Working Youth Group | 21.2 | 24.3 | 3.0 | 14.2 | 34.9 | 2.4 |

TABLE 7.17 Percentage Distribution of Membership of Various Groups (BL)

| | Memb | Non Memb | Comm | Dont Know | Not Appl | Na/Rf |
|----------------------------------|------|----------|------|-----------|----------|-------|
| Local Cooperative Scheme | 39.2 | 41.8 | 1.2 | 3.5 | 11.7 | 2.6 |
| Royal Irrigation for Farmers | 29.7 | 25.8 | 1.5 | 8.8 | 25.9 | 8.3 |
| Water Users Organisation | 26.2 | 27.0 | 1.2 | 11.1 | 23.8 | 10.3 |
| Farmers' Union | 46.3 | 15.8 | 2.0 | 7.6 | 21.3 | 7.0 |
| Gardeners' + Rice Farmers' Union | 49.8 | 18.8 | 2.7 | 11.9 | 9.1 | 7.7 |
| Villager Scouts | 8.6 | 59.7 | 0.0 | 1.5 | 18.3 | 11.9 |
| Villager Guard Volunteers | 3.1 | 67.6 | 0.0 | 4.0 | 21.5 | 3.8 |
| Territory Guard Volunteers | 2.0 | 62.7 | 0.6 | 2.5 | 27.1 | 5.1 |
| Na-Wa-Pol Group | 0.8 | 16.4 | 0.0 | 7.2 | 47.0 | 28.6 |
| Farmers' Cooperative | 63.8 | 21.7 | 3.8 | 1.1 | 0.5 | 9.1 |
| Bank Loan for Farmers | 11.5 | 58.0 | 3.8 | 4.6 | 16.7 | 5.4 |
| Working Youth Group | 1.2 | 56.2 | 0.8 | 3.0 | 31.7 | 7.1 |

Table 7.18 (Overleaf)

Table 7.18 Percentage Distribution of Membership of Various Groups (Total)

| | Memb. | Non Memb | Comm | Dont Know | Not Appl. | Na/Rf |
|----------------------------------|-------|-------------|------|--------------|--------------|-------|
| Local Cooperative Scheme | 52.1 | 32.4 | 1.3 | 2.6 | 7.2 | 4.4 |
| Royal Irrigation for Farmers | 49.4 | 28.9 | 1.8 | 3.7 | 10.7 | 5.5 |
| Water Users Organisation | 52.3 | 21.0 | 1.7 | 7.5 | 9.2 | 8.3 |
| Farmers' Union | 57.0 | 20.3 | 2.6 | 5.5 | 9.1 | 5.5 |
| Gardeners' + Rice Farmers' Union | 55.5 | 25.6 | 2.1 | 7.9 | 5.5 | 3.4 |
| Villager Scouts | 50.7 | 29.9 | 5.4 | 1.2 | 8.5 | 4.3 |
| Villager Guard Volunteers | 19.3 | 53.6 | 0.9 | 9.6 | 13.0 | 3.6 |
| Territory Guard Volunteers | 17.8 | 48.2 | 0.7 | 9.9 | 16.1 | 7.3 |
| Na-Wa-Po; Group | 18.7 | 36.0 | 0.5 | 9.1 | 21.0 | 14.7 |
| Farmers' Cooperative | 68.1 | 20.7 | 3.4 | 2.0 | 1.7 | 4.1 |
| Bank Loan for Farmers | 41.3 | 31.2 | 8.5 | 2.5 | 10.8 | 5.7 |
| Working Youth Group | 14.7 | 41.9 | 2.3 | 8.1 | 28.4 | 4.6 |

CHAPTER 8
RADIO AND CHANGING VALUES

This chapter sets out the trends and changing pattern within the social and cultural milieu of the northern Thai villagers, and assesses the role of radio within that process. Observable patterns of social change are shaped and influenced by traditional value systems. Although they are themselves subject to modification, values provide an element of continuity within the process of change and development.

A.L. Epstein, writing about "structural change, cultural continuity, and the question of identity" in Matupit, observes that

"The events of change can...be described in terms of a set of frequencies of alternatives, while the process itself might be characterised, in its positive aspects, as the generation of new social forms and, negatively, as the decay of old forms, the erosion of custom" (Epstein, A.L., 1969 : 309).

Taking this position as my starting point, I would like to examine certain key values of the northern Thai villagers and their interaction both with the external impetus to change, exerted by various sources including radio, and the development process within patterns of social behaviour. Of particular importance is the role of traditional leaders. In this field changing values, partly fed by external influences, have led to a broadening of the pre-requisites of leadership. This threat to the

established leaders has been countered by their adaptability (in which, in turn, paradoxically they are helped by the value of information which they obtain from the media) and the continuing strength of the traditional value of respect for authority and seniority.

8.1 Radio and acculturation

In this section, I would like to discuss the interaction between radio broadcasting and two major cultural traits of northern Thailand: the Lanathai Language and their religious beliefs. The impact of radio, together with other factors, upon these will be the basis of my discussion: to what extent has radio been influential in causing change and what is the nature of the consequences. The evolution of new values and the erosion of the old, the confrontation between deeply ingrained traditional beliefs and the materialism and competitiveness of a developing technological society, the displacement of traditional sources of knowledge and counsel, are complex phenomena. In rural northern Thai communities, the process has been instigated and to a considerable extent, furthered by various external sources of modern technology which inculcate new ideas and even directly demand change.

8.1.1. The language of broadcasting

One of the features which defines a society or an ethnic group within a larger community is its language, and in the case of the northern Thai villages, language is an area which has undergone some very significant changes (the distinctive characteristic between Lanⁿathai language and the standard Thai Language, also the Thai Government's

linguistic policy are outlined in Chapter 2). Of the programmes broadcast by the Lampang radio station only three are in Lanathai one being the local news bulletin which is interspersed with popular songs in standard Thai, the others being a series which teaches standard Thai and a traditional genre of chanted folk tales and poems. These programmes make up a mere 7.95% of the total output (Table 8.1). The local news bulletin, as table 5.1 indicates, has become very popular among the villagers and the reasons for this are interesting. Even though villagers' ability to understand what they hear in standard Thai language is better than their ability to speak it, ease of listening and comprehension of their own language is obviously a major factor. But also the news coverage is confined to events within the province, which are of much more immediate interest to them. The news bulletin is followed and supplemented by the newscaster's own commentary on its contents, which in many ways duplicates the traditional beliefs of the listeners. For example, when I was there, there was a very serious car accident on the main highway in Lampang province involving a car and a bus. Twenty seven people were killed and the event was a major news item. The bus, with some fifty passengers, was coming north from Bangkok at about 4 a.m. Besides giving details of the collision the commentator recounted at great length the supposed reasons for the crash. Survivors reported that at the start of the journey the driver omitted to pay homage to the guardian spirit of the bus. Normally he would do so and add a new string of braided flowers

Table 8.1 The Programmes in Northern Thai Language and
Standard Thai

| | |
|--|-------|
| News Bulletin | |
| Home News | 47.02 |
| Foreign News | 9.95 |
| *Local News | 18.02 |
| Public Announcements | 3.20 |
| Sports News | 11.17 |
| General News | 3.70 |
| Weather Forecast | 5.12 |
| News Analysis | 1.82 |
| Total | 100% |
| Educational Programmes | |
| Educational Programmes | 65.80 |
| Agricultural programmes | 7.88 |
| Health Programmes | 6.59 |
| Religious Programmes | 11.85 |
| *General Knowledge (including 3.94% of Teaching the Standard Thai Language) | 7.88 |
| Total | 100% |
| Entertainment Programme | |
| Serial Radio Plays | 30.11 |
| Light Music | 14.68 |
| Thai Folk Songs | 21.89 |
| Thai Pop Songs | 20.35 |
| Western Pop Songs | 6.50 |
| Thai Classical Songs | 1.75 |
| *Northern Thai Classical Songs | 4.72 |
| Total | 100% |

*The Programmes with * are in Northern Thai Dialect.

*Source: The Lampang Radio Station, (1977) The Programmes
of Broadcasting Leaflet No. 3.

(puang ma lai) to the Buddha statue and banner, the national flag and the protrait of the royal family which he keeps in the driver's cabin. Various warnings were given on this ill-omened trip, notably the fact that he had to make several attempts to get the engine started and that the conductor caught his hand in the closing door. The success of such commentaries is reinforced by the widespread feeling that only the local language may be used to talk of such things and that another language, if used to describe such matters, simply would not make sense.

Radio has here supplemented the traditional process of catching up on news outside the village from travellers and traders, the commentary taking the place of the accretions of interpretation and rumour which made stories grow in the telling and for which the need is still clearly felt.

However, all other programmes are in standard Thai, and as the people listen to the radio it is inevitable that they increasingly absorb elements of that language into their everyday speech, especially in the case of the young people who already have a grounding in standard Thai usage from school.

Not only are there the general differences between standard Thai and the northern Thai language, but in standard Thai itself, there are different types of vocabulary which are used to differentiate between daily speech and the academic sphere. The latter kind of vocabulary has its main root in either Sanskrit or Pali. They are used principally for such terms as weather visibility (thasana

visai), statistics (sathiti), seminar (samana), anthropology (manusaya vitaya). These terms are introduced mainly in conjunction with Western knowledge. Such vocabularies are used in broadcasting (see Chapter 4, p.193 also). To understand this type of standard Thai language, the audience should possess at least the basic skills gained from four-year compulsory school. Villagers who have attended education beyond compulsory level, or the ones who have had Buddhist monastic education which involved Sanskrit and Pail, can undoubtedly understand better, and consequently absorb more.

Nonetheless, the influence of standard Thai language through broadcasting is evident at another level. Many slangs or mottos which are originally created for radio advertisement or modern folk songs become current idiom in general conversation among northern Thai villagers. The word mi chaiya literally means "success" in standard Thai, but was the name given to a family planning project. Now the Chairman of this project is called Mr. Mi Chaiya. His name is frequently used for this campaign through mass media and often heard on radio. There are many similar instances. During my field work, I came across another popular expression. The word ka' dang gna lon fai is the title of a modern folk song (ka' dang gna is a kind of flower-spice, similar to clove). The literal meaning is that this flower, even though it is dried, will produce a beautiful odour when it is roasted, or set near to the fire. By metaphorical extension, the reference is to

a middle aged woman who still possesses sexual vitality. There is different name for this flower in Lanathai language; cam pa lao. This type of short and effective wordings is initially created for the purpose of persuasive advertising especially for broadcasting, but later on becomes widely adopted and used in their new senses in conversation among villagers. This is particularly evident among younger people within the three villages of my study.

Another example of the influence of standard Thai upon rural northern Thai villagers can be seen in the pronouns and in the polite forms of address which are put at the end of spoken sentences and in replies to calls. It is the reverse way of the linguistic system which Western people use "Sir" or "Madam" in English. Originally, Northern Thai language has its own words and pronunciation which are completely different from the middle region Thai dialect. For instance, Northern Thai people put the polite word cao (sir, madam, or yes) at the end of their sentences and use the same word in replies, (in this case it means 'yes'). They refer to themselves with the pronoun kha cao. This gradual change can be distinguished between villagers of different two age-groups: above and below 45-50 years of age. During the 1930's, compulsory education, compulsory use of standard Thai language and radio broadcasting as mass media were introduced to rural villages. Observation suggests that it is among younger villagers within the three villages of my study that the standard Thai language exerts a more dominant influence. In northern Thai language there is no difference between

male and female pronouns; both sexes use the word kha cao to refer to themselves, but in standard Thai, they use the word "phom" for men, and "di chan" for women. Also speakers of the standard Thai language use different words for forms of address at the end of sentences (sir, madam) and in replies (yes sir or yes madam): krap for men and kha for women. Nowadays, younger villagers normally use phom, dichan, krap and kha both at school and at home instead of kha cao and cao the way their elders use.

Furthermore, as modern science and technology have been adopted by the nation it has acquired a terminology in standard Thai, and in order to share in the process of development the speakers of the northern language have to deny their natural linguistic preferences and open themselves to the host of technical terms in Thai and even in alien languages. Consequently this phenomena produces an inevitable degree of social conflict among villagers which will be discussed later in this chapter. But at this stage I would like to concentrate on how this process of change has been developed.

Such new words are normally the name for new things heard of on the radio and either purchased or as in the case of Ban Mon Khao Khew and Ban Naa Dong, seen in town or through the outsiders of the village such as salesmen, district officials and occasionally through open-air cinema. The standard Thai terms for tractor (rot thaek toe), fertilizer (pui) and other agricultural novelties have been adopted into the language. Washing powder was known

from the start by the American trade-mark "Fab". Indeed the effect of the availability of consumer goods and advertising has led to the replacement of some northern Thai names for things by the standard Thai equivalent.

8.1.1.1. Language usage and social differentiation. In sociological terms what is happening is that the normal process of linguistic and social development takes place initially within the dominant culture of a society and then proceeds to influence the subsidiary cultures (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955 : 81; McLuhan, 1967). Based upon this hypothesis, the flow of innovative information is carrying with it the dominant culture of language usage. At the rural village level like the ones of my study, the differentiation can be divided into two categories: among villagers of the same village, and between villagers and outsiders such as salesmen, Government appointed district officials and other village visitors.

Firstly let us consider the first category. Familiarity with standard Thai, and therefore by implication with a desirable sophistication, has a certain social value. Young people who have been to teacher training colleges or some other form of higher education will consciously use Thai words to impress, and a similar phenomenon can be observed in the language of factory workers, and domestics who dazzle the rustics back home with their urban sophistication as they return to help with the rice growing or the harvest. A combination of factors: here media exposure, contact with town and level of literacy, produces the cultural

differentiation. One obvious means through which they are reflected and expressed is language usage.

The villagers' consciousness of the difference between the compulsory and their own language can be seen in many occasions. One day in Ban Mon Khao Khew, I walked past the local school and heard a teacher instructing in Lana-thai. Presumably, he thought there was no outsider around. Students also answered the questions in the same language. Many days later when this village expected a visit from the veterinary surgeon from Lampang City, the same teacher started to teach in standard Thai language with the same group of pupils. The Ban Mon Khao Khew school teacher's role helps to illustrate the villagers' attitude towards the superiority of the compulsory language.

In order to give a clearer picture of this conflict, I would like to refer to a case from Ban Lang of two young women. I witnessed the prejudice of a 28 year old woman against one of her neighbours using the standard Thai language. At the village grocery, this woman did not say anything when she heard her neighbour (a single woman about the same age) call a kind of sweet cake by the standard Thai name. Even though she did not mention anything at that moment, her face expressed some kind of scornful feeling. However, later on, when her neighbour had gone, she said to the shopkeeper, "Probably that woman would like to find a middle region husband" (who speaks standard Thai, and that is why she used the standard Thai language). In such a small rural village anybody who uses the different

dominant language for such small things is supposed to be pretentious and trying to appear superior in other villagers' eyes, particularly when that person is not yet in the position of a village leader.

The northern Thai peasants' attitude towards the standard Thai language depends on the circumstances in which they encounter people from outside their villages, especially people who use standard Thai language as their mother tongue. In March 1979, during my stay in Ban Naa Dong village, a Buddhist monk came on pilgrimage from the middle region to visit the village. He was 56 years old and his native language is the standard Thai. He tried to speak with the abbot and other villagers in northern Thai language by using both accent and vocabulary, but he was not quite successful in adopting the accent. Villagers who came to the temple hesitated to speak to him. This might also be due to the fact that he is an outsider. Some young villagers became gigglish when they had to present food to this monk and looked uncomfortable about answering when they were asked. I noticed that only two girls who took the leading role in the group tried to answer in standard Thai language, but the rest spoke in their native language. The abbot of Ban Naa Dong had also made an attempt to speak standard Thai to the visiting monk when there were not many people around. In this case, to use someone's own language under conditions of friendship is an expression of honour and respect when both sides occupy equally important positions. On the other hand, it is a symbol of leadership and superiority

which provides prestige for persons who have acquired the necessary linguistic skill to use the dominant language.

The group which most clearly shows the effect of radio on their progress is the village leaders, who listen a great deal to radio. Acquaintance with standard Thai and the ability to besprinkle their conversation and advice with the official and technical words they hear on the radio enhances their prestige in the eyes of the villagers.

Nonetheless, Ban Naa Dong villagers react in a different way to some outsiders. Occasionally district officials come to Ban Naa Dong to attend the village meeting. They are from the middle region and speak standard Thai. When villagers including the abbot and other village committee members have to speak to him, they speak in the northern Thai Language. They did not show any attempt to use standard Thai. This phenomenon is different from the way villagers reacted to the visiting monk. The reaction expressed through their language usage here demonstrates two major elements. Firstly, the use of standard Thai language is regarded as a manifestation of authority and formality (see also Therborn, G., 1980). It is the symbol of oppressing political ideology upon the minority whose traditional culture is undermined (c.f. Wild, C., 1983 : 15). Secondly, this shows the sensitivity of the in-group and out-group feeling which might affect the flow of the ideas.

Conclusion

In brief, in spite of the preference for and better

understanding in their own language, the rural northern Thai peasants inevitably have adopted elements of standard Thai into their daily speech. To a certain extent it is evident that radio broadcasting has played a part in this phenomenon within the three villages of my study. Together with the use of radio, villagers have been exposed to various channels of communication and the flow of ideas conveyed by the standard Thai language. During this process, cultural differentiation at many levels is increased, and many types of social conflict have arisen.

The standard Thai language carries with it social values: superiority, urban sophistication ideological authority. Village elites have a better chance to acquire this quality. Consequently, they can retain, or even gain more prestige. Yet when they come face to face with the original owners of this dominant culture, they tend to reserve their indigenous cultural identity and become conservative.

Among other villagers standard Thai, especially the attractive phrases frequently heard through communication channels, is adopted as a temporary fashion of slangs in general conversation. Here again, the rural northern Thai are conscious of their language identity when they find that their village mates of the same social status overuse the superior language which is not their own.

This complicated phenomenon does not merely involve the influence of the dominant language through channels of communication or the flow of ideas, but also to name but a few, factors such as modern education and local sources

of information. All these functional factors are in fact, well inter-woven and overlap with each other. To consider this process by concentrating upon any single criteria would be simplistic.

8.1.2 Radio and Religion

It is impossible to over-estimate the influence of the highly syncretistic, national version of Theravada Buddhism upon rural northern Thai social norms, values and traditions. Buddhism and other ancient social institutions have to confront the influx of Western technological ideas, opportunities and values. Among many other vehicles of Western technology, there is a mode of innovative ideas contributed by radio. I shall consider first how Buddhism interacts with this channel of communication.

8.1.2.1 Buddhism and the use of radio broadcasting. First of all Buddhism has, to a certain extent, seized the opportunities offered by radio to disseminate its values. Lampang radio station devotes about 4% (Table 4.1) of its total broadcasting time to religious programmes. One kind of religious programme consists of half an hour of chanting and preaching on the Buddhist holy day, which occurs once every week on a day determined by the lunar calendar. Generally the preacher will be a well known Buddhist monk, often from within the province but sometimes from further afield. Usually the programme will start with chanting and the giving of the five precepts and then the monk will read a manuscript from the Buddhist scriptures (tripitaka). The sermon which follows is

frequently a translation of what he has read from the manuscript and the programme concludes with more chanting.

Sometimes young well-educated monks with progressive ideas will preach sermons in a modern idiom, giving advice on the practical problems of daily living and the pursuit of happiness. Occasionally this kind of sermon will take the modern form of a broadcast dialogue. However such innovations are not by any means universally popular among the regular listeners to this programme, especially the elderly. They have the feeling that they earn less merit by listening to such a sermon than by listening to one in Pali or Sanskrit. A sermon, it seems, acquires additional value by virtue of age and incomprehensibility.

Another kind of religious broadcast is concerned simply to advertise on behalf of the temples in the neighbourhood or well-known temples in the province. They try to encourage pilgrim visitors to their various ceremonial occasions of which there is a great variety e.g. tōd kāhin (the giving of robes to the Buddhist monks at the end of the lent between October and November), fang luk sima mit (the burying of a round sacred stone at the wall of the temple to mark the sacred boundary), Buddha phisek (the consecration of the image of Buddha), the memorial days of a well known monk, the distribution of yan (amulets or sacred pieces of cloth) and coins, the temple fair, the anniversary of the founding of the temple etc.

Traditionally, rural northern Thai villagers have a particular sacred temple for their pilgrimage (see also

Tambiah, 1970). Most of these places are in reach of a one day trip from their village. The pilgrimage condition of Ban Lang villagers, from the headman's information, has not changed much from what it used to be 20 years ago. Nonetheless, the condition for other two villages has been changed by better transportation which, of course, enables them to visit other sacred places further than the traditional one. Presumably, the combination of these two functions: the information broadcast and convenient transportation reinforces and widens the radius of the villagers' pilgrimage boundary. Most of this can be accounted for by the organized trips from these two villages to well known temples in other provinces. Apart from the enjoyment of sight-seeing travel, ceremony and social get-togethers, attendance at such religious services increases one's stock of merit which is the prime purpose of the whole undertaking. Such festivals involve much fun for everyone and this is described in the advertisements. These will be li ke (local dramatic productions), film shows by a medicine company, modern folk song groups, traditional music and dance companies, magicians' displays of unusual animals and performing monkeys. There will be stalls selling food and domestic goods. Often the occasion is combined with farming competitions, shows of produce and exhibitions of new machinery in the temple grounds.

Thus an interesting process is at work here. Modernization, mass media and transportation, has served traditional

Buddhism by widening and assisting the pilgrimage and by encouraging rural peasants to travel to its ceremonies and make merit, give alms etc., yet in so doing people are brought into direct contact with modern products and the advanced technology of western materialism. Together with making merit in the hope of happiness and comfortability in their future or even in the next life, the immediate presence of material is a temptation. A desire for pleasure of this present life is created.

A third type of religious broadcast is not liturgical in content or concerned with news or advertisements. This type of religious programme takes the form of teaching practical devotion and prayer and is distinct from the broadcast sermons on Buddhist holy days. There is yet another kind, in the late evening just before the end of the daily broadcasting, when brief (3 minutes) programmes for villagers are broadcast. The elderly people of rural northern Thailand always teach their children that before they go to bed they should pray and remember what the Lord Buddha had said, also they should try to think and hear and see beautiful things in order to have a peaceful sleep and if then they should die while they are sleeping they will die in peace. Presumably, these religious programmes come late at night in order to serve this purpose.

8.1.2.2. Buddhism, traditional values and modern values. The flow of Western ideas encountered by rural northern Thai culture introduces a complex pattern of change. Some are clearly of a positive kind and others

perhaps less so. Certain authors (i.e. Suksamran, 1977; Keyes, 1967) tend to phrase their account of changing values in Thailand in terms of a transformation from a traditional polity to a bureaucratic polity. I find it necessary not only to emphasise the change brought by the diffusion of modern ideas, but also to highlight the continuities and persistence of certain traditional features.

I would like to discuss the transformation first, and as my principle interest is in radio broadcasting, I will not go too far beyond this theme.

In his study of the role of radio in expanding the range of the villagers' interest in external events, Ithial de Sola Pool (1963) provides material for comparison, arguing that radio, as one of the most effective means of mass communication, is an all-pervading aspect of the social environment. Unlike the family, or the temple, it is not part of the institutional structure of the village. However, he points out that almost every social act in every institution involves communication. Another social scientist and communicationist, Daniel Lerner (1958) who holds similar ideas to Pool, states that:

" the transition to participant society hinges upon the desire among individuals to participate. It grows as more and more individuals take leave of the constructive traditional universe and wedge their psyche towards the expansive new land of heart's desire. The great gap is passed when a person begins to "have opinions" particularly on matters which according to his neighbours, "do not concern him" (Lerner, D., 1958 : 60-61).

The above hypothesis attributes mass media with a high degree of efficiency in social transformation. In order to test this theory as a means to understanding social transformation in rural northern Thai communities, I would like to return to the three villages of my study.

On the positive side radio has made some contribution to reducing the inward looking stance and the tensions of relationships within the community. Traditionally there is no real concept of individual privacy in these three villages. Everybody's origins, occupation, financial state etc. are matters of common knowledge. As a result conversation among the villagers tends to consist of a weighing up or assessment or criticism of the performance of various members of the community in fulfilling their social duties and living up to the moral and social norms demanded in their own milieu. Traditionally a wedding, ordination, funeral or blessing of a new house within a village would be the subject of eager speculation long before it took place and of detailed criticism afterwards. Everybody's merit-making achievements would be assessed and criticised by public opinion, and a case of debt provided matter for endless analysis and speculation. Such a close, conformist society produced a great deal of putting on a "good face", great efforts to impress or at least to pass muster and obtain public respectability. It also produced strong moral disapproval of the unconventional and ostracism of those who failed to live up to what was expected of them.

In various ways radio has, as it were, brought fresh

air into the stuffy room of village society. It introduces topics of conversation external to the immediate concerns of the villagers and often a more interesting alternative. The spectacular degree of debt or the marital infidelity of some character in a radio serial are often more exciting than the usual events of the village and in contrast ordinary behaviour seems less serious or important. The flow of information infuses some urban values which reduce more extreme pressures. For example, stories can be heard, either fictional or as news items. I can recall an experience with a group of Ban Naa Dang women at a big courtyard in the village. They were conversing about old Sri, three houses along from the headman. Old Sri was preparing for the ordination of her son. Only a few minutes later old Sri's affairs were forgotten when an elderly woman of the group mentioned a piece of news she had recently heard from the local news programme. It described how a father spent a large amount of money in order to have his son ordained with the maximum display and ceremony; as a result he became landless and virtually a debtor. The moral is clear, and the lesson is reinforced by the quality of urban values conveyed by the newscaster, which some villagers are able to detect. This neither stops the privilege of gossiping and criticizing nor deflects old Sri's from the preparation for her son's ordination. But it did, to a certain degree, broaden the content of villagers' interest and conversation.

Although communication channels facilitate the flow of modern values, they are not necessarily accepted.

Sometimes there is continuity of tradition and resistance to the modern values. Nash argues that conflicts tend to arise over traditional features of daily life when modern knowledge discourages these beliefs (1965 : 214-245).

Evidence of this appears in the attempts of some forward-looking monks. These Buddhist monks try to apply the ancient Buddhist doctrines to the real life situation of their hearers both through mass media and personal contact. There are various degrees of success. A few words of illustration and explanation is needed here.

The process of ordination, for example, is traditionally associated with great anxiety on the part of the female members of the society. In traditional Buddhist belief, women do not go straight to heaven, but may get there by holding on to the hem of the robe of a monk for whose ordination they have provided. Normally that will be the woman's own son; if she has no son she will provide the robe for the ordination of the son of a friend or relative. Women get themselves into financial difficulties trying to obtain and donate the finest of silk robes. In their sermons modern monks apply the traditional teachings about simplicity and poverty to this situation by declaring that any cheap robe will do. The material and its cost alters nothing in a woman's chances of a higher state. Indeed the reverse might be the case: did not the Buddha himself wear raw cotton and teach his disciples to take unwanted shrouds from the corpses in the cemeteries to wear?

However, from what I can see within the three villages, the silk robe is still a divine object of desire to be presented at the ordination by the sponsor or supporter of this occasion. Tambiah, discussing the north eastern villagers' making merit, states that "Have not deliverance from old age and death, and more sumptuous treasures of the world, been promised them for such acts of charity? And has it not always been the case that it is on the labour of the masses that the edifice of a spiritual Sangha can arise to pursue higher things, even if the donors are not humble peasants but magnificent kings?" (Tambiah, 1970 : 151). The ethic of making merit as formulated by the rural northern villagers appears to me to have empirical objectives. This means a certain practical result is sought. Seeking a prosperous rebirth in heaven is an empirical objective of a deferred nature. The feeling that engagement in merit-making results in a felicitous state of mind is more immediate and direct, and it needs to be highly emphasized that this is a psychological state much coveted by rural northern Thai villagers. Apart from the traditional concepts and beliefs about making merit, there are a number of traditional agricultural practices. One of the most obvious of these practices is the selection of auspicious days for all kinds of activity including agriculture. Most such practices are carried out because they are ancient customs. The days of the first rice field ploughing and the time to start planting are very important. Most farmers consult a monk or some

other person skilled in reaching astrological tables (Rajadon, 1965 : 79-84). The making of a simple sign, mai ta laew, made by weaving strands of split bamboo into a star-like shape in order to scare off insects which would damage the rice, or the water buffaloes and the cow spirit ceremony after the rice field ploughing period to prevent the mysterious disappearance of rice into these animals's stomachs, are still widely practiced. Of course, these practices have no relation to modern agricultural technology, but it is clear that traditional practices reflecting divination or the propitiation of various real or imaginary powers are still widespread and are continuity (c.f. Kingshill, 1965; Klausner, 1964; and Tambiah, 1970). These traditional practices are not only evident in the three villages of my study, but also even in the urban areas near Bangkok (Sharp, 1953; and Bunnag, J. 1973).

As this practice continues, the apparent conflict between traditional and modern values, Buddhism and materialistic development creates ambivalence and a sense of disquiet in some sincere rural northern Thai peasants. One of the basic Buddhist values is the enjoyment of a non-compulsive life. This conflicts with the value of economic development and rapid growth, whose fruits lead to ever-rising standards of material well-being. An obvious example can be seen in commercial advertisements. In pursuit of customers for a particular product, advertisers play upon man's natural desires. This is in contrast to Buddhism which stresses that such desires are to be suppressed and subdued, as they prolong sam sara (cycle of rebirths) (Tambiah, 1970:

34-35). But desire for new things is natural for secular laymen. Besides, according to capitalist ideology, it is the way to promote development towards a more modernized nation. While many Thai do not expect an immediate nirvana (final extinction) (Tambiah, 1970 : 34-35), they do seem to hope for more concrete rewards in this existence.

This more limited view of karma (ethical causation) (Tambiah, 1970 : 34-35), does not seem detrimentally to affect the form or intensity of rural northern Thai merit-making. The store of merit, if it is not for the present time, is for the next existence. Merit-making is the personal concern, privilege and obligation of each individual towards himself or herself rather than to any divine or secular authority. The fact that someone holds a higher status within Thai society is often interpreted by Thais as simply meaning that their karma is better and that through merit gained in previous existences, they have earned this position, although to relate the karma concept to modern competitiveness, the belief found throughout the region might be subsumed under the label "fate".

Although the vehicles for the ideological policy of development projects, including those monks who support modern-ideas, have made an attempt to encourage the rural northern Thai peasants to struggle for a better living, their attempt has not been very convincing. To support development programmes, many Buddhist doctrines have been drawn upon in order to exhort peasants to face present problems by being industrious and useful. But to these rural villagers it seems simply that the successful were

born with "good fate". Natural inequality together with the dilemma of social differentiation are the witnesses which shadow any other modern values, which are susceptible to explanation in terms of the continuing belief in karma.

On the other hand, the integration of traditional beliefs and modern ideas can be made possible when both moral values are clearly proved to be true and the results are obvious. Under these circumstances, a reconciliation between the traditional and the new is developed. The flow of innovative information about family planning is an example. At the time when I was carrying out my research, the Thai Government, with support from Unesco, conducted a big project for family planning (see also Mougne, 1982). Mass media provided the principal means of diffusing this idea to rural villagers. For radio broadcasting such programmes were produced in various forms, both educational and entertainment. With financial support from Unesco, commercial broadcasting time is available for this campaign. The programmes which became well-known and popular were in the form of entertainment, a kind of magazine programme. They used the traditional northern Thai songs (cqi) and chanting genre in the style of dialogue (sq) and used the northern Thai language to convey ideas.

The traditional musical chanting used to teach family planning has thus been preserved and supported by radio. Initially, this kind of entertainment would be performed only on ceremonial occasions such as ordinations, new house blessings or temple fairs. But now when the radio broadcasts for the family planning project use this local

performance to teach family planning coi and so has been revived and has become very popular because it is broadcast as often as other commercial advertisements. Many villagers, particularly children, can recite and sing the tunes very well.

The main objective of the project was to persuade the villagers to use contraceptives, after they had had a few children, or to persuade young married couples who are not quite ready to have children to use contraceptives. Attempts to inculcate these principles took many forms. Apart from the brief attractive slogans similar to commercial advertisement style, many well-known tunes from folk songs, modern folk songs and traditional chanting are applied by rewording and shortening. The wording replacement describes the usefulness or benefit of using family planning and in contrast points out the disadvantage of having too many children. These slogans and short pieces of musical advertisement for family planning project are flashed in among other commercial advertisements throughout the commercial broadcasting time. Another form of broadcasting programme for this campaign is the technique of the magazine programme. Items of news, short extracted pieces of writing from articles and the like which can be related to the beneficial function of this project are employed, alternating with campaigning music and slogans. Bearing in mind the discussion of programme production in chapter 4, it would be even more effective if the programmers could freely use other techniques to diffuse this ideas. Nevertheless,

one of the convincing points which this programme presents is the concept that it is inconvenient having many children in the contemporary world. The reports of starvation and increasing crimes as the result of poverty help to clarify the modern values to rural villagers. A Ban Lang woman who uses an internal contraceptive after having three children expressed her opinion about family to me. She said she would love to have many children and a big family the way her parents and grandparents had. But this is the age of khao yak, mak paeng. (Literally, it means "it is difficult to get enough rice and the betel nuts are very expensive", the time of economic poverty.) This is one of the phases frequently used by the family planning campaign through broadcasting. She does not want any of her children to have a hard life or become undernourished, or be driven to commit crimes. She quoted the mu 'ang khaek. The word 'khaek' literally means India, but I presume that she referred to Bangladesh, since this country is frequently described by Unesco articles as a case of overpopulation, poverty and malnutrition.

Together with the slogans and other types of broadcasting project, there were public officials who worked for the birth control project who came to advise villagers about family planning.

It took some time to make this method acceptable. For generations, there was a common belief that a sterilized man was incapable of intercourse. This concept was derived from the story of the male courtiers in the ancient Chinese

dynasty. All the men who worked at the Chinese Court had been castrated, and they were believed to have lost interest in sex. Therefore, when the idea of modern male contraception was introduced, it was confused with castration and was not willingly accepted.

It has taken at least five years for female contraception, the insertion of internal devices, and contraceptive pills to be accepted. The main problems come originally from the belief in a cycle of rebirth or reincarnation (see also Keyes, 1977 : 114; Tambiah, 1970 : 192). The reincarnation of an ancestor in the form of a child of a man or a woman who used to be the favourite child of the particular dead person is a deeply rooted belief in these communities. It is the link in relationships between the living person and his forebears, and the same time this link will continue to the next generation in the future to make the circle of life or karma, its quality determined by the nature of the deeds committed in one's life-time. people were under the impression that internal contraceptives used by women would be a barrier preventing their ancestor's spirit or soul from being reincarnated again in the womb. It would be something like a closed door for the ancestors' spirits. After that they would be cursed by those spirits if they were not able to be reincarnated, and some of them would have to be reborn in someone else or even in animals, such as dogs which are regarded as the very lowest class of all living creatures.

However, after years of persuasion by the Government, family planning has been widely accepted. The conflict

seems to have been diminished especially since the Buddhist abbots and the headmen have taken part in helping to popularise the idea. Female contraceptives like the ring and cap and the pill are now acceptable. The application of Buddhist doctrines helps to reassure the villagers and make them more willing to accept this modern project. Committing sin or demerit in Buddhism is a matter of creating a bad karma. According to this idea, if someone has children and cannot provide them with a better chance in their lives by giving them enough food, good shelter, good clothes, and sufficient education, they are committing sin and making demerit because the children will have hard lives. Perhaps, some of them will commit severe sin by becoming thieves or other criminals when they grow up in poor or deprived circumstances. News programmes on radio have supported this modern idea by providing examples of the bad results of having too many children in the present-day world, where people have to spend more though they earn little and where social expectations demand that they purchase things like books, school uniforms and luxuries which a previous generation did without. All these factors have formed a new idea and concept. There is, in fact, a sense in which the contemporary conception of Buddhist doctrines (dharma) is a kind of global concept that simultaneously encodes many polarities, thereby constituting a usage that is ambiguous and multivalent (Conze, 1970 : 92).

One type of answer to this question in the Buddhist doctrine literature is the notion of certain flexible

values which appear within the process of rationalization. The intellectual origins for this argument can be traced to the work of Michael Carrithers, who both in his writings on "The Forest Monks of Sri Lanka" (1983b) and his study on the life of Buddha, "The Buddha" (1983a), emphasizes the role of Buddhist ideology. Carrithers is particularly fascinated by the intrinsic dynamic capability of Buddhism under various different circumstances. He illustrates the assembled structure of the Buddha's teaching to laymen by showing in the discourse to the Kalamans who have their own ancestral culture and at the same time are under the influence of complex urban society. Under these circumstances, the Buddha offered them a new form of moral reasoning which grew out of the most basic conditions of human life. Carrithers states:

"The purposed morality was not a specifically Kalamani thing, but grew out of the sheer fact of being in society at all, of having a common life, of being able to reason for one's own and others' ends, whoever was involved. This morality was meant to hold for all conditions... The Buddha addressed himself by the very generality of his discourse to the wide variety of possible fates in the experience of a complex society, and that experience of complexity is ours at least as much as it was the ancient Indians" (1983a : 91-94).

Thus Carrithers recognizes that the Buddhist doctrine can pursue its function not only amidst traditional com-

munities, but also among complex societies. In other words, Buddhism is fundamentally flexible.

In many aspects contemporary Buddhist dharma is being interpreted dynamically to relate to modern values, events and concerns and to bring them under the umbrella of eternal law. This duality of dharma's flexibility and yet anchorage to a point of reference is vital for its serviceableness in doctrinal and ideological formulations. An example of this flexibility can be seen in the campaign for family planning in the three villages which I have discussed. This campaign relies on various channels of communication including village leaders such as the headman and the abbot who have attempted to use dharma to support the innovative idea.

To clarify the above idea, I would like to refer to Jane Bunnag's finding. In her study "Buddhist monk, Buddhist layman" (1973), Bunnag argues that when the attitude of contemporary Thai Buddhism to modernization is considered, one can say that Buddhism in Thailand serves as the "religion of the bourgeoisie" as effectively as "the religion of the rural masses". Buddhism is a flourishing religious activity, vitally alive. From her point of view, it appears to be a religion of optimism and anticipatory expectation rather than pessimism and gloomy expiation. Seen in this light, therefore, it can most appropriately be labeled a religion of the bourgeoisie where economic expansion and modernization are experienced (even though they are more experienced in urban areas than the remote ones).

It can be seen from the way in which Buddhism has made use of broadcasting that the more rural northern Thai peasants participate in this expansionary cycle of wishes for betterment of this worldly life, the more meaningful it is for them as Buddhists to engage in greater and greater gift giving to monks and to temples, and thereby accumulate merit, which they believe will feed back directly into and effect the fortunes of their everyday lives.

By this means, increased ritual activity is compatible with rising expectations among villagers. Hand in hand with this goes the compulsive consultation of Buddhist monks, especially the abbot, astrologers many of whom are ex-monks or monks, and mediums, many of whom are women. To these peasants power and merit and bliss and prosperity are desirable and attainable. And they see the possible way to seek them through the advice of disinterested but spiritually endowed and wise specialists as mentioned above. These orientations also fit the theory of rebirth, for rebirth can and does promise a more optimistic future, a better condition, to him who acts charitably and gives generously in this life. It is this concern that perhaps partly at least, explains the Thai preoccupation with mortuary rites as their most important and elaborate rite of passage to a more prosperous next life.

Tambiah explains this essential feature and religious behaviour that Buddhism has a double relation and the linking up of contraries as in many other religious.

"A series of dichotomies, for example, this world/other world, living humans/ancestral spirits, body/soul, permeates

religious thought" (1970 : 55). From his point of view, religious action is orientated to influence the relationship between these oppositions, so that living human beings can experience prosperity and continuity of social life.

Thus ideas such as better rebirth, or union with the inaccessible pure divine, or immunization of the potency of the supernatural impinging on humans, are expressions of this desired mediation attempted through ritual action. "Whether we call this 'empirical' is not the issue, but whether its characterization as non-empirical is valid or meaningful" (1970 : 56).

Conclusion

Thus, as far as most rural northern Thai peasants are concerned, it would be difficult to detect in present-day events a shift from their traditional religious beliefs, or from Buddhism as a way of life in all its ramifications, to a more sceptical, narrower or defensive attitude to religion. From the evidence of these three villages there are both change and continuity. Within the process, at certain points, there is integration.

This attitude might be partly the result of the greater sense of intactness and continuity experienced by the rural northern Thai as compared with other neighbouring countries actually colonized by Western imperial power. But it also derives from the intrinsic character of Buddhism itself; how its tenets relate, on the one hand, to the confident claims of positivist science and, on the other, to the concerns of the politico-social order.

8.2 The interaction between traditional social and moral values and modern ideas.

Apart from the traditional religious beliefs, there is another type of social and moral value recognized among rural northern Thai villagers. Inevitably, these values also have to confront modern technology. And this will be the theme of my discussion for this section.

Considering the interaction between traditional Thai moral values and modern ideas, Jane Bunnag (1973) notices that having never undergone Western colonial rule, Thailand has a social structure which illustrates a unique way of coming to terms with Western influences. Based upon Bunnag's view, I would like to consider this impact within the three villages of my study. With the flow of modern ideas, the rural northern Thai villagers are introducing techniques and institutions developed in social systems based upon the functional specialization and derived practices of the West. These are being brought into the distinctly different rural northern Thai social pattern to fulfil their purposes.

In general, Thai social values seem to be concerned with five elements of social behaviour and politeness. Most Thai people regard these qualities as basic good manners in social relationships.

First of all, kreng chai is a kind of attitude which consists of simultaneous feelings of guilt and respect at the same time. Kaufman defines this word as roughly connoting the desire on one's part not to place another

in an embarrassing position or under obligation (Kaufman, 1977: 52; see also Phillips, 1965: 31).

Mai pen rai literally means "it does not matter" or "it is nothing", but it has become a verbal device repeatedly used to shrug off and ignore all the little frustrations and difficulties that occur in daily life (compare Phillips, 1965: 34; Benedict, 1946: 18). Phillips adds that the Thai government once tried, unsuccessfully, to forbid all government employees to use this phrase (Phillips, 1965: 34). Mai pen rai may be interpreted as Thai politeness, as an apathetic response, as lethargic licence, fatalism or as an acceptance of the incident, so that a sense of equanimity is the only viable solution (Benedict, R., 1946; 20). Actually, according to Buddhist doctrine, the sense of forgiveness is very important in Thai social values. When someone has done something wrong or has made mistakes, his neighbours, employers or whoever has been disturbed as a result will just say mai pen rai in order to comfort or make him feel better. There is a Thai reading text book for school children in grade four which has as its title "Mai pen rai: Lum sia thead" which means "it does not matter, please just forget it". Thus, this idea has been inserted in the education of Thai children instead of being abolished, at least among civil servants which, according to Phillips, the Thai Government would like to do.

Phillips also states that sanug is usually translated into English simply as "fun", essentially, sanug is a

quality inherent in all situations which are not only fun but also emotionally worthwhile. He says "The importance of sanug is that it provides the villagers with a standard of value, a measure of how much they wish to commit themselves to a particular activity" (Phillips, 1965: 51-59). Quite a few anthropologists have made attempts to study the Thai personality, which includes research into the idea of sanug. John F. Embree states that "Work is not regarded as good in itself. There is, on the contrary, a good deal of attention paid to things which give enjoyment. Pleasure is often considered a good thing per se" (Embree, J.F., 1950: 71). He refers to the statement of Landon that the word sanug indicates an important feature of the Thai character. In its simplest aspects according to Landon it means "fun-loving" or "pleasure-loving". The word also means a "deep interest in something, momentarily, to the exclusion of all else" (Landon, K., 1939: 143).

Choei choei can be defined as a state and attitude with multiple forms: simply being quiet or silent, feeling strongly about a situation but expressing nothing, assuming an attitude of indifference or non-involvement. Mole has put forward the idea that Thai social values and concepts will undoubtedly create tensions when confronted with the essential efficiency of modernity. When these confront the individual, he may simply escape the situation by leaving without a word, the habit of choei choei. One of the most important rules of Thai social behaviour is to maintain smooth inter-personal relations. People tend to avoid overt expression of hostility and open conflict

by withdrawing rather than having aggressive encounters. This Thai social value is the attitude that would like to avoid all displays of strong negative feelings. It can also mean "cooling down" or "to calm oneself".

Another Thai social value, chai yen means literally "cool heart". It describes the quality of calmness and being "unflappable"; perhaps the French term "sang froid" comes closes to defining it. It is descriptive of the non-compulsive enjoyment of life which is the ideal of the Thais. It is in agreement with Buddhist teachings in the sense that most people are still far from nirvana so that when happiness is achieved one's karma must not be too bad. But life is not ideal, and tensions appear to be unavoidable in many instances. Therefore, chai yen is still a significant social value in Thai society.

The effect of radio upon these values within the process of the flow of information, is four-fold. First of all, radio has helped to reduce the tension of embarrassment in the sense of kreng chai, among people. It will be more particular between villagers of different ages, seniority, and social rank. For northern Thai peasants, under certain circumstances, this social value causes conflict between morality and practice. While they need to know or to have something from other villagers who possess the knowledge or the implement, they were taught not to trouble someone for their own benefit. They should have felt kreng chai or guilty if they do so, and if they do trouble the person it would mean they do not respect that person enough. Besides, embarrassment results quite often

when there is some inherited secret in the farming methods that the expert would like to keep to himself. Sometimes, it is serious enough to be the cause of a quarrel and unhappiness among villagers. I came across two households living adjacent to each other in Ban Mon Khao Khew.

Socially the wives speak to each other but noticeably the heads of the households, who in this case are more or less the same age, ignored each other's presence.

The local school teacher revealed to me as "the sweetcorn affair". One of them has a good reputation for growing healthy sweetcorn. His next door neighbour, who used to be his close friend, is a carpenter. About eight years ago prior to my stay in this village in 1979, the carpenter wanted to try growing sweetcorn. He went to see his friend who then gave him the explanation. Later the carpenter wanted to know more, but presumably because of kreng chai, he did not come to see his friend for the second time.

Instead, he sent one of his daughters to ask a daughter of the sweetcorn grower for more details. After the sweetcorn grower found out about the carpenter's daughter's enquiries, he was furious, and accused the carpenter of failing to show kreng chai for him. Since that time they have never been friends again. However, this case was not brought to the headman, the previous headman, or the village committee because they are of the same age. It might have been more serious if the sweetcorn grower were older.

In some aspects, radio has helped to reduce the tension of this social moral value. One can turn the radio on to find information with ease and security. Young or

inexperienced people can use radio without feeling guilty and the elderly do not mind. Thus they can preserve the polite kreng chai without any embarrassment.

Secondly, the modern concepts of standardization of produce, particularly farm produce for the factory and craftwork, punctuality, precise measurements etc. have undermined the easy going attitude mai pen rai (see also the topic "Modern Ideas and Traditional Practice", chapter 6).

Thirdly, radio has suggested a positive mode of discussion and argument. In the traditional social and moral system, rural northern Thai admire a person who has the ability to keep calm in order to avoid a verbal confrontation, especially when that person is in higher status and has authority or power to pour hot words over the subordinate. Having an attitude of situational indifference or non-involvement, choei choei, when somebody is annoyed, is therefore, an admirable moral value. Perhaps, this moral value reflects some sort of self punishment. Similarly, the quality of mai pen rai (feeling "never mind" or "it does not matter") is used to relax in a stress situation or to pass off difficulties in life.

In real life disputes at various levels within the three villages are, of course, often heard. However, rural northern Thai peasants are learning through channels of communication: the radio and the modern education system in particular, that there are other ways to achieve better understanding and making things clear rather than being

quiet or saying "it does not matter". For example, as I have mentioned earlier under the heading "Buddhism can make use of radio" that there are well-educated monks with progressive ideas who try to use dialogue in radio preaching programme. This new phenomenon for villagers consists of laymen putting Dharma questions to Buddhist monks. Many of these questions would traditionally be regarded as impolite. Traditional Buddhist monks might have felt very annoyed and tried to be choei choei if they were asked such a question as "since, according to the Buddhist laws it brings demerit (bab) to take any living thing's life, then what is the position of monks who are not vegetarian". Nonetheless, this type of question and answer have been brought into open discussion in dialogue form through radio programmes. There are, as discussed earlier, some expressions of resistance among the older generation. But with reinforcement from the flow of new ideas through other channels, these new attitudes and practices have taken root.

Besides the influence of the mass media, schooling has played an important part in fostering changes in social behaviour. According to the principles of modern education, children should have more chance to express themselves by standing up and reading in the class room, answering questions etc. at school. It is inevitable that these children bring that manner and behaviour back home with them and it is observed by parents.

Many community leaders in the villages which I studied, who are regular listeners to radio, have absorbed and

imitate the style of speaking. In the family, children have enough courage to explain their ideas or to tell their parents what they have learnt from school, and parents are open to listen to their children. The gap between generations and the authoritative type of family with an autocratic father is on the decline. When I was staying with the headman of Ban Naa Dong, one day his third son, ten years old, came back from school with a pamphlet. It was a leaflet from the Government health centre, giving information about the dangers of chewing mieng, fermented tea leaves, which for generations has been the northern Thai traditional way of receiving guests. Both his parents chew mieng, but when their son showed this leaflet to them, the father asked his son immediately "What did your school teacher say about this?". Then his son explained what he had heard from school, and the father called the mother to come and listen. At the bottom of that pamphlet there was a notice that there would be a radio and television programme about that subject some time during the following week, and I still remember well that the headman did listen to that programme and when the programme finished he had a broad smile while he proudly concluded "Ba Noi (my young son) has spoken right!" However, I still saw him chewing mieng from time to time with probably a little less appetite. Thus I would like to conclude here that while traditional social and moral values are still adhered to, rural northern Thai villagers have found alternative ways of conversation and kinds of discussion which used to be almost taboo but have become more desirable. Nor

is it just the style of presentation, the content of programmes also suggests ideas and concepts which are different from their traditional ones.

8.3 Radio, traditional status patterns and sources of advice.

In considering the interaction between the traditional channels of communication and modern modes of mass media, Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, among others (Gusfield, J., 1967; Rogers and Svenning, 1969; Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971), have shown that development of a mass media system does not replace or destroy the age-old system of interpersonal communication. The mass media embed traditional channels of contact within a new system of intercourse (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955). This hypothesis underlines fundamental characteristics of the flow of information especially within traditional communities like rural villages in northern Thailand. Based upon this theory, I would like to draw an outline of my discussion for this section: the characteristics of change in the principal traditional sources of knowledge such as the role of Buddhist temple; the response or reaction of the traditional elites towards the new communication channels; and its consequent development.

Once the Buddhist temple was the fountain-head of all kinds of knowledge, and the centre of all information.

It served many day to day needs of the villagers. The temple was the place for interaction and the exchange of knowledge and information. Villagers came to the temple to learn about everything from tiny herbs to the great

knightly epics of Asia like "Ramayana" or "Mahabharata". All official announcements would be passed down from the Government office to the headman and finally be posted at the temple notice board in the public shelter or sala. However, now there are more channels of communication and exposure to mass media has become widespread. Transport has been improved so that people can travel into town or from one place to another conveniently. Education and knowledge can be obtained from more sources besides the Buddhist temple.

In spite of the fact that the Buddhist temple still serves its community as a social centre, its educational function has changed. It is not the principal source of knowledge and information any longer. This does not mean that the importance of the Buddhist temple within a rural community has been reduced but its role has changed. In some cases, such as that of Ban Mon Khao Khew, where they have electricity, the Buddhist temple is the secondary source of information, where the abbot operates television shows for the villagers. In this case, of course, the temple is still the communal centre of the village, but it is the television which gives them the information and knowledge. Thus the sources of education have been transformed from one single institution into a wide range of flexible forms.

The dynamic of the flow of information can be considered from another viewpoint. Within the three villages, there is a notable correlation between social status and sources

of information. In rural northern Thai villages this is the function of the traditional leaders or respected individuals who would like to retain their status. These community leaders are quite skilful in making contact with other people and they are quite familiar with standard Thai terms as well. With their ability in standard Thai, they are readily able to follow radio programmes. In comparison with the average villager, village leaders can better benefit from the media. One weak point of communication by radio is the limitation of time. Sometimes the programmer has to cram news or information into one programme and must get through all the items on time. In that case, they have to read quickly. Because of the language problem, villagers sometimes cannot follow the whole message from the radio. However, the people who will help to fill the gaps and put together the fragments of information are those leaders of communities who are acquainted with the standard or official Thai language.

Moreover, the villagers would often like to see or make sure of something new by discussion before adopting it. Thus, in each village, there is a contact farmer group (see Chapter 6) and most of the members of this group are the traditional leaders of the village.

There are slight differences between the three villages concerning the process of the flow of information and the traditional sources of advice. In spite of the fact that people of Ban Mon Khao Khew can come into town more easily, they seem to be less well-informed than the people of Ban Lang and Ban Naa Dong in general. The reason for

this is that people of this village who often go into town, pay more attention to entertainment programmes than to informative items which need concentration and an encouraging atmosphere. In addition, Ban Mon Khao Khew's temple and local school used to be places of common activity and reunion for the villagers and information was passed on. But now, with more attractive social activities in town to which they are lured by entertainment, advertisements and convenient transport, their unity in the traditional form and the flow of information within the community seem to be fading away.

Another factor which makes the people of Ban Mon Khao Khew become more individually minded and independent is the fact that now many young people have experienced working even temporarily in the factories, they have become accustomed to a more individualistic mode of work and presumably the change of outlook affects not only their working life but their daily life also.

In more remote villages the traditional village elites still possess status as the source of advice. In Ban Naa Dong, there are nine persons who are popular and notable among other villagers. Six of them are members of the recognised leadership of the village. The other three persons are the young school teacher, the grocer, and the medium. An interview showed that neither the grocer nor the medium can read and write, but they listen to the radio more than six hours a day, especially the grocer, who has his radio on almost all day.

From what I have discussed previously, radio can give information and stimulus to encourage villagers, particularly community leaders, to acquire knowledge and adapt to change. Besides, radio motivates them to compete for status. Age and traditional status will not necessarily count against an individual. Traditional leaders can retain their influence and even increase it if they add to their knowledge and their ability. Because oral and face-to-face communication play an important role in these traditional societies (see Schramm, 1963; Lerner, 1958; also Rogers, 1976), they provide a secondary channel which receives information and knowledge from the media and pass it on by personal contact to others(c.f. Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955).

A simple example of this "processing" of information through the face to face channels of communication within village society is to be seen in the role of the Ban Naa Dong headman. He is a regular radio listener. His favoured programmes are news, official announcements, and weather forecasts. On one occasion I saw him walking with his walking-stick, with the karuda (a mythical bird in Hinduism), a symbol of his authority obtained from the government at the top, going through the village from house to house and through the fields where many villagers were working, in order to tell them that there would be a thunderstorm and floods within the next few days. He had heard this weather forecast on the radio and felt worried about some villagers who had not listened to the weather forecast. He always does the same thing whenever he feels that there

is something important for the village. When he meets villagers while walking in the village streets he will stop them, tell them the message and ask them to tell their neighbours, relatives and other villagers as well. By this method, the news is spread throughout the village within two or three hours.

This is a kind of change without disturbing effects, and it shows a good combination of modern equipment and a traditional society. Another even clearer example of this process is that of the medium in Ban Naa Dong who is also very well known as an effective exorcist and is one of the most active radio listeners. She has found that radio is very useful for her job as a medium and it has given her ideas to help people to solve their problems.

In northern Thai rural areas, the mediums, most of whom are female, enjoy an exalted status in the community (c.f. Irvine, 1982). Their rank will be third after the abbot of the local Buddhist temple, and the headman. This old lady of Ban Naa Dong lives in a small bamboo hut at the west end of the village, near the cemetery. Her house is quite isolated from the others' and hidden away from view by a thick hedge of bamboo bushes. She lives with her husband but they do not have any children. She is sixty-seven years old and has been a medium for more than thirty years. She calls herself ma kii "the horse or the vehicle of the spirit", but other villagers sometimes call her chao phor noi, "the prince Noi", the name of the spirit who communicates with her while she

is in a trance. However, in general, they will call her as they would call any other ordinary old woman Pa Dee, or "aunty Dee". She lives her life in many ways just like other old women in the village. On the religious ceremonial days or on the Buddhist holy days she will come to the temple to attend the chanting, preaching, and ceremony. She makes merit and gives alms in the same way as other old women do. Her way of life does however differ from theirs in that she engages in no agricultural activities. Growing rice is regarded as an "ordinary" occupation from which extraordinary individuals like the monks or mediums and members of the royal families must be exempt. Cultivation of other small crops and skill in creative work is not regarded as so demeaning, and so the monks can practise carpentry and the medium of Ban Naa Dong raises pigs, chickens, and silk worms. Her husband goes alone to work in the rice fields. But she has a special job to do on Saturdays and Tuesdays when she functions as a medium. It is a folk belief that these two days are the most suitable for having anything to do with the spirit realm. (No one can explain this. They just say they have been told and have believed for generations that these won rang or "strong days" are particularly propitious). For these two days she becomes something mysterious, powerful and frightening. Her day's work starts quite early in the morning. Usually, there will be a long queue of twenty or more persons who have been waiting to consult her outside her hut in the courtyard since 7 o'clock in the morning. It becomes even more

crowded around 8 o'clock because at that time the medium will ask the first person to consult her.

People come with all sorts of problems. Many of them have family problems, such as a son who would like to marry a girl whom the parents do not like, or the spirit of their daughter who died in childbirth is haunting them and refuses to rest, or the husband seems to be tired of the family and his wife. Some of them come to consult her about their health or to ask the spirit of the Prince Noi to heal them and make bargains with him (the spirit). There are quite a number of people who come to see the medium because of their occupation.

Because the medium realizes she is a respected person, and people come to see her for thier help and useful information, she tries to fulfil their expectations in many ways. She listens to the radio very much, particulalry the news and documentary programmes. Even though she does not travel much she knows the current news: what is happening in town, the special events in neighbouring villages, what the government agricultural policy is, and how to improve farming productivity. Besides, she has special gifts and a remarkable understanding of psychology (I could see this quality when I interviewed her at home when she was not "on duty". She used modern ideas and modern language in answering my questions. Moreover, her information was world wide and her opinions very up to date. She even knew of Mrs. Margaret Thatcher quite well!). Because of this combination of modern ideas and knowledge

from radio and general information about the villagers' lives, this sharp-witted lady can put herself in a good position to be the consultant and helper of the villagers even when she is her own self. When she is giving advice, there is a very special feature in her language use, a way of saying something indirectly. People who listen to her would not understand what she means if they cannot interpret or are not able to link what they have heard to another hidden meaning. For example, one day when I was attending her seance, there was a young man who came to consult her because his wife seemed to be tired and had become very withdrawn after only four years of married life. He suspected that she might feel tired of him and fancy having another man. The medium asked him some other questions about how many children they had, how much time he spent with the family, did his wife go to work outside or spend most of her time at home etc. To answer these questions, the man described his family and his wife, who did not work outside. She seemed to enjoy her relatives' and friends' company as usual and spent a lot of time looking after the three children and doing domestic work. She often complained about the children, who were naughty and wild. When they were in bed, she slept very soundly and never paid attention to him as before. In this case, the medium suggested something that I did not expect. Before she answered, I had imagined that she would suggest to that man that he did black magic or obtained some sort of charm, or that she would ask

him to buy black magic oil to rub or sprinkle on his wife when she was asleep, or to buy an amulet to hang around his neck, or to buy a wooden phallus to hang around his waist in order to attract his wife to him again. However, the medium's advice was of a different order entirely. She told him to find a thing that looks like a tiny silver moon for his wife. That thing will help to relax her wariness. She is unhappy now because she is worried and she is exhausted after having many children within a few years of marriage. Therefore, this tiny silver, pearly, moon-shaped thing will help her and, probably, she would like to have it because some of her friends have had it in their bodies. Of course in the first instance the young man was quite bewildered, and even for my own part, I did not have any idea what this might mean until the medium's husband came up with an idea. He always sits beside her like a disciple ready to serve her and at the same time helps to interpret what she says to the people who cannot understand. At last we came to understand that the moon-shaped pearly thing was an internal contraceptive device used in modern family planning. Thus, that man would take away a clear understanding that his wife was losing her appetite for sex and interest in him because of her fatigue and her fear of having children again. The medium advised him to bring his wife to see the headman to practice family planning by using a cap; and, another thing, if he offered the house guardian spirits a pair of male and female images at his own home, together with

this he should offer a bottle of very strong whiskey and a boiled chicken, which means half of that drink and food offering should come to the medium as well! For this consultation the young man was charged 1.50 baht. This man, who lived in the same village, left the medium's cottage with a happy smile.

It is true that, in a developing community, people are unable entirely to retain their traditional beliefs and practices, but the important point to consider is how they change and what the result is, and whether they support or obstruct it. However, from the above discussion it emerges that, as part of the flow of innovative ideas and practices, radio has been largely assimilated into the way of life of the rural community. Its influence on certain traditional institutions and customs, while causing them to evolve and change, is in many ways prolonging their survival. It acts as a challenge to the instigator of modernity and paradoxically as an agent of conservation and social continuity.

Conclusion

From the above discussion, we have seen that when the current of modernization and westernization flows into the traditional culture of rural northern Thailand, there is interaction between the new and the traditional. Each has an influence on the other. Change is inevitable and it is a continuous process. The way the northern Thai rural villagers receive modern ideas and technology into their lives is not a simple process of adoption;

rather they have assimilated modern things by fitting them into what they already have and making the two things go together in a new harmony. This shows that, in fact, initially these villagers have their own ideas about the proper and the most suitable life-style, using local materials or whatever they have. For example, since knowledge of psychology, modern education or counselling in the sense of modern science have still not been introduced to these villagers, the experienced or wise people in the village play the part of consultants or counsellors in the traditional way. Villagers who have any kind of problem will come and consult them and go back with more hope. Now when new things become important such as knowledge of modern agriculture which helps crop production, knowledge of how to deal with the complexities of expanding urban life, or knowledge of modern medicine and medical treatment, these traditional sources of advice have adjusted to the impact of development in many ways. In northern Thailand where other kinds of communication have not been widely adopted, radio is a most useful source of information and a vehicle of knowledge for these people who seek it, but they adapt innovations to suit their established ways and fit it into an existing value system, making new but integrated patterns. Nowadays, at the local Temple, we can see the abbot operating television and giving advice to villagers on family planning, the use of modern farming machinery or modern medicine. The headman walks through the village to inform villagers about important news announce-

ments that he has heard on the radio.

An amalgam forms in the contest between tradition and technology, between the old and the new, and between the rich and the poor. This phenomenon can be clearly seen in northern Thai rural society nowadays from small things like the offerings of plastic or crepe paper flowers from the factory instead of real braided flowers at the shrine in front of the Buddha image in the wihara, to the tin roof which occurs ever more frequently among the grass thatched or tiled roofs, in the field the newly familiar noise of the hand tractor mingles with the mooing of the water buffaloes. The hill tribes in their colourful traditional costume hold red paper Coca-Cola cups and drink Coca-Cola on their way back to their home on the edges of the jungle. All these pictures have become part of the ordinary scenery of their daily lives. As the vehicle of new ideas radio provides a channel for the incursion of influences from outside, whose impact upon the traditional society and its structures sets up a continuous hand-in-hand process of absorption and synthesis leading to development and change.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

As the waves of new technology, industrialization, westernization and urbanization flood irresistibly into rural northern Thai society, the nation faces problems typical of all underdeveloped countries exposed to such influences. Over-rapid and patchy development results in a loss of balance and harmony. Complex technological innovations are adopted by people not educated to understand them into a society whose structures cannot properly hold them. New western ideas fascinate the younger generation of a non-materialistic Buddhist culture and western scientific materialism erodes the spiritual teaching of generations.

In the first part of my thesis (Chapters 1-5), I discussed important background features of the northern Thai rural community, particularly where internal structures interact with external forces, the changing situation brought about by convenient transportation and communications, contact with town and industrialization etc. I began with a discussion of the peasant economy. A peasant has to support himself and his family. Although sometimes opportunities are available for him to try new ideas to improve his standard of living, there is resistance to these ideas because of the risk involved. Generally, peasants reveal their preference for subsistence security over high average income. This emphasizes the importance of rice, their staple food. In certain respects, the

alternatives open to a peasant are limited by natural resources and the kind of technology available. Besides, there are the social values of his community, the local customs. He is dependent on friends and neighbours in both the domestic and the farming sphere.

On the other hand, the peasant economy relates to the larger society, to the maintenance of the urban population. His goods and services become part of the regional and national network of economic exchange. Nevertheless, among rural northern Thai peasants, the traditional economic structure is still evident. Reciprocal cooperative work is based upon alliance and upon exchange, but it can be mobilized to a variety of ends. Traditional rural northern Thai society has elements of adaptability which facilitate the development process.

Outside the village, at market exchanges, money is employed for a wide range of transactions. The two exchange systems: reciprocal labour (or payment in kind) and money, are both important in rural northern Thailand. The former system allows individuals an area of discretion in using their economic resources. They feel more secure in this system and are therefore sometimes reluctant to risk relying (for example) upon a new tractor rather than the help of friends which custom guarantees. This balanced social structure, I have found, if retained, enhances rather than weakens social cohesion in the face of external influences. The basic traditional structures are strong enough to maintain social equilibrium and continuity but flexible

enough to permit the adoption of innovations.

With the expansion of industrialization, peasants accept and adopt new patterns of labour. The labour market impinges on the traditional structure of reciprocal labour, causing both complementarity and conflict in the economic and social structures. The conflict comes from changing values in the traditional system. Without reciprocal labour sharing they are unable to grow their staple food because rice growing is labour intensive. Meanwhile, the demand for labour in the factory offers the peasants a secondary source of income. But the payment is not high enough entirely to take the place of rice cultivation. Isolation from the group causes social conflict among peasants. Thus, neither the labour market nor modern technology seem sufficiently secure and stable to the peasants. This demonstrates the priority of subsistence concerns over possible profitability. However, to support the subsistence economy, they have to be prepared to employ innovations and enter the wider economic network. Nonetheless, while certain changes can be disruptive and can conflict with the pre-existing system, new economic opportunities which help peasants to reduce risks and to improve the stability of their traditional occupation will also enable their social customs to survive practically unimpaired by the new forces of change.

The primary unit of social organization in rural northern Thailand is the household. It is the principal structural element in the analysis of kinship and the

economic organization of the people of this area. Marriage among these villagers has a tendency towards village endogamy. Then they live uxorilocally. The pattern of transmission of property through female and uxorilocal residence shows an emphasis on female rights to land. The principal rule of succession to the headship is that of the youngest son-in-law through the father-in-law, upon which economic and moral ties are created. Development of the courtyard group is closely related to the household cycle, and each village contains several courtyard groups, which determine village economic and social activities including radio listening patterns and labour organization.

Beside the household one must consider two other social institutions: the temple and the local school. In numerous ways the temple is a focal point in village life. Buddhism is a significant focus of social conservation and unity for the rural northern Thai people. For instance making merit can be regarded by the villagers as a form of investment. This includes their donated labour in development projects and farmers' finance schemes. In addition, the monastic network provides education for rural children. In spite of the fact that the Buddhist monastery is a religious institution, it also serves secular functions and development projects. The form and content of the Buddhist culture and teaching links the village to the nation. This has an effect on rural development as a whole.

In the sphere of education, compulsory schooling for rural northern Thai children still has problems: lack

of skillful teachers, the scarcity of audio-visual material, unsuitable curricula, the overlapping between school time and traditional ceremonies, the clash between school attendance and work in the fields, and the constant factor of poverty. Thus the level of literacy is still low and the role of formal education is very limited. For peasants who can afford education, it is conceived as a means to improve their children's social status.

These traditional factors: agricultural work, labour organization, temple, education etc. condition the forces of change. Within the three villages, the traditional institutions and the centrality of their agricultural lifestyle together with the matrilineal kinship system determine social structures. These basic factors are modified by the impulses to change originating outside the community but retain their centrality and influences, thus in some ways controlling and limiting the process of transformation.

In this radio occupies a kind of middle ground. On the one hand it is an example of modern technology and the possession of it is an instance of materialism. On the other hand conservative and traditional forces within the society have found in radio a valuable ally.

The history of radio broadcasting in Thailand started in the early 20th century. Modern technology in the mass media in Thailand was borrowed and adopted from Western sources which inevitably opened the door to Western cultural influences. At the beginning radio was solely

for Government use. Only in the 1930's did it become a mass medium. Shortly after radio broadcasting was established, its commercial potential was developed. The capitalist ethos which influences Government in Thailand demands that a radio station has to earn its living from advertising without being able to claim the editorial freedom to give a voice to a mass audience which might challenge the Government decisions. The purpose of broadcasting as educational and informative medium was early diverted to serve Government propaganda. Radio broadcasting in Thailand is still under centralized control. The Government has sole and absolute authority over broadcasting policy. But because the major financial support comes from commercial programmes, much of the broadcasting time is used for entertainment. This affects the quality, scheduling and content of broadcasting, and educational programmes are accorded lower priority. Because of this centralisation, local radio stations are cut off from the support and cooperation of local communities. Consequently, the inhabitants of northern Thailand, an indigeneous ethnic minority, have been neglected. What radio lacks is a policy of promoting national development by acting as the vehicle for transmitting modern knowledge, education and instruction to each local community and in response to its particular and individual needs.

Investigation of general radio listening patterns among villagers shows that village women tend to spend more time in radio listening and prefer entertainment programmes to serious ones, while men devote rather more

time and attention to serious programmes. Among the three villages, the more isolated communities like Ban Naa Dong and Ban Lang use radio for information from external sources more than Ban Mon Khao Khew, where villagers have more frequent contact with town and spend more time on other social activities. Radio, in this case, is a compensation for physical remoteness. Peak listening times are similar in all three villages. Most villagers listen to radio every day. The most popular time of listening is early evening after the evening meal, when they are free from work. As a result, together with the factors of urbanization and industrialization, radio has an influence on their traditional entertainment and on certain traditional attitudes. For instance, the villagers tend to be conscious more of official working hours measured by clock time and announced regularly on the radio.

Social structures, household groups, courtyard groupings, relationships between households are all closely involved with radio listening patterns. The role of radio in the flow of innovative ideas is reinforced by various inter-dependent factors; but the most significant factor is "empathy": the individual's ability to identify with others' roles, even with those who are substantially different from himself. This is related to rural northern Thai social status mobility. Radio offers an alternative model of leadership, based on the accumulated knowledge and expertise, whose value is recognized both by the traditional leader retaining his position or the younger man trying to increase his status. Here it builds on values already

established in northern Thai culture, the superiority of urban life, the attractiveness of technology etc. The other side of this process is that models, attitudes and life styles may be portrayed which are not easily absorbed into traditional rural life and if followed, can be disruptive; the fact that little care is taken to adapt broadcast material to local conditions, coupled with the respect accorded to radio by the peasants, produces this. Thus some innovations can be seen in the villages which bring new problems with them (washing powder, for instance, in the absence of proper drainage). The rosy picture of urban life portrayed by the media is not accurate, as the young country people find who flock to town in search of riches and end up as prostitutes or in the slums.

Yet radio has been largely "digested" by the community as my study indicates and has in some cases even furthered or enhanced aspects of local culture by making them better known. The second part of my thesis, Chapters 6-8 concerns this matter. Here lies the clue to the dual role of radio. As well as a technological innovation it is also an instrument of communication. In the process of the flow of information, the strength of radio tends to lie principally at the diffusion stage as a mass medium in creating knowledge or awareness of a new idea. Its strength is derived from interdependent functional factors: the peasants' desire to hear information from outside and the qualities of itself such as entertainment value, promptness, low cost

etc. Nonetheless not all new ideas conveyed by radio are adopted. In the rural northern Thai community, there is a selective response to contact, determining what will be accepted. This is based on many criteria: risk, efficiency, compatibility of cultural background and the general accessibility the innovation in question. Nor did people simply adopt modern western media technology without adaptation to suit their own culture where traditional personal way of communicating information still plays a significant role and where the traditional culture and traditional social behaviour are still important forces. In rural northern Thailand, a combination of mass media and interpersonal communication channels is the most effective way of reaching rural villagers. Radio comes into widespread use to supplement and complement the oral channels. Radio has an ability to inform large numbers of people quickly, but the process of acceptance usually involves talking it over and most social control in a community is exercised by groups. Besides, there are limitations in radio use such as the standard Thai language, technical terms, and the nature of radio as the one-way nature of radio communication.

Having set out 18 different innovations in a questionnaire to investigate the adoption of innovations, the conclusion reached is that although the awareness of innovations, through radio listening is high in all three villages, the degree and rate of their adoption is variable. Radio informs about innovative techniques, both domestic and

agricultural, but its effect on the degree of adoption is conditioned by other factors. On the other hand, when we consider each different innovation, there is often a significant correspondence between awareness through radio listening and subsequent adoption. There are, however, a number of reasons why people may be hindered from implementing the new ideas they hear about from radio. The discrepancy can be directly related to factors such as poverty and geographical remoteness. As the data suggest, radio is, therefore, utilized largely to impart information with a view to increasing awareness of and arousing interest in specific innovations. Amongst the three villages, there are different degrees of adoption. A modern highway, electricity and the establishment of factories have changed the characteristic daily activities of Ban Mon Khao Khew. Because of its accessibility, this village tends to adopt more innovations and the people are progressively drawn into the town market economy. Because the economic base of the traditional community of Ban Naa Dong continues to be agricultural, the pattern of their work and other structures and institutions has not changed much. Here the traditional leaders working as a contact farmer group demonstrate the multi-step flow at work in the process of the diffusion of innovations. Ironically, Ban Lang people listen to radio a lot and know a lot about the world outside their village, but because of their geographical remoteness, modern technology is less widely adopted and less accessible. In other words, Ban Lang

people acquire lots of information from radio about all kinds of things, but the location of the village and the lack of transport facilities widen the gap between awareness and adoption of new technology. Here again, the circumstances of Ban Lang show us that what radio can do at the most elementary level is to create awareness of modern technology and innovative ideas towards development. Interpreted within various models of the flow of information, radio can be seen to have a direct effect. The one step flow model is appropriate when it diffuses news of events. It brings direct information to the people. But the diffusion of innovations, as I have found in rural northern Thailand, can be seen to operate through the multi-step flow of information. The stimulus provided by radio on its own is not enough to produce widespread use of new technology, particularly farm machinery. Only a very few wealthy farmers have the financial ability and confidence to buy farm machinery, if they have some contact with town to make sure that when the machine breaks down they would be able to have it repaired. These farmers consequently become the innovators and opinion leaders of their community. The flow of information in traditional society is not independent of the ordering of social relationships. In rural northern Thailand, the role of community leaders is the key to the study of social transition and adoption of innovations. The process increases social differentiation. It is prestigious in the eyes of one's neighbours and friends to have novelty items.

The relationship between leaders and followers affects the flow of ideas and the adoption of innovations. This is enabled by the flexible structure and mobility of social status within the community, and the tradition of imitation. Such factors speed up the general rate of the adoption of technological novelties and make it possible for the transitional process to preserve cultural continuity.

Within this process, radio is a channel through which knowledge and skills are acquired by these traditional leaders and hence contributes to enlarging the range of social differentiation. On one hand the rural northern Thai social system to some extent promotes the flow of innovations. But on the other hand, it prevents social subordinates from adopting novelties before their superior and reduces the possibility of sharing ownership of the innovations between rich and poor. The dominant role of the traditional leaders, or the social taboo on innovativeness that goes beyond one's status or appears presumptuous, has not been superceded.

In investigation of religious belief, I found that villagers attribute the social vicissitudes of their lives to "karma". Belief in karma provides a very basic, generalized explanation of an individual's social condition. Apart from this belief, there is non-Buddhist religion. This is evident in the political culture of rural northern Thai people in such matter as belief in guardian spirits, and this traditional belief may interact with new political ideas. In addition, because of the unstable political

situation and the changeable government in Thailand, new political ideas do not carry much conviction. Generally, the discord between political culture and the perception of new political ideas continues. Even though the political events broadcast through news programmes are received as significant information, they are not of prime interest for the villagers' discussion and involvement. This might be due to the fact that broadcasting in the political sphere is used more for self-conscious justification than to present educational programmes in political ideology. Villagers' major interest is in domestic affairs rather than politics in an ideological sense. In this context, the role of radio in enhancing traditional political culture is conspicuous.

To northern Thai villagers communism is an introduced and imposed phenomenon and a largely alien ideology. It is still in the process of formation. The underground communist radio broadcasts have not been successful in the diffusion of ideology to people in this area, although there are the first signs of a rise in audience figures. In the field of modern politics and economies, Thai broadcasting has not sufficiently helped to prepare these villagers to face the process of change. Inevitably, the gradual effects of industrialization and urbanization are altering the traditional peasant social and economic order, as is clearly demonstrated by Ban Mon Khao Khew. The traditional leaders, however, having adjusted themselves to the new political atmosphere retain their status. This

is illustrated by the process of the flow of information about development projects. Although northern Thai peasants say they receive current news and general information mainly from radio, they obtain information on government development projects and policies principally through direct interpersonal communication with their local leaders, including the contact farmer group and other informal leaders. Ban Naa Dong illustrates successful accommodation between old and new within this process. Radio is one major means by which these communal leaders boost their popularity and reinforce their leadership. For the remote village, Ban Lang, traditional institutions such as the temple are still very important. This reflects the interplay between the social structure in economic and political contexts within which radio exerts an influence. Because of this characteristic of the peasant community, these traditional leaders can still play a major part in the process of the flow of information and in the improvement of agricultural production which is closely related to changes in the political structure. This type of change does not destroy the traditional system, but paradoxically reinforces the established patterns of economic and local political life.

In the sphere of cultural change, the effect of the availability of consumer goods and advertising has led to the replacement of some northern Thai names for things by the standard Thai equivalent. Villagers are now exposed to various channels of communication including radio and

thus to the flow of ideas conveyed by the standard Thai language. The compulsory language carries with it social values: superiority, urban sophistication, ideological authority. As a result, the differentiation of language usage at the rural village level can be divided into two categories: among villagers of the same village and between villagers and outsiders. Within a village, village elites have a better chance of acquiring familiarity with new words. However, they show conservative attitudes to their linguistic identity at certain points, for instance when they confront authority, officials who use standard Thai, or when some of their neighbours over-use standard Thai.

With regard to the interaction between Buddhism and radio broadcasting, it can be seen that Buddhism has seized the opportunities offered by radio to disseminate its values. Through radio announcements and advertisement of Buddhist ceremonies, the mass media combined with convenient transport have served traditional Buddhism by making pilgrimages more accessible and by encouraging rural peasants to travel to ceremonies, make merit and give alms. Yet in so doing people are brought into direct contact with new manufactured products and advanced western technology, especially at the temple fairs. Sermons in the modern idiom, however, are not very popular amongst regular listeners because they feel they earn less merit by listening to modern dialogue preaching on radio. The feeling that engagement in merit making results in a felicitous state

of mind is of primary importance, and it must be understood that this is a psychological state much coveted by rural northern Thai villagers. Because of its inherent flexibility, Buddhism does not prevent peasants from adopting western technology. An example is the family planning development project, where reinterpretation of traditional religious doctrines helps to popularise the idea of contraception. I conclude that Buddhism is a stabilising factor, providing continuity while allowing, even furthering, social change. Where social and moral values which are not part of religious belief are concerned, there is also interaction with new ideas. Within this process, radio makes a contribution, introducing flexibility into the traditional social hierarchy by providing information which all peasants can obtain with ease. Here again, I emphasize that it is not radio alone; modern education, contact with town and other mass media are at work in the diffusion of innovative ideas and concepts.

Therefore, the conclusion for the second part of my thesis is that while change is inevitable and is a continuous process, nonetheless, among rural northern Thai peasants, there is a strong element of continuity within the process of social transformation. In the process of the flow of information, what radio can do is to give information and stimulus to encourage villagers, but face-to-face communication still plays an important part and here the traditional leaders, the key figures in the community are significant. I demonstrate this by describing the

work of the headman, the medium and various other elites in the process of spreading innovative ideas and complementing the part played by radio. It can be demonstrated that the way the northern Thai peasants receive a new style of living, and western technology, is not merely a process of adoption, but that there is an assimilation of new ideas, adapted and absorbed into traditional ways. Radio is increasingly part of this self-perpetuating process of development, producing both the initial impact of the new and facilitating its integration with the traditional and established norms. A brief review of the role of radio in the three villages indicates its potential as an aid in the inevitable process of change and development. Although broadly similar patterns are visible in all three, certain variations in the connection between radio and development are significant.

In Ban Mon Khao Khew, socially the most fragmented of the villages, the popular use of radio did not precede for long the arrival of industrialization and urbanisation. Thus, radio had not the time to do its valuable educative role, introducing innovations first as concepts and ideas to be imagined and discussed, and the village manifests many examples of premature development. The nearly abandoned temple is a powerful symbol, indeed an actual instance of the people's loss of a spiritual and social centre. In this respect Ban Lang offers a contrast. In this isolated place radio is all-important. It is ironical that should

development ever come to Ban Lang it would find the villagers better prepared in mind through their radio listening than their counterparts in either of other villages.

Ban Naa Dong provides something of a model; radio prepared people for the process of change, which when it came, did not destroy their traditional way of life but was absorbed into it. Moreover, radio remains important, an integral part of the continuing development projects from which the village is benefitting.

On the hills around Ban Lang the ancient forests have been largely devastated. Teak and other hardwoods provided immediate cash, but the long term price was high. Erosion washed the soil from the hillsides and the people of Ban Lang have now to survive on wasted farm land and cope with alternate floods and drought.

In a situation like that of modern Thailand, where the pressures to modernise, and to take on board the complex technology of the West threaten to outstrip the capacity of the society to adjust, the wasted forests offer a kind of parable or warning; rapid snatching at wealth without a view to the eventual result is ultimately self-defeating. So many material goods are on offer, alluringly advertised on radio, visible in the towns. No authoritative voice seeks to guide the rural population in their use or advises without bias or self-interest what should be adopted, in what quantity, by whom and how. Yet it is just such a warning voice, articulating the ancient Buddhist doctrine

of moderation, the middle way, tang sai klang, which radio could become if it were once freed from the need to earn its bread by advertising and were accorded the value it deserves by a government with the courage, wisdom and commitment to tackle the long-term problems of the rural population.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. General information

1. Sex: () male () female
2. Age: () under 15 () 40-44
() 15-19 () 45-49
() 20-24 () 50-54
() 25-29 () 55-59
() 30-34 () 60-64
() 35-39 () 65-over
3. Religion: () Buddhist () Christian
() Muslim () Other, please indicate. _____
4. What is your position in household?
- () head of the household
() wife
() 1st son or daughter
() 2nd son or daughter
() 3rd son or daughter
() other position, please indicate _____
5. Marital status
- () single () remarried,
() married how many times?
() divorced or separated () widowed
- How many wives/husbands do you have at this moment? _____
6. How many children who are still alive do you have?
- sons; daughters.
7. How many children are there who stay with you in the same household?

| Name | Age | Sex | Marital Status | Nature or work in household |
|------|-----|-----|----------------|-----------------------------|
| | | | | |

8. Besides your wife/husband and your own children, is there any other person living in your household?

() yes () no

If yes,

| What is the relationship? | temporary | permanent | What kind of work do they help you to do? |
|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|---|
| | | | |

9. Where were you born? () in this village
() other place, please indicate

10. What is your race?
and nationality?

11. What is your educational level?

() Cannot read and write
() can read and write with difficulty (under P.4)
() compulsory (Prathom 4)
() religious education
() primary school (Prathom 5-7)
() secondary school (M.S. 1-3)
() vocational education or training.

12. Is your father still alive? () yes () no

Where was he born? _____

Where did he spend most of his life? _____

What is his main occupation? _____

Did he have any land? () yes () no

If yes, how much? _____ rai

13. After your marriage, did you come to live with your wife/husband or did she/he move to live with you?

() husband moved to live in wife's household.
() wife moved to live in husband's household.
() moved into a new separate house.

14. Does your wife/husband work for an employer?

() yes () no, because _____

What type of work is it? _____

Where is it? _____

What is his/her income? _____

15. Do you work for an employer?
() yes () no, because _____

What type of work is it? _____

Where is it? _____

What is your income? _____

How long have you done this work? _____

If no, how do you earn your living?

Do you have other subsidiary work?

() yes () no

If yes, what is it?

Do you wish to have the chance of changing your occupation?

() yes () no

Because

16. Do you have any land?
() yes () no

For the house _____ rai

Rice field _____ rai

If yes, how did you get this land?

() by inheritance _____ rai

() by purchase _____ rai

() by other way _____ rai, please indicate _____

17. Do you rent any land? () yes () no

If yes, how much do you rent? _____ rai

From whom do you rent the land? _____

What do you use it for? _____

How long have you rented it? _____

How do you pay? () by cash

() share cropping

() other, please indicate. _____

18. Do you have any land to rent out?
() yes () no

If yes, how many rai? _____ rai

Who are the tenant farmers? _____

For how long have they rented your land? _____

How do they pay? _____

19. Please supply the following details of your income.

| Sources of income | Baht /year | Mainly when money comes in (Month) |
|--|------------|------------------------------------|
| Selling or exchange of grain or vegetables | | |
| Selling or exchange of other products, e.g. handicrafts etc. | | |
| Payment for labour | | |
| Other, please indicate | | |

20. How much is spent on supporting your family? baht/
year
- Other expenses 1..... baht/year
- 2..... baht/year
- 3..... baht/year

21. Do you have any debt? () yes () no
- If yes, from where did you borrow the money?
- What is the main reason for your debt?
-

22. Do you have any of the following possessions?

| | Yes | No | Number |
|------------------------------|-----|----|--------|
| a. Land | | | |
| field | | | |
| garden | | | |
| plantation | | | |
| b. Farming animals | | | |
| cow | | | |
| water buffalo | | | |
| horse | | | |
| c. Commercial animals | | | |
| ox | | | |
| pig | | | |
| hen | | | |
| duck | | | |
| elephant | | | |
| fish | | | |
| d. Farming implements | | | |
| tractor | | | |
| electric pump/motor pump | | | |
| lorry | | | |
| noria | | | |
| cart | | | |
| rickshaw with van | | | |
| barn, granary | | | |
| cattle-pen | | | |
| e. House | | | |
| f. Vehicle | | | |
| car | | | |
| motor bicycle | | | |
| bicycle | | | |
| cart | | | |
| motor boat | | | |
| boat | | | |
| g. Modern household utensils | | | |
| radio | | | |
| electric fan | | | |
| refrigerator | | | |
| television | | | |
| gas stove | | | |
| sewing machine | | | |
| new type of lavatory | | | |

23. Have you ever been to the following places?

| | Town | other nieghbouring provinces | Bangkok or Chiang Mai |
|------------|---------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| yes no | | | |
| How often? | time/ year | time/year | time/year |

What is the main purpose of your travels?

- () earning money
 () official business
 () visiting relatives/friends
 () making merit
 () touring/entertainment
 () shopping
 () other, please indicate _____
 () not applicable.

24. Are you an ordinary member or committee member of any of these groups?

| | Ordinary member | Non- member | committee member | not appl. | Don't know |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------|---------------|
| Local cooperative scheme | | | | | |
| Royal irrigation for farmers | | | | | |
| Water Users organization | | | | | |
| Farmers' union | | | | | |
| Gardeners & rice farmers' union | | | | | |
| Villager scouts | | | | | |
| Villager guard voluteers | | | | | |
| Territory guard voluteers | | | | | |
| "Na-va-Pol" group | | | | | |
| Farmers' cooperative | | | | | |
| Bank loan for farmers | | | | | |
| Working youth group | | | | | |

25. What is the main source of general information from outside the village for you?

- () Newspaper () neighbour/friend
 () Radio () local gov. official
 () headman () Salesman
 () local school teacher () other _____
 () local Buddhist abbot

26. Have you ever known any vocational training project which is arranged by the government? () yes () no
 If yes, what projects are they? please indicate

1.
 2.
 3.

Have you ever joined any project?

- () yes, please indicate _____
() no, because _____

27. Was there anything which you later put into practice?

- () yes, how is the result? _____
() no, because _____

28. What is your main source of agricultural information?

- () government official () television
() headman () newspaper
() radio () other, please indicate

29. What is your main source of news of events and general information?

a. Political events

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| () headman | () people of this village |
| () district official | () people from outside |
| () radio | () other, _____ |
| () newspaper | |

b. Home news

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| () headman | () people of this village |
| () district official | () people from outside |
| () radio | () other, _____ |
| () newspaper | |

c. News about other countries

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| () headman | () people of this village |
| () district official | () people from outside |
| () radio | () other, _____ |
| () newspaper | |

d. Development projects

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| () headman | () people of this village |
| () district official | () people from outside |
| () radio | () other, _____ |
| () newspaper | |

e. Official/military announcement

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| () headman | () people of this village |
| () district official | () people from outside |
| () radio | () other, _____ |
| () newspaper | |

f. Public announcement

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| () headman | () people of this village |
| () district official | () people from outside |
| () radio | () other, _____ |
| () newspaper | |

(continued overleaf)

- g. Education, general knowledge
() headman () people of this village
() district official () people from outside
() radio () other, _____
() newspaper
- h. Special events in other areas
() headman () people of this village
() district official () people from outside
() radio () other, _____
() newspaper

2. Mass Media Usage Information

30. Have you ever read newspapers? () yes () no

How often do you read newspapers, if yes?

- () every day () once a week
() every 2-3 days () other, please indicate _____

Where do you generally read newspapers?

- () at home () at the public reading place
() at your friends' or () other, _____
relatives
() at grocery /coffee
shop of this village

What newspaper do you usually read? Please give name:

1.
2.
3.

What subjects do you habitually read about?

- () news () entertainment
() education () other, _____

When did you last read a newspaper?

- () today () last week
() yesterday () other, _____
() last few days

Have you ever picked up and remembered any interesting items from reading newspaper

- () yes () no

If yes, please give examples: 1.

2.

3.

31. How often do you go to the cinema (including open-air cinema)?

- () often, _____ times/month
 () once in a while
 () never

If you often go to the cinema, what kind of film do you prefer?

- () entertainment
 () documentary/educational
 () news
 () other, please indicate _____

32. Have you ever watched television?

- () yes () no

If yes, how often do you watch television?

- () every day () once a week
 () every 2-3 days () other, _____

Where do you watch television?

- () at home () at the headman's
 () at friend's/ () other, _____
 neighbours'
 () at the temple

What programmes interest you most?

- () news () entertainment
 () documentary/ () sport
 education
 () other, _____

When was the last time you watched television?

- () today () last week
 () yesterday () other, _____
 () a few days ago

Have you ever found any new ideas from television useful to your work or your daily life?

- () yes () no

If yes, please give example?

1.
 2.

33. To what extent have you received official government information from the following sources.

| | very much | much | moder- ately | seldom | very seldom | not at all | don't know | not applicable |
|---------------------|--------------|------|-----------------|--------|----------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Parents/relations | | | | | | | | |
| Friends/neighbours | | | | | | | | |
| Government official | | | | | | | | |
| Newspaper | | | | | | | | |
| Radio | | | | | | | | |
| Television | | | | | | | | |
| Your children | | | | | | | | |
| Temple /monk | | | | | | | | |
| Film | | | | | | | | |

34. What is your main source of political information and news of political current events?

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> radio | <input type="checkbox"/> village leaders |
| <input type="checkbox"/> newspaper | <input type="checkbox"/> Government official |
| <input type="checkbox"/> television | <input type="checkbox"/> temple notice board |
| <input type="checkbox"/> film | |

3. Information about radio

35. Have you ever listened to radio? ☐ yes ☐ no.

36. Do you have a radio set of your own or in your household?
☐ yes ☐ no

If yes, how many radios do you have in the household?

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> more than 3 |

How many radios have you bought with your own money?

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> more than 3 |

How many of them are in use (working)?

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> more than 3 |

37. If there is a radio (or radios) at home (in the household where you live), where do you usually listen to radio?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> at home | <input type="checkbox"/> grocery/coffee shop |
| <input type="checkbox"/> at friend's/ neighbour's | <input type="checkbox"/> temple |
| <input type="checkbox"/> relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> headman's |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other, please indicate _____ | |

38. Do you usually listen to radio alone or with someone else?

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> alone | <input type="checkbox"/> with someone else. Who are they? |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> husband/wife |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> children/parents |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> friend |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> neighbour |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> relative |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> other, _____ |

If you listen to radio with someone else, are you often interested in the same programme?

- | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> yes | <input type="checkbox"/> no | <input type="checkbox"/> don't know |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|

If yes, who selects the channel or programme?

- | |
|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> husband/wife |
| <input type="checkbox"/> children/parents |
| <input type="checkbox"/> friend |
| <input type="checkbox"/> neighbour |
| <input type="checkbox"/> relative |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other, _____ |

39. How often do you listen to radio?
() everyday () less than once a week
() once every 2-3 days () don't know
() once a week

When did you last listen to radio?

- () today () last week
() yesterday () other, _____
() a few days ago

40. (This question is for persons who do not have their own personal radios which they have actually bought).

Would you like to have a radio of your own in the future?
() yes, because _____ () no, because _____

Where do you listen to radio now?

- () at home (in the () grocery/coffee shop
household) () temple
() at friend's/- () headman's
neighbour's
() relative's
() other, _____

How often do you listen to radio?

- () everyday () less than once a week
() once for every 2-3 () don't know
days
() once a week

41. When did you buy your first radio set?

- () less than a year ago () don't know/cannot remember
() 1-3 years ago () not app./never bought one
() 4-6 years ago
() more than 6 years, _____ years

What is the main incentive for you to buy the first radio set?

.....

42. How old is your present radio set?

- () less than 1 year () don't know/cannot remember
() 1-3 year () not applicable
() 4-6 year
() more than 6 years, _____ years

43. How much did it cost?

- () less than 100 bahts () 300-500 bahts
() 100-300 bahts () more than 300 bahts,
..... bahts

44. What sort is it? (might be more than 1 answer).

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> A.M. | <input type="checkbox"/> transistor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> F.M. | <input type="checkbox"/> electric |
| <input type="checkbox"/> short wave | <input type="checkbox"/> portable |
| <input type="checkbox"/> medium wave | <input type="checkbox"/> non-portable |
| <input type="checkbox"/> long wave | |

45. How much do you have to pay monthly for the use of radio?

a. Batteries baht/month.

Where do you buy batteries?

- ☐ in this village
☐ in town
☐ other _____

b. If your radio is electric, can you estimate payment

- ☐ yes,baht/month
☐ no

Has your radio ever been broken? ☐ yes ☐ no

If yes, how many times? _____ times

On average, how much did you pay for one repair? _____ baht.

Where did you have ti repaired? ☐ in this village

☐ in town

☐ other, _____

46. In your family who do you think listens to the radio most?

- ☐ yourself
☐ your parents
☐ your children /relations
☐ your wife/husband
☐ other _____

47. On average how many hours a day do you listen to radio?

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> less than 2 hours | <input type="checkbox"/> 8-10 hours |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2-4 hours | <input type="checkbox"/> more than 10 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 4-6 hours | <input type="checkbox"/> don't know |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 6-8 hours | <input type="checkbox"/> not applicable |

48. How much do you use these methods in selecting radio channels and programmes?

| | very often | often | some- time | seldom | very rarely | not at all | don't know | not applicable |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|-------|---------------|--------|----------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|
| From radio announcements | | | | | | | | |
| Radio timetable from newspaper | | | | | | | | |
| Follow the preceding programme | | | | | | | | |
| Random selection | | | | | | | | |
| Do not have chance to select | | | | | | | | |

49. How much use has radio been to you in the following areas?

| | very much | much | moder- ate | a little | very little | not at all | don't know | not app. |
|--------------------------------|--------------|------|---------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| General knowledge | | | | | | | | |
| Entertainment | | | | | | | | |
| Morality | | | | | | | | |
| Current events | | | | | | | | |
| Increasing of Income | | | | | | | | |
| Better Standard of living | | | | | | | | |
| Occupational advan- tage | | | | | | | | |
| Getting rid of lone- liness | | | | | | | | |
| Annoyance | | | | | | | | |

50. Do you have these problems in your radio listening?

| | very much | much | moder- ately | a little | very little | not at all | don't know | not app. |
|---|--------------|------|-----------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| Interesting pro- grammes are not at free time | | | | | | | | |
| Radio waves are disturbed | | | | | | | | |
| Present radio is in bad condition | | | | | | | | |
| Not having radio of your own | | | | | | | | |

51. How often do you listen to the following programmes?

| | very often | occasionally | never |
|--|---------------|--------------|-------|
| 1. Home news | | | |
| 2. Foreign news | | | |
| 3. Sports news | | | |
| 4. Weather Forecast | | | |
| 5. Local news | | | |
| 6. News of job vacancies and available work | | | |
| 7. Religious programmes | | | |
| 8. Political programmes | | | |
| 9. Agricultural and other programmes related to your occupation | | | |
| 10. Health programmes | | | |
| 11. Programmes for children | | | |
| 12. Programmes for housewives | | | |
| 13. Language and literacy | | | |
| 14. Touring programmes | | | |
| 15. Culture and art | | | |
| 16. Serial radio plays | | | |
| 17. Traditional Thai songs | | | |
| 18. Popular Thai songs | | | |
| 19. Popular Western Songs | | | |
| 20. Modern Thai folk songs | | | |
| 21. Folk songs and folk plays | | | |
| 22. Quizzes and Games | | | |

52. During the last week how often did you listen to radio at the following times?

| | very much | much | moder- ately | a little | very little | not at all | don't know | not app. |
|--------------------|--------------|------|-----------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| Before 7.00 a.m. | | | | | | | | |
| 7.00 - 9.00 a.m. | | | | | | | | |
| 9.00 - 12.00 a.m. | | | | | | | | |
| 12.00 - 13.00 p.m. | | | | | | | | |
| 13.00 - 16.00 p.m. | | | | | | | | |
| 16.00 - 18.00 p.m. | | | | | | | | |
| 18.00 - 20.00 p.m. | | | | | | | | |
| After 20.00 p.m. | | | | | | | | |

Why do you listen at this time most?

- () free from work
- () listen while working
- () follow continuous programme
- () other, _____
- () don't know
- () not applicable

On the last holidays, how did you listen to radio at various periods of time?

| | very much | much | moder- ately | a little | very little | not at all | don't know | not app. |
|--------------------|--------------|------|-----------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| Before 7.00 a.m. | | | | | | | | |
| 7.00 - 9.00 a.m. | | | | | | | | |
| 9.00 - 12.00 a.m. | | | | | | | | |
| 12.00 - 13.00 p.m. | | | | | | | | |
| 13.00 - 16.00 p.m. | | | | | | | | |
| 16.00 - 18.00 p.m. | | | | | | | | |
| 18.00 - 20.00 p.m. | | | | | | | | |
| After 20.00 p.m. | | | | | | | | |

Why do you listen at this time most?

- () free from work
- () listen while working
- () follow continuous programme
- () other, _____
- () don't know
- () not applicable

During the rice planting season, how different is your radio listening from other seasons?

- () the same; on average hours/day
- () more, why?
on average hours/day.
- () less, why?
on average hours/day
- () don't know
- () not applicable.

53. Have you followed these following programmes? for how long? and please rate them according to your preference, 1 for most preferred etc.

* (names of the producers).

| Name of Broadcasters and Programmes | Yes | No | Following time | | | | order of favourite | | |
|--|-----|----|-------------------|---------------|----------------|-----------|--------------------|---|---|
| | | | less than 6 mths. | 6 mths-1 year | more than 1 yr | 1-2 years | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| The government news readers from national radio station The 5 minute article of national radio station "Dee Rek"* health prog. "Ra Wa Dee"* Local news "Su Chat"* article and Thai folk songs "Som Sak"* political article "Som Boon"* news and Thai popular songs "Chiyo"* message and song for border "Cha Ruay"*forecast and news criticism "NiCom"* news of the week "Boon Ta Wong"* weather forecast and northern news "Sai Pin"* Conversation before bed time | | | | | | | | | |

Have you ever written to a radio station?

() yes

() no

If yes, what was your communication about? _____

Which 3 programmes do you like most? Please indicate 3 in order of preference.

1. (Channel _____)
2. (Channel _____)
3. (Channel _____)

Why do you like them?

() very useful for your occupation

() very amusing

() help you to make decision when you want to buy some domestic goods

() the programmers have a lot of sense of humour

() other

54. On which station do you usually listen to the following programmes.

| | National Radio Station | Military Radio Station |
|--|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Local news Home news Foreign news Agricultural programmes Domestic programmes Sport programmes Political programmes Songs Serial drama | | |

55. From the following sources of information, how much do you receive new ideas in agriculture?

| Sources | very much | much | moderately | not much | not at all |
|---|--------------|------|------------|-------------|---------------|
| Government official Headman Radio Television Newspaper Other | | | | | |

56. Have you ever received any new ideas about the following items from radio listening?

| | Yes | No | don't know | not applicable |
|---|-----|----|---------------|-------------------|
| Insecticide New variety of seed Modern irrigation Rice bank Fertilizer Farm machinery Land Development Introduction of new vegetable species Animal farming Fish farming Food preservation Cottage industry Handicraft Washing powder Gas stove Electricity Modern medicine Family planning | | | | |

57. Later on, after you have heard about them on radio, did you decide to adopt or use them?

| | Yes | No | don't know | not applicable |
|--|-----|----|------------|----------------|
| Insecticide New variety of seed Modern irrigation Rice bank Fertilizer Farm machinery Land development Introduction of new vegetable species Animal farming Fish farming Food preservation Cottage industry Handicraft Washing powder Gas stove Electricity Modern medicine Family planning | | | | |

58. If you have used the following items, what were the results?

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Insecticide New variety of seed Modern irrigation Rice bank Fertilizer Farm machinery Land development Introduction of new vegetable species Animal farming Fish farming Food preservation Cottage industry Handicraft Washing powder Gas stove Electricity Modern medicine Family planning | | | | | | | | | |

1 = succeed in use, 2 = failure in use, 3 = cannot afford, 4 = not supply at the local market, 5 = lack of skill resulted in failure or not using item, 6 = government does not support this project, 7 = lack of man power, 8 = not applicable to conditions in this village, 9 = don't know.

59. How reliable do you find these following radio programmes?

| | very reliable | fairly reliable | reliable | not very reliable | very rarely reliable | not at all | don't know | not app. |
|---|------------------|--------------------|----------|-------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| Home news Foreign news Political broadcasting Development project Local news Official announce- ment Public service announcement Sports News Weather Forecast Programme of discussion | | | | | | | | |

APPENDIX 2

EXPLANATORY NOTES

1. System of Transcription

I used the system of transcription devised by the Thai Royal Institute (1949) for both the transcription of Standard Thai and Lanathai because the northern Thai Language itself does not have a standard system of transcription into Roman.

1.1 Vowels

Italian vowels except that

ae = sound of ea in English 'bear'
ø = sound of aw in English 'dawn'
oe = sound of eu in French 'peuple'
u' = sound more open than German u

The system does not differentiate between long and short vowels.

1.2 Consonants

English consonants except that

Initial k p t are unaspirated as in French
Final k p t are unexplosive and unaspirated
kh = k aspirated
ph = p aspirated - not English ph
th = t aspirated - not English t
ch = always as in English 'church'
ng = as in English 'singer', never as
in 'linger'

Proper names of informants have been transcribed using this system. Names and surnames of Thai authors mentioned in the text have been transcribed in a similar way unless the names appear in English publications. In this case I adopt the authors' own transcriptions. But in most cases conventional spellings have been used for place names.

2. Units of Measurement

2.1 Area Measure

4 ngan = 1 rai

1 rai = 0.4 acre or 0.16 ha

Thus:

5 rai = 2 acres or 0.8 ha
10 rai = 4 acres or 1.6 ha
25 rai = 10 acres or 4 ha
100 rai = 40 acres or 16 ha

2.2 Volume Measure

1 thang = c.20 litres of unmilled rice (subject to local variations)

2.3 Currency

1 baht (฿) = 100 satang or 4 salu'ng

During fieldwork (1979) the exchange rate varied between 40-45 ฿ = £1. Thus:

1 baht = ~~2.5~~ 2.2 pence

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