



ไทยศึกษา ๑๓ THAI STUDIES
13th INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
CHIANG MAI, 2017

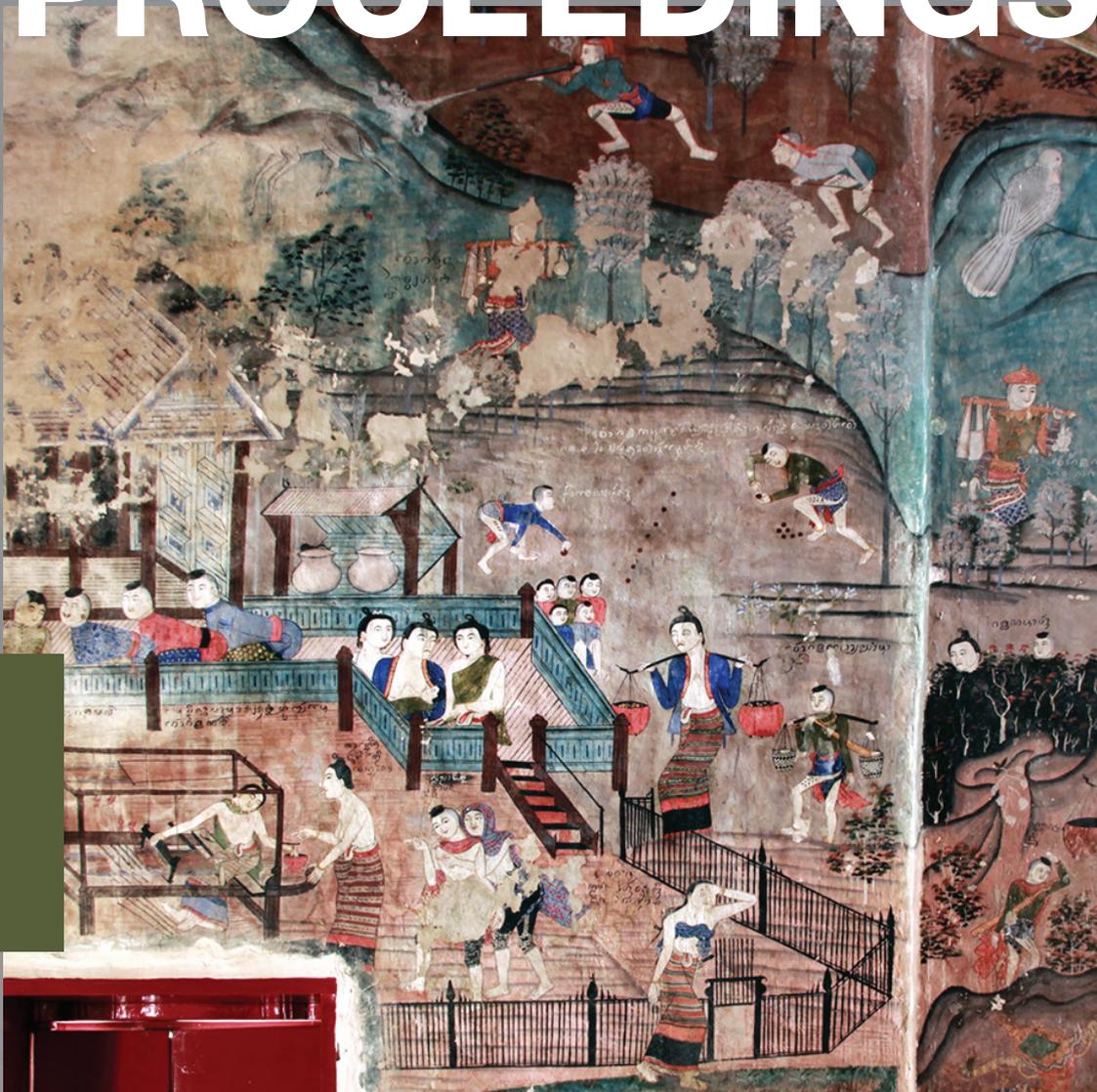
13th INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON

THAI STUDIES

GLOBALIZED THAILAND? CONNECTIVITY, CONFLICT,
AND CONUNDRUMS OF THAI STUDIES

15-18 JULY 2017 CHIANG MAI, THAILAND

PROCEEDINGS



Volume 5: So-Z, ก-ธ



Konrad
Adenauer
Stiftung



The Asia
Foundation



March 2018

ICTS 13 Conference Secretariat

Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD)

Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai, Thailand

Email: icts13.cm@gmail.com, rcsd@cmu.ac.th; Website: <http://www.icts13.chiangmai.cmu.ac.th/>

VOLUME 5: So-Z, ັ- ອັ

Volume 5: Table of Contents

CONFLICTING VALUES, EMPTY MEMORIES: CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN WESTERN ARCHIVAL VALUES AND THAI SOCIAL VALUES

Sucha-xaya, Naya..... 1807

DIGITAL COLLECTION OF BAN CHIANG MASTERPIECES POTTERIES

Suebchompu, Teerapol & Tuamsuk, Kulthida 1821

POLITICS OF THE LOCATION: THE LOCATION OF POLITICS BUILDING MODERNITY WITH CHIANG MAI'S EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION BUILDINGS BETWEEN 1867 – 1915

Suwachrapinun, Sant..... 1828

'SEA PEOPLE' IN TRANSITION: CHANGE IN MOKEN IDENTITY AFTER THE 2004 INDIAN OCEAN TSUNAMI

Suzuki, Yuki..... 1843

ACCESS TO SOCIAL SERVICES: A CASE STUDY OF THE ELDERLY POOR IN SOUTHERN THAILAND

Taneerananon, Sirirat 1854

'THE POOR MILLIONAIRE': A CASE STUDY OF MORALS AND MANNERS IN 1950S THAILAND

Tangsantikul, Juthamas 1859

CLASSIFYING CHARACTERS OF BANGKOK COMMERCIAL DISTRICTS IN THE MID- NINETEENTH CENTURY

Tantivess, Nicha..... 1876

A FRAMEWORK FOR EFFECT OF LANGUAGE ON ORDER-MAKING PROCESS OF FREIGHT FORWARDER FROM CHINA TO THAILAND

Ting, Sun & Watanabe, Woramol Chaowarat..... 1892

WHEN POLITICS MEETS FOOTBALL: THE NEW ERA FOR THAI FOOTBALL?

Vititanon, Nuttakorn 1909

SPATIAL ECONOMIC INITIATIVES IN THAILAND

Walsh, John 1917

**BRIDGING THE KNOWLEDGE GAP BETWEEN LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND
TECHNICAL AGENCIES FOR FLOOD EARLY WARNING IN AYUTTHAYA, THAILAND**

Wannathong, Warittha; Murphy, Kilian & Paphavasit, Sitthinadda 1929

**THE ABSOLUTE MONARCHY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALCOHOL
INDUSTRY IN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY THAILAND**

Warren, James A. 1948

**HOW GENDER JUSTICE BELONGS TO US ALL? - LESSON LEARNED FROM
EMPOWERMENT BASED WORK WITH THAI GRASS ROOT WOMEN**

Wasi, Jaruapapha 1969

TRANSLATING 'RONG WONGSUWAAN FROM THAI TO ENGLISH

Waters, Tony 1978

CHANGING SOCIETY AND BUDDHIST MONKS' HEALTH

Wisitcharoen, Khanitta & Boonchieng, Waraporn 1996

**FROM LOCAL HANDICRAFT TO CREATIVE ART AND DESIGN: A CASE STUDY OF
PALM WAVING IN KAY NOI VILLAGE, MAE TAENG DISTRICT, CHIANG MAI
PROVINCE**

Wongreun, Wanthida; Tantinipankul, Worrasit & Petcharanonda, Bavornsak..... 2003

**FROM HUNTING AND GATHERING TO FARMING SOCIETY: KING MONGKUT
UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY THONBURI AND ITS ROLE IN SUPPORTING THE
RESETTLEMENT OF THE MLABRI HILL TRIBE COMMUNITY**

Wongwande, Norachat & Tantinipankul, Worrasit 2013

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF VOCABULARY AT BASIC LEVEL CATEGORY IN CHINESE
AND THAI LANGUAGES BASED ON THE PROTOTYPE THEORY**

Yang, Yuting..... 2025

**SMILES AND TEARS OF RETURNEES- CHINESE STUDENTS AND TEACHERS IN
THAILAND**

Zhang, Lan 2038

ความเหมือนและความแตกต่างของเรือนพื้นถิ่นไทเขิน: เชียงใหม่ เชียงตุง

ปาฉินท์, อรศิริ; จิระทัศนกุล, สมคิด; สิริเกียรติกุล, พิณ & ช่อภักดิ์, ดวงเงิน 2049

การแสดงออกของการผสมผสานทางวัฒนธรรมในบ้านเรือนลาวเวียง ในภาคกลางของประเทศไทย

พินิจารสิน, วันดี & ปาฉินท์, อรศิริ 2068

จดหมายเหตุน้ำฝน: องค์กรความรู้ด้านอุทกศาสตร์สมัยรัชกาลที่ ๔ - ๕

พิศภูมิวิถิ, ปรีดี 2096

Conflicting Values, Empty Memories: Contradictions between Western Archival Values and Thai Social Values

Sucha-xaya, Naya

University College London
England

Chulalongkorn University
Thailand

Introduction

Archives, or “*jotmai het*” in Thai, is an ambiguous term in Thai society since there are traditional Thai and modern (or Western) definitions of archives. *Jotmai het* in the traditional Thai sense refers to ancient heritage or the tradition of recording important events in Ayutthaya’s court by the royal secretary or *alak*. In contrast, archives in the modern (Western) sense has a different meaning. It refers to records with enduring value that are preserved as evidence for records creators themselves or for research purposes. In the Thai context, the traditional meaning tends to be perceived by the public while the modern one is only understood by limited groups of people, namely archivists, information professionals and archives users.

The problem of archives awareness especially in the modern sense in Thai society was the subject of in my PhD thesis, “The unfit puzzle: archival value and society in contemporary Thailand”. Document study and in-depth interviews were conducted in Thailand and the UK to understand how archives are valued among different groups in Western and Thai contexts.¹ A survey was done to explore opinions of potential user groups in Thailand.² In addition, a focus group was undertaken at the National Archives of Thailand (NAT) at the end of the research to find archival strategies together with the national archivists. Some results of this study are presented here to point out the importance of the problem of archives and historical perceptions in modern Thai society.

Apart from the level of understanding of what archives are and attitudes about objects, conflicts are rooted more deeply in the level of value. Social values that modern archival systems support are not prominent Thai values (though the question of what Thai values are is still problematic) while the traditional Thai recordkeeping system supports more typical Thai social values. This has a negative impact on Thai archival institutions such as the NAT, where the modern archival system does not fit smoothly into the Thai cultural context. This paper focuses on the effect of conflicting values and understanding on archives, their significant functions, and historical understanding. It will examine archival methodology, the history of Western and Thai archives and their impact on perception of history and archival practice.

¹ Data collection focused on The National Archives of Thailand and the UK. The interviews were conducted among archivists, users and archive educators in both countries.

² Questionnaires were sent to four groups of professions and interest that can use archives in the future.

The Concept of Archival Value and Thai Social Values

Value is a concept discussed in a wide range of disciplines, including a branch of philosophy called axiology, psychology and sociology; archival science is no exception. Scholars in each discipline approach value from their perspective, but making connections between them can offer fuller understanding of the questions asked in a particular field. I employed the concepts in these disciplines to find answers on archival value and its relation to social values.

Exploring 'Value'

The word 'value' can refer to a few different meanings. Two of them will be considered in this paper. Firstly, value refers to the importance, worth or usefulness of something (English Oxford living dictionaries). The second meaning, usually studied in sociology and psychology, refers to the tendency of individuals or groups to choose something over others (Hofstede, 2000, p. 5) or an "enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an alternative mode of conduct or end-state of existence (Rokeach, 1979, p. 16). In Thai, the two meanings are communicated by two different words. The first meaning is the word "*khun kha*" which means worth, benefit or value, and the second meaning can be translated to "*kha niyom*" (*kha* = worth, *niyom* = pleased or popular). *Kha niyom* implies that there must be a subject who values or admires things.

Though these two definitions are different, an underlying concept is shared between the two. That is, when persons or objects are considered worthy or valuable, it is based on the belief of those who judge them. In this sense, value is not self-contained. From a philosophical perspective, what is valuable can be valuable in itself without the need to rely on evaluators. In other words, the evaluated object has intrinsic value. Nevertheless, I would like to focus on a relativistic point of view that suits the nature of this research topic which views value across different cultures. Value in this sense is usually understood in the name of "instrumental" value. In modern times, this kind of value is the one that gives direction of policy making, budgeting and funding. Thus, how individuals and society judge an object has a significant impact and should not be ignored in any working system or implementation.

A connection between value in the sense of worth and the one in belief is the value judgment relationship between the evaluated and the evaluators. This connection can explain the problems of archival awareness and modern practice at the NAT and other Thai archives. The general beliefs, attitudes and perceptions towards history contradict the Western archival practices, which are designed to support social values and needs in the West.

The Concept of Value in Archival Science

In modern archival studies' perspective, value is inseparable from archival materials, as archives are records that are kept because of their enduring value (Schellenberg, 1957, p. 13). This means without long-term value, normal records would not be selected to be preserved in the first place.³

³ It should be noted that archives are always defined as valuable records but the period of time used to appraise the value can be different according to changes in records format and period of time used in records life cycle. In ancient times, such as medieval period, not many records were created nor they were created easily, most records can be kept without appraisal or selection process. In later period since World War II, records were increasing in number and most needs to be disposed after the proper period of time because

The concept of value accompanies all steps in archival work. The reasons they are important come partly from the fact that archival work is all involved with finding the way to preserve the value and deliver this to users. Value in archival work can be found as follows.

Appraisal and acquisition

From the beginning, archivists (or in some cases records creators) select some records with long-term value to be kept in archival institutions permanently. This process is called appraisal. It can be that the records are selected automatically through a retention schedule dictating which records will be kept for how long, or they can be selected from records that are left for disposal. Whether records will be thrown away or kept depends on their value stemming from their status, such as financial, research, historical values. The methods in selecting records are arguably subjective, and many archival scholars have been attempting to develop different theories and strategies that are the most sensible and just according to their contexts. The next step is accessioning or acquiring archival records by the archives where they will be kept permanently for research use or other purposes.

Preservation

Preservation aims to keep archives in good enough shape to hold their value both in their information and materiality. The making of surrogates is now a method that can help in preserving the original. However, the value the original has is still irreplaceable.

Description and finding aids

From an abundance of records, it is almost impossible for users to find the records they are looking for. Archivists need to provide the descriptions via catalogues, PR about new archival records, in-person advice, and so on. Technology has an increasingly important role in developing their usability. The efficiency of finding aids are thus essential for users to discover the records they need.

Giving access & use

The last step in delivering archives to users is giving access to users. At this point, archivists are the ones who consider if it is viable for records to be accessed by considering different laws and records conditions. If the records are deemed suitable, users can use archives in the reading room or use them remotely via technology. The level of convenience in obtaining access and in using archives has a significant impact on quality of the archival use itself.

Thus, archival management, from the first to the last step, is concerned with value: to evaluate it, preserve it, deliver it – and finally for the user to take advantage of the value found in the evidence (records). Viewing archival work through this lens, the value of archives can be supported or undermined according to their surroundings: those who value them, those who manage them and the systems that support the management of these materials. The values underlying the archival management can be observed throughout this work and in the principles of archivists themselves. The qualities of 'records' described by the West consists of naturalness, authenticity, interrelatedness and impartiality (Jenkinson 1965, p. 11-4). These qualities of records are involved with truth and the nature of records to be evidence.

there is cost to keep them. However, in the realm of changes in the digital age, some archival scholars think that the recordkeeping can be back to the point where no appraisal is needed because the keeping of records does not take up the storage space.

When Archives are not Valued

What can happen according to this logic is that archives in a society where their value is not appreciated or understood and where the systems of archival management are not in line with the social values of the context, a decrease of some kinds of archival value may occur. The Thai context is one such example. The practice at the NAT faces some problems resulting in work that can reduce the value of archives and have a notable impact on Thai society. A lack of awareness on the part of the public is one of the main causes of there being a very limited group of users of archives in the modern sense. Because of the small influence that archival use has, the financial and other support given from Fine Arts Department, as well as collaboration with other departments, is low. Inefficiency of records transfer from governmental departments to the NAT translate to an incomplete picture of historical evidence and missing public memories. If users want to access these missing records for research or even for social justice pursuits, they are not retrievable. This problem has persisted constantly since 1932,⁴ raising the prospect that historical evidence will continually be left out of the archives. The problem does not stop at appraisal but also affects users' access to archives. The available archives offer a more limited value because they do not themselves carry an integral picture of history. A lack of support and IT skills to make archives available conveniently brings more obstacles to archival use. The dysfunction of the modern recordkeeping system in the Thai context diminishes modern archival value, leading to important consequences: incomplete historical memories and a shortage of those interested in history. The archives facilities are 'empty' both in their repositories and reading rooms. At first glance, these circumstances are the result of inefficiency in the system, but at a deeper level it points to the incompatibility between the Western archival system and Thai values system. The incongruence cannot be concealed and shows through clearly when there are breakdowns or failures in the archival system.

Historical Background

A view of the history of Thai recordkeeping is essential to understanding the current situation of Thai archives. The bureaucratic reforms during King Rama V's reign (1868-1910) brought a Western recordkeeping system as part of the push towards modernization. From the traditional Thai recordkeeping systems which had been practiced since the Ayutthaya period (Songsan, 1974, p. 32), the Western recordkeeping system was abruptly adopted in Siam. The first ministry that initiated the modern (Western) recordkeeping was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1859, as it was responsible for contacting foreign countries and thus had the foremost importance in that age of imperialism. Other ministries (e.g. Ministry of Murathathon, or the king's stationery, and the Ministry of Interior) followed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' recordkeeping practice by sending staff for training there (Suwanna, 1991, p. 77, p. 86).

This adoption of the recordkeeping system was an attempt to follow in the West's footsteps in order to be civilized according to the understanding of the times. (The reason for the need to be "civilized" can be interpreted differently). The point I would like to focus on here is that social values attached with Western archival practice have not worked well with the Siamese context from the start. Value clashes in organizational culture occurred in the whole of the bureaucratic system. The modern bureaucracy during King Rama V's reign was a brand-new working system but was unable to "strike

⁴ Please see more detail in 'Historical background' section.

change into the heart of the system's values" (Siffin, 1966, p. 161). Conversely, conventional Thai values played a role in the reformed system. For example, power, the original prominent value in the old bureaucratic system, remained central. The modern system was organized in a way that supported status; relationships and the patronage system were more important than rules and regulations; the bureaucratic system gave people working in it not only professional security but their personal identity. The administration of recordkeeping system has declined since Siamese revolution in 1932 as it became each Ministry's responsibility to keep its own records. The unified recordkeeping system during King Rama V's reign changed to the decentralized ones (Naya, 2017, p. 132).

Recordkeeping Systems and Thai Social Values

My PhD research project employed a psychological framework as a tool to examine the compatibility between social values and those supported by archival systems. I decided to use framework designed by a psychologist Shalom H. Schwartz called Schwartz's Value Survey (SVS) for the following reasons: firstly, it attempts to build a framework that contains universal human values and covers different cultures, and my thesis compares Western values (via the Western recordkeeping systems) and Thai values. Secondly, the SVS framework has been used heavily by researchers in many countries. Certainly, human values systems in different cultures are too complex to be covered by a single framework, but SVS is the one responding to the purposes of the study.

Thai values – what are they?

Though it is almost impossible to describe a whole society with one particular set of values, because that can ignore cultural diversity, each institution or society tends to share some values or give importance to some more than others as a pattern in their shared experiences (Rokeach, 1979, p. 52-53). I attempt to describe prominent Thai values under two important factors: social structure and religious belief. Sociological and Thai studies literature also helps in identifying these values. Thai beliefs – namely a belief in karma, being generous and forgiving, believing in uncertainty and independence – and the old social structure that has existed since the Ayutthaya period (*sakdina* system) have led Thai society in general to place high importance on relationships (especially in the patronage system), to value seniority, to maintain a fun-loving outlook and to accept indiscipline (Naya, 2017, p. 82-91).

When put into the SVS framework for the sake of analysis, prominent Thai values can be plotted into hedonism, benevolence, conformity/tradition, security, and power. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that social change cannot be ignored in Thai society in this analysis. New values certainly have emerged in Thai society. This is why the modern recordkeeping system does also have a function in contemporary Thai society; this will be elaborated on in the last section.

I examined two pairs of archival systems and Thai values: (1) the Western recordkeeping system and Thai social values, and (2) the traditional Thai recordkeeping system and Thai social values.

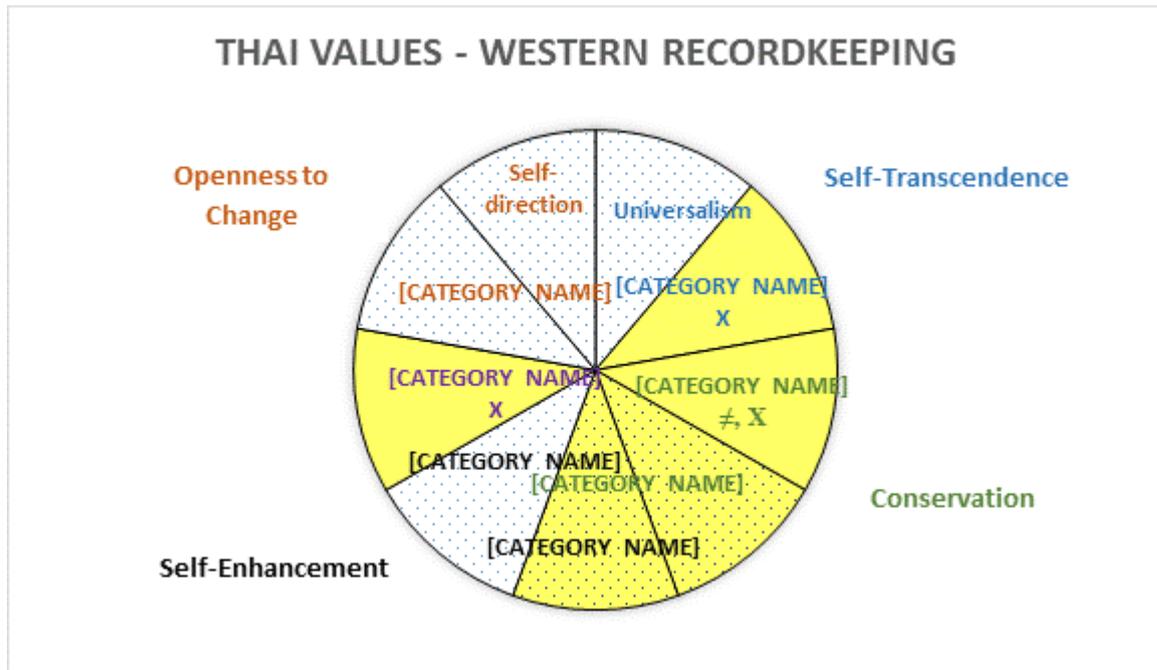


Figure 1: Thai social values and values in traditional Thai recordkeeping

From this diagram prominent Thai social values are shaded in yellow, and values supported by the modern archival system are shaded in dots. Only two values are prominent among both Thai social values and values supported in the modern archival system – namely power and security. Values connected with the modern archival system are ones that support work in modern organizations, such as achievement, self-direction, security and power. At the same time, when records become archives, archival use supports values such as universalism, the love of knowledge and stimulation, and the excitement of discovering new things. The fun-loving nature of Thai people can be described as fitting into stimulation; however, “fun” in archives is still about finding new knowledge, which is not typical fun or *sanuk* in the Thai sense. The Thai epistemic goal is the transmission of knowledge, not the search for new knowledge (Soraj, 2002, p. 84).

Overall, Thai social values do not match with the values found in the modern recordkeeping system. Moreover, some values are conflicting. For instance, conformity and tradition are important values in Thai society, which tends to emphasise harmony; these values are not culturally compatible with the act of discovering new things (i.e., ideas that can overrule older ones). Moreover, two of the most distinct Thai values – namely hedonism and benevolence – have no relation to the recordkeeping system.

History and Archives in the West

The practice of keeping archives has been common in Western civilization since ancient times. Valuable documents have been kept for various purposes, for example as evidence of property ownership or activities. Their value as evidence has been a fundamental nature of records. The role of archives had been distinct from the writing of history in the West in the nineteenth century. The positivist approach of Leopold von Ranke's school, for example, holds that history needs to be based on the study of evidence (records). Von Ranke was a German historian who insisted that historians had to rely on supporting evidence for their ideas and assertions. In other words, history must be written according to "what actually happened" (Krieger, 1977, p. 4). However, the approach is criticized because it is almost impossible to avoid the subjectivity of historians. It also has flaws in neglecting subjective evidence – the truth of which cannot be determined. Von Ranke himself did not trust some kinds of subjective historical writings, such as memoirs and diplomatic reports, but relied only public and diplomatic records (Tuttle, 2012, p. 135). Nevertheless, von Ranke's historical method has greatly influenced historians. It led to archival use that was concerned with history and the foundation of many archival institutions in the Western world to serve historical purposes. Most of the archival institutions founded during the nineteenth century were to serve history. (The foundation of the NAT itself in 1916 was also from this kind of historical motivation). In fact, the thoughts behind this historical school and modern archival management rest on some mutual currents.

Von Ranke's school will be the focus in this paper since it highlights the importance of archival use among historians. Von Ranke's faith as a Lutheran brought him the belief in the presence of God in time. Von Ranke stated, "I would maintain, on the contrary, that every epoch is immediate to God, and that its value in no way depends on what may have eventuated from it, but rather in its existence alone, its own unique particularity" (Lectures to King Maximilian of Bavaria, 1854 quoted from Warring State Project). Hence, humans (historians) have no duty to judge the past but only to write what they found in evidence, to reflect what God has made and His presence in history. The von Ranke school's desire to seek 'truth' is closely linked to the subject of archives. A similar kind of epistemology seeking truth is the foundation of modern principles of records and archives management. For example, qualities required in records in the field of archival science (naturalness, authenticity, interrelatedness and impartiality) share the same values of truth with this historical school (Jenkinson, 1965, p. 11-4).

The acquisition of truth plays a central role around these schools. Though not all Western historical schools emphasise evidence and truth in this positivist way, the concept of truth is fairly important in modern history and in the definition of what is history and what is not. The historical method related to archives shows that the purpose of historiography is to reveal the picture of what happened as much as possible.

Thai History, Historiography and Historical Methods

The methods and approaches to exploring history show how each culture wants to recall its own past. Thai historiography, historical methods and their products are a good reflection of Thai epistemology and worldview. In Thailand, these do have roots and purposes in the culture; nevertheless, the development of history, thoughts and methods did face a big change with the coming of the West in the nineteenth century just like other changes around the same time. The more standardized (Westernized) ways of dealing with history later in the nineteenth century

replaced Thai historical methodology. This abrupt change brought in new worldviews and ways of thinking. Thai scholars wrote modern Thai history using modern historical methods. In early days, historians like Prince Damrong were able to use Western methods to explain and protect traditional views in the country (Jory, 2010, p. 102-4). Later, historians took closer looks at different dimensions of Thai history. Still, Thai historians have borrowed Western methods to talk about historical memories. Historians' perspectives are thus different from some of the prevailing ideas of a public that is not directly exposed to the modern conventions of the discipline. Historians in Thai society, then, can be seen as a small group of people whose work and communication typically cannot be directly connected to society. The use of received concepts and methods has continued; the contrast between the traditional Thai and the modern Western practice still exist as well.

Natwipa Chalitanon (1981) described characteristics of Thai historiography by categorizing historical writings according to Thai conventions, namely *charuek* (inscription), *tamnan* (myth) and *pongsawadan* (chronicle). Firstly, inscriptions, the oldest kind of material, have the purpose of announcing the good deeds or reputation of persons, such as recounting victories over other kingdoms or describing a ruler's virtues. Another commonly found kind of inscription is evidence of a donation – a practice called *kalapana* (Natwipa, 1981 p. 17-9). This kind of historical writing is usually on stone so that it will be long-lasting, though some might be in the form of other materials like brick or wood. Secondly, *tamnan* or myth is history mostly relating to religions. They tend to be full of supernatural matters, such as angels and hermits. These *tamnan*, mostly found in the North of Thailand, have characteristics (in terms of talking about miraculous stories) that are similar to the Western world's medieval history. They mix factual and fictional elements, making them likely to be ignored in historical studies (Dhida, 1982, p. 56). Lastly, *pongsawadan*, or chronicle, is made from *jotmai het*, recording of daily significant events. The center of chronicles are kings. This last kind of writing is the main type of Thai history learned among Thai citizens and is likely to appear in Thai history textbooks.

These traditional historical writings were created for serving two agents: rulers and religion. These purposes are the same as history in other pre-modern civilizations. For example, the writing of myths can be found throughout the world. However, Thai historiography did not have a chance to develop its own historical methods for the modern day, especially for life under democratic governance. In today's context, how much have these purposes changed or persisted?

Thai historical methods are related to recording. As mentioned at the beginning, *jotmai het* or archives in the Thai sense refers to materials used for writing history in the form of chronicles. Other forms of history are similar: evidence is deliberately made to be history. The traditional historical method is intentionally subjective. This contrasts with von Ranke's school and his use of archives as evidence to reflect truth. Traditional Thai historical methods – both from materials used to write history and the activity of history writing itself – embraces the subjectivity of the creators while von Ranke wanted evidence to speak for itself, leaving subjective matters to God.

The methodology reveals the concepts behind the practices. Thai history is from the act of writing it up (recording events) while the modern Western approach to history entails collecting evidence to reach an understanding of past circumstances. This shows that the Thai approach gives trust to the authority of those who have written history and is less concerned with determining exactly what happened. Though the Western approach also involves listening to historians to gather evidence, interpret and convey it in the form of writing, the trust in those historical authorities needs to originate from supporting evidence. This discrepancy can explain much about why traditional the Thai archival system (recording of history) holds a more prominent place in Thai perceptions than

the Western methods of history that Thais received later.

Anan Kanchanapan (2000) stated that it is necessary to understand the values system that supports a historiography. The understanding works as “grammar” that is used to comprehend historical work (p. 26). Similarly, Theera Nuchpiam (1994) stated that historiography cannot be free from its signification and values systems in its society (p.18). One piece of work that sounds illogical for one perspective can in fact make sense for another. The ways Thai history has traditionally been written reflect some of these context-specific values and concepts – notably the concept of truth and the concept of time.

Concept of Truth

As noted previously, truth is not the goal of historical endeavors, but history is meant to be recorded to support political or religious agents. History was written in the ways that can be understood within the culture – this can even be via symbols, rituals or tales. It is not necessary that everyone understand or write about what actually happened. In fact, looking at the predominant Thai way of searching for knowledge, truth is not the epistemic goal (Soraj, 2002, p. 84). The transmission of knowledge and tradition according to those with authority is more important. Again, authority plays a part in this dimension of culture; the one who says something can be more important than what is said. In contrast, the West aims to study to discover new knowledge, meaning that the old knowledge can be equally argued with or refuted by the new knowledge. Thai ways of education rely on transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next. Thus, knowledge is static and needs to respect the more senior people who grant it. Consequently, it is hard for Thai education to find new knowledge for the reason that it needs to safeguard existing knowledge that is already possessed.

In the study of history, Thai historians do not have the luxury of writing anything they want but have to do it in a way respectful of more senior persons or higher institutions. Thongchai Winichakul (2011) stated that it is known among scholars that writing history can be “a risky business” (p. 20). He referred to Barend Terwiel, who said ‘subtle craft’ is needed to write history of Siam (p. 20). The truth has never been revealed freely or explicitly, both within historical communication and in the archival method.

Concept of Time

Another significant aspect in traditional Thai historiography is how time is viewed. The traditional Thai historiography originally followed a concept of viewing time as a cycle. The Three Worlds, or Traibhumikhata, composed by King Lithai (1347-1368) describes the Buddhist cosmology different worlds: heaven, earth and hell. It gives the temporal perspective that there are five eras. Each world lasts for 5,000 years and is destroyed by fire in due time. Each period starts from the purest state and continuously declines to worse conditions. There are five areas of declination (panchaantaratan), namely Buddhist practice, enlightenment, discipline, knowledge, and the Buddha’s relics (in that they are naturally destroyed over time); underpinning this is the idea that human morals are continuously degraded. The predestined way of thinking about time in one’s life determines how one thinks about life. Believing in karma, Thai people traditionally subscribed to notions of determinism: doing meritorious deeds is the way to retain a good life now and holds the promise of a better one in the next existence. One consequence of this belief can be lack of motivation to progress in one’s life. Later, after Western influence became entrenched, this view

started to be disapproved, first by elites (Attachak, 1988, p. 51). Then the prevailing discourse changed to favor accounts with linear patterns in line with the Western influence. However, it was still often pointed out that the country's stability and prosperity were results of the rulers' work. Thus, though the concept of time changed its pattern in Thai society, it did not change the fact that normal people were rarely considered a part of history. A wider variety of people did become involved with different kinds of history; however, it did not draw a broad involvement. From the time when traditional faith convinced people to be far from active in their destiny to the time when they came to see linear causation – but in a history that still belongs to the nation and rulers, it has been hard for ordinary people to be truly interested in history. It has long been written in traditional Thai historiography and rooted in Thai culture that history does not belong to commoners.

Whose History is it?

If we think about the conflict between characteristics and values in traditional Thai perceptions of history and the Western ones, it is obvious that for now, at least, history has limited space for new interpretations and for normal people to get involved. The different factors outlined above, both in the concepts and methods, are part of a long-established culture and can explain the low level of historical consciousness among Thai people in general (except for the nationalistic point of view). From my data collection of this study, most Thai interviewees and survey participants linked history to the nation and identified archives as national heritage, while the interviewees from the UK referred to them as stories of the “country and people in it” and were more able to apply history to their personal experiences. (This can partly be explained by individualism in Western culture as well.) Nevertheless, all factors analyzed here have shown the causes of low historical consciousness among ordinary people. They explain why only a small number of people are interested in history while the majority are not aware of their connection to history, even when it's necessary (e.g. the transfer of records to the NAT). The fact that the traditional Thai worldview does not prioritize truth or prefer only a certain kind of truth is indeed an obstacle for learning and development of cultural institutions.

Creating Archives Culture: Challenges and Opportunities in Globalizing Age

Thai history and archival practice have faced problems of historical awareness. Originally historical awareness in Thai society was in support of the social structure of the time, during which people and their functions were rigidly classified. The idea of knowledge as static and not dependent on truth made it hard to adopt a new historiography that was more accessible and open. It is thus necessary for archival institutions in Thai society to help in creating a culture that increases interest in history and encourages people's connection to history.

The situation of historical consciousness and archives awareness can be improved in two ways: (1) Archival value from Western archival systems needs to be adapted to fit better in the Thai context and respond to needs of the society; and (2) Archives could also offer new values that are better suited to the modern-day context.

Adapting archival value into Thai context

Since the value conflict analyzed in this paper means that archival practice is still distant from Thai people's lives, one needed solution is to bring values in archives closer to Thai life. As shown in the diagrams above, there are value gaps – that is, Thai values that archives have not fulfilled. These are fun and benevolence. Fun, or *sanuk*, plays a big part in Thai life and should be used to attract a larger

Thai audience. Thai archivists need to learn to have a more active and amusing approach to archival access. Some archives in Thailand have already incorporating activities into their work. For example, Buddhadasa Indapanno organizes activities inspired by content. The result has been successful. This approach is only to help people digest what might be useful to them and to highlight connections to people's lives. It is hoped that familiarity with archival materials will help foster a culture of using archives where personal and social memories can be archived among individuals and communities.

Technology

Apart from the cultural side of the problems with archival awareness and historical consciousness, inconvenience in archival practice is a big obstacle for archival use in Thailand. For example, using archives at the NAT can take days because the main search tool is paper inventories. The main way to access archives is to search on-site and use the records, which is time-consuming and inconvenient. Even academics try to avoid using archives if not necessary, and it is even harder for non-academic professions. Using archives itself is not considered easy as it requires actively reading and interpreting records. These difficulties contradict typical Thai values that love fun and avoid inconvenience. Lack of convenience is a practical reason that makes archives not welcoming for general users.

Today technology can greatly improve access to archives. Online catalogues allow people to remotely search the archives so users are no longer blind about availability until they are on-site. The NAT is in the process of developing an online catalogue so that users will be able to check this information. They can use some digital archives online if the records they need have been digitized. Some materials at NAT are in the process of being digitized and catalogued online. Furthermore, technology potentially can bring more people to learn from archives by viewing archival content from digital tools such as blogs, social media, virtual exhibitions and so on. Crowdsourcing enables participation in archives because anyone with knowledge of the materials can add tags or more information. With the assistance of the archivists, this brings more historical knowledge to the archives. Some archives have people volunteer via crowdsourcing technology (e.g. transcribing archival documents, positioning maps according to information from records). This helps more people to get involved, and it changes archivists' role from gatekeeper to facilitator. However, technology can be both opportunities and challenges for archives. As the archives sector in Thailand is still not well-recognized, and archival materials are seen as having only a small impact on society, archives are not well supported with human resources or finances. There is a shortage of IT skills, and structural problems also inhibit implementation of technology in archival service. Thai archival institutions now need to grasp technology as one of the tools that will help them overcome the challenges.

Pushing Boundaries, Living our Memories

One prominent strategy in archival awareness work is to connect archives to more varied groups of people. This means expanding the typical definition and perception of history and archives – from history today that belongs to a limited group of people to one that involves more diverse groups.

Local history and community archives

In a survey of archival use undertaken in Thailand, many participants expressed interest in doing local history. However, Thai historical study has focused on centralized history in pursuit of national unity, so local history has not been studied as much. Other reasons are that 'archives culture', or a culture of keeping and making use of memories, are not yet widely practiced in communities and

that evidence for local history is more likely to be in the form of myths and oral history, making it more difficult to be understood. It is necessary to encourage local communities to have a sense of history by supporting them in being able to learn within the old value system and the traditional historiography, enabling the local communities to be active in managing their own heritage, history and identity. Apart from that, it would be beneficial for communities to learn to archive their own history by keeping significant memories. Community leaders are significant in building these activities relating to history (Kanokporn, 2016). These activities can turn history into projects that lead to solidarity or even benefits from tourism (Hirai 2016, p. 172).

Individual history and new culture

Another side of Thai society today is its increasingly urbanized and globalized nature, with new sets of more individual and capitalist values. The traditional Thai social values discussed earlier in this paper are changing because of new lifestyle. Anan (2003) has studied the impact of social change in Thailand and has found that the middle-class is craving for nostalgia. Their new surroundings and the inability to connect with moral values can lead to commodification of self-identity in modern Thai society (p.132-6). For instance, with the phenomenon of *luk thep*, or sacred baby-like doll, the dolls are believed to bestow prosperity and luck upon their owners. In the realm of religious doctrine, *Thammakai* is a reconciliation between Buddhist beliefs and the new capitalism that is sometimes criticized as running a business on the faith of believers. Indeed, it is questionable whether the current levels of historical understanding and memories have helped people to access their roots. A kind of historical memory needed today is one that upholds the old values whilst allowing people to understand themselves as they engage with the globalized world. At the same time, institutions – such as archives – can invite people to create their own contemporary history. Today, some new kinds of private archives and museums have emerged. Some of them have become recreational options for city dwellers.

Having said that Thai values are not compatible with archival management, it is important to remember that values are not static but changeable, and modern archival system can indeed serve new emerging values in the new contexts. Some essential values that I have not covered in this article, such as the value of archives as evidence, can bolster values that are lacking in Thai society. For instance, an effective recordkeeping system can help address the situation of chronic corruption and encourage a more participatory environment for citizens. This all affirms an indispensable function of history: to inform the present and improve the quality of life, rather than just being heritage for preserving.

In summary, Thai archives face problems of invisibility and lack of collaboration with the rest of the society. The study's examination shows conflicts between the Western archival tradition and typical Thai social values. The consequence of neglecting this disconnect is the failure of the archiving system, which in turn means empty historical memories. Another focus of this paper is perception of history and historiography. Similar results are found. That is, values in Thai historiography and typical Thai ways of history do not focus on truth but on authority and power. The contrast between Western and Thai historical methods often limits the scope of history and prevents many from being interested in history. It is time for archival institutions and Thai society as a whole to rethink the ways history and archives are managed.

References

- Chaijindasut, S. (1991). *Records Retention: A Case of the Department of Consular Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs*. Bangkok: Silpakorn University.
- Chalitanon, N. (1981). *Prawatsat Nippon Thai*. Bangkok: Social Science and Humanities textbooks project Thammasat University Press.
- Ganjanapan, A. (2003). *Globalization and the Dynamics of Culture in Thailand*. In Yamashita, S. & Eades, J.S. (Eds.). *Globalization in Southeast Asia: Local, National, and Transnational Perspectives*. 126-41. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Hirai, K. (2016). *Preserving the Community: The Rise of Museum Movements in Rural Thailand*. In Tanabe, S. (Eds.). *Communities of Potential: Social Assemblages in Thailand and Beyond*. (pp. 165-84). Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- Hofstede, G. (2000). *Culture's Consequences*. London: Sage Publications.
- Hongladarom, S. (2002). *Cross-Cultural Epistemic Practices*. *Social Epistemology*, 16 (3): 83-92.
- Jenkinson, H. (1965). *A Manual of Archive Administration*. London: Percy Lund, Humphries.
- Jory, P. (2010). *Songkram prawatsat nipon Thai: Kantosu kong sathaban kasat nai prawatsat samai mai, Thai historiography war: fight of the monarchy in modern history*. Jirawat Sangthong, Trans. *Fah dieu kan* 1 (8): 100-24.
- Kanchanapan, A. (2000). *Tamnan lae laksana tang prawatsat nai Lanna rawang phuttasatawat ti 20 lae 21 [Myth and thought characteristics between 15-16 century]*. *Kwamkit tang prawatsat lae sat kong witikit*. (pp. 24-45). Bangkok: Ammarin.
- Krieger, L. (1977). *Ranke: The Meaning of History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Nasomtrug, K. (2016). *Heritage Documentation and The Role of Community Leaders in Thailand*. Archival Education and Research Institute 2016, Kent State University, USA, 8-12 July 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.kent.edu/aeri2016/paper-presentation-abstracts>
- Nilkumhaeng, S. (1974). *Archival Management in Thailand*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University.
- Nuchpiam, T. (1994). *Kwamyokyon kong adit: The wilderness of the past*. In Pongsripan, W. (Eds.). *Kwamyokyon kong adit piphitniphon chertchu kiat Phon Tri Mom Ratchawong Suphawat Kasemsi: The Wilderness of the past: essays in honour of M.R. Supawat Kasemsri*. (pp. 3-21). Bangkok: The Committee for the Revision of Thai History.
- Rokeach, M. (1979). *Understanding Human Values Individual and Societal*. New York: The Free Press.
- Saraya, D. (1982). *Tamnan Lae Tamnan Prawatsat Kab Kansuksa Prawatsat Thongthin Myth & Historical Myth and a Study of Local History*. Bangkok: Office of the National Culture Commission, Ministry of Education.
- Sattayanurak, A. (1988). *The Transformation of Historical Consciousness and the Changes in Thai Society from the Reign of King Mongkut to 1932 A.D.* Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press.
- Schellenberg, T.R. (1957). *Modern Archives Principles and Techniques*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Siffin, W. J. (1966). *The Thai Bureaucracy Institutional Change and Development*. Honolulu: East West Center Press.
- Sucha-xaya, N. (2017). *The Unfit Puzzle: Archival Value and Society in Contemporary Thailand*. London: University College.
- Tuttle, W. (2012). *Prawatsatniphon lok tawantok*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press.
- Warring State Project, University of Massachusetts at Amherst (2004). *Methodology Leopold von Ranke*. Retrieved from <http://www.umass.edu/wsp/history/ranke/>
- Winichakul, T. (2011). *Siam's Colonial Conditions and the Birth of Thai History*. In Grabowsky, V. (Eds.). *Southeast Asian Historiography Unravelling the Myths. Essays in Honour of Barend Jan Terweil*. (pp. 20-41). Bangkok: River Books.
- Value. (n.d.). *English Oxford living dictionaries*. Retrieved from <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/value>.

Digital Collection of Ban Chiang Masterpieces Potteries

Suebchompu, Teerapol

Tuamsuk, Kulthida

Information Science Department
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
KhonKaen University, KhonKaen
Thailand

Abstract

This research aims to develop Digital Collection of Ban Chiang Masterpieces of potteries by using the Research & Development method which consists of 3 methods; 1) use Content Analysis method by study related documents and research for gathering each pottery information, 2) analyze and synthesize metadata from existing standards to record Ban Chiang Masterpieces potteries information, and 3) develop Digital Collection of Ban Chiang Masterpieces. The result of study is 1) 30 piece of qualified Ban Chiang Masterpieces Pottery for case study; 2) the metadata for recording information about potteries within 20 elements of data such as Image, Title, Serial Number, Registration Number, Site of Reference Number, Cultural Context, Style Period, Description, Condition, Measurement, Material, Provenance, Location, Descriptor, Technique, Textref, Art Aspect, Socio-cultural Aspect, Rights, and Remarks; and 3) Digital Collection of Ban Chiang Masterpieces potteries used for data storage, offering content in metadata and animated items. It can be used as a learning resource through the website and the prototype to further development of Digital Collection for the other cultural or historical related items.

Keywords: Digital Collection, Metadata for museum objects, Ban Chiang potteries

1. Introduction

Digital collections have played a role in global information services since 1990. Especially when the Internet comes into play in communication and education, the user behavior changes dramatically. The user has greater needs for digital information resources (Bulow, 2010). Digital Collection is the digitization process that converted objects to digital objects and store the data for more comfortable when searching, accessing, and using the data. There are three components of Digital Collection; digital objects, metadata, and user interface. Their work together for create experiences in using any collection for users in order to have more access to information resources by creating a metadata that can broaden the description and access to information. This method is one of effective method for increasing the efficiency to the highest level (NISO, 2007).

Organizing information systems in a metadata format for the objects in museums is aimed for storing structured information and presenting data about physical characteristics of information resources or other information for easier usage, management and searching of information (NISO, 2004). There are many of metadata models and standards that suits for museum objects such as

Dublin Core–DC, MODS: Metadata Object Description Schema, CDWA: Categories for the Description of Works of Art, VRA: Visual Resources Association–Core Categories for Visual Resources, VMP, Generic Web-based standards, MPEG-7 for images, XML Schema for data transport, WSDL for Web Services, OWL for knowledge and resource representation, RSS for syndication, etc. (Taylor, 2003; Eklund et al., 2009). The lecture of information resources in the form of a typical metadata is associated with the properties of each object type that contains the field that is the common key. But the specific metadata pattern is specific to which field description is specific to each object. It is necessary to analyze to get the appropriate fields for those resources. (Fazae Qarabolaq & Seifilnallou, 2012). The metadata patterns appropriate to the listing of the museum object are CDWA: Categories for the Description of Works of Art, and VRA: Visual Resources Association–Core Categories for Visual Resources. That can be changed as appropriate (Davison, McAulay, & Baca, 2008; Riley, 2009).

Ban Chiang National Museum is an important cultural heritage of Thailand and the world since being declared as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1992 by UNESCO. The exhibits present various objects to educate the development of society in ancient times especially “Ban Chiang Potteries” which has unique shape, pattern and attributes. In academic terms, this is an important testimony to the ancient Ban Chiang culture that began around 5,600 years ago. But for the problem of visiting and learning objects in Ban Chiang museum, sometimes the inconvenience is due to time and distance constraints. That will affect the visitors, until it can't appreciate the value of the antiquities and the information provided by Ban Chiang Clay is still used as a museum register, not a metadata that displays a variety of information. (Ban Chiang National Museum, 2007)

So this study aims to develop the Digital Collection of Ban Chiang potteries to presented content in a metadata format by synthesizing existing metadata and grouping information to provides the appropriate structure in order to set as a set of items for listing the museum objects for Ban Chiang potteries and present the animated object developed according to the technique by Digital Collection. This developed Ban Chiang Potteries will help to preserve the important antiquities and also publish the story about Ban Chiang Potteries which is an important and valuable cultural heritage as a cultural heritage of the world that can be a source of learning through more accessible and diverse websites, as well as being used as a model for further development of other cultural heritage.

2. Material and Methods

This research is Research and Development (R&D) study by using Qualitative Research as research method. This Qualitative Research is Content Analysis for items set arrangement in order to lists the museum objects of Ban Chiang Potteries. The development method starts from Digitization process to animated digital objects and develop Digital Collection of Ban Chiang Potteries for store and present information. This research can divide into 3 phases as follows.

2.1 Content Analysis by studying the documents and research related to Ban Chiang's cultural heritage for collecting data of Ban Chiang Potteries to engage in the Ban Chiang Potteries selection used to store and display in the Digital Collection.

2.2 Metadata Analysis for appropriate information fields used in listing museums objects of Ban Chiang Potteries. This analysis uses Metadata VRA core 4.0 which is global pattern for listing information resources, especially for Cultural Objects and Visual Resources by Metadata VRA Core

4.0 and the Museum Object Registration of the Department of Fine Arts, by selecting the appropriate field, define a data set for listing museum objects it.

2.3 Digital Collection Development of Ban Chiang masterpieces. This step is to take pictures of Ban Chiang potteries to convert the object into a Digital Object to develop the storage system of Ban Chiang Potteries.

3. Results

From research procedures and procedures can be summarized as follows.

3.1 Select 30 objects from Ban Chiang Pottery for case study by studying the documents and research related to Ban Chiang's cultural heritage for use in gathering information with archaeologists of Ban Chiang National Museum. The selection of objects will be based on the importance criteria of the object; the beauty of the shape and pattern; the academic value of the object in the artistic, traditions and culture senses; and antiquities as important national treasures. It can separate into groups as follows: (1) Early period 11 items, (2) Middle period 9 items, and (3) Late period 10 items.

3.2 Analyze existing metadata to obtain the appropriate field using the Metadata VRA core 4.0 and Museum Object Registration Form developed by the Department of Fine Arts of Thailand. The details are as follows

3.2.1 Analysis of Metadata VRA core 4.0 consists of 19 elements; work: collection or image; agent; date; cultural context; description; inscription; location; material; measurements; relation; rights; source; stateEdition; stylePeriod; subject; technique; textref; title and worktype (The Network Development and MARC Standards Office of the Library of Congress, 2015). Consideration of the elements to be adopted and not used to list as Ban Chiang Potteries are based on the criteria of the element used. Because there are resources that can be searched and explained, elements that are not used because there are no searchable sources, and have field adjustments from subject get descriptor because the content set as a subject, there is no word list that can be written deep enough and is not useful for searching by subject. Checking out the Standards Office of the Library of Congress and the Thai Library, there will be a word 'pottery', represented by geography and age, was adapted into a descriptor, which refers to the word phrase, to represent the material, the appearance of the object. The main determinant of the term is based on the name of each era of pottery, which can be searched for more based on the synthesis of Metadata VRA core 4.0, it is possible to select the appropriate elements to describe the Ban Chiang Pottery have 12 elements; image, cultural Context, description, location, Material, Measurements, Rights, style Period, subject (descriptor), technique, textref, title.

3.2.2 Museum Object Registration Form developed by the Department of Fine Arts of Thailand have 14 elements: Serial Number, Registration Number, Site of Reference Number, Title, Description, Use, Style Period, Date, Material, Dimension, Condition, Provenance, Location, Remarks (National Museum, 1993). This research selects the elements considering as used and not used for listing museum objects based on the criteria which is the element used. Because there are resources that can be searched and explained and the fields do not apply because there are no searchable sources

and there are duplicate elements in Metadata VRA core 4.0 there are 6 fields that can be described; Serial Number, Registration Number, Site of Reference Number, Condition, Provenance, Remarks.

3.2.3 Study documents and researches related to Ban Chiang pottery including data collection from expert interviews in order to obtain more information on Ban Chiang pottery than the registered information of the museum. This can be explained by two additional dimensions based on anthropology; Art Aspect and Socio-cultural Aspect (Ban Chiang National Museum, 2007).

As the results of the existing metadata analysis to obtain the appropriate field, the metadata for recording Ban Chiang's pottery has 20 elements. The contents of each pottery can be presented in the Digital Collection according to the age and the artistic and cultural society dimension as follows: Image, Title, Serial Number, Registration Number, Site of Reference Number, Cultural Context, Style Period, Description, Condition, Measurement, Material, Provenance, Location, Descriptor, Technique, Textref, Art Aspect, Socio-cultural Aspect, Rights, and Remarks.

3.3 Digital Collection Development Ban Chiang Potteries

Development of Digital Collection of Ban Chiang Masterpieces for information storage offers content format as metadata and animated objects. It consists of a process of making a digital object and data management. The details are as follows:

3.3.1 Digitization process for turning objects to Digital Object consists of Digital Image Creation and Digital Image Processing. The method is as follows:

3.3.1.1 Object photography. Principles of object photography in multiple perspectives, from two or more images starting with the first image, then rotate the object to 360 degrees.

3.3.1.2 3D Modeling with polygon objects using reference images or photos from real objects to setup sizes and property of object, including the correction of objects in various aspects. The various view of object is necessary to operate a typical three-dimensional program to display various images of object for continuous animation to see the object around 360 degrees.

3.3.1.3 Model Animation by rotating model 360 degrees with start and end key frame that using all 360 frames. Set the frame rate to 30 frames per second.

3.3.1.4 3D Rendering is rendering the image as a still image into a .png file. The resulting image is a sort of key frame animation and rendering as a video file. So that the object can be animated.

3.3.2 Storage system. The database management system is Mysql, which has the ability to add and save individual objects to a database. The storage system consists of a metadata management system and the collection of digital objects into categories that can explain the list to link between a digital object and a metadata. This can be added to the data object with the insert column statement that stores the individual objects in the database. As shown in figure1 and 2

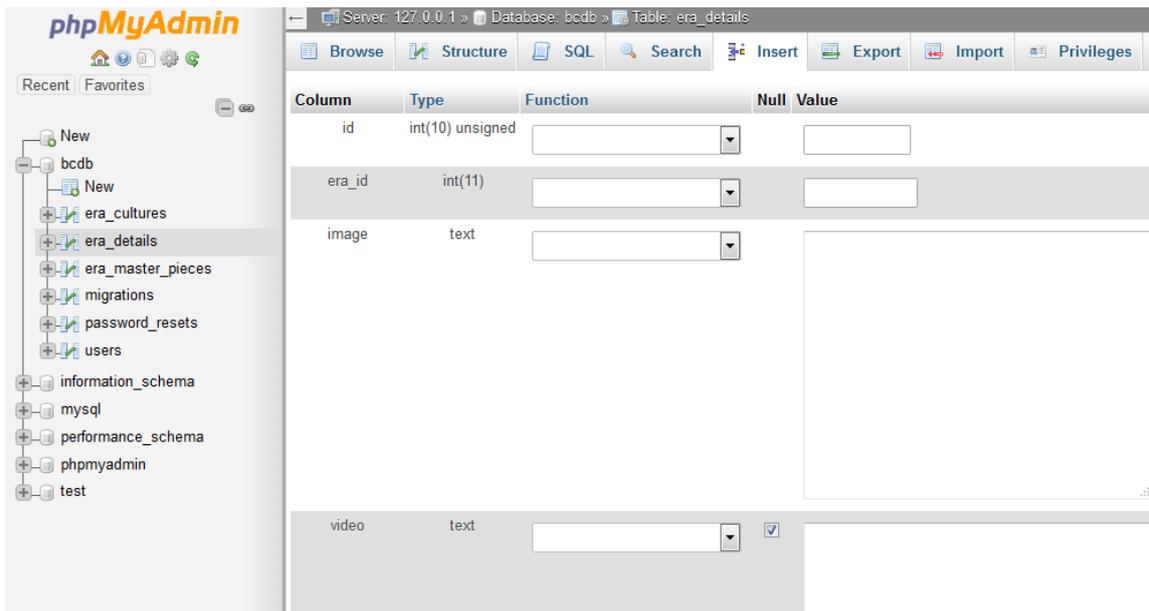


Figure 1: Shows the addition of Ban Chiang Potteries in the database

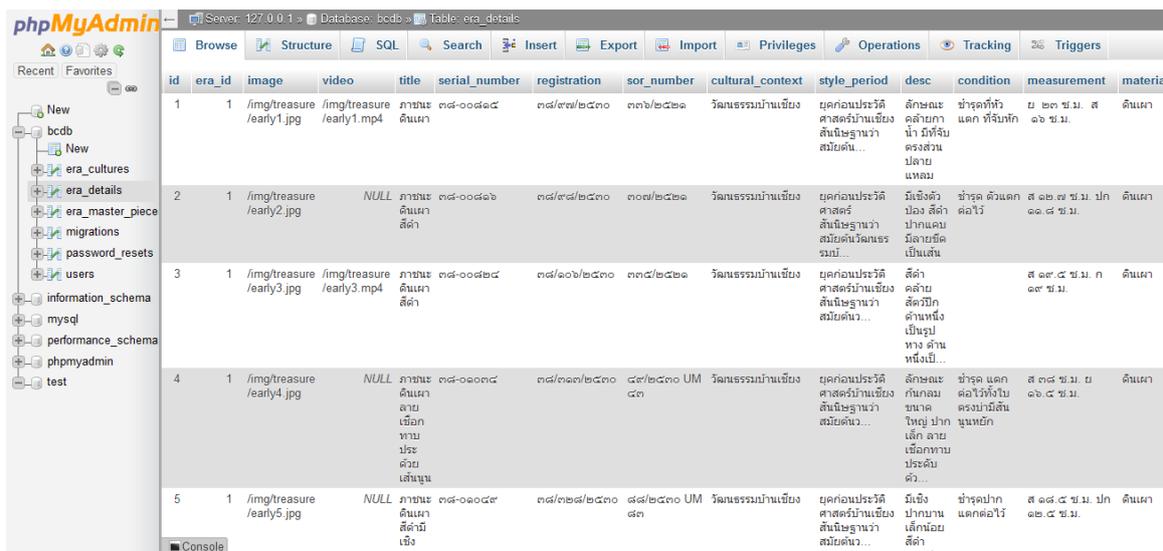


Figure 2: Shows Ban Chiang potteries stored in the database

3.3.3 Website Development for Digital Collection of Ban Chiang Potteries uses Laravel, a PHP Framework that is capable of writing PHP and has the functionality required by the Framework, making it easy and much faster to develop. It is a user interface that can be offered through the website, grouping Ban Chiang Potteries by ages to store and present content in metadata and animated objects as shown in figure 3 and 4.

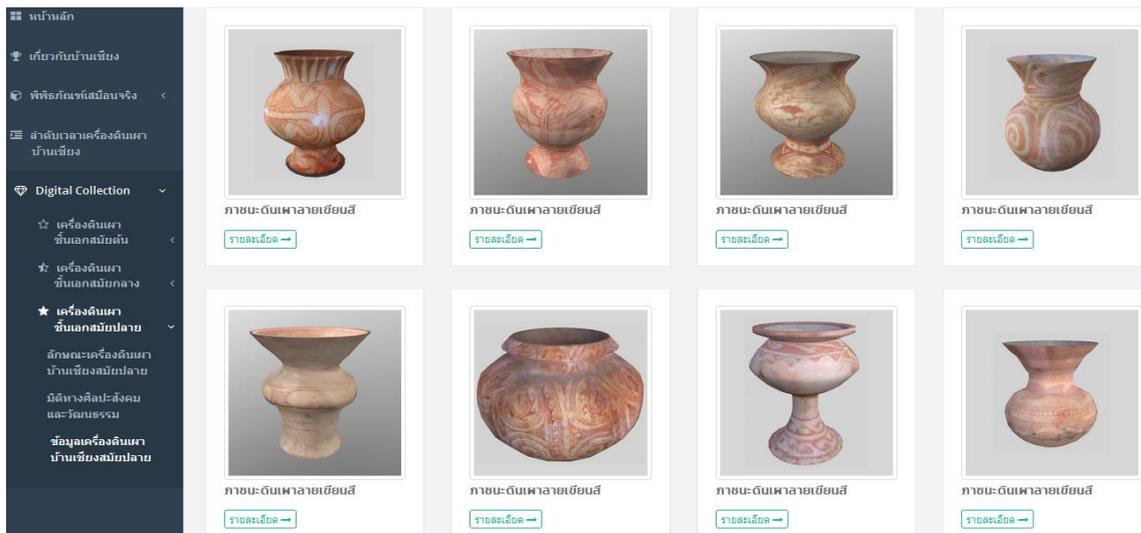


Figure 3: Shows the digital collection of Ban Chiang potteries



Figure 4: Shows Ban Chiang potteries in metadata and animated objects

4. Conclusion

Digital Collection development of Ban Chiang Potteries by using Research & Development process consists of 3 methods: 1) Content analysis by studying related documents and researches for gathering each pottery information; 2) Analyze existing metadata to develop data sets for Ban Chiang Potteries Museums by using the Metadata VRA core 4.0 and Museum Object Registration Form from the Department of Fine Arts, including study documents and researches related with Ban Chiang’s cultural heritage and information gathering by interview the experts for further details on each object. The results shown that the appropriate data set for listing Ban Chiang Potteries in Museum Object Registration Form is 20 data fields; and 3) Digital Collection Development process consists of object photography for transformation into Digital Object and be animated, and the website development of Digital Collection of Ban Chiang Potteries for storage and present the content of each object in the form of metadata and animated objects.

The main reasons for the development of the Digital Collection of Ban Chiang Potteries are store and

access more information resources. Metadata creation that can cover a wide range of descriptors and access to information is one way to maximize the performance. This will be able to bring Digital Collection of Ban Chiang Potteries to be developed as a web-based learning resource and as a model to further develop the Digital Collection of other cultural heritage objects that have a similar information structure as Ban Chiang which can adjust the metadata to suit the context of the object.

5. Acknowledgement

This research is supported by the Digital Humanities Research Group, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Khon Kaen University, Thailand.

6. References

- Ban Chiang National Museum. (2007). *Ban Chiang Heritage* (in Thai). Bangkok: The Fine Arts Department.
- Bulow, A.E. (2010). *Collection Management Using Preservation Risk Assessment*. Journal of the Institute of Conservation, 33(1), 65-78.
- Davison, S., McAulay, E. & Baca, M. (2008). *Museum materials in a digital library context and beyond*. JCDL'08 Proceedings of the 8th ACM/IEEE-CS joint conference on Digital libraries.
- Guidi, G., Micoli, L.L., Gonizzi, S., Rodriguez Navarro, P., & Russo, M. (2013). *3D digitizing a whole museum: A metadata centered workflow*. Digital Heritage International Congress (Digital Heritage), 307-310.
- NISO. (2004). *Understanding metadata*. Retrieved September 14, 2014 from <http://www.niso.org/publications/press/UnderstandingMetadata.pdf>
- NISO. (2007). *A Framework of Guidance for Building Good Digital Collections*. Baltimore: National Information Standards Organization.
- Qarabolaq, Z.F. & Inallou, M. S. (2012). *The role of metadata in information management in virtual museums*. International Conference on Information and Knowledge Management, 103-107.
- Taylor, A. G. (2003). *Organization of Information*. Retrieved May 10, 2015, from http://www.dlil.indiana.edu/~jenlrile/metadatamap/seeingstandards_glossary_pamphlet.pdf
- The National Museum. (1993). *Manual for museum's curators* (in Thai). Bangkok: The National Museum.
- The Network Development and MARC Standards Office of the Library of Congress. (2015). *VRA Core 4.0 schema and documentation*. Retrieved May 10, 2015, from <http://www.loc.gov/standards/vracore/schemas.html>

**Politics of the Location: The Location of Politics
Building Modernity with Chiang Mai's Educational Institution Buildings
between 1867 – 1915**

Suwachrapinun, Sant
Faculty of Architecture
Chiang Mai University
Thailand

Abstract

Modern architecture of Chiang Mai has been explored, categorized and analyzed in the previous research of Sant Suwachrapinun, through physical aspects of what has remained that are still visible nowadays. In this research, 4 significant factors, which were the city's educational, commercial, political and infrastructural developments are identified as the leading forces that encouraged the development of Modernism in Chiang Mai. This paper expands the critical perspective on the factor of educational development, in particular focusing on how the location, vision and political aspects became interrelated.

The investigation begins with two particular leading schools of the city, the Prince Royal's College (established in 1905 at the present location) and Yupparaj Wittayalai School (established in 1906 and moved to the present location in 1915). Both of these schools have been established at almost the same period, yet with entirely different visions. One was based on the Christian mission of American Presbyterian led by Rev. Daniel McGilvary and Mrs. Sophia McGilvary in 1867, while another was based on the royal intention of Princess Dara Rasmi, which aimed to establish a local school where Thai language was primarily taught in order to produce good Thai-speaking officers to serve in the Siam government at that period. Interestingly, the names of the two schools were given from King Rama VI (which was the Prince of Siam at the time), and the two names can be translated into each other as "The Prince".

From physical and historical aspects towards political dimension in relations to the modern development of Chiang Mai, the locations from which the two schools was established allows us to consider them through the notions of center-periphery, inclusion-exclusion, insider-outsider, locals-strangers, or rather can be seen as a defensive mechanism of the city.

Politics of the Location: the Location of Politics aims to open up the possibility of how Chiang Mai's history can be re-read and re-conceptualized, in particular during the period of the so-called the Modernity of Chiang Mai.

Keywords: Modern Architecture, Modernity, Educational Institutions, Chiang Mai

Introduction

One of the important factors that led Chiang Mai to being a modern city was through the way in which its educational system was modernized.⁵ Deriving from modern education, it challenged the Buddhist ideology and astrology with the notion of rationalism and economic transformation. For example, the idea of a cosmic mountain was replaced by the location of hospital and university, which was regarded as a basic human need for better living and a modern scientific articulation. Chiang Mai was no longer shrouded in the shadow of the unknown and mysticism conditions, rather shed by light and reappeared differently.

This paper aims to explore the ways in which two of the leading schools of the city were established. These are: the Prince Royal's College (established in 1905 at the present location) and Yupparaj Wittayalai School (established in 1906 and moved to the present location in 1915). Both of these schools have been established at almost the same period, yet with entirely different visions. Methodologically, this paper embraces the notions of center-periphery, inclusion-exclusion, or inside-outside using such a spatial metaphor as a lens to investigate how the schools' location can be interpreted as the locations where the political power was shifted and relocated. Both of them have relatively different terms of vision and mission within its educational system, yet they both share a similar school name, which was officially given from HRH Prince Maha Vajiravudh; the Crown Prince of Siam (before succeeded to the throne as King Rama VI on 23 October 1910). One was based on the Christian mission of American Presbyterian led by Rev. Daniel McGilvary and Mrs. Sophia McGilvary in 1867, while another was based on the royal intention of Princess Dara Rasmi, which aimed to establish a local school where Thai language was primarily taught in order to produce good Thai-speaking officers to serve in the Siam government at that period. "Politics of the Location: the Location of Politics" aims to open up the possibility of how Chiang Mai's history can be re-read and re-conceptualized, in particular in the period of the so-called the Modernity of Chiang Mai.

Prince Royal College (P.R.C) in the Context of Chiang Mai's Modernization

Since 1867, when a group of Christian American Presbyterian Missionary came to Chiang Mai, it is believed that they not only introduce Chiang Mai to the various new technologies at that time (i.e., printing house, public school, and hospital), more intriguingly they also forever changed the concept of education amongst the locals. The group of Christian American Presbyterian Missionary led by Rev. Daniel McGilvary and Mrs. Sophia McGilvary, his wife, who came to Chiang Mai on 3 Jan 1867. The First settlement in Chiang Mai was in the east side of Ping River. It was in the reign of the 7th Lanna King, King Intarawitchayanon (reigned between 1873-1897). After a long and undiscouraged period, other missionaries came to join. As a result, the local printing house, called "Laos Mission Print House", was established in 1892 by Rev. D. G. Collins⁶. It aimed not only to publish the bible and other related Christian literacies, but also to print it in Lanna language.⁷ In particular, the

⁵ Sant Suwatharapinun, *The Reflection of Modernity: rethinking the role of Modern Architecture in Chiang Mai during 1884-1975*, Department of Cultural Promotion, 2013.

⁶ Rev. D. G. Collin was the first manager of the printing house since 1892 and operated until 1923; the second manager is Collin's wife, operated the printing house from 1924-1926 and then closed down in that year. More information in Chanram Chaisri, "History of Bible Translation" in <http://www.cct.or.th/cctweb/index.php/cctarticles/ccthistoryarticles/101-2012-09-25-06-19-07> (20 June 2014).

⁷ Ibid.

printing house also used “Lanna Typeset” created by Rev. Dr. Samuel People in 1890 for publications. Not only did they introduce the printing house, but they also introduced the public school system to Chiang Mai, which was their believe that the chance of studying and learning to be equal of both men and women. As a response the first school that was established was called Rohng Rian Phra-Ratchaya or known amongst locals as American Girl’s School in 1873, and later on changed the name to be Dara Academy on 6 November 1909.

Whilst for boys, Rohng Rian Chai Wang Singh Kam or known amongst locals as American Boy’s School was established in 1887 by Rev. D. G. Collins in the location of the printing house. In 1899, Dr. William Harris, known as Rev. Harris, became the school’s principle. According to Prof. Sayrin Jitakub, the Chairman of Rev. Harris’s Museum, he believes that the main purpose of this school is not only solely to provide the boys with an education, but rather to improve their personality and to offer them an opportunity for doing business and improving their livelihood⁸. American Boy’s School later received a new name from Prince Somdej Chao Fa Maha Vajiravudh, the Prince of Siam in 23rd December 1905 to be known as “*Prince Royal’s College*” since then. In terms of physical establishment, the use of colonial architecture mixing with tropical building details and materials brought a new concept of architectural style to Lanna. A large balcony or porch at the front entrance seems to recall the similarity of typical American house in the same period. All of these can be regarded as new or different for locals. What they offered us was a significant milestone for the modern transformation of Chiang Mai.

From Rohng Rian Chai Wang Singh Kam to Prince Royal College

According to Sayrin Jitakub, “... At first, Rev. Collins (Rev. D. G. Collins) asked the permission to establish the second church at the West side of the Ping River from King Intarawitchayanon. Because he believed that the first church was already housed on the East side of the Ping River. But however the governor from Siam disagreed with Rev. Collin’s concept and suggested to establish the school on this side of the river instead.”⁹

Sayrin also elaborated further that not only the group of American Presbyterian Missionary considered to be a “foreigner”, those who be seen around the city such as Myanmar, Tai Yai or Shan People, even Siamese also be considered as “the outsiders” and thus must be located “outside” the city wall. The inner city wall was the location which belonged to the King of Lanna, and his related royal family. The area around Thapae Gate was considered to be the location of Man (or those Myanmar who migrated to live in Chiang Mai long ago). The Siam population seemed to be located around the Ping River, whilst the Chinese population centered around Wat Gate because of the transportation of goods and products along the Ping river. After the arrival of the railway in Chiang Mai, the Chinese settlers moved across the river to the West side around the Grand Central Market, which is now known as Kad Luang.

In 1899, Dr. William Harris, known as Rev. Harris, became the principle after Rev. Collins. At that time, many locals tended to agree with what the missionary did for the public school; Rohng Rian Chai Wang Singh Kam became cramped and urgently need more space to expand. Rev. Harris collected donations for buying a new piece of land on the opposite side of the river. During 1904-1905, the new school was built on the East side of the Ping River that included the new house of Rev. Harris in the school parameter, well-known as Harris House. This particular house was used

⁸ Interviewing Prof. Sayrin Jitakub, the Chairman of Rev. Harris Museum, 20 March 2014.

⁹ Ibid.

to greet HRH Prince Maha Vajiravudh the Crown Prince of Siam (before succeeded to the throne as King Rama VI on 23 October 1910) during the official visit to Payap province (see Fig.1)

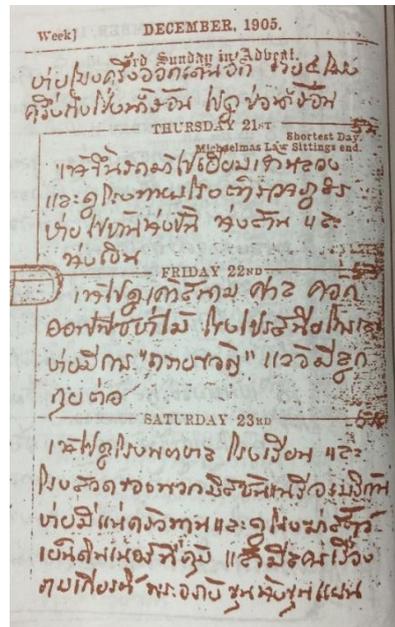


Figure 1: The handwriting of the Crown Prince's note for the official visit at Prince Royal's College in 23 December 1905

Reflection of Modernity in Prince Royal's College



Figure 2: Original layout of Prince Royal's College designed by Rev. William Harris (photo with permission of Sayrin Jitakub, 31 March 2014) and a Plan of Princeton Theological Seminary [http://www.ptsem.edu/uploadedFiles/Seminary_Relations/Communications_and_Publications/About_PTS/reviseidmap01.pdf, 22 June 2014]

As I argued in the main research *The Reflection of Modernity*, Prince Royal's College can be regarded as one of the vital marks in the history of Chiang Mai when the city was gradually drawn into the process of modernization. It can be seen as the transitional period of Chiang Mai, moving away from the traditional or the old belief system to a new and modern technology of political, health care and importantly educational system. We can also recognize from many of the physical aspects, which some of them still remain today, for example many buildings in Prince Royal's College and how the layout of the school was originally planned. According to Sayrin Jitakub, he believed that the aim of how the school was planned and laid out was to respond to the concept of "both physical and spiritual development", rooted in the mission of Rev. Harris and many others. By doing his own

investigation, Sayrin realized that Rev. Harris may have brought the layout of the Princeton Theological Seminary where Rev. Harris came and graduated from (see Fig.2).¹⁰ To support his hypothesis, Sayrin argued that because this is the place where Rev. Harris graduated and it can show how his principle and his spiritual directions were guided. Sayrin continued to argue that what Rev. Harris believed in was “the education is the source of how human being’s character and habit to be developed”, which is the same principle hold at Prince Royal’s College.¹¹ It was relatively different from what was input to the government school like Yupparaj Witayalai, which mainly aimed to produce and train the locals to be a proper officer working for the central government.

Other examples of the reflection of modernity can also be found in many buildings located in Prince Royal’s College. More specifically, through different aspects of modern building technologies, new structural systems, as well as new social functions that can also be seen here. Introducing the front terrace of the buildings found in both schools, similar to the porch used in the West, it could show how the newness was adapted and appropriated locally, such as Harris House (built in 1904) and Missionary House (built in 1907). It was also termed Colonial Style by various people in Chiang Mai (see Fig 3). Power Hall, built in 1928 (see Fig.4), and the Prince Royal Chapel, built in 1929 (see Fig.5) demonstrates the application of how the new building structures, both a wooden rigid frame and a wooden hammer beam roof, were introduced. Lastly, Rev. Harris’s brother, Van Alen Harris, an architect, built an auditorium in 1929-1930 for the theatre and for a new gathering social space, apart from a traditional public space in a temple.¹²



Figure 3: Front façade of Harris House, designed by Mr. Van Alan Harris, Rev. William Harris’s brother, architect and engineer who helped Rev. Harris establishing the school. Harris House was built in 1904-1905. Today it uses as a museum. Awarded by ASA (The Association of Siamese Architects) in 1996 to be a well-preserved architecture. [photos by Sant Suwatcharapinun]

¹⁰ Interviewing Prof. Sayrin Jitakub, the Chairman of Rev. Harris Museum, 20 March 2014.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.



Figure 4: The inside of Power Hall (built in 1928), using the Wooden Rigid Frame Structure to maximize the width of the building. Today it functions as a library. [photos by Sant Suwatharapinun]



Figure 5: Prince Royal Chapel, built in 1929 by Mr. Van Alan Harris. Adopted the Pitch Roof from Gothic Architecture and re-applied to this chapel using Hammer Beam Roof. Also awarded in 1996 by ASA (The Association of Siamese Architects) to be a well-preserved architecture. [photos by permission of Lanna Architectural Center and Sant Suwatharapinun]

For the larger and more important mission, Rev. Harris also planned to enlarge the school to be a university, called Laos Cheiyng University¹³, or the Northwest Laos University based on the understanding of the definition of the center based on Bangkok, which can also be found in the map

¹³ The word “Cheiyng” literally means slant or oblique, but in this context better understand as the direction at the Northwest of Bangkok regarded as a center.

of 1913. Later on the name was changed to be Christian Laos University, yet the planning to establish the university did not go through the committees in America. Otherwise, according to Sayrin, it would have been regarded as the first university in Thailand¹⁴ (see Fig.6).

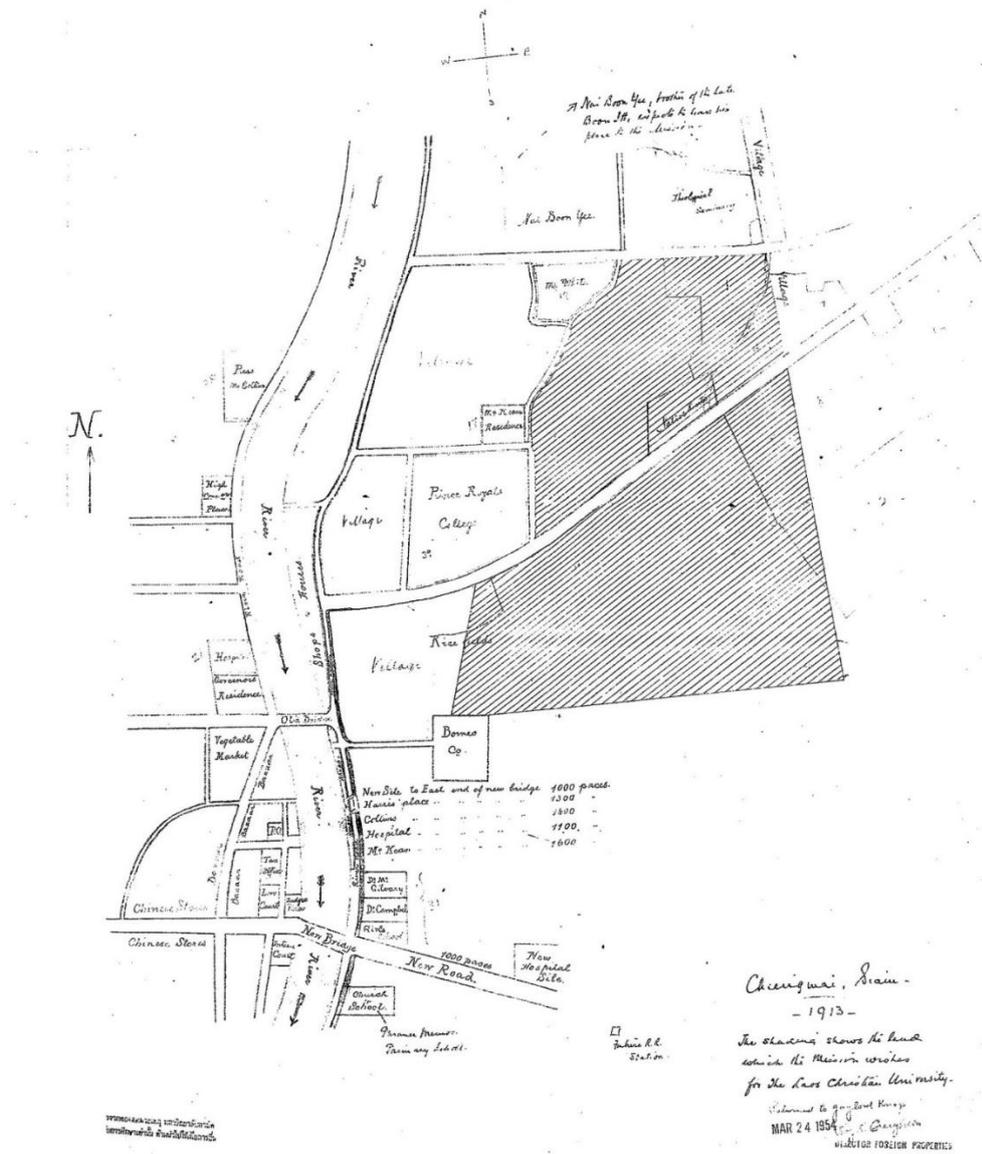


Figure 6: Map of Chiang Mai in 1913 by American Presbyterian Missionary, highlighting the area which was planned to be an expansion for Laos Cheiyng University in the future. [Archives Center of Payap University (20 May 2014)]

Yupparaj Wittayalai: the interrelation between Politics and Modernization

“...the education in Yapay province seems to be pretty much inadequate. It is not that those Laos not want to study because actually wherever the school is built, there are a plenty of the students show up. Those American missionary also sees the same thing. That is the reason why they successfully established the school. It makes me feel ashamed. I think we should

¹⁴ For the official record, the first university of Thailand is Chulalongkorn University was established on 26 March 1916.

build more schools because if you wish to tame those Laos, to gather them to the school is the best option. To reform and change their attitude since they were young is vitally important. We also need a better teacher, not only good at the mathematic or literature skill, but good communication and motivation in order to make those students to become Thai doctrine...”¹⁵

Above paragraph was extracted from the official letter, wrote by HRH Prince Maha Vajiravudh the Crown Prince of Siam to inform the King Rama V during his official visit to Payap province in 1906. It highlighted the different directions of the schools between the private school, by that time the Rohng Rian Phra-Ratchaya or known among locals as American Girl’s School which was already running for 33 years (starting in 1873) and America Boy’s School was already running for 19 years (starting in 1887), and the public school run by the central government. The ultimate aim of the private schools was to develop human being both physical and spiritual, introducing the notion of equality and dignity¹⁶, take good care of themselves in order to take good care of your family,¹⁷ while the central government’s school wanted to practice and train the locals to be a proper government officers to work for the government. He elaborated further that, he also found some interesting document that showed how impressed the Crown Prince was regarding the ways in which those missionaries conducted the school, “... the way they taught in the Missionary’s School seems to follow every guideline of what the Ministry of Education suggests, including the subject of Boy Scouts. Only one thing that different is the way they teach about the religious content. Apart from that they also teach how to do the farming, building, tanning the leather. They want their students to be able to survive and make the living. Looking back at our public school, most of the time we teach them a lesson, following the books. When they finish, the student cannot do anything else apart from going to be the clerk. It is really different from effort from what those Missionary are doing...”¹⁸ To be more specific, and to take the note of the Crown Prince literally, the aim of the governmental school was to tame those locals, known as “Laos” to be a better Thai citizen, so it is important to teach them Thai language and modern technological language like mathematic. And for economic reasons, it was cheaper for the government not to send anyone from the center to work in this province but rather train the local to be proper and appropriate for the government requirements. In short, the central government-operated public school not only served an educational purpose, but rather to serve political purposes as well.

For those who want to investigate how Yupparaj Wittayalai was officially established as the first central government-operated public school using the central education system by Siam in 1906, it is important to note that there was another public school called Rohng Rian Nakorn Chiang Mai or Chiang Mai City Municipality School that was operating since 1889.¹⁹ And in 1894, Phraya Song Suradej (Aun Bunnag), Siamese Governor for Payap province also wanted to expand the public school, by building another school named Rohng Rian Fukhad Rachkarn or Public School. However,

¹⁵ *A Century of Yupparaj Wittayalai: Royally Naming and Developing Thai Teaching Book in Northwestern Provinces*, p. 145 (spelled by following the original and translated by the author)

¹⁶ <https://sites.google.com/a/web1.dara.ac.th/daramuseum/prawati-rongreiyin/prawati-phra-rach-chaya>, 22 October 2013

¹⁷ Interviewing Prof. Sayrin Jitakub, the Chairman of Rev. Harris Museum, 20 March 2014.

¹⁸ *A Century of Yupparaj Wittayalai: Royally Naming and Developing Thai Teaching Book in Northwestern Provinces*, p. 156. (translated by the author)

¹⁹ *A Century of Yupparaj Wittayalai: Royally Naming and Developing Thai Teaching Book in Northwestern Provinces*, p. 127.

both schools were eventually closed down in 1899 when Phraya Song Suradej and the principles of the schools were on leave and no one ran the school²⁰.

Yet, in the same year, 1899, a new school was established by Lady Udompong Pennsawat located in Wat Phra Chedi Luang. This school aimed to teach Thai language for the locals, and it was known as Rohng Rian Wat Phra Chedi Luang. Next year, in 1890, another new school was established by Mr. Charoen Vathana and named it Rohng Rian Nai Kum Chao Phranakorn Chiang Mai. The schools were merged in 1902 and became known as Rohng Rian Phra Chedi Luang Nakorn Chiang Mai²¹ In 1904, Mr. Charoen also built another school located in Wat Phan Toa as a teacher's training school, which was the first teacher training school operated outside the center. Up until 20 December 1905 when the Crown Prince of Siam came to visit Chiang Mai, he saw the unfinished building which aimed to be used for the public school. The Prince then donated his personal money of 500 baht in order to continue finishing the construction. Finally, on 23 September 1906, the new name of the school was given by the Crown Prince - HRH Prince Maha Vajiravudh – to be named as Yupparaj Wittayalai. It is vitally important to note that the word “Yupparaj Wittayalai” also means the school of the Crown Prince, which much resonated with the meaning of “Prince Royal’s College” where the Prince offered the name earlier in 1905. Yupparaj Wittayalai was officially opened on the Sunday afternoon of 23rd September 1906.²²

Yupparaj Building: Location of New Political Power



Figure7: The photo taken when the Siam Prince - Somdej Chao Fa Maha Watchirawut – visited Chiangmai and given the new name of the school to be Yupparaj Wittayalai on 23 September 1906.

[photos by Boonserm Sartrapia, http://library.cmu.ac.th/ntic/picturelanna/search_form.php, 22 October 2013,]

One of the important buildings of Yupparaj Wittayalai is Yupparaj Building. It was built in Colonial style based on the building type of Ministry of Education, back then called Krathrwng Thammakarn established in the reign of King Rama V to monitor and control the education system of Siam. Interestingly, What Yupparaj Wittayalai offers us to consider about Chiang Mai's Modernity is not solely based on the style of the building but rather its location in the very heart of the inner city wall. As in the old days, the area within the inner city wall was exclusively reserved only for royal family, courts, and administrative buildings; in short it was the location of Lanna political power. And more

²⁰ Ibid., p. 130.

²¹ Ibid., p. 138.

²² Ibid., p. 142.

importantly, the location where Yupparaj Wittayalai laid the foundation was once the palace of the King of Lanna, King Intarawitchayanon. Paradoxically, when the power was changed, the center was also shifted to the outside of the city, in particular beside the ping River where Siam government officers was housed. This particular center was politically transformed into the periphery. It is particular interesting to see how the node of power was gradually shifted and transformed from the center (meaning the location of the center of palace and Lanna administration zone) to be a periphery (to give away their centrality to Siam government to remove the existing and replace with a new political order). Reading Yupparaj Wittayalai in this light, Yupparaj building can be seen as a representation of Siamese government that came to Chiang Mai in order to promote and at the same time seamlessly presenting a new political regime through school and a modern education system.

Re-reading and Re-interpreting the Location

According to a general historical review based on how both of the schools, Prince Royal's College and Yupparaj Wittayalai, was originated as well as its roles in the development of the modern educational system in the city of Chiang Mai, it is equally important to re-read and re-interpret of what have been written, given, or established based on the aspects of location, either physical and metaphorical.

Issue of School Location

As I argued earlier, it was obvious to see the purpose of how the two schools were operated differently. While Prince Royal's College was based on Rev. Harris and his Christian's foundation which aimed to use education as a means to develop the population, increasing students' ability to read and write, in a way to believe it will lead to more opportunities in their career and in order to be become more successful; Yupparaj Wittayalai on the other hand aimed to use education to produce "governmental apprentice" focused on learning and practicing the use of mathematic and of Thai as the official language. In another word to discipline those "Laos" to be proper "Thai" citizens and to build loyalty through education was the vital objective of the school at that time. To reduce the operating cost, that is to say instead of sending government officers from Bangkok, Siam government can simply rely on the local workforce catering the central government. This was perceived to be more reasonable and efficient.

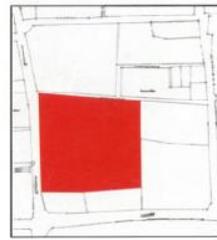
Physically, the location of Prince Royal's College can be regarded as the fringes of Chiang Mai City Centre. It is believed that this area was given to foreigners for two reasons; One is to be further away, to be housed in the periphery, meaning outsiders must be put away from any important resources, from any convenience, prosperity and safety, from the so-called the center. But with the great effort and determination of those American missionary, the school and other related Christian missions have been growing steadily. Schooling became popular among locals until the central government took vital steps to create a public school as a comparable competitor.

With the rising importance of the periphery, the definition of the center was politically as well as paradoxically turned. In particular when the Siamese government started sending the Siamese governor (dating back to 1884, the first Siamese governor was Krom Muen Pichit Prechakorn), the notion of city center was declining gradually and as a result shifted the important area based on political control and administrative agendas to be on the west side of the Ping River. At the same time, it is important to note that Thainess was laid significantly within the new education system,

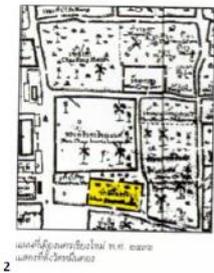
given to Chiang Mai by Siamese government can be seen as the way of how the new political power gradually came to be visible and started cultivating such idea in the very heart of Chiang Mai. New values can be introduced in a way that Siamese government can control. Yupparaj Wittayalai seated in a location where it used to be the ground of Lanna King's Palace before the decline of its power. After King Intarawitchayanon passed away, this land was the royal inheritance of the Royal Princess, Chao Dararasmī (the fifth queen of King Rama V of Siam). To express her royalty for King Rama V and to sustain the political relations between two poles – Chiang Mai royal elites, old political system of Chiang Mai and Siam, new government, new political controls from the central government, Royal Princess Dararasmī donated this particular land to build Thai language government school for Siamese government. To some extent, Yupparaj Wittayalai can be regarded as the location and manifestation of where politics became entangled in. It can also be regarded as the reflection on how the important strategic points was paradoxically turned – from once belonged to the heart of the Lanna politics and then becoming a location of Siamese government's taming process.

Issue of School Layout

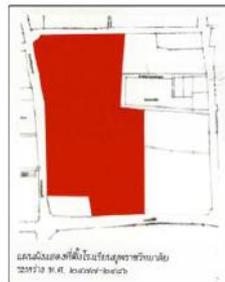
Not only the purpose of the school when it was originated was radically different, as mentioned earlier, the planning of how the school was laid out was also stood apart. For such a different planning, it seems to lend itself for interpretation. According to Sarin Jitakub, when Rev. Harris established Prince Royal's College, he used the layout originated from where he believed it was a good example. That was the layout of the Princeton Theological Seminary where he started biblical studies. Courtyard was inserted to be the central space and surrounded by other buildings. Church (1929) and Auditorium (1930) was also introduced to the school for performing religious ceremonies as well as students' performance. But Yupparaj Wittayalai was established and laid out from a different agenda entirely. It was formed in the period of a political transition, in the mid of a declining old political system but yet to risen up new central governmental control. The land was donated by the Princess in order to express her royalty and gratitude towards Siam and King Rama V. The piece of land at which the first building of the school originally located was relatively different; it was steadily enlarged and expanded. Looking at the graphic representation of how the area of the school was expanded from 1915 to 1969, it highlighted how important of the governmental-based public school was at the time (see Fig.8). To some extent, perhaps the growing area of the school seems to suggest that it grew following the rising power of the central government over Chiang Mai. Some of Chiang Mai elites chose to offer the piece of land at the city center to Siamese government in order to maintain their political position in the new system.



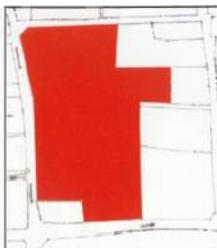
The area of Yupparaj Wittayalai occupied during 1915-1924; picture on the right graphically illustrates how the school was gradually expanded; and on the left shows the piece of land where the previous owner offered to Siam Government. [A Century of Yupparaj Wittayalai]



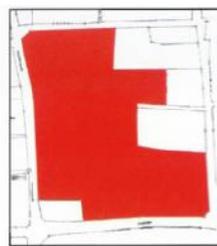
The area of Yupparaj Wittayalai occupied during 1924-1934. [A Century of Yupparaj Wittayalai]



The area of Yupparaj Wittayalai occupied during 1934-1943. [A Century of Yupparaj Wittayalai]



The area of Yupparaj Wittayalai occupied during 1943-1954. [A Century of Yupparaj Wittayalai]



The area of Yupparaj Wittayalai occupied during 1953-1969. [A Century of Yupparaj Wittayalai]

Figure 8: The area showing how Yupparaj Wittayalai was gradually expanded during 1915 – 1969.

Issue of Architectural Style

Based on the preferred style, the choice of material, and the local condition of Chiang Mai, it can be seen as the way in which the so-called Lanna Colonial style was originated. Examples can be found in various buildings in the same period like Baan Kheyw (known as Green House) at Dara Wittayalai, Sriprasert Building, the former British governor house (currently a part of Anatara Hotel), and of

course Harris House (see Fig.9). To specify the style, it can be identified by the porch in front of and around the house. It functions as a sunshade while allowing the use of that space for sitting or having tea. On the lower part of the building, it is normally made of a thick brick wall in order to protect the hot radiant sun while the upper part was formed in a wooden structure. It gives the sense of opening, welcoming, and provides good ventilation at the same time. It also showed how tropical condition was comprehended. Not only was Harris House able to represent Lanna Colonial style, modern and advance building technologies can also be found in Prince Royal's College, such as the Gothic-inspired architecture that can be found in the church (1929), with its rigid hammer frame and unique combination of wooden roof structures can also be found in the library called Power Hall (1928). (see Fig.9). In short, looking at Prince Royal's College at that time, it offered a new and modern vision that was manifested through architecture.



Figure 9: (on the upper left) Sripasert Building, (on the upper right) the former British governor house, (on the lower left) Yupparaj Building, (on the lower right) Harris House at Prince Royal's College

The most important building in Yupparaj Wittayalai must be Tuk Yupparaj or Yupparaj Building (see Fig.7). Standing behind a large lawn looking from the main road, it shows how important it is to be placed at the center of the school. Originally, this building was originated not for this particular school but it took from the Ministry of Justice in Bangkok (back then called Krathrwng Thammakan). The construction was carried out by an Indian named Husenaibana, who was a subject under the British armed forces; he initially spent 17 months on the construction. Yet, the over construction took total 3 years to complete in 1915. The reason why it took so long to build was due to the shortage of budget which required more donations. It is noteworthy that the construction of that period was based on the expertise of foreign craftsmen. Comparing to other buildings in the same period, it is interesting to note that Tuk Yupparaj seems to be less focused on architectural details. Maybe because it was in the midst of a transforming and accelerating the notion of Thainess as discussed earlier. Moreover, this kind of building style was also used somewhere else like what we

found in other schools, like Rachineeburana School in Nakhorn Pathom province.²³ If we consider the way in which Thainess was established and used as a way to control others of Siamese leader and elites, we might find much more elaborated details in the constructing process. Surprisingly we cannot find any such strong links or any relevant connections to the use of Thainess in Tuk Yupparaj, yet it can be considered as a part of how politics was used to promote Thainess through a new educational system. Overall design seems to respond to the weather conditions, such as the use of thick brick wall at the base to protect the heat, the extra ceiling height for better ventilation, and similar to other colonial style that is the large porch in the front of the building. Perhaps if we compare Tuk Yupparaj to the way in which Thainess was selectively manifested through architectural style, like what we found in Vajiravudh school in Bangkok, we might reconsider that Tuk Yupparaj can be seen as an empty signifier; up until 1984 when the King V's Royal Seal was placed at the top of the building in order to signify it as a part of Thainess. (see Fig.10).



Figure 10: showing the Royal Seal of King Rama VI was given to place on top Yuppaparaj Building in 1984

In Conclusion, this paper attempts to explore these two public schools in Chiang Mai, that is to say between Prince Royal's College and Yuppaparaj Wittayalai, the question arises how we can learn from the way they both were established in a similar period (around 1900) and be given a similar name which can be translated by the same meaning, that is "the school of the Prince". For some, this can be interpreted as the similar competitive situation of male boarding schools in England in the early of 1900s – Eton and Harrow – from which they could probably become the implication for King Rama VI to fantasize and map them into two public schools in Chiang Mai.²⁴ Yet they presented different roles, carried different missions, reflected different positions, and importantly embedded in different political agendas.

By exploring through the physical and historical aspects towards political dimension in relations to the modern development of Chiang Mai, the location from which the two schools were established allows us to consider them:

Through the notions of center-periphery – to use the notion of the periphery, it can be interpreted in terms of the location where once belonged to the missionary and then became the center of the

²³ Following the argument of Peerapong Promchart, "Exploring Chiang Mai in the Period of Political Transformation during 1884-1932", Graduate School, Chiang Mai University (2015).

²⁴ Chanon Yodhong, *Nai Ni in the reign of King Rama VI* (Bangkok: Matichon, 2015), p. 113.

Prince's intention, while the center of the city could be interpreted as the location in the city center where Chiang Mai Palace paradoxically became the periphery based on the way in which the location of those officers from Siam located their power and situated their place around the west side of Ping River, not inside the center of the city anymore.

Through the notion of inclusion-exclusion – At first the American Presbyterian missionary seemed to be considered as the alien or the outsider, therefore they must be excluded from the locals and made to be further away from the city. Yet, Prince Royal's College was politically included by means of being Thai, learning Thai language, and became part of the new Siamese educational system. On the contrary Yupparaj Wittayalai can be seen as always inclusive; because it was a public school ran under the control of Siam government and used the new educational system from the center. But if we look from other point of view, Yupparaj Wittayalai was exclusive, it was detached itself from the city center where it used to be the palace of King Lanna.

Through the notion of insider-outsider – Insider could be regarded as locals of Chiang Mai while outsider could be regarded as foreigners and Siam governor. However, the meaning of such definitions was unstable and shifted when the political control was changed. Moreover, through the educational system the school could turn the outsider to be an insider, American missionary can be seen as a local who help developing the people and the city. And Yupparaj Wittayalai also recruited locals to be trained and worked for the central government. Eventually those who graduated from the school we surely can be called them as an insider of their own country.

These spatial metaphors can give us a way of looking at and go beyond the historical review into a much deeper meaning hidden in the historical archive. Finally, "Politics of the Location: the Location of Politics" can be seen as the way of re-reading the political transitional period of Chiang Mai in juxtaposition to the event, the location, the architecture, and the city.

References

- Chaisri, C. (2014). *History of Bible Translation*. Retrieved from:
<http://www.cct.or.th/cctweb/index.php/cctarticles/ccthistoryarticles/101-2012-09-25-06-19-07>
- Chiang Mai: Parents' and Teachers' Associations (1993) *Chronicle: the Establishment of Yupparaj Witayalai*
- Promchart, P. (2015). *Exploring Chiang Mai in the Period of Political Transformation during 1884-1932*. Chiang Mai: Graduate School, Chiang Mai University.
- Suwatcharapinun, S. (2013). *The Reflection of Modernity: Rethinking the role of Modern Architecture in Chiang Mai during 1884-1975*. Chiang Mai: Research Report, Department of Cultural Promotion.
- Suwatcharapinun, S. (2016). *Chiang Mai: Rethinking the Role of Modern Architecture in Chiang Mai during 1884-1975*. Chiang Mai: CMU Publication.
- Yodhong, C. (2015). *Nai Ni in the reign of King Rama VI*. Bangkok: Matichon. p. 113.
- Yupparaj Witayalai. (1990). *Yupparaj 33: Yupparaj Witayalai School* (Chiang Mai: Yupparaj Witayalai).
- Yupparaj Witayalai (2007). *A Century of Yupparaj Witayalai: Royally Naming and Developing Thai Teaching Book in Northwestern Provinces* (Chiang Mai: Yupparaj Witayalai).

‘Sea People’ in Transition: Change in Moken Identity after the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami

Suzuki, Yuki

Kokushikan University
Japan

Abstract

On 26th December 2004, a great earthquake occurred off of the western coast of northern Sumatra. The earthquake triggered a tsunami which spread across the Indian Ocean and hit the west coast of six provinces in Thailand. This tsunami killed 5,395 people –many of them tourists from abroad– with another 2,817 people swept away or lost. Moreover, the tsunami resulted in economic losses of 14 million baht (approximately 0.5 million USD).

Phanga province experienced particularly severe damage. The tsunami affected the Moken in the Surin islands, who are one of the minority groups in Thailand, as well. Most of them have been engaged in fishing activities for generations and are known as ‘Sea People (*chao le* in Thai)’. Almost all of their houses and boats were completely destroyed by the devastating waves. Many NGOs came to Phanga province to help the Moken by providing a variety of things, necessary supplies, boats, houses and so on. The Thai government was also actively engaged in the assistance to reconstruct the lives of the Moken, and started offering them Thai citizenship. Although some Moken acquired Thai nationality after that, most still remain stateless. For all intents and purposes, the Moken can be divided into two types: Thai-Moken and Non-Thai Moken.

This study aims at analyzing the complex ethnic situation after the disaster, focusing on the self-representation of the Moken, and showing a transformation of consciousness in the way they define themselves as ‘Sea People’.

Keywords: Sea People, Moken, Identity, 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami, nationality

Introduction

The Moken is an indigenous people living in the Andaman Seas coastal and islands areas around Thailand and Myanmar (formerly Burma), referred to as the Andaman Sea Region. The Moken population is estimated at 2,800 (Narumon, 2006, p. 140; Narumon et al., 2007, p. 9). There are more than 800 islands in this area (Human Rights Watch, 2015, p. 4), throughout which the Moken historically traveled by boat. This lifestyle led the Moken to be known as “sea nomads” (Sopher, 1965), and they have been described as *chao lay* (sea people) in Thai. The Moken have traditionally harvested from the sea throughout the year, although particularly during the northeast monsoon season. Since the 1980s, the advent of national parks on many islands and coastal areas along the Andaman Sea has restricted the Moken from harvesting marine resources, such as sea cucumbers, turban snails, and trocas shells.

This study aims at showing the 'Sea People' Moken's wavering ethnic identity after the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami. First, I will explain how the Moken change their lifestyle from nomadic life to sedentary life by looking back over the brief history of the past about 200 years. Second, I will discuss the case of the Surin Islands in Thailand to provide details of the development of the tourism industry, the Moken's transition to sedentary land-based living, and how these changes influenced their dive fishing livelihoods. Third, I will present the situation of damage in Thailand by the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami and trace the process of the Moken's acquisition of identification card. Fourth, I will provide two Thai-Moken's contrasting statements regarding work. Fifth, I will bring up two remarks of Thai-Moken and Non-Thai Moken and analyze their self-identification to know their mixed feeling of identity after acquiring ID card. Finally, I will consider the Moken's self-representation and show the differences of 'Sea People' consciousness between the Moken and the people outside world.

I. The Moken: Transition from Nomadic Life to a Sedentary Life

The oldest known reference to the Moken people was made in 1825, the year before some parts of Burma was colonized by Great Britain. The Moken are described as collecting marine products for merchants in exchange for daily necessities (Maingy, 1825, p. 8). The source indicates that the Moken were very active in fishing in the Andaman Sea Region 200 years ago.

The following descriptions from 1828, 1843 (published in 1860), and 1846 (published in 1883) also describe the Moken as primarily collecting sea cucumbers.

Their home is their boat, for they never form settlements on shore or cultivate, their chief employment being the collection of sea-slug, birds'-nests, and other natural productions of the islands – Excluding these itinerants, the Mergui islands appear almost entirely destitute of inhabitants. (Hamilton, 1828, p. 226)

(Moken—) a race of people dwelling on the islands between Mergui and Penang, far below the Karens in knowledge and civilization, despised, abused, and robbed by Chinese, Malays and all the surrounding tribes; whose only means of livelihood is fishing, and fabricating a species of mats. (Mason, 1860, p. 100)

Aside from the small amount of mats made in the Southwestern Monsoon season, sea cucumbers are their (Moken) only source of income. ... Sea cucumbers are collected during the Northeast Monsoon season during low tide of the spring tide. (Durand, 1883; cf. Mason, 1860, p. 101; Anderson, 1890, p. 6)

These quotations demonstrate that fishing was the Moken's main activity for subsistence throughout the year, with specific mention of the importance of sea cucumber harvesting in the northeast monsoon season (dry season). Thus, sea cucumber harvesting was conducted year-round; however, the observation that the northeast monsoon season, when the ocean is relatively calm, was the most suitable season, is an important factor to the following discussion. The Moken obtained the necessary items for daily living by trading their sea cucumbers with the Malay and Chinese people.

World War II began in 1939, and its influence was felt in the Andaman Sea Region. At that time, the Moken met new outsiders, the Japanese. According to my interviews with Moken elders, there was a

rumor at that time that Japanese soldiers committed acts of sexual violence against the women of the Andaman Sea Region, and whenever a Japanese ship approached a village, the women would all flee to the forest to hide. Another man described the Japanese as mooring their ships at a Moken village, cutting large quantities of the village's coconut leaves, and then using them to hide the ships from the enemy (Suzuki, 2016, p. 110). The pioneer of research on the Moken, Narumon Arunotai reported that many Moken people stated that the British military constructed lookouts on the mountaintops of the southern Surin Island, suggesting that lookouts were used to monitor Japanese movements in the Andaman Sea Region (Narumon, 1996, p. 54).

There are also reports of a Moken man being killed by a so-called stray bullet when the men were fishing on the open ocean during sea battles between the Japanese and British (Suzuki, 2008, p.74). The grandson of the man who was killed related this story, and he was not sure whether the bullet that killed his grandfather was British or Japanese. However, one of the elders was certain that the bullet was from a Japanese gun, and he claimed that the British never attacked the Moken. Great Britain and Burma were allies, and the Japanese readily attacked any Burmese vessel they saw. He stated that he believes that the so-called stray bullet that killed the Moken man was a mistake because the Moken man was assumed Burmese. The Moken could not obtain the food and clothes they needed to survive at that time because the war interfered with their ability to fish. During this period, some of the Moken cooperated with the British by informing them of the routes that the Japanese ships took, and others were employed to load bombs onto British fighter planes (Ivanoff, 1997, p.21). However, some of the Moken in Burmese territory collaborated with the Japanese (Ferrari et al., 2006, p.25), although there are no remaining records of the details.

It should be emphasized here that during World War II, the Moken could not fish. During combat periods, the collection of marine products was completely restricted. Thus it should be remembered that there was a definite period of restriction on Moken fishing activities (particularly dive fishing) because of the wartime combat between the Japanese and British.

When Japan's surrender ended the war, peace returned to the Andaman Sea Region, and the Moken returned to the ocean to dive fish. After the war, mining activities quickly spread throughout the western portion of the Malay Peninsula. The Burmese and Thai people were employment in the mines, and some Moken worked the mines as well. British mining expert F. N. Cholmely employed Moken men between 1946 and 1947 to find appropriate sites for mine development in the Southern Mergui Archipelago (Ivanoff, 1997, p.59). There is a record of a Moken man working the mines in Burmese territory alongside the Thai, Burmese, Karen and Chinese (Suzuki, 2008, p.71). Apparently, although the main livelihood was fishing, many Moken men worked during the southwest monsoon season (when the ocean was rough) carrying sand and gravel in the mines. It is noteworthy that many ethnic groups worked together in Burmese territory, suggesting it was relatively easy during this period to cross the border between the Burmese and Thai territories by boat.

Collecting mother shell oysters used to raise pearls was an important aspect of the Moken's work in the post-War period. According to Miyauchi Yasuo, who in 1962 was the first Japanese to establish pearl-raising operations in the Andaman Sea Region, a Chinese merchant named Sugyam was based in Ranong in the 1960s and 1970s. This merchant apparently controlled a large area from Burma to Ranong and employed 500 Moken to collect large quantity of pearl oysters (*Pinctada maxima*)²⁵. Pearl Raising was already underway in the Burmese Andaman Sea, but the activity did not reach Thai

²⁵ These data are from interviews at the Marine Project (diving tour company) offices in Bangkok, Thailand, on September 15 and 16, 2010.

territory until Mr. Miyauchi arrived. A large quantity of pearl oysters was available for harvest in Thai marine territory. In 1966, the Thai and American navies collaborated to conduct a survey of 1,807 ships in 89 places in Thai waters which included Moken houseboats. The records report the boats “used by pearl divers working in the vicinity of the Surin Islands” (Holbrook and Suriya, 1967, p.255). The quantity of pearl oysters collected daily was about 100 kg, which supposedly were sold on Ra Island (Holbrook and Suriya, 1967, p.256). When pearl raising began in the Thai Andaman Sea in the 1960s, Moken dive fishermen were employed and unusual relationship developed between the Japanese and the Moken.

I heard another interesting episode from Mr. Miyauchi about the post-War relationship between the Japanese and the Moken. In the 1970s, fishermen from Okinawa engaged in dive fishing with the Moken in the Takua Pa area of Phanga Province. The Okinawan fishermen were surprised that Moken could dive as deeply as they did. Fishermen from the main and outer islands of Okinawa are known to fish in many areas around the world, but the fishermen who came to the Andaman Sea Region were not the skilled bonito fishermen from Miyako or Yaeyama, rather it was believed they were fishermen skilled in drive-in net fishing from Itoman on the main island.

From these reports, the Andaman Sea Region was portrayed as an area rich in resources, where people from other regions historically gathered. During the third period, it was possible to informally migrate into neighboring countries across porous borders for work. The narratives of the local people who remember those times recall that it was relatively easy to move throughout the ocean in the 1960s and 1970s.

In the 1980s, the Moken experienced significant social changes. The tin mining industry that had thrived in the post-War area declined, pearl-raising slowed, and the Moken were unable to work hauling sand and gravel in the mines and collecting pearl oysters. However, this marine area experienced rapid growth in its tourist industry, with the development of resorts on Phuket. The rich natural environment of the Andaman Sea Region became a tourist destination in the Thai government’s efforts to attract tourists from Thailand and beyond. The Thai government also began promoting nature conservation and it designated marine national parks throughout the Andaman Sea Region.

The government’s efforts were successful, and tourism grew while the fishing activities of the Moken and other coastal fishing communities were increasingly restricted. The national park legislation did not permit private ownership of land, and any activities deemed to affect the ecology of the region were strictly prohibited (DNP, 2004, p. 13-14). For example, cutting down trees in protected areas to build houses or boats was not permitted, and collecting flora or fauna was prohibited. The government’s efforts to promote national parks in the Andaman Sea Region in the 1980s amounted to a complete denial of the Moken’s traditional lifestyle. It was impossible to build and maintain the *kabang* (the residence and means of transportation) of the Moken (Narumon, 2000), and harvesting marine products could not be done. In the Burmese Andaman Sea, the growth of large-scale fishing activities was accompanied by a governmental policy to sedentarize the Moken. The Moken, unable to move freely throughout the Andaman Sea Region, abandoned the boat-based lifestyle and adopted raised houses on designated islands such as Surin Islands or coastal areas and land-based fishing activities.

II. Effects of National Park Enclosure on Moken – Surin Islands Case Study

The Surin Islands are located 720 km southwest of Bangkok, the capital of Thailand, and 60 km west of Khuraburi Port. The islands are under the jurisdiction of Phanga Province, although they are closer to Myanmar than the Thai mainland. The Surin Islands are therefore on the periphery of Thai-administered waters. Many inlets feature both the North and South Surin Islands, and the Moken have long used these inlets to moor their boats. Mangrove forests and sandy beaches characterize the islands, behind which are steep mountain slopes. The lack of flat land is a key feature of these islands.

The only significant rains fall during the southwest monsoon season (i.e., the rainy season), but the yearly precipitation is quite high at 3,000 ml. The landscape is dominated by tropical forest with high humidity and temperatures. The rich forest ecology is home to species of birds rarely found elsewhere in Thailand. Many shoal fish in the Andaman Sea Region congregate just off the coast in well-developed coral reefs (Thon and Anuwat, 2007). In addition to these fish species, there are also populations of lobster and other crustaceans, tridacna (giant crabs) and other mollusks, and echinoderms, such as sea cucumbers. Thus, the reefs are considered areas of high biodiversity. The Surin Islands are useful to the Moken as a prime fishing area as well as shelter for their boats.

The valuable ecology of the Surin Islands caught the attention of the Thai government as well as the Moken, identifying the area for nature conservation. Since the National Park Management law was enacted in 1961 during the Sarit regime, the Thai government has designated many areas of natural wealth as national parks, including the Surin Islands. On December 30, 1971, the Forestry Department designated protected forest areas, and on July 9, 1981, the Surin Islands became the 29th national park designated by Thailand and the country's sixth marine park. The designated area is 135 km², and the land area within this is 33 km².

The designation of the national park in 1981 marked the beginning of the Moken's significant contact with Thai administrative authorities. Staff from the Royal Forestry Department visited the area for surveys, and the Moken became providers of information about the island's natural resources. The Moken settlement areas were taken over by the local authorities, and national park offices and tourist campsite were built there. In this way, the Moken have been in a close relationship with the national park authorities since the 1980s (Narumon, 2007).

Although the Surin Islands were designated as a national park in 1981, that designation was not officially announced until April 28, 1985. After that, the public could only visit the islands during the annual northeast monsoon season²⁶, when the islands became a site for snorkeling and diving. The Surin Islands' reefs attracted tourists as well as government officials and the Moken, and the types and numbers of actors involved in the region grew.

Tourists began visiting the islands in 1986. A national park office was built on North Surin Island, and the construction of toilets and a restaurant was underway. Some of the Moken men gained employment as boat pilots for the national park office, and the women and children began selling porcelain shells to the tourists. In addition, the national park office announced that it would buy sea turtle eggs for THB 3 (Thai Baht) per egg (equivalent to USD 0.20 at that time). Therefore, the Moken began selling sea turtle eggs (Narumon, 1996, p. 147-148), which, until then, had been a source of

²⁶ The period during which people can visit the Surin Islands is limited to the northeast monsoon season (usually mid-November through early May). The islands are closed during the southwest monsoon season because the unpredictable weather makes it dangerous to take boats out on the ocean (cf. Phuket Gazette, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2015).

food. Porcelain shells, which to the Moken had been nothing more than a pleasant aspect of the underwater seascape, attained a commercial value, and sea turtle eggs became a resource that could be exchanged for money. These were significant changes for the Moken regarding the meaning of the local environment.

At this time, some Moken began living sedentary land-based lifestyles. Some of them lived in the Surin Islands only during the dry season when the tourists visited; however, the number of Moken living boat-based mobile lives declined sharply. One driver of this change was the government's territorialization of the Andaman Sea Region. After the designation as a national park, many of the surrounding areas, such as the X Islands, (the actual name has been removed to protect anonymity), the Thai Muang area, and the Khao Lak area, were listed for future marine national park designation. Tourists increasingly visited these listed areas, and the Moken built permanent houses to live in these designated areas. Some tourists came to these villages to observe the Moken (Suzuki, 2011).

As tourism continued to develop, the national park office tightened its management of the Surin Islands and surrounding areas. For example, the Moken had been selling shells to tourists, which the authorities had, to that point, ignored. That activity was then prohibited and, similarly, catching lobsters and sea turtles, although only infrequently taken for food, was strictly monitored. When asked the advisor to the director about this, he first told me that "Fishing activities cannot be recognized because the national parks law is applied to the Surin Islands." Then, he mentioned that there was another reason, "seafood that the snorkeling and diving tourists prefer should not be depleted." For some time after the designation of the national park, selling shells was permitted and harvesting lobsters was not closely regulated, suggesting that the official's first answer was the official response and his second answer was what he really believed to be true. The official's position can be interpreted as his belief that tourists' use of the reef should be prioritized, and the use of the reef by the indigenous population should be restricted because it did not contribute to the interests of the state (the tourist priority). Ichinosawa's assessment that the Thai reefs had once been oceanic areas where people lived, but now they were oceans where people visited and looked, seems applicable to the Surin Island as well (Ichinosawa, 2010, p. 32).

Entering 2001, the number of tourists visiting the Surin Islands continued to increase. In 2000²⁷, the number of people entering the island was less than 10,000 but in 2004 that number exceeded 36,000 people. In 2005, the number of visitors dropped sharply as a result of the Indian Ocean Tsunami, but from 2006 on the number of visitors increased again. Tourists, which had only amounted several thousand in the 1990s, now numbered in the tens of thousands. With the limited flat lands on the islands, and the crush of people visiting within the period of half a year, the number of people to work in service provision was significant as well. The national park office started to employ the Moken as wage laborers in various areas of service provision. The Moken men began working as helmsmen leading tourists to diving points for snorkeling where the national park office specified in advance. For a fee, the Moken women prepare food and wash dishes for tourists. Some other Moken sell traditional handy crafts for tourists who visit Moken villages. The period during which people can visit the Surin Islands is limited to the Northeastern Monsoon season (normally mid-November to early-May), the very season of the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami.

²⁷ In Thailand, one year is counted as the period from October to the next September. For example, 2008 covers the period from October 2007 until September 2008.

III. Increasing Interest in the Nationality after the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami

On 26th December 2004, a great earthquake occurred off of the western coast of northern Sumatra. The earthquake triggered a tsunami which spread across the Indian Ocean and hit the west coast of six provinces in Thailand. This tsunami also reached the Surin Islands and affected the Moken as well. Although the Moken lost all their houses and boats, they previously perceived the possibility of Tsunami attack by recognizing the unusual sea condition²⁸ and escaped by climbing up the hill behind their village.

This unique incident was greatly brought up in the news throughout the world and the Surin Moken became a famous minority 'Sea People'. After that, domestic and international aid groups began to visit the villages, and the Moken started to receive many types of relief assistance. The aid groups were particularly concerned with reconstructing Moken livelihoods, and boats were continuously donated. The 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami created an opportunity that tied the Moken to outside actors such as global NGOs.

On the other hand, the Thai government also started to pay more attention to the Moken after the Tsunami. The Moken referred to their stateless condition during their increased opportunities for public interview. Before the Tsunami, the Moken mostly had no opportunities for telling their own feelings or expressing discontent toward Thailand's majority culture. This newfound publicity placed pressure on Thailand's Ministry of Interior, leading to its district office to search Surin Moken's personal history and present this information. After the district officer submitted the information to the Ministry of Interior of Thailand, on 15 March 2006, 34 Mokens were offered Thai nationality and presented with citizenship cards (*pracam tua bat prachachon* in Thai) at the district office. These cards were issued only to those who could identify their birthplace as Thailand or prove they had resided in this country for a period of ten years (Human Rights Watch, 2015). Others were granted a citizenship card upon tracing their ancestry to Thailand by way of providing verbal evidence collecting numerous private testimonies.

In case Moken could not be registered at this time, government officials distributed a separate card at their villages by hand on 10 March 2008 that permits them to live in certain territories specified by the Thai government. This card's formal name in Thai is '*bat pracamtua bukkhon thi maimi satana thang thabian*' which literally means 'identification card to non-registrant people'²⁹. It was thus that the Surin Moken was divided into two groups, i.e. Thai-Moken and Non-Thai Moken. The Thai government and Thai people also called these Thai-Mokens 'chao thai mai' in Thai, which means 'new Thai people'. In the next chapter, I will consider the effects of acquisition/non-acquisition of nationality by focusing on data collected from interviews with Mokens collected on 10 February 2012. All names below are pseudonyms.

IV. Contrasting Opinions by Thai-Moken

Mr. Got (31-year-old, born in Surin Islands, Thailand)

(In the past) I have never been arrest even on those occasions when I did not have an identification card but entered areas where fishing is prohibited. The only thing that happened

²⁸ Their society has a legend that the tide recedes suddenly and the *laboon* may come. The *laboon* is a big wave that appears as flood overflowed the world in the Moken's oral tale.

²⁹ There are many different types of Identification cards in Thailand. For example, Children of Haw Chinese immigrants whose citizenship were removed received so called yellow cards from Thai government. This card's formal name in Thai is '*bat pracamtua cin ho opphayop*'.

to me was that maritime police warned me not to return there or fish there. (By comparison) if we go poaching we are arrested at once because we have citizenship from the Kingdom of Thailand. I did not want Thai citizenship.

Mr. Mon (26-year-old, born in Phrathong Island, Thailand)

I am happy that I could acquire Thai citizenship. I am Thai now. I will finally be able to get various kinds of jobs in mainland Thailand.

I heard these two contrasting remarks from Thai-Moken. The former Moken expressed a negative opinion regarding acquisition of citizenship. Meanwhile, the later Moken gave a positive evaluation. The former speaker, Mr. Got, stated that it is difficult to do poaching because of his acquisition of Thai citizenship. He is now a 'new Thai-Moken' who should be a law-abiding citizen. His statement illustrates how maritime police have started to control the Moken as Thai citizens by corresponding to their legal offenses in a strict manner. By contrast, the latter speaker, Mr. Mon, was pleased that his choices for alternative forms of employment had increased in comparison to the past. It is no wonder that working by stateless person is regarded as illegal act. Before acquiring citizenship, Mr. Mon could not find a job paying more than the minimum wage. Now, he can find any job through legal channels.

From the above, we can witness how each Thai-Moken judged whether acquisition of citizenship was good or bad in relationship to work. Mr. Got worried about becoming unable to do fishing activities freely, while Mr. Mon expected that the choice of job categories would increase. It would be to say that job is one of the most important matters for them.

V. Mixed Feelings of Identity

Apart for work, the Moken society reached a new phase of self-identification reflected by the words of one Moken man who received Thai citizenship.

Mr. Tho (38-year-old, born in Phrathong Island, Thailand)

Finally, I got Thai citizenship. Now, I am the member of the 'new Thai people'. However, it is just 'New' citizenship. I am not allowed to be a 'real' Thai person even if I have an identification certificate of Thai citizenship identical to 'regular' Thai people. (In disregard of our new citizenship), the Thai people still prefer to call us 'sea people' or 'sea gypsies' rather than new Thai people.

From Mr. Tho's statement, it seems he regards himself as a 'nongenuine' Thai person. One of the big factors associated with the above-mentioned situation is that most of the Thai people consider the Moken as a minority group even after they receive Thai citizenship. As I mentioned before, tourists visit the Moken village in the Northeastern Monsoon season. Their purpose of visit to this village is to see the Moken's daily life as if they go to a zoo to see animals. Regardless of their new citizenship, many Thai people and foreign tourists still consider the Thai-Moken as heterogeneous beings.

In order to assess the extent the identity of Thai-Moken people, it is important to compare them with their non-Thai counterparts. Non-Thai Moken also have complicated feelings after receiving an 'identification card for non-registrant people'. This distinction was more evident in how some Non-Thai Moken began to distinguish themselves from the aforementioned Thai-Moken.

Mr. Stat (30-year-old, putative (yet unofficial) birthplace Phrathong Island)

The other day, I was stopped by a policeman while moving to Ranong province to sell dried sea cucumbers and was asked to produce my ID card. The policeman admonished me for residing in the island in spite my lack of documentation. He said to me that my own ID card did not grant me permission to live or stay on the mainland, thus I was supposed to remain in the Surin Islands. (Compared to this harassment), Moken with Thai citizenship are free from restraint as they move to any domestic areas on or off the island. Now, we (Non-Thai Moken) are a real 'sea people' who are not able to access the land.

The 'identification card to non- registrant people' has little repercussions preventing Moken from accessing mainland Thailand. The Thai government permits them to stay on the mainland supposing this proximity is close to the Surin Islands. Mr. Stat's statement reveals some of the fluctuating feelings Non-Thai Moken have toward their ambiguous status.

VI. Conclusion

In trying to depict a transformation of Moken national consciousness since the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami, I have described in this study Moken's wavering ethnic identity by taking up some examples of Thai- and Non-Thai Moken.

The Surin Moken took the opportunity to change their stateless position after this disaster by appealing to the public for legal change to their national status. As a result, the previously unregistered Moken of the Surin Islands have been offered citizenship or identification cards by the Thai government. This response, however, has had unforeseen repercussions including the artificial division of the Moken into two groups: Thai-Moken and Non-Thai Moken. On the one hand, the Thai ethnic majority has labeled these Thai-Moken as a 'new Thai people', a term many conflate with their image of being 'sea people'. On the other hand, the ID card received by Non-Thai Moken has isolated this group to the areas closest to the Surin Islands, producing a re-identification of themselves as "Sea People". While some Moken possess Thai citizenship, the outside world still largely considers them as "Sea People" who maintain a lifestyle that closely involves their maritime activities. This image often lies in opposition to the newly found Thai citizenship of a growing number of the Moken people.

In the end, the Moken's traditional lifestyle of boat-based sea foraging has long since been become untenable. This is due to their limited restrictions within the Andaman Sea inhibiting their once free access to this sea region. At present, it is common for Non-Thai Moken to be harassed by policemen being told not to leave their island of residence. In spite of the sedentary life of contemporary Moken, they are ironically categorized by tourists as 'Sea People'. As we saw above, while Non-Thai Moken access to Thailand is restricted to sea areas, their Thai-Moken counterparts have been pressured to discard their sea-based lifestyle. The controversy surrounding their national status has had a lasting impact on questions of Moken identity, especially in the case of Thai citizenship. In the near future, the Thai government might become more severe in its regulation of Moken citizenship. Recording governmental responses to the Moken and their change in their national identity politics will require focusing on Mokens' independent behaviors and actions from a long-term viewpoint. These topics and others will be the further of further exploration.

Acknowledgments

Much gratitude is expressed to the members of the Andaman Pilot Project in Chulalongkorn University (particularly, Dr. Narumon Arunotai, Paladej Na Pombejra, and Jeerawan Buntowtook) for their support. The fieldwork on which this paper is based was intermittently conducted between January of 2006 and March of 2012, and it was financially supported by the Japan Foundation, Sophia University, Fuji Xerox, Sonpo Japan Environment Foundation, The Resona Foundation for Asia and Oceania, and Japan Society for the Promotion of Science. I gratefully acknowledge the Moken people in the Surin Islands for their long-lasting generous support of this study. The first half of this paper is a modification of the previous paper, "Finding and Creating Spaces to Dive: Livelihood Strategies of the Moken in Thailand's Marine National Park," published in the *Journal of Social Research* 38(1) by Chulalongkorn University Social Research Institute (CUSRI). I would like to show appreciation to CUSRI as well.

References

- Anderson, J. (1890). *The Selungs of the Mergui archipelago*. London: Trubner and Co.
- Arunotai, N. [Hinshiranan, N.]. (1996). *The analysis of Moken opportunistic foragers intragroup and intergroup relations* (PhD dissertation). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i.
- Arunotai, N. [Hinshiranan, N.]. (2000). Kabang: the living boat. In *Techniques & Culture* (pp. 35-36, 499-507)
- Arunotai, N. (2005). Khomun phuenthan kiaokap Moken, 3 mokarakhom 2548. *Journal of Social Research*. (Unpublished Document in Thai)
- Arunotai, N. (2006). Moken traditional knowledge: an unrecognized form of natural resources management and conservation. *International Social Science Journal*, 58(187), 139-150. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2451.2006.00599.x
- Arunotai, N., Na Pombejra, P., & Buntowtook, J. (2007). *Uuraklawoi Moklaen lae Mokaen: phuchiaoachan thale haeng lolae chaiphang Andaman*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Social Research Institute. (in Thai)
- Arunotai, N., Wongbusarakum, S., & Elias, D. (2007). A socio-economic study of the Moken indigenous community in the Surin islands national park (C. Haddad, Ed.). In *Bridging the gap between the rights and needs of indigenous communities and the management of protected areas: case studies from Thailand: Surin Islands National Marine Park and the Moken, Tarutao National Marine Park and the Urak Lawoi*. Bangkok: UNESCO Asia and Pacific Regional Bureau for Education.
- Department of National Parks, Wildlife and Plant Conservation (DNP). (2004). *Phraratchabanyat uthayan heng chat Pho. So. 2504 lae kot rabiap thi kiaokong kap utthayan haeng chat*. Bangkok: DNP. (in Thai)
- Durand, H. M. (1883). *The life of Major-General Sir Henry Marion Durand, K.C.S.I., C.B., of the Royal Engineers* (Vol. I). London: W H Allen.
- Ferrari, O., Utpuay, K., Hinshiranan, N., & Ivanoff, J. (2006). *Turbulence on Ko Phra Thong (Phang Nga Province, Thailand)* (F. Nicolle, Trans.). Paris: Ketos.
- Hamilton, W. (1828). *The East-India gazetteer: description of Hindostan and the adjacent countries* (Vol. II). London: Parbury, Allen and Co.
- Holbrook, R. D., & Suriya, M. (1967). *Blue book of coastal vessels Thailand*. Bangkok: White Lotus Press.
- Human Rights Watch. (2015). *Stateless at sea: the Moken of Burma and Thailand*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Ivanoff, J. (1997). *Moken: sea-Gypsies of the Andaman sea: post-war chronicles*. Bangkok: White lotus Press.
- Ichinosawa, J. (2010). From 'fishing' to 'watching': utilization of marine creatures as a wildlife tourism resource. In *The Journal of Thai Studies* (Vol. 10, pp. 17-34).
- Krom Pamai (Royal Forest Department). (n.d.). *Raingan chabap sombun khomun puenthan phaenmaebot utthayan haeng chat Mu Ko Surin changwat Phang-nga*. Bangkok: Suan Sapphayakon Thidin lae Pamai, Krom Pamai. (in Thai)
- Maingy, D. A. (1825). Enclosure No. 7. in superintendent, government printing and stationery, Burma (ed). In

Selected correspondence of letters: issued from and received in the office of the commissioner Tenasserim division for the years 1825-26 to 1842-43. Rangoon: Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery, Burma.

- Mason, F. (1860). *Burmah, its people and natural productions, or, Notes on the nations fauna, flora and minerals of Tenasserim, Pegu and Burmah: with systematic catalogues of the known mammals, birds, fish, reptiles, insects, mollusks, crustaceans, annalids, radiates, plants and minerals, with vernacular names.* Rangoon: Thos. Stowe Ranney.
- Na Pombejra, P. (2003). *The world according to the Moken: reflections from traditional marine ecological knowledge* (Master's thesis). Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University. (in Thai)
- Phuket Gazette. (2007). Rough seas sink ferry. *Phuket news*. Retrieved from <https://www.phuketgazette.net/phuket-news/Rough-seas-sink-ferry>
- Phuket Gazette. (2008, July). Trawler sinks off kho Rachayai. *Phuket news*. Retrieved from <https://www.phuketgazette.net/phuket-news/Trawler-sinks-off-Koh-Racha-Yai>
- Phuket Gazette. (2009). Andaman sea storms sink thai bulk-carrier. *Phuket news*. Retrieved from <https://www.phuketgazette.net/phuket-news/Andaman-Sea-storms-sink-Thai-bulkcarrier>
- Phuket Gazette. (2015). Six missing as ship sinks between Koh Racha and Phi Phi. *Phuket news*. Retrieved from <http://www.phuketgazette.net/phuket-news/Six-missing-ship-sinks-Koh-Racha-Phi/61435#ad-image-1>
- Sopher, D. E. (1965). *The sea nomads: a study based on the literature of the maritime boat people of Southeast Asia.* Singapore: National Museum of Singapore.
- Suzuki, Y. (2008). Life stories of Moken 'sea nomads': a study on identity changing after 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami. In *Research Result Report of Asian Next Generation's Leader Fellowships* (pp. 63-86). Tokyo: The Japan Foundation. (in Japanese)
- Suzuki, Y. (2011). Vision as an interactive practice: focusing on the influences of global tourism on the Moken 'sea nomads. *Journal of Area-Based Global Studies (AGLOS)*, 2, 47-82. (in Japanese)
- Suzuki, Y. (2015). Finding and creating spaces to dive: livelihood strategies of the Moken in Thailand's marine national park. *Journal of Social Research*, 38(1), 35-87.
- Suzuki, Y. (2016). *"Sea gypsies" in transition: an ethnography of the Moken before and after the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami.* Tokyo: Mekong Publishing. (in Japanese)
- Thon, T., & Anuwat, S. (2007). *Khumue andaman pla naew pakarang.* Bangkok: Samnakngan Phatthana Kanwichai Kankaset. (in Thai)

Access to Social Services: A Case Study of the Elderly Poor in Southern Thailand

Taneerananon, Sirirat
Faculty of Liberal Arts
Prince of Songkla University,
Thailand

Abstract

Successive Thai governments have put great efforts in poverty reduction with good results, but despite these efforts, Thailand's poverty has persisted at a significant 10.9 % in 2013. The problems faced by the poor are multidimensional, although income poverty is crucial; it is other dimensions stated in the Multidimensional Poverty Index that have great impacts. For Thailand, a long and healthy life, and a decent standard of living are in great need of improvement. As access to social services plays a fundamental role in improving the health and other quality of life indices of the poor, this paper describes a study of barriers to access government services, especially health care, by the elderly poor in two southern provinces of Satun and Phatthalung. With Satun represents the Thai Muslims and Phatthalung represents the Thai Buddhists. These include the elderly own disability, social exclusion, and lack of public transport services. The comparative study of the two ethnic groups are meant to assess if the cultural differences especially religious factor have significant effects on the access to health and social services as well as other social activities. Policy recommendations will be put forward to help improve the living standard of the poor as well as to reduce the inequality between Bangkok and the regions of Thailand. The research methodology used is qualitative approach namely focus groups discussions, in-depth interviews and participatory observation. The samples are divided in two groups: first is the elderly poor classified by sex, age range, religion and residence, second group are the responsible government officials and policy makers. Content analysis is used to identify the barriers and ways to improve the accessibility to social services that will improve the elderly poor lives.

Keywords: Elderly Poor, Social Services, Southern Thailand

1. Introduction

Successive Thai governments have put efforts in poverty reduction with good results, but despite these, Thailand's poverty has persisted at a significant 10.9 % or some 7.3 million people in 2013 (National Economic and Social Development Board, 2015). The current government's poverty initiative to help the poor saw over 12.5 million people registered for supports as of 15 May 2017. Study of the ultra- poor in southern Thailand over the past decade found that the number of the elderly poor in the ultra- poor group had increased. This group has little chance of getting out of the rut of poverty. The study concluded that there was a need to focus on the target group in order for the government to provide assistance to them so that they could get themselves out of poverty as the study showed that many government projects that went into the area considered poor could not help them get out of poverty. This was because this ultra- poor group did not possess any resources

or qualifications that could enable them to access government social services. Government projects that were implemented in the area had contributed to improving the quality of life of the poor and non-poor rather than eradication of poverty. From the author's recent study of the ultra-poor, it was recommended that in order to be effective it was necessary to focus on target group in specific areas (Sirirat Taneerananon, 2014).

The United Nation human development report 2014 stressed the importance of focusing on the two most vulnerable groups: children and the elderly who are not in a position to overcome poverty challenge easily and are at risk when crisis strikes and are most likely to remain poor(UNDP, 2014).

As access to social services plays a fundamental role in improving the health and other quality of life indices of the poor, this paper describes a study of barriers to accessibility to government services, especially health care, by the elderly poor in two southern provinces of Satun and Phatthalung. With Satun represents the Thai Muslims, and Phatthalung, Thai Buddhists. These include the elderly own disability, social exclusion, and lack of public transport services. Policy recommendations as outcome of the study will be put forward to help improve the living standard of the elderly poor as well as to reduce the inequality between Bangkok and the regions.

2. Objectives

- To study problems faced by the elderly poor in rural areas
- To identify factors preventing the elderly poor from access to government services and resources
- To make policy recommendations that lead to the improvement of the quality of life of the rural elderly poor

3. Research Methodology

The area chosen for this research are Satun and Phatthalung provinces in the south of Thailand. Phatthalung represents Thai Buddhists and Satun Thai Muslims. This is to compare any differences existing between the two provinces as far as access to social services go.

In the revisited study of the ultra- poor, same villages were chosen to study to see the changes in the poor situation. Thus, the same villages of Satun and Phatthalung were chosen for the present elderly poor study. The numbers chosen were 10 villages from each province; and five elderly poor were chosen from each village. For the two provinces, a total of 100 elderly poor were selected.

The methodology used was qualitative research using in- depth interviews and focus groups of the stakeholders namely the policy makers, policy practitioner, the health volunteers and the elderly poor.

However, for this paper only the preliminary results using the Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) techniques from the fieldwork will be presented. The researcher went to the fieldwork using participatory observation techniques and group interviews conducted in the markets and village fairs where there were health volunteers, relatives and friends of the sick elderly poor presented. Also, information were reviewed from the existing literature available on line in reference to the social services available especially health services. Figures 1 and 2 show the interview conducted in Satun and Phatthalung respectively.



Figure 1: Interview with a Thai Muslim at a market in Satun



Figure 2: Interview with villagers in Phatthalung

4. Results

Preliminary results from RRA techniques show that there were less severe problems than before for the poor who are chronically ill and disabled and have difficulty getting to the hospital or other kinds of health services. More so are the improvements of transport throughout the region, good roads, and better public transport services which lessen the hassles of getting to health services. The Ministry of Public Health also provides services directly to the needy such as ambulance, van and people who help to carry the patients to hospital or health centers.

One important factor was the help from friends and neighbors within the community, which makes the situation bearable. The Thai Muslims who live closely knitted next to each other in a village or a community are a great help to the elderly poor as they have someone to help all the times. The roles of the volunteer health personnel help bring attention to the matter and the delivery of services could be executed straightaway right to where the poor live.

The situation is not so much difference among the poor elderly Thai Buddhists in Phatthalung. But the condition of living further apart and not in a close knit community like the Thai Muslims, make it harder for the chronically ill elderly to gain access to services or to reach out for help. In normal cases like having an appointment with doctor at hospital, the elderly sick or disabled have to find their own transport to get to the hospital, if they could not find it or could not afford it, they could ask the local village government to help them on a case by case basis. This is an area that needs to be looked at more closely with the view that a special provision for government provided transport could be put in place for the elderly and disabled poor. For minor illness, sub-district health personnel would visit them in the village. In emergency cases, the hospital 1669 number provides ambulance or coordinate with provincial government's ambulance service to pick up the sick and bring them to district hospital or bigger hospital like the ones in Hat Yai, Songkhla province which is nearest to both Satun and Phatthalung.

Interviews show that people are generally happy with the health situation which has been much improved over the past ten years, especially this year when some of the budget of the Ministry of Health has been earmarked for the delivery of services to those needy in the rural areas.

Another key factor is the established network of health volunteers in the rural areas which helps facilitate the identification of the problems and the delivery of services and the fast and efficient access to the health services.

5. Conclusions

Even though the poverty situation in Thailand has improved over the years, but with over 10 percent or 7 million living under the national poverty line, the situation remains a challenge for the government whose latest poverty assistance project saw over 12.5 Thais registered for supports. Preliminary findings on the access to social services in Satun and Phatthalung show that access to health services has improved for the elderly in general. However, for Thai Buddhists who do not live in a closely knitted community like Thai Muslims, particularly those without relatives to look after them, access to hospital remains a challenge.

References

- National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) (2015). *Report on Analysis of Poverty and Inequality in Thailand 2555*. (in Thai).
- Taneerananon, S. (2014). Ultra Poor Revisited: A Case of Southern Thailand, *International Journal of Social, Management, Economics and Business Engineering*, Vol8, 2014, No. 4 pp. 956-962.
- Taneerananon, S. et al. (2000). *Ultra Poor in Southern Thailand*. Thailand Research Fund (in Thai).
- Taneerananon, S. et al. (2002). *Participatory Poverty Assessment of Thailand*. ADB/NESDB.
- Taneerananon, S. et al. (2006). *Service Delivery Aspects of Poverty Reduction Policies in Southern Thailand*. ASEM TRUST FUND/WORLD BANK submitted to Office of Public Sector Development Commission.
- Taneerananon, S. (2005). Poverty of the Thai Muslims in the south of Thailand: A Case of Pattani. *Proceedings of the Ninth International Conference on Thai Studies*, Northern Illinois University, Dekalb, Illinois,

13TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THAI STUDIES
GLOBALIZED THAILAND? CONNECTIVITY, CONFLICT AND CONUNDRUMS OF THAI STUDIES
15-18 JULY 2017, CHIANG MAI, THAILAND

USA, April 3–6, 2005.

- Taneerananon, S. (2005). Demographic Behaviour Responses to Poverty: Findings from the Participatory Poverty Assessment of Thailand. *Proceedings of the IUSSP XXV International Population Conference*, Tours, France, July 18–23, 2005.
- Taneerananon, S. (2005). Women and Poverty in Thailand. *Proceedings of the 7th Conference of Asia–Pacific Sociological Association*, Mahidol University, Salaya, Thailand, December 16–18, 2005.
- Taneerananon, S. (2006). Public Expenditure Tracking Study of Poverty Reduction Policies: Lessons from the South of Thailand, presented at the *International Conference on Anti–Poverty and Regional Cooperation & the Third Annual Conference of the Consortium for Western China Development Studies*, Chengdu, Sichuan, China, August 22–23, 2006.
- Taneerananon, S. (2008). Women Migration and Urban Poverty: A Case of Thailand, presented at the *First Research Forum of Sociology*, Barcelona, Spain, September 5–9, 2008.
- United Nations Development Programme. (2014). *Human Development Report: Sustaining Human Progress: Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience*.

'The Poor Millionaire': A Case Study of Morals and Manners in 1950s Thailand

Tangsantikul, Juthamas

Department of Industrial Design

Faculty of Architecture

Chulalongkorn University

Thailand

Abstract

This paper discusses the popular serialized novel *Setthi anatha* [The Poor Millionaire] written by Santa Thevarak in the early 1950s and compares it with the movie version made in 1956. Whilst critics dismissed 'The Poor Millionaire' as simply one of Santa's romantic tales, the story actually addressed an important social issue of the time: the desire for and anxieties arising from rapid social mobility. Specifically, the ideas of modern manners and material cultures presented in *Setthi anatha* can be traced back to Santa's other writing, a Thai etiquette manual based on the American textbook, *Kritsana son nong: Naenam marayat thi ngam haeng araya samai* [Kritsana's Instructions to Her Younger Sister: An Introduction to the Fine manners of the Civilized Period]. Using an interpretive approach, the paper addresses the novel and the movie thematically with reference to *Kritsana son nong*. It explores the connection between issues such as social mobility, meritocracy, manners and material objects. The paper represents findings from the preliminary stage of an ongoing research whose aim is to form a body of knowledge on the relationship between material culture, history of manners and the modernization of everyday life in Thailand.

Keywords: material culture, history of manners, modernization, everyday life

Introduction

In the introduction to his etiquette book, *Khumue sangkhom* [Socializing Manual], Santa T. Komolabutra, writing under the pseudonym Nai pasa, stated that he aimed to present the work to the people of all classes. He reasoned further that:

It is presently possible for people from one group to make it to the stage upon which they would come to socialize and integrate with another group. A person no one has ever heard of may suddenly rise to a high position. Vice versa, someone in a high position may fall to the lowest pit, it may depend on wisdom, achievements, fate or — to say it bluntly — chance.

Nai pasa [pseudonym], 1966, preface

There is certainly a ring of meritocracy in the statement. Yet it also signals doubt about the practicality of this concept in Thai society. No matter how one comes to their position, Santa argues

strongly that, in the final analysis, it is their manners that will sustain or break them. This reminds me a great deal of Nai Jon Bangkolaem, a character from one of Santa's novels, *Setthi anatha* [The Poor Millionaire] which was serialized from 22nd October 1953 to 30th May 1955 in the bi-weekly magazine, *Daily Mail wan chan*. Jon was a poor man who worked at Hua Lum Phong train station. His job was to lubricate the locomotive. While at work one night Jon chanced upon Prapon, an unhappy millionaire who offered him a fortune of ten million baht on the condition that Jon spent the entire sum within one year.³⁰ Accordingly, overnight, the lives of Jon and his family were upturned: they were to dress differently, behave differently and live differently. This radical transformation was captured in the very first conversation between Jon's daughter, Kantima, and his wife, Thongmuan. Right after Kantima learnt of their sudden wealth from her mother, she told Thongmuan that:

Kantima: ... you and dad must be extremely vigilant now that we will have a stable home with servants. We can no longer live our lives the way we do in this ruined row house. We must carry ourselves to fit in with people with whom we will come to socialize. Otherwise, the servants will look down upon us and think we are vulgarians

[...] Father is the one I am most worried about because he is so used to being loud and blunt. With him saying *wa*³¹ at every turn, he behaves just like a street kid. It will be so embarrassing to see him speaking to *phu lak make dee* [the gentle people].

Thongmuan: Oh, why will you want him to change at this age? After all, he is who he has always been.

Kantima: But it is important ma [...] otherwise how can he socialize with anyone. Besides, he should learn to read and write Thai too [...] He should also have his hair cut (it) looks like he hasn't had it cut for months ... and then he will need some new suits ... what about you ma? How many new dresses you will need? I will personally choose the patterns and make them for you myself.

Santa Thevarak [pseudonym], 1976, p. 210-212

Setthi anatha is often categorized as a romantic comedy given that the main storyline revolves around the improbable romantic relationship between Kantima and Prapon. Its narrative is driven by multiple mistaken identities. Yet, a substantial though usually overlooked aspect of the novel is devoted to detailing the ways in which each member of the Bangkolaem family attempted to adjust to and were alienated by the new lifestyles and manners emerging at this period. The concentration on manners and the role of modern objects featured in *Setthi anatha* is of importance both in terms of the manners corpus and in developing understanding of changes in everyday life in Thai society at this time. Modern manners and etiquette were amongst Santa's proud expertise and he had written a number of influential books on the subject. Specifically, just two months before he began to serialize *Setthi anatha*, under the pseudonym of Kritsana Thevarak, Santa began a column on

³⁰ The plot is certainly far from being unique, films such as Brewster's Millions based on the 1902 novel of the same name by George Barr McCutcheon had very similar storyline. In addition, Prince and Pauper as well as The Million Pound Bank Note by Mark Twain also dealt with rapid social mobility.

³¹ To show politeness when speaking Thai, speakers will end sentences with polite particles such as *ka* for a female speaker and *krub* for a male speaker. *wa* is also particle used at the end of the sentence but not to show politeness. Rather it was regarded as impolite for it was commonly used among the uneducated people and local hooligans. However, it must also be noted that high school boys as well as male university students would adopt this 'impolite' forms of speaking when socializing among themselves to show their brotherhood. This trend has been increasingly adopted by female students in high school as well as university.

manners for another bi-weekly magazine called *Kunlasattri* (Genteel lady). The column, *Kritsana son nong: Naenam marayat thi ngam haeng araya samai* [Kritsana's Instructions to Her Younger Sister: An Introduction to the Fine manners of the Civilized Period] was later made into a book and remained in circulation from the late 1950s to the early 1970s. A comparison of these two works shows a strong connection between them both in terms of content and concept. The idea of meritocracy and the importance of modern material culture on manners, apparent throughout *Kritsana son nong*, certainly appear in *Setthi anatha*. In 1956, the novel was made into a major film which was successful both in terms of revenue and recognition. In examining the novel and the film, with reference to *Kritsana son nong*, I hope to find out how the ideas outlined in the manners book played out and what that would tell us about the history of manners and society at the particular time.

Kritsana Son Nong — an Overview

Kritsana son nong is a Thai etiquette book which was based on an American textbook, *Manners Made Easy* written by Mary Beery in 1943. The Thai author took the main themes and content from Beery's book but re-wrote them as letters from an elder sister, Kritsana, to her younger sister, Kritika (thus the name of the book).³² *Kritsana son nong* comprised of fifty-two letters and covered only chapters one to eleven of Beery's original. The author did not explain why the others were omitted although Kritsana stresses to her sister in one of the letters the importance of adopting only what was appropriate to Thai geography, weather, and traditions. I have argued elsewhere that the comparison of *Kritsana son nong* with *Manners made easy* suggests that the Thai author attempted to domesticate ideas and practices from the original American text whilst negotiating potential contemporary conflicts on adopting these manners. Specifically, the author created fictional characters which helped to ground these etiquette and manners into the Thai local settings. In addition, the fictional characters and narrative together with modified graphic treatment emphasized the significance of appropriate social conduct for female readers rather than their male counterparts (Juthamas, 2016).

In *Kritsana son nong*, Santa's fictional character, the elder sister Kritsana, is portrayed working away from home as a teacher. The epistolary correspondence began because her younger sister wrote to her for advice about how to be a '*kunlasattri*'. From Kritsana's letter, we can infer that the younger sister did not feel that she could rely on their mother's advice. As a former palace lady, the mother's views seemed to belong to a bygone era and were not necessarily appropriate for what Santa termed *nakorntham pan mai* [the new code of urban civility]. Their father and brothers were also mentioned in the text but they appeared as cyphers or types rather than rounded individual protagonists.

From Kritsana Son Nong to Setthi Anatha

In *Setthi anatha*, all the main characters — especially the Bangkokaem family members — were described in great detail and the reader is made aware of their appearances, characteristics and

³² The title of the book as well as the author's pseudonym makes a direct reference to the old Thai didactic poem, *Kritsana son nong khamchan*. In the poem, the main character, Princess Kritsana converses with her sister, teaching her how to be a good wife. The poem is regarded as one of the pillars of Thai literature, and an essential source for traditional Thai views on proper behavior for women.

habits. Moreover through the narrator's account and the internal monologues of the characters, the reader also gains insight into the characters' thoughts and fears, their dreams and intentions, and the background and consequences of their social interactions and behaviors. Even though the story is based on an unlikely premise, its characters were realistically drawn, with particular attention given to the ways in which their manners reflected their social background. Indeed the book overall is an account of how its characters respond to and make sense of the changes brought about by the large and unexpected fortune. In this sense, the contradistinction between the two characters, Thongmuan and Kantima, outlined from the very beginning, is of importance because they parallel each other. On the one hand, there is an older woman who was born poor, unmodern, and likely to remain so. On the other, there is a younger woman who was also born poor but was ready to modernize herself by accumulating the civilized manners promoted in books like *Kritsana son nong* and through education. The transformation of Kantima's character was observed by Thongmuan herself who remarked that growing up in a ghetto, the young Kantima ran around with:

... runny nose, gooey eyes and knotty hair just like other kids in the neighborhood [...] However, since entering school, from the local school to the high school, her daughter came to look fresh and clean with her fair skin glowing bright, even more so than herself when she was of the same age. Approaching adolescence, Kantima became even more attractive and the talk of the neighborhood.
Santa Thevarak [pseudonym], 1953, 1976, p.197

Later on, the novel's narrator stressed that:

... the differences between the mother and the daughter's lifestyles and appearances cannot be any further apart: they seem to be living in totally different eras. No similarities can be drawn between them. For more than fifty years, Thongmuan maintained her short hair with long hairline on the side. Her lips and mouth are always moist with betel palm sap. Only because The Cultural Mandates³³ forced her to switch from a wrap around top and loincloths to blouse and *phathung*, otherwise nothing about her would have ever changed. Kantima, on the contrary, continued to transform from a young age. Beginning with shoulder-length hair, she cut her fringe, then had long plaited hair. When she got into junior high school, following then the fashion of permed hair, she had her hair curled like a hair on rambutan. Eventually it came to the big curls like the hair of Miss Thailand 1952. Who knows what will come next ... we are only talking about the hairstyle here and are yet to mention the clothing and costumes, which changed with every season.
Santa Thevarak [pseudonym], 1976, 198

³³ Field Marshall Pibulsongkhram issued *Ratthaniyom* or The Cultural Mandates during his time as the Thai Prime Minister from 1938 to 1944. The government claimed that the nation building regimes would make Siam stronger in the eyes of international nations and unite the 'Thai' people. Amongst the twelve decrees were rules that governed directly how Thai men and women should become 'civilized', or *araya* in Thai, by altering aspects of everyday social behavior. Prior to The Cultural Mandates Thai women often used a long thin cloth to wrap around their upper body and wore loincloths for the lower part. This style of dressing was deemed inappropriate according to the mandates and Thai women were encouraged to adopt western style blouse, dress, skirt or *phatung*, a traditional Thai skirt in the form of an ankle-length, seamless sarong-like garment. Accessories such as hats, shoes and socks became requirements of both Thai men and women.

The contrasting personalities of Thongmuan and Kantima undeniably reflect the issue of *samai*, or period. This was also central to *Kritsana son nong*, which through its title, subtitle and contents, openly addressed and drew attention to competition and conflict between liberal conceptions of aspiration and progress and traditional notions based upon heredity.³⁴ In particular, if we consider the following definition of *kunlasattri* given by Santa through the voice of Kritsana there is certainly some connection between Kantima and Santa's proposal of modern *kunlasattri*.

The dictionary defines *kunlasattri* as 'a woman with *sakun* (lineage) and good manners'. For this translation, I fear that I know too little to pass judgment whether it is correct or not. But if you were to ask my personal view, I firmly believe that a woman who has good manners, even without [good] *sakun*, can undoubtedly be a *kunlasattri*. However, if it should be translated for the benefit of all, since *kun* means *sakun* or *trakun*, all human beings have *sakun* or *trakun*. Whether one is of a higher or lower rank than others is not within our control, therefore, all women in this world are *kunlasattri*. Yet to be a perfect *kunlasattri*, is conditional on having good manners.

Kritsana Thewarak (pseudonym), 1961, 5

Meritocratic ideals are also central to Santa's other writings on manners and etiquette. He often emphasized that good manners were acquirable, through time and practice, and that they were the keys to social success. In this aspect, manners are, to borrow Pierre Bourdieu's term, cultural capital. Importantly what Santa considered good manners went beyond bodily comportment to incorporate modes of self-presentation, refined social skills as well as, importantly to my argument, the knowledge of and ability to use modern objects and products appropriately. This view, again, resonates with Bourdieu's notion that cultural capital can exist in three forms: the embodied state, the objectified state and the institutionalized state. Whilst the fundamental meanings of cultural capital tend to be located in the body and presupposes embodiment, they often have a significant relationship with material objects and media. A person with economic capital may obtain cultural goods but it is only with their embodied cultural capital that they will be able to appropriate these goods (Bourdieu, 1986).

This idea was relayed in the novel through Kantima, who, through time and education, accumulated the necessary embodied cultural capital. When fortuitously presented with economic capital, she effortlessly took charge of equipping her family members with the new attire and accessories necessary for their changed circumstances. Even though this was necessary, as well as to a certain extent successful, her attempts to 'modernize' her parents did not always go as smoothly. The discrepancy between the embodied state and the objectified state appeared throughout this entire process in a form of tensions and disruptions. Noticeably, in the novel, these were often dramatized through the characters' thoughts aroused as they interacted with material objects themselves, old as well as new, mundane as well as luxury.

³⁴ Progress and *siwilai* were the discourses 1920s writers and journalists used to argue against absolutism. See Chris Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit. (2009). *A History of Thailand*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 107–9. Furthermore, the idea that one might aspire and come to better oneself regardless of one's birth resonates with the principles put forward by People's Party in 1932 revolution, an event which Santa also depicted in the novel that made him famous, *Bandai haeng kwam rak* [Steps of love]. I have discussed this novel elsewhere (Juthamas: 2016) and Aj Chusak Pattarakulwanich also discussed it in detail in *Aan Magazine* [Read Journal] October 2016.

A Pair of Shoes and a Brand New Car

Right after Prapon's attorney confirmed his fortune, Jon took his son out to have a haircut and to buy new clothes and shoes. However, neither had any idea where to shop and they ended up buying useless items from a second hand store owned by a Chinese shopkeeper. When Kantima took Jon out again to buy proper shoes, they could not find a ready-to-wear leather pair to fit Jon's deformed feet. They had to have them made and bought a pair of sneakers to use in the meantime. In the following passage, Jon's uncultured body and manners are reflected in the old pair of shoes which he was going to leave and the new pairs of socks and shoes he was about to step into. Santa used the metaphor of glass slippers for, like Cinderella, Jon's fortune was also temporary.

Jon Bangkolaem left his old shabby shoes at the shoe shop. They were so tattered with holes that showed off his little toes. He then awkwardly put on socks chosen for him by his daughter. It could be said that they were his first ever pair because the other three he bought by himself the other day had somehow turned out to be old and tattered and left a big hole at the heel as soon as he pulled them up. This new one might be a little too long in the front but they fitted around his sole quite well. When put together with the shoes, they matched like Cinderella's glass slippers — had he known that such a tale called Cinderella and glass slippers existed in this world. Jon walked around, flickering his toes inside the new shoes in quite a cheerful mood.

Santa Thevarak [pseudonym], 1976, p. 354

Aside from the clothes and the shoes, Kantima took her father to buy many other things including spectacles, cigarettes, cigarette lighter and so on. Nevertheless, the two most expensive items, the car and the house, were bought under Prapon's order by his solicitor. The car, in particular, turned out to be quite an important literary device. In the first scene that it appeared it was to take Jon and his daughter to the solicitor's office to sign the contract between Prapon and Jon, thus securing the offer which until then was verbal. Then it took them to the bank to open the account into which the money would be transferred, to do more shopping, to have lunch and then, finally, to see their new home for the first time. In other words, with its materiality and social meaning, the car was the confirmation of Jon's newfound though temporary urban and social mobility as well as a sign of affluence. Through his interaction with and thoughts about this modern item, the readers gain insight into the contradictory feelings of excitement and anxiety that Jon's new life stirred within him.

Initially, the car brought excitement to Jon's neighbors too. It illustrated the stark contrast between Jon's former self and surroundings and the new identity and lifestyle he was about to assume, as can be seen in the passage below:

The latest thrill which awaited Nai Jon Bangkolaem at the end of the Salak-hin alley was nothing but a brand new sedan with the unusual color of melon peel, exquisitely glimmering in the rays of sunshine. Young children, both Thai and Chinese, stood nearby eyeing at the car curiously, hoping to feel it against their hands. However, when they were met with the stern look from the driver inside, all shied away. Shifting their attention instead to the bizarre shape its shadow made on the ground provided great entertainment for the young minds.

Santa Thevarak [pseudonym], 1976, 363

When it was revealed that the automobile belonged to 'Uncle Jon', all, including Jon himself, were utterly astounded:

Nai Jon Bangkolaem managed to smile meekly at Nai Yuan, the coffee shop owner, just before the car moved on. The guy was standing nearby with his mouth wide open, shocked to see how a grimy Uncle Jon was today dressed up in whole new clean attire, with long sleeved shirt and neat Western-style trousers. Other than that, miraculously, he was sitting in a brand new car, behaving as if it was his own, beaming like 'a toad on the palanquin'.³⁵ Jon himself could not yet fathom proudly that from this minute onwards this gorgeous car would be his [...] Oh! It seemed like a dream from which he hadn't quite woken up.

The tanned leather seat was so soft and resilient to his weight that he hardly felt any vibration. Jon imagined if he had a chance to lay his head upon this wonderfully strange soft thing, with slight tremor to rock him gently, he would have fallen asleep in less than a minute.

Santa Thevarak [pseudonym], 1976, 366-7 [emphasis added]

Secondly, the car and its interior also functioned as a sign that connoted the new experiences lying ahead of him and his family. Santa did not forget to remind the reader of the temporary status of Jon's new life, as he did so when deploying the metaphor of Cinderella and the glass slippers. The description of Jon's sleepiness and dream-like quality of driving in the new automobile suggested, again, the impermanent even fantasy condition of his new self.

Nai Jon Bangkolaem closed his eyes and leaned fully back. He was a little light-headed from the effect of whisky and soda mixed with the gently rocking rhythm in the soft tanned leather seat. He began to relax and fall asleep. He couldn't care less where the car would take him or through which streets because he was too embarrassed to meet the eyes of passengers in the cars coming in the opposite direction and from people passing by on the street. They seemed to pay too much attention to him. His appearance at the moment could not be that different from an effigy that was put in a luxurious shrine, drawing attention from all the worshippers. No one other than himself would realize that there was no way to hide the ugliness of his figure, not even the most exclusive and expensive clothes like the one he was wearing today — not even this most lavish car which took him around the city. Nai Jon's feeling was fused with misery and bliss, but more than anything it was overwhelmed by the miracle of the large fortune which came to him as if it was a gift from above.

Santa Thevarak [pseudonym], 1976, 389-90

The above excerpts typify the ways in which modern material objects were described, discussed and used to unravel the process of 'modernization' as it affected the protagonists' sense of self and social position. This was possible because the modern objects themselves, in offering their newness, also provoked alienation, as well as a yearning for familiarity.³⁶ Bourdieu contends that "cultural

³⁵ 'A toad on the palanquin' is a Thai proverb that suggests a person, usually from a poor background, who behaves arrogantly after acquiring high social status.

³⁶ See, Lefebvre, Henri. (1972). *Everyday Life in the Modern World*. UK: The Athlone Press.

goods can be appropriated both materially – which presupposes economic capital – and symbolically – which presupposes cultural capital”. In this respect, Jon might well be presented with all the materials fit for a millionaire, but, symbolically, he was not yet one for his lack of the embodied cultural capital.

It is not only that good manners, as cultural capital, require the harmony between the embodied state and the objectified state, but since commodities tend to exist as parts of a constellation rather than on their own, they imply or require further the ownership and use of complementary products.³⁷ When Thongmuan refused to get into the new car with the family, it was because she felt that her dress was too poor for the grand car. Or, when Jon finally had his new leather shoes and tie, even though they made him uncomfortable, he had to keep them on until he was safely inside his new home. So far we know very little about how common people felt about the production of modernized self in Thai society during this time, particularly in relation to modern objects. *Kritsana son nong* might have argued that the principles of manners and products which originated in the West were compatible rather than irreconcilable with the Thai local setting. Nevertheless, in *Setthi anatha*, Santa Thevarak unraveled what else might also follow once these principles were adopted in everyday social practice.

In addition, the tension between young Kantima and her parents was generational. It was she not they who knew more about this new social code and this knowledge challenged their former traditional hierarchical relationship. I have argued elsewhere that after the 1957 coup, there was a proliferation of literature and projects dedicated to the restitution of Thai manners (Juthamas, 2016). These were targeted especially at the younger generation and included manuals, books, speeches, radio broadcasts and manners competitions, many of these drawing substantially on court etiquette. Patrick Jory (2015) also has observed that the reintroduction of Thai manners from the late 1950s to the early 1960s coincided with a conservative political turn that had submission as its guiding principle. These manners were largely about cultivating a body posture which corresponded to one’s status. Those who were younger or in a lower social position had to be physically submissive, recognizing their place, ideally and spatially. I will return to this point below in the discussion section.

The Film

The novel *Setthi anatha* was made into a feature film in 1956. The film was written and directed by Wasan Suthornpaksin³⁸. In 1957, at the first ever Thailand film awards, it received The Best Movie

Lefebvre’s theory of product constellations is discussed further in Power, Nigel. (2009). (Re) Productions A Marxist Perspective on Design and Everyday Life. International Association of Societies of Design Research Conference, IASDR09: Rigor and Relevance in Design, Seoul, Korea, 18-22 October, pp. 2195-2204.

³⁷ See, for example, Chapter 8 Diderot Unities and the Diderot Effect: Neglected Cultural Aspects of Consumption in McCracken, Grant. (1988). *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*. USA: Indiana University Press. pp.118-129.

³⁸ Wasan Sunthornpaksin (1916-1998) began his acting career with The Pridalai theatre group in the early 1940s. At the end of The Second World War, when the Thai film industry had gradually recovered, Wasan turned to act in motion pictures and appeared in the first Thai film shown after the war. In his second movie, he was also given the opportunity to direct. Subsequently, he worked as an actor and director until 1966 when he left the industry altogether. Wasan was known for his seriousness both in acting and directing. To make certain that everything went according to his plan, Wasan sometimes designed and built the sets and the props by himself. He was an important figure in the history of Thai cinema and owing to his effort, The Thai Film Archive was granted the film *Setthi anatha*, as well as its copyright, from the original owner. For more

Award and Jerm Pan-ampai, the actor who played Jon Bangkolaem received The Best Supporting Actor Award. The director, Wasan, was also awarded The Best Director for another film. Intriguingly, given its content, *Setthi anatha* was funded by Suriyon Raiwa, a significant Thai tycoon of the time.³⁹ According to Jittakorn Suthornpaksin, Wasan's son who also appeared in the film as Jon's youngest son, Suriyon's own house was used as the setting for Jon's new home. He lent his cars to be used in the filming process, including Jon's 'brand new sedan with the unusual color of melon peel' and offered one of his buildings for use as a film unit headquarters (Jittakorn Suthornpaksin, personal communication, April 9, 2017). In effect, the film was a true gift from a true Thai millionaire.

In terms of the narrative structure, the film adhered to the original novel rather faithfully. Nevertheless, as the novel ran for more than a year and a half in its serialized form — resulting in two volumes of 1000 A5 pages — a considerable amount of editing was necessary to transform the text into a 120-minutes moving picture. This process of selection and rejection as well as addition to the content and shifts of emphasis is of considerable interest, particularly in the light it sheds on manners and material culture at this time. For example, in comparison to the novel, the film concentrated less on the tensions that the fortune brought to the Bangkolaem family members, and more on the comedy drama of their new life, tropes of mistaken identity as well as the sumptuous lifestyles of the rich. It is as if the film wanted to show its audience how to consume; what to wear, to ride, to drink, to carry; whom to hire, to socialize with; how to behave, to spend time, to relax; where and how to live, in which type of environment: should anyone come to similar fortune.

By underplaying Kantima's role in equipping her family members with good manners, the personal conflict between Kantima and her parents was not directly depicted in the film narrative (unlike in the novel where it figured in many bickering dialogues). Nevertheless, the film spectacularly illustrated the difference between Kantima and her other family members. Especially in comparing and contrasting Kantima and her mother, the film highlighted Thongmuan's lack of embodied cultural capital and her inability to appropriate the products necessary for capital's embodied form. To a certain extent, on screen, 'the behavioral dos and don'ts' — a popular literary device in etiquette manuals — were transformed and explained through visual forms and cinematic language. This can be seen in the following discussion on how the film portrayed Kantima, Thongmuan and Prapaipan.



Figure 1: Kantima first appeared in the movie in a form of image superimposed on Prapon's drink.

details, see Putthapong Cheamrattonyu. (2016, Nov/Dec). 'Neung roi pi Wasan Sunthornpaksin: Phu kam kab pab payon Thai yod yium kon rak' (A Centennial of Wasan Sunthornpaksin: The First Best Thai Film Director). *Film Archive Newsletter*, 36, 17-19.

³⁹ Suriyon Raiwa (1916-1973) was dubbed 'The First Thai Tycoon' for his pioneering role in new forms of business in Thailand in the period after The Second World War. Suriyon, a former police-man, invested in diverse industries including agricultural products and processing, mining, banking, hotel and insurance. He spent sometime in the south of Thailand and his involvement with the local people got him elected the MP for Narathiwat twice, the second time under the banner of the Seri Manangkhasila Party. The producer of *Setthi anatha*, Jamnong Raiwa, was Suriyon's wife. See, for more details, Suriyon Raiwa: The First Tycoon (1987, Oct). *The Manager*, 51. Retrieved from <http://info.gotomanager.com/news/details.aspx?id=8912>

Modern *Kunlasattri* in Action

Kantima first appeared in the film as a figure in Prapon's memory represented by a flashback. Just after the train pulled out of Hua Lum Phong station, her image is superimposed on Prapon's whisky glass, indicating that she was after all the cause of Prapon's unhappiness. The conversation between Kantima and Prapaipan, Prapon's younger sister, to which the disguised Prapon eavesdropped, confirmed that the reason she had denied his love was because of their differences in socio-economic class. Nevertheless, the fact that Kantima was Jon's daughter was only made known to the audience when she appeared in the present time at Jon's house. In this scene, Kantima emerged from the darkness of their house wearing a modern yellow dress with ruffled arms and a ribbon tied into a bow under her collar. On her right arm, hung an unusually shaped brown leather bag, and in her left hand, she carried a pair of black leather shoes. Her contrast with Jon, who stood by looking beyond the camera waiting, his cap in hand, could not be missed nor greater.



Figure 2: Kantima emerged from the old home with Jon standing nearby.

Noticeably, Thongmuan had emerged from the same door in an earlier scene. After meeting with Prapon, Jon went out with friends and came home drunk, carried by his drinking partners. They must have caused some commotion for the door was opened and Thongmuan stepped out. As she saw the drunken group Thongmuan raised her hands to her waist showing her disapproval and anger. This common vernacular pose was deployed to suggest Thongmuan's simple background and would continue to be her signature posture throughout the film, a point to which I will return later. Her uncultivated manners were accentuated in the following scene in which her back and buttock were placed prominently center frame dominating the screen space. The gestures and their presentation

cinematically are unique to Thongmuan. She then went over to Jon and took off his shoes and he jiggled his toes. The 'old shabby shoes', as mentioned in the novel, were seen against Thongmuan's bare feet. The shot emphasized how the shoes were unimportant to their life at this stage, living in the old row house. The moving of Jon's toes in the film was presumably for comical effect yet it also indicated sense of relief and comfort in one's familiar everyday life which resonated with the passage in the novel quoted earlier.

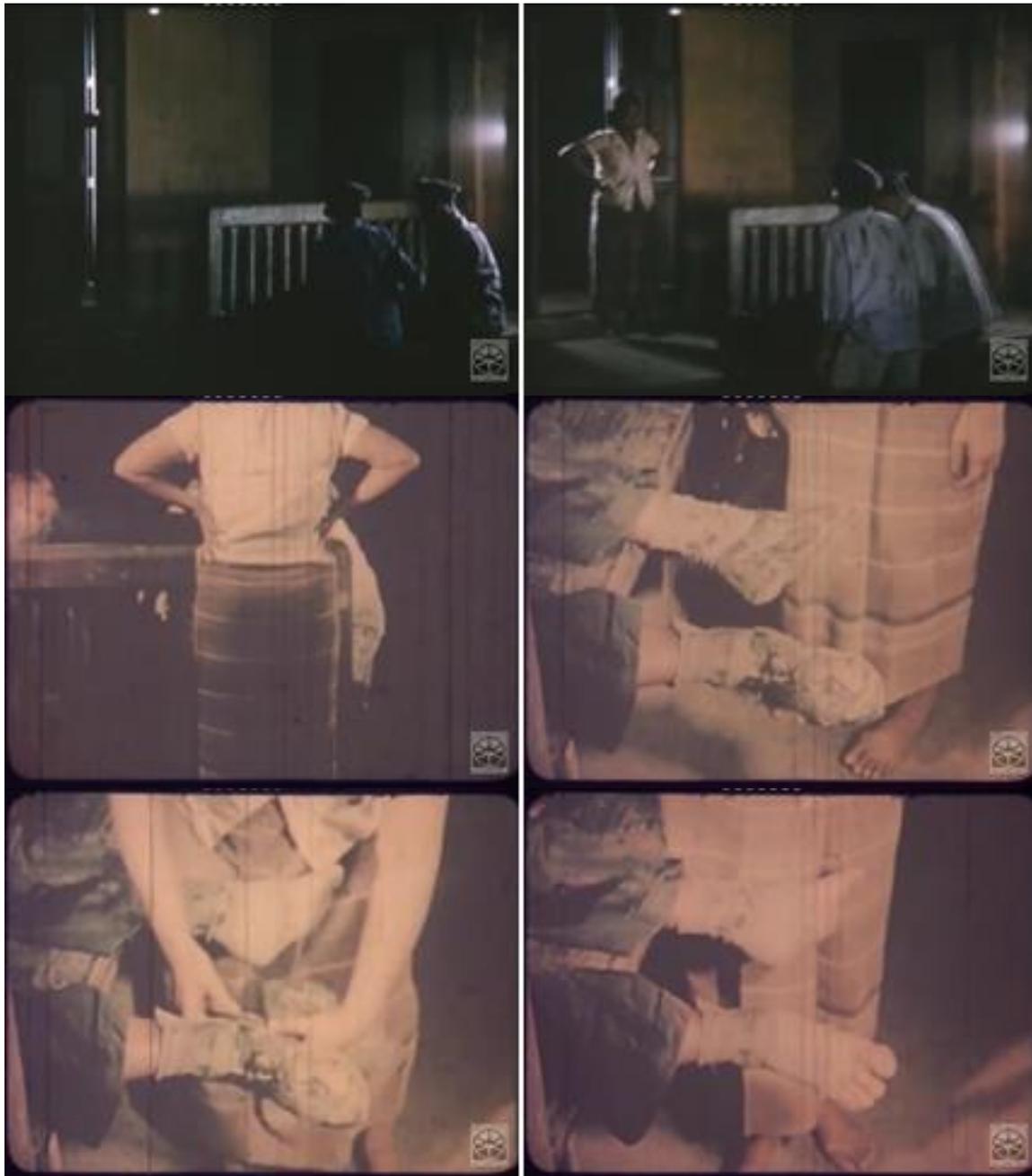


Figure 3: Thongmuan first appeared in the movie, emerging from the same door that Kantima would in the following morning. Yet how the two characters were visually treated is immensely different.



Figure 4: *Thongmuan* with exaggerated bodily gestures and emotion.

Kantima's fashion style and outward appearance is similar to that of Prapaipan, and her friend, Kannikar. The first time I watched the film, with no access to the film script or the novel just yet, their similarities dominated their differences and I was rather confused to see a well-dressed young woman at Jon's home. Perhaps my bewilderment was not that dissimilar from Prapon's attorney who in the novel noted that he was surprised to see "a pretty young lady who was rather too attractive to be a member of the Bangkolaem family" (Santa, 1976, 274). That Kantima became successful in adjusting to her new lifestyle was emphasized by Thongmuan's inability to achieve a similarly successful transition. For example, after receiving the fortune, Thongmuan was depicted wearing heavy makeup and carrying 'vulgar' accessories that would have been rejected by Kantima and the other more 'worldly' women characters. Her excessive emotion, quick temper and exaggerated bodily gestures, were maintained throughout the film and clearly echo with the concept of the 'tiresome personality' introduced by Santa in *Kritsana son nong* (Kritsana, 1961, 33-39).

Prapaipan's character, already a significant one in the novel, was substantial in the film. After Jon and Kantima, Prapaipan is the most notable character, appearing more often than her brother, Prapon. She and Jon are the two characters with whom Kantima appeared and interacted with the most. To some extent, it is interesting to consider the three women characters together, Kantima, Thongmuan and Prapaipan. For, unlike Kantima and Thongmuan, Prapaipan represented an extreme version of the modern woman, a model that, at one and the same time, Kantima aspired to yet was wary of. Prapaipan first appeared with her friend, Kannikar, very late at night at Hua Lum Phong station just as Prapon's train was leaving. They were both dressed stylishly and their relationship with Prapon remained ambiguous. However, seeing, Kannikar's swaying hips as the two women left the station, I doubted whether Kannikar would be the role model of modern *kunlasattri*. The swaying hips, like Thongmuan's back and buttock, are signs that would not be associated with Kantima or Prapaipan. My doubt was strengthened in a later scene when Kannikar was seen in a swimming costume, chatting with Prapon by the poolside at his house.

It is easier to differentiate the character of Prapaipan and Kantima now that I have read the novel. However, when I first watched the film, I observed in my note that:

There are two female characters who are equally dominant. One is rather handsome looking with an angular face, high cheekbone and a slighter built. The other has a rounder face, sweet looking and shapely. The former one appeared more dashing. She played judo, drove a car, spoke on the telephone, used make up and took off her clothes to have a massage from her

servant. I don't think the dashing one (whom I nicknamed *dao*) would be *nang eak* (female protagonist).

Juthamas Tangsantikul, personal note, 29 Oct 2014

The film stresses Kantima's composed demeanor and good domestic skills whilst playing down her agitation about the manners of her family members. In comparison to Kantima's character, Prapaipan was more faithful to her character in the novel. Aside from being associated with modern objects and forms of social interaction, the film portrayed Prapaipan as fearless and resourceful. On various occasions, she designed devious plans that were important to the mood and tone of the film or to its narrative development. For example, when she played tricks on her brother's valet, it was to emphasize his comical role as well as the comedic aspect of the film. Or when she created a situation which allowed the disguised Prapon to meet with Kantima, thus helping to develop their romantic relationship as well as leading to the event in which Prapon and Swasdi, a local hooligan, would fight.



Figure 5: Prapaipan held a conversation with her brother while driving.

Most importantly, Prapaipan was the female character who is most clearly associated with automobiles and the only woman we see driving. One entire scene depicted her driving her own car while holding a conversation with her brother and offering him the opportunity to meet Kantima. In this scene, Prapaipan is dressed in a loose fitting blouse with fashionable Hollywood-style hair scarf and bangles on her arms. She appeared relaxed, even though she was driving, and often turned around and looked at her brother during their discussion. Prapaipan's driving symbolizes both her wealth and her freedom. In some respects, it also alludes to the sibling's social mobility for they too were born poor. Interestingly, all signs of modern women which were at play in the driving scene, with the strong connotations of Western culture, were brought to a questionable end when this freedom led her to visit Swasdi at his home on her own despite being warned by her brother.

In this particular scene, Prapaipan was positioned lower than her brother both by the seating arrangement and by a slouching submissive posture accentuated by her hands fiddling with the book. She was dressed in a short sleeve blouse buttoned up to the neck, a matching skirt and petticoat partially visible. It is interesting that in the only scene that she was portrayed as being inferior to a man, Prapaipan should dress, in comparison to other occasions, rather conservatively. Prapaipan's case highlighted another aspect of embodied cultural capital where one set of cultural capital may come into conflict with another set, or at least appear to. Prapaipan possessed a form of embodied cultural capital which allowed her to appropriate modern cultural goods effectively. These emerging cultural practices (to drive a car, to play tricks on others, to fight a man) needed to be tamed.⁴⁰ By suggesting that this behavior could jeopardize the status of being *kullasattri*, the

⁴⁰ On this issue, I have drawn upon Raymond Williams' discussion on Dominant, Residual and Emergent social factors. See Williams, Raymond (1977). *Marxism and Literature*. Great Britain: Oxford University Press.

modern form of cultural capital was set against a conservative ensemble of embodied cultural capital. The latter's emphasis on traditional morality serves to remind women to accumulate and appropriate modern cultural capital cautiously. Given that this scene figures towards the end of the film, its message is clear: despite the possibilities for change and personal development offered by modernity, a woman's place in Thai society was still be significantly constrained.

Modern Objects in Motion

In the film, modern objects were not 'thought through' as they were in the novel. Rather, they were 'seen' or 'acted upon' with or by the actors/actresses. Significant commodities such as shoes and cars, discussed earlier, appeared repeatedly in many scenes and contexts. Automobiles, in particular, played an important role in the film. Apart from Jon's new car, we encountered those of Prapon, Prapaipan, Swasdi and, interestingly, Kantima, a vehicle she was destined never to drive. Here technical objects were deployed to symbolize in various ways the identity, character and status of their owners. Of all these, Jon's car was particularly interesting and demonstrated the narrative and semantic role of objects/commodities in the film.

Jon's new car figured strongly in the developing narrative. Because of its uniqueness, the sighting of Kantima with Jon and the car by Prapaipan and her friend was an important clue that helped Prapon discover that Kantima was in fact Jon's daughter. It also carried out a semantic function for ownership of an automobile symbolized Jon's newfound wealth and status. Its presence signified the dawning of the 'new' Bangkok family. At this time, Jon's car needs to be a rare sight. The export only Chrysler De Soto Diplomat, which with its flamboyant design and color, hinted at the growing significance of consumption and display in the presentation of self and status at this time. Prior to its appearance, we saw Jon as the tattered worker, with no idea about or need for the symbolic potential of clothing and material objects. The new Jon appeared in suit and tie, leaving the bank with Kantima, the car waiting ostentatiously for them. From this point on, Jon drew upon the full range of bourgeois symbolic and material resources, dressing formally, with suit, tie and cane, smoking cigars rather than cheap cigarettes and drinking whisky not local liquor.

In comparison to cars, shoes might seem rather mundane. Yet, by juxtaposing the action of the barefooted Thongmuan taking off Jon's shoes with the action of Kantima, holding a pair of shoes and emerging from the house, we are reminded that wearing shoes was a custom Thais adopted from the West. Importantly, it was imposed on common people as part of The Cultural Mandates, as can be seen in the advertisement below (figure 6). Interestingly both automobiles and shoes were among the criteria used to measure the quality of life in the Reports on Family Expenditure Survey Thailand carried out by the Central Statistical Office in 1958. On the question about shoe, the head of a family was given a scale that ranged from no one in the household had any shoes at all to at least one family member had more than one pair of shoes. I believe that helps explaining why shoes appeared relatively often in a film of 120 minutes long.

Both the new car and the new shoes were also present in the unveiling of Thongmuan's new look at the beginning of her new life. As the car pulled away from their new home, we saw Kantima and her mother. As usual, Kantima was composed although she was evidently pleased with her new home. Thongmuan, on the other hand, looked around excitedly. In her new clothes and shoes, she turned to enter the expensive home, tripping slightly, twice as she was about to climb the steps. Fleeting moments of anxiety on the threshold between the two forms of life.



Figure 6: "Buy yourself a pair of shoes, Mae Prink!"⁴¹

Conclusion

My interest in the history of Thai manners and society in the period between 1950s to 1970s led me initially to the study of *Kritsana son nong*. I have argued that the text represents one response to the challenges facing a rapidly changing society, a society that was increasingly open to international products, ideas and practices. In examining *Setthi anatha*, a novel also written by Santa T. Komolabutra at around the same time as *Kritsana son nong*, I found that whilst the two texts share a focus on a number of aspects of modern manners, objects and social interactions, the novel unpacked and unraveled possible tensions and disruptions brought about by modernization in a way that was not addressed in the etiquette book. However when it came to the film version, the tension was less emphasized. Instead, the film chose to focus on the romantic relationship, mistaken identities and the contrasting lifestyles between the rich and the poor. Even so, the idea that manners are cultural capital and that it encompasses the embodied as well as the objectified form are evident both in the novel and in the film. To a certain extent, Jon was 'the poor millionaire' because despite his newfound economic capital, his lack of embodied capital prevented him from enjoying his newly acquired social status. At the end of the novel, Jon chose to become a Buddhist

⁴¹ This advertisement is typical of the propaganda posters circulated to promote Pibunsongkram's Cultural Mandates. It features a dialogue between two women. The one who is dressed in a proper attire according to the decree remarks, "Oh no, Mae Prink! Now that you have dressed properly with your hat on, why wouldn't you wear shoes too? It costs you your beauty. The earth is both dirty and hot. When you finish your market round, why don't you and I go together to buy yourself a pair of shoes." Image retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/SilpaWattanatham/photos/a.140180076111393.26379.140168069445927/931998493596210>

monk, leaving the material world behind. The film, however, had a rather more happy ending. After running away from home, Jon returned to his family once Kantima and Prapon were married.⁴² Differences in the two endings as well as how decisions were made about the film content suggest further research into the history of Thai cinema, audience and their expectation at the time.

The focus of this paper is, however, on the significance of material objects in the study of the history of manners and how they were introduced through different forms of media. According to Bourdieu, the cultural capital in the embodied state is necessary for a person to appropriate capital in the objectified form: the reverse is also true. Modern products and objects are required, or made to seem so, in order to produce a cultured body. From the findings in this preliminary stage, I would like to offer two related hypotheses. Firstly, in relation to the particular period in Thai history, that is in 1950s-1970s, the discourse on manners was used to justify the transformation of everyday life in the Thai urban society by consumer capitalism. As contended by Henri Lefebvre in his essay, *The Bureaucratic Society of Controlled Consumption* (Power, 2009) and exemplified in the Bangkoklaem family, their everyday life after the newfound wealth was increasingly *rationalized* and segmented. Each part was then *industrialized*, or turned into a production-consumption circuit upon which the new reality was *imposed*. For example, with her new status, Thongmuan would need pajamas while earlier she was seen wearing one type of costume during both day and night. Or while it was enough to offer Prapon's attorney plain water in their ruined row house, in their new home, aside from water, they offer tea, coffee and all the fancy drinks on a cocktail trolley. In the Bangkoklaem's case, their everyday life was driven by the ideology of 'good manners'.

Secondly, the combination of discourse on manners and cultural capital, both in the embodied state as well as the objectified state, can be a powerful tool/ mechanism to control, negotiate, tame or even censor emerging cultural practices deemed threatening to the dominant force. Prapaipan, Prapon and, to a certain degree, Jon's family represented an emerging social class after The Second World War in Thailand. They were not part of the old elite, neither were they poor. They had economic capital, which in combination with the emerging form of consumer capitalism would entail the emergence of new forms of cultural practice. The discourse on manners, therefore, was deployed to control this potentially powerful force. This was evident in the campaign to revive Thai manners since 1957 onwards. It can still be seen in various forms of control and censorship in the contemporary everyday.

References

- Baker, C. and Phongpaichit, P. (2009). *A history of Thailand*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Beery, M. (1949). *Manners Made Easy*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood.
- Central Statistical Office. (1958) *Reports on Family Expenditure Survey, Round 2 – B.E. 2501* (Survey Period August – September 2501). Retrieved from The Central Statistical Office, Bangkok, Thailand.
- Jamnong, R. (Producer) & Wasan Sunthornpaksin. (Director). (1956). *Setthi anatha* [Motion Picture]. Thailand: S. R. Film.
- Jory, P. (2015). *Thailand's politics of politeness: Qualities of a gentleman and the making of Thai manners*. *South East Asia Research*, 23(3) 357–375.

⁴² In the film, Jon mentioned to his family at their reunion that he would become a monk. The film, however, does not visualize this for it ends as the train pulled away from the station with the newly-wed on board.

13TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THAI STUDIES
GLOBALIZED THAILAND? CONNECTIVITY, CONFLICT AND CONUNDRUMS OF THAI STUDIES
15-18 JULY 2017, CHIANG MAI, THAILAND

- Lefebvre, H. (1972). *Everyday Life in the Modern World*. UK: The Athlone Press.
- Pasa, N. (Santa T. Komolabutra). (1966). *Khumue sangkhom*. Socialising manual. Bangkok: SermwitBannakhan.
- Power, N. (2009). *Productions A Marxist Perspective on Design and Everyday Life*. Paper presented at the International Association of Societies of Design Research Conference, IASDR09: Rigor and Relevance in Design, Seoul, Korea, 18-22 October, pp. 2195-2204. Retrieved from http://www.arch.kmutt.ac.th/files/research/inter_Conference/2009/11.Reproductions.pdf
- Tangsantikul, J. (2016). *Kritsana son nong: The politics and practice of manners in modern Thailand (1950s–1970s)*. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 47(2), 189–210.
- Thewarak, K. & Komolabutra, S.T. (1961). *Kritsana son nong: Naenam marayat thi ngam haeng araya samai Kritsana's instructions to Little Sister: An introduction to the fine manners of the civilized period*. Bangkok: Prae Pittaya.
- Thevarak, S. (Santa T. Komolabutra). (1976). *Setthi anatha*. The poor millionaire. Bangkok: Thaimitrkarnpim.
- Williams, R. (1977). *Marxism and Literature*. Great Britain: Oxford University Press.

Classifying Characters of Bangkok Commercial Districts in the Mid- Nineteenth Century

Tantivess, Nicha
University of Cincinnati
USA

Abstract

This research aims to classify the characters of Bangkok commercial districts in the mid-nineteenth century by finding associations between activity intensity and urban physical elements of nine commercial districts of the city. According to studies of both Thai and foreign scholars, the city was considerably changed due to the construction of the first road in 1861. New commercial districts emerged because of shop houses constructed along the roads. However, there were some commercial areas that existed before 1861. Those areas were located near the river or canals which were considered a major transportation system of the city in the early Rattanakosin period (1782 – 1851). Unlike commercial activity in post-1861, the pre-1861 districts had few buildings that were used for commercial purposes. This research uses information from three data sources (Bangkok post office household records in 1883, the Bangkok map from 1887 and other related studies) to identify district boundaries, and measure the research variables of commercial activity and urban physical elements. The variables are plotted into charts to find the association between them. The result shows roads were a major physical element associated with the increase of activity in commercial districts especially the districts that existed before 1861. Moreover, there were two other elements and one factor that associated to commercial activities: location to the city wall, number of local casinos, and the age of the districts. Finally, the commercial districts can be categorized into three groups: 1) pre-1861 commercial districts that had the highest activity due to their location in the area with a lot of road accesses, 2) post-1861 commercial districts that located along the roads, and 3) pre-1861 commercial districts that had low activity due to their location with few road accesses.

Keywords: Commercial district, Commercial activity intensity, Urban physical elements, Bangkok

1. Introduction

Bangkok is located on both sides of Northern Chao Praya River. The city was considered a capital city of Thailand, which was once protected by the city wall with 17 fortresses. During the early Rattanakosin period (1737 - 1855), the city was known as the “Venice of the East” because of its large network of canals that were used as a major transportation system with few pavements provided only in some areas (such as markets and temples). Most of settlements were built along the waterside while an inland area was used as farming area. There were many ships, junks (Chinese trading ships), and raft houses moored on both sides of the river (Pallegoix, 2009; Webster, 2004). Figure 1 shows a physical map of the city during this period. The economy of the city depended on

agricultural production, which required a huge workforce drawn from commoners and slaves. Most of the Thai people lived at the subsistence level. They grew enough food for themselves, but not enough to sell to others. All trading activities belonged to Chinese immigrants who were free from the Thai corve'e system. They acted as tax revenue agents who obtained the right to collect taxes under the tax farming system for the government (Sampachalit, 2009).

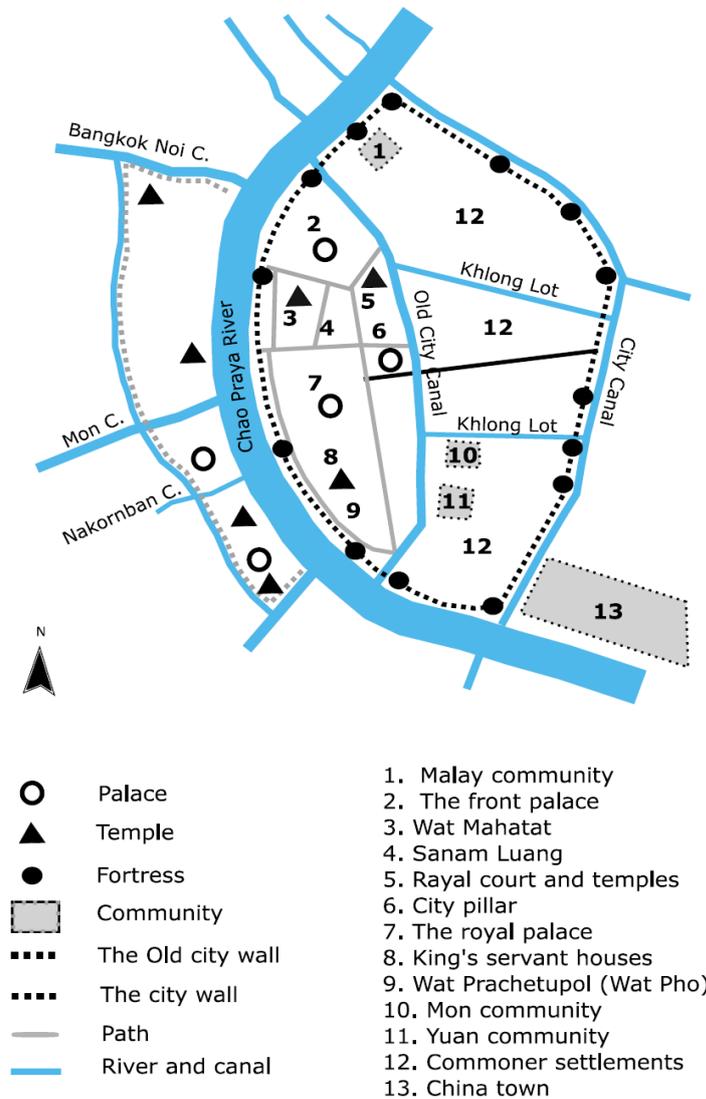


Figure 1: Bangkok in the early Rattanakosin period
 Source: Reproduced from Fine Arts Department of Thailand

As a result of colonization in neighboring countries, there was a change in the city structure of Bangkok in the mid-nineteenth century. Known as one of the major Southeast Asian port cities, Bangkok was transformed by the construction of modern infrastructure, such as roads, water supply, and electricity, in order to support trading with Western nations. Moreover, new buildings, such as retail stores, shop houses, post offices, schools, and hospitals, were first introduced during this period (Askew, 2002; Murphy, 1996). Commercial districts were considered important areas of Bangkok, which contained a high level of interactions of people from different classes and ethnic groups. During the early Rattanakosin period, most of the commercial districts were located at the

intersections of canals or the river mouth. All trading activities took place along the waterside. After the construction of Charoenkrung Road, the first road of Bangkok in 1861, many shop houses were built along the newly constructed roads. Moreover, new architectural features such as intersections and parks became landmarks of some areas, and several new commercial districts emerged. Meanwhile, people living in the existing commercial districts started to use their houses for the purpose of business (Pisali, 2012).

In order to classify the characters of the commercial districts, this paper examines the association between intensity of commercial activity and urban elements through measurement of the activity intensity of commercial districts in comparison with urban physical elements such as accessibility to transportation routes, availability of public service facilities, and the location of the districts. The research objectives are set as follows:

- 1) to define the commercial districts of Bangkok in the mid-nineteenth century;
- 2) to identify the factors that encourage more commercial activities in an urban space, and
- 3) to categorize the commercial district types in Bangkok during this period.

2. Research Questions

- 1) What are the urban physical elements that are associated with activity intensity of commercial districts in Bangkok in the mid-nineteenth century?
- 2) How many types of commercial districts can be categorized by their association with influential urban physical elements?

3. Urban Development and Commercial Districts of Bangkok in the Mid-nineteenth Century

3.1 Urban Development of Bangkok

During the mid-nineteenth century, Bangkok expanded to the eastern and northern areas. The expansion started in the reign of King Rama IV (1851 - 1868). Padung Krungkaseam Canal and five fortresses were constructed in order to expand the new boundary of the city. Charoenkrung Road, the first road was constructed in 1861 as a result of requests from foreign traders who wanted to use horses and carriages for transportation. The road was parallel to the south of the Chao Phraya River, and it connected areas between the Grand Palace and the International Quarter, providing Thai nobles and foreign traders with opportunities for doing business. As a result, shop houses were constructed along the road. and many vacant lands were infilled by these new developments. The areas became a new form of commercial space of the city. Furthermore, two other major roads ("Bamrung Mueang" and "Fueang Nakhon" Roads) were constructed and connected to Charoenkrung Road (Askew, 2002; Piromruen, 2012; Wongthes, 2012). Several modernization projects were also carried out during the reign of King Rama V (1868 -1910). Pream Prachakorn Canal was dredged for people who lived in the northern area of Bangkok. There were 120 altogether roads and lanes built by 1883 (Piromruen, 2012).

3.2 Commercial Districts

There were three major social and political changes in Thailand in the mid-nineteenth century. First, the country was more open to Western countries for trading because of colonial pressure (Webster, 2004). Second, the hierarchical system was slowly reformed as a result of the abolition of slavery

and establishment of modern education (Buddasorn, 2013). Third, there was a prevailing influence capitalism in the country. King Rama V started the commodification of land by granting land titles to royal members and aristocrats. The system later developed into the new business of a land rental market (Askew, 2002). Several businesses emerged in the city, such as retail stores, banks, theatres, restaurants and gambling houses. Especially, the gambling houses and theatres were considered the most popular recreation places that were frequented by people from different classes. Meanwhile, retail stores and theatres could attract only nobles and foreign traders (Pisali, 2014). During this period, there were nine commercial districts in Bangkok.

- 1) Sampheng was the first commercial district of the city. It was founded by Chinese residents who had moved from the eastern bank to the southern bank of the Chao Phraya River on account of the construction of the Grand Palace in the reign of King Rama I (Wongthes, 2012). During the early Rattanakosin period, the area served as the only commercial district of the city where all agricultural products from the hinterland were brought for selling (Webster, 2004). After the Bowring treaty was signed in 1855, the district became a commercial area that attracted many Thai and European traders (Pisali, 2014).
- 2) Bamrungmueng – Fueng Nakorn was located in the central area of the city wall. The district had the Giant Swing as its landmark. Before the construction of Bamrungmueng and Fueng Nakorn, this area was known as one of the busiest and unorganized commercial districts. After the construction of the roads, the area became one of the most attractive places for buying and selling gold and accessories (Nawigamune, 2010; Plainoi, 2012).
- 3) Inner Charoenkrung was a commercial district that emerged from the construction of Charoenkrung road in 1861. Many shophouses built along the road were favorable to Thai nobles for doing business (Askew, 2002; King, 2011).
- 4) South Charoenkrung was located next to the Inner Charoenkrung district on the east side of the city wall. The district was an in-between area of Sampheng, International Quarter and the area inside the city wall (King, 2011; Plainoi, 2012).
- 5) Talad Noi was an extension area from Sampheng district. The area was located on the east of Sampheng. The character of businesses inside the district was similar to Sampheng (Pisali, 2012).
- 6) International Quarter was located along the Chao Phraya River in the southern part of Bangkok. The district was an area where embassies, trading companies and European residences were located. Charoenkrung Road was used as a major route that connected this area to the city center (Askew, 2002).
- 7) Baan Mor was located on the south side of Inner Charoenkrung Road. The district was famous for selling pots and kitchenware. Although, there were few buildings in the district, it attracted many people because of its unique products that were only sold in this area (Plainoi, 2012).
- 8) Bang Lumphu was located in the north side of the city wall. The area was a place where people came for trading their agricultural products (Askew, 2002). It had barely road accesses. Canals and the Chao Phraya River were the major transportation routes of the district.
- 9) Tha Tean was located on the west side of the city wall next to the Grand Palace. This commercial district was founded by King Rama IV for serving people who worked inside the Grand Palace. The area was originally used as a settlement area for Thai nobles. However, all residences were later moved out by a huge fire during the King Rama IV period (Plainoi, 2012; Wongthes, 2012).

Unlike commercial areas in the early Rattanakosin period that were tied to the water transportation system, the commercial districts in the mid-nineteenth century were dependent more on land transportation. Roads created new opportunities for such business as a rickshaw service which was run by a Chinese group in the 1890s (Pisali, 2014). The construction of buildings was oriented towards road access. However, commercial areas that existed before 1861 could be accessible by canals or The Chao Phraya River. The city wall was an element that separated the city area into different parts. According to Bangkok map in 1887, the area inside the city wall and the east area outside the wall had higher density than the north and west areas outside the city wall. The inside area was a place where most of communities were located while Chinese merchants and foreign traders lived in the south area outside the city wall. The west area was a place where nobles and servants who worked in the Grand Palace resided. Meanwhile, the north area was an agricultural area. Most settlements were located close to temples. Moreover, some palaces and elite residences were also considered another form of community clusters. Huge structures that were built for religious and monarchical purposes such as fortresses, the City Pillar, the Giant Swing, and Sanam Luang had been recognized as landmarks of the city since the early Rattanakosin period. There were also new urban spaces that were created after the road construction. They were considered new landmarks, e.g., intersection areas and public parks. Furthermore, facility buildings such as schools, police stations and post offices became new social interaction places of the city. Finally, there were eight aspects of urban physical elements that were related to commercial activities.

- 1) *Accessibility of canals and the river* refers to water transportation routes. They were considered the major transportation system of the city in the early Rattanakosin period.
- 2) *Accessibility of roads* refers to land transportation routes, which are clearly shown in the map.
- 3) *The city wall* is a defensive structure built in the early Rattanakosin period. The structure divided the city into three areas: the inside area, the west and east areas outside the city wall.
- 4) *Temples and religious grounds for Buddhism* were considered communal areas for nearby communities.
- 5) *Palaces and elite residences* were places where the royal family members and nobles lived. Each palace was considered a community center for each cluster of commoners who worked under its master.
- 6) *Landmarks* are structures that are easy to recognize visually. They are grouped into two categories: traditional landmarks that were built for supporting religious and local activities (e.g., city pillar and fortresses), and modern landmarks that were built as a part of Western infrastructure (e.g., public parks and junction areas).
- 7) *Facility buildings* were places that provided fundamental public services such as schools, hospitals, police stations and post offices.
- 8) *Places for attractive activities* were used for business and enjoyment such as trading companies, banks, retail stores, gambling houses and theatres. Moreover, the gambling houses were not illegal business during this period (Pisali, 2014).

4. Research Methodology

4.1 Research Data

In order to find the associations between intensity of commercial activity and urban physical elements, the researcher gathered information for identifying commercial districts and measuring the intensity and physical elements from three data sources.

- 1) Bangkok post office household records in 1883: These records give information about buildings that were located along the roads and canals, such as their owners and renters' details (e.g., name, gender, race, class, occupation and affiliation), building type, and building use.
- 2) The Bangkok map from 1887: It was the first map of Bangkok, and was made by means by a survey and documentation under the coordinate location system. It gives information about the location of the river, canals, roads, the rail system and buildings. However, some of household buildings, such as raft houses and wooden houses, were not included in the map. So, the map must be used together with the post office's household records in order to find the total number of buildings in each district.
- 3) Related research and studies: The data were particularly used to define the boundaries and locations of commercial districts, and the types of urban elements. They also provide a historical background, political dimension and specific details of each commercial district.

4.2 Identifying Commercial Districts

The locations of commercial districts, the Chao Phraya River, canals, roads, temples, palaces, elite residences, and facilities are digitized into a geographic information system (GIS) map (Figure 2) for defining commercial district boundaries and measuring urban physical elements.

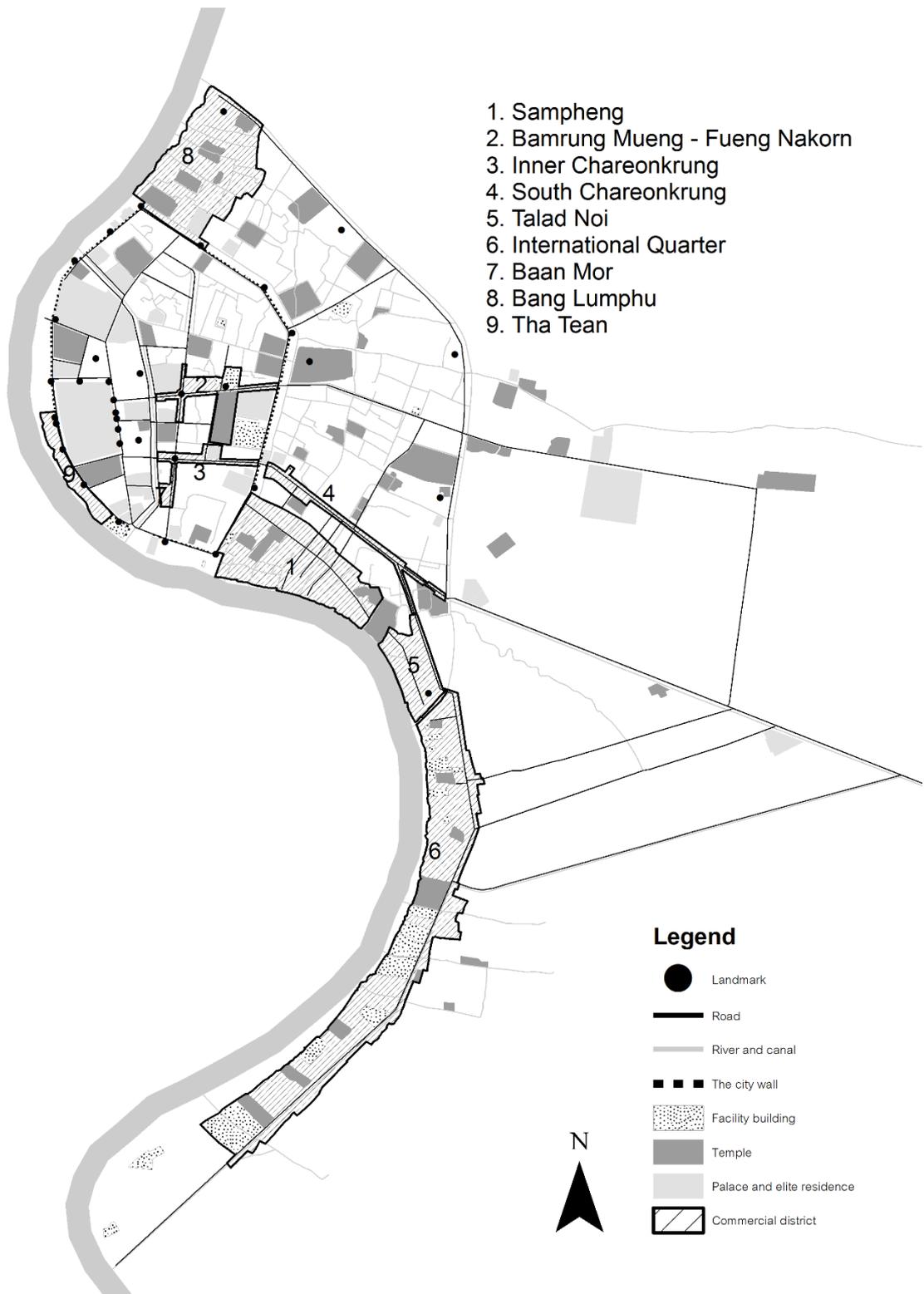


Figure 2: The Map for analysis
Source: Prepared by author

4.3 Measuring Variables

4.3.1 *Dependent Variables: Commercial Activity Intensity (Y)*

The activity intensity shows how many buildings were used for doing business in response to commercial activities in the districts. The variable is measured by calculating the percent of the ratio between the number of buildings that were used for commercial purposes and the total number of buildings in each commercial district. The number of buildings is defined from the 1887 map and the household records. Although, the 1887 map does not show every building in the districts, the researcher can use the household records to count the total number of buildings. The records group buildings by clusters of roads, canals, temples and palaces. So, the researcher can estimate the numbers by comparing the buildings of each cluster with the locations on the map. Moreover, the records also mention noticeable landmarks and intersections that the postmen saw while walking in the area. This helps the researcher to separate buildings that were not included in the map but located in the same group of buildings in the household records.

The first step is to calculate the variable; all boundaries of each commercial district are identified for defining clusters of buildings (e.g., roads, canals, temples, palaces and elite residences) that were located inside the boundaries. Then, all the buildings inside each district are counted. After that, the total number of commercial buildings (such as retail establishments, groceries and workshops) in each district is calculated. Finally, the variable is calculated by using the formula below:

Activity intensity = (Number of commercial buildings X 100)/Total number of buildings

4.3.2 *Independent Variables: Urban Physical Elements and an Age Factor (X)*

According to Table 1, there are 11 urban physical element variables and one non-physical element variable. The research includes the age factor as a non-physical element variable in order to explain if the commercial districts existed before or after the construction of the first road in 1861. Owing to the varied sizes of commercial districts, urban physical element variables are calculated as a ratio between the measurement result and the total area of each district. The measurements are done by using GIS software to digitize the Bangkok map of 1887 and generate measurements. For example, accessibility of water transportation routes (X1) is calculated by summing the total length of canals and dividing with the total area of the districts. Furthermore, the walking distance (400 m.) is determined from the length of existing walking paths in the early Rattanakosin period. The traditional landmarks (X6) are defined as landmarks that were built to support either the water transportation system or religious and local activities. Meanwhile, modern landmarks are defined as landmarks that were built to support either the road transportation system or foreign trading activities (X7).

Table 1: Independent variables (X)

Aspect	Variable	Description
Accessibility of water transportation routes	X1	The ratio between total length of canals and total area of district (km/km ²)
Accessibility of roads	X2	The ratio between total length of roads and total area of district (km/km ²)
The district location in relation to the city wall	X3	There are grouped into three locations: the area inside the city wall, the west and north areas outside the city wall and the east and south areas outside the city wall.
Temples	X4	The ratio between total number of temples inside or within walking distance of a district and total area of district (per km ²)
Palaces and elite residences	X5	The ratio between total number of palaces and elite residences inside or within walking distance of a district and total area of district (per km ²)
Landmarks (e.g., open spaces, public parks, monuments, and fortresses)	X6	The ratio between total number of traditional landmarks inside or within walking distance of a district and total area of district (per km ²)
	X7	The ratio between total number of modern landmarks inside or within walking distance of a district and total area of district (per km ²)
Facility buildings (e.g., School, bank and post office)	X8	The ratio between total number of facility buildings inside or within walking distance of a district and total area of district (per km ²)
Place for attractive activities	X9	The ratio between number of companies, banks and retail stores inside or within walking distance of a district and total area of district (per km ²)
	X10	The ratio between number of gambling houses inside or within walking distance of a district and total area of district (per km ²)
	X11	The ratio between number of theatres inside or within walking distance of a district and total area of district (per km ²)
Age factor	X12	Differentiates the districts if they existed before/after 1861 (the year of construction of the first road in 1861)

4.4 Comparing Variables

The comparison is done by plotting charts that show associations between the intensity and each urban physical element and factor of the nine districts in order to identify the elements that highly associate with the intensity. Then, the charts and tables that show measurement result are used to describe the intensity level of each district. Finally, the commercial districts are grouped by their association with the urban physical elements.

5. Research findings

5.1 Dependent Variable: Commercial Activity Intensity

According to Table 2, there were four districts (Sampheng, Banrung Mueng-Fueng Nakorn, Inner Charoenkrung and South Charoenkrung) that had a high level of intensity. Meanwhile, three districts (Talad Noi, International Quarter and Baan Mor) had average intensity level, and two district (Banglumphu and Tha Tean) had a low intensity level.

Table 2: Activity of commercial districts

No.	District	Total buildings	Commercial buildings	Activity intensity
1	Sampheng	1108	778	70.22
2	Banrung Mueng-Fueng Nakorn	610	399	64.41
3	Inner Charoenkrung	213	110	51.64
4	South Charoenkrung	478	245	51.26
5	Talad Noi	660	325	49.24
6	International Quarter	808	371	45.92
7	Baan Mor	38	16	42.11
8	Bang Lumphu	705	193	27.38
9	Tha Tean	294	36	12.24
Total		4914	2473	Mean = 46.16

5.2 Independent Variables: Urban Physical Elements and an Age Factor

Tables 3 and 4 show measurement results of the urban physical elements, and Tables 5 and 6 show the measurement results in ratio format. The results from Table 5 and 6 are later used in plotting charts to find the associations between variables.

Table 3: Urban physical element measurements (1)

No.	District	Area (km ²)	Total canal length (km)	Total road length (km)	Temple	Palace
1	Sampheng	0.455	5124.14	2419.28	5	3
2	Banrung Mueng-Fueng Nakorn	0.122	566.32	1451.7	8	5
3	Inner Charoenkrung	0.0424	0	910.91	7	10
4	South Charoenkrung	0.088	846.02	2139.97	5	6
5	Talad Noi	0.150	1783.85	1210.51	2	0
6	International Quarter	1.020	8146.21	4258.98	8	0
7	Baan Mor	0.017	83.04	315.44	2	4
8	Bang Lumphu	0.482	7809.18	397.68	4	1
9	Tha Tean	0.078	975.51	0	1	7

Table 4: Urban physical element measurements (2)

No.	District	Landmark		Facility	Attractive activities		
		Traditional	Modern		Trade	Gambling	Theatre
1	Sampheng	2	0	2	0	10	1
2	Banrung Mueng-Fueng Nakorn	6	3	3	2	4	0
3	Inner Charoenkrung	2	3	2	0	0	0
4	South Charoenkrung	1	0	2	0	3	0
5	Talad Noi	1	0	1	0	4	1
6	International Quarter	0	0	8	4	4	0
7	Baan Mor	2	2	0	0	1	0
8	Bang Lumphu	1	0	0	0	3	0
9	Tha Tean	6	0	1	0	3	1

Table 5: Urban physical element measurements in ratio (1)

No.	District	Canal	Road	Wall	Temple	Palace
		X1	X2	X3	X4	X5
1	Sampheng	11.264	5.318	East	11	7
2	Banrung Mueng-Fueng Nakorn	4.635	11.881	Inside	65	41
3	Inner Chareonkrung	0	21.469	Inside	165	236
4	South Chareonkrung	9.642	24.390	East	57	68
5	Talad Noi	11.918	8.087	East	13	0
6	International Quarter	7.989	4.177	East	8	0
7	Baan Mor	4.851	18.425	Inside	117	234
8	Bang Lumphu	16.187	0.824	West/North	8	2
9	Tha Tean	12.486	0	West/North	13	90
Mean		8.775	10.508	-	51	75

Table 6: Urban physical element measurements in ratio (2)

No.	District	Landmark		Facility	Attractive activities			Age factor
		X6	X7		X8	X9	X10	
1	Sampheng	4	0	4	0	22	2	Before
2	Banrung Mueng-Fueng Nakorn	49	25	25	16	33	0	Before
3	Inner Charoenkrung	47	71	47	0	0	0	After
4	South Charoenkrung	11	0	23	0	34	0	After
5	Talad Noi	7	0	7	0	27	7	After
6	International Quarter	0	0	8	4	4	0	After
7	Baan Mor	117	117	0	0	58	0	After
8	Bang Lumphu	2	0	0	0	6	0	Before
9	Tha Tean	76.7951	0	13	0	38	13	Before
Mean		34.9339	24	14	2	25	2	-

5.3 Finding Associations Between Variables

This process identifies associations between the intensity of commercial activity and 12 independent variables (Table 2 and Tables 5-6) by plotting charts that show associations between them. According to Figures 3 and 4, there are seven variables associated with the intensity of commercial districts (X1, X2, X3, X4, X8 and X10). There are five variables without any associations (X5, X6, X7, X9, X11) because few district elements were provided. The tables and charts are used to describe the characteristics of each district.

- 1) Sampheng was one of the four districts that existed before the construction of the first road in 1861. The district had the highest level of intensity ($Y = 71.22\%$). It was located in the east area outside the city wall. It had a high ratio of total length of canals/river ratio ($X1 = 11.26 \text{ km/km}^2$) while its total length of roads ratio was low ($X2 = 5.13 \text{ km/km}^2$). Moreover, it was one of the three districts with theatres built inside the area ($X11 = 2$ buildings per km^2).
- 2) Bamrung Mueng – Fueng Nakorn was also one of the four districts that existed before the construction of the first road in 1861. The district had the second highest level of activity intensity ($Y = 64.41\%$). It was located at the heart of the city. It had a high ratio of total length of roads ($X2 = 11.88 \text{ km/km}^2$), while its total length of canals/river was low ($X1 = 4.64 \text{ km/km}^2$). Moreover, it had high ratios of numbers of trading companies/banks/retails ($X9 = 16$ buildings per km^2) and gambling houses ratio ($X10 = 33$ buildings per km^2).
- 3) Inner Charoenkrung was located inside the city wall. It had a high level of activity intensity ($Y = 51.64\%$). The district had no canals/river access and no gambling houses. It had a high total length of roads ratio ($X2 = 21.47 \text{ km/km}^2$). Moreover, it had high ratios of numbers of palaces/elite residences ($X5 = 236$), modern landmarks ($X7 = 71$ landmarks per km^2) and facility buildings ratio ($X8 = 47$ buildings per km^2).
- 4) South Charoenkrung was located next to Inner Chareonkrung district in the east area outside the city wall. The district was an in-between area of Sampheng, International Quarter and the area inside the city wall. It had high level of activity intensity ($Y = 51.26\%$) and high ratio of a gambling house number ($X10 = 34$ buildings per km^2).
- 5) Talad Noi was an extension area from Sampheng district. The district was located on the east side of Sampheng. The character of businesses inside was similar to Sampheng. Its activity intensity was around an average ($Y = 49.24\%$). The ratio number of gambling houses was close to average ($X10 = 27$ buildings per km^2). Moreover, the district was one of the three districts with theatres built inside the area ($X11 = 7$ buildings per km^2).
- 6) International Quarter was located along the Chao Phraya River on the southern part of the city. It was a place where embassies, trading companies and European residences were located. Charoenkrung Road was used as a major route that connected this area to the city center. The district had a level of activity intensity around average ($Y = 45.92\%$). Total length of canals/river ratio was around average ($X1 = 7.99 \text{ km/km}^2$). Meanwhile, total length of roads ratio was low ($X2 = 4.18 \text{ km/km}^2$) due to the lack of minor roads connecting to Charoenkrung Road. Moreover, it had a high ratio of a number of trading companies/Banks/retail stores ($X9 = 4$ buildings per km^2).
- 7) Baan Mor had around the average level of activity intensity ($Y = 42.11\%$). The district's total length of canals/river ratio was below average ($X1 = 4.18 \text{ km/km}^2$). Meanwhile, its total length of roads ratio was high ($X2 = 18.43 \text{ km/km}^2$). Moreover, it had the highest ratio numbers of traditional landmarks ($X6 = 117$ per km^2), modern landmarks ($X7 = 117$ per km^2), and gambling houses ($X10 = 58$ buildings per km^2).

- 8) Banglumphu was one of the four districts that existed before the construction of the first road in 1861. The district was located in the north area outside the city wall. It had a low level of activity intensity ($Y = 27.38\%$). Moreover, road access was rare ($X_2 = 0.82 \text{ km/km}^2$). So, canals and the Chao Phraya River were the major transportation route of the district ($X_1 = 16.19 \text{ km/km}^2$).
- 9) Tha Tean was located on the western part of the city along the river next to the Grand Palace. The district had the lowest level of activity intensity ($Y = 12.24\%$). It had no road access in the district. However, it had a high ratio number of traditional landmarks ($X_6 = 76.80 \text{ landmarks per km}^2$) because of its location close to the Grand Palace. It also had a high ratio number of gambling houses ($X_{10} = 38 \text{ buildings per km}^2$).

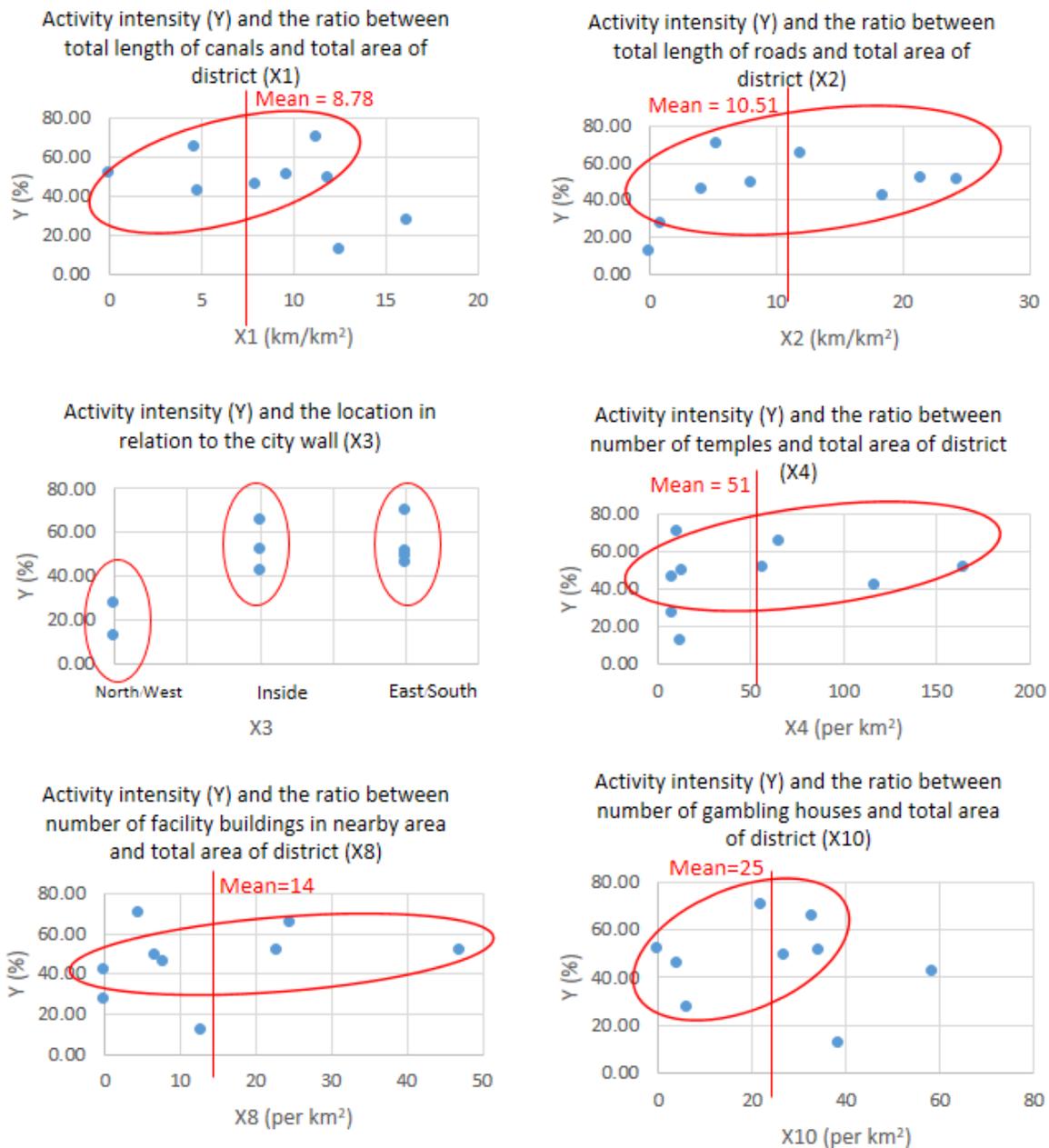


Figure 3: Charts of associations between the activity intensity of commercial activity and urban physical elements (X1, X2, X3, X4, X8 and X10)

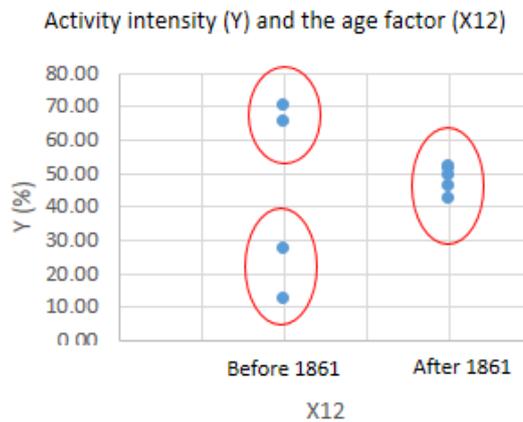


Figure 4: Charts of associations between the activity intensity of commercial activity and the age factor (X1)

6. Discussion

According to Figures 3 and 4, there are four major independent variables that are associated with the commercial activity intensity: total length of road ratio (X2), the location with the city wall (X3), number of gambling houses ratio (X10), and the age factor (X12).

6.1 Highly Associated Independent Variables

1) The ratio between total length of roads and total area of district (X2)

According to the X2 chart in Figure 3, the longer length of roads ratio is associated with a higher level of commercial activity intensity. However, there were some exceptions, such as Sampheng and Bamrung Mueng-Fueng Nakorn that had a high level of intensity although the lengths are not too long in comparison to the mean in Table 5. Sampheng and Bamrung Mueng-Fueng Nakorn were considered commercial districts that existed before the construction of Charoenkrung Road, the first road of Bangkok, in 1861 (the X12 chart in Figure 4). Moreover, the districts were located inside the city wall and in the east area outside the city wall. They are considered high intensity areas (the X3 chart in Figure 3).

2) The locations in relation to the city wall (X3)

The districts located inside or in the east area outside the city wall tended to have a high level of commercial activity intensity because most of the roads were constructed in these areas. On the contrary, the west and north areas with less road access tended to have a low level of intensity.

3) The ratio number of gambling houses (X10)

According to the X10 chart in Figure 3, a commercial district that had a larger number of gambling houses per square kilometer tended to have a higher level of commercial activity intensity. However, Tha Tean was the only district that had a low level of activity intensity although it had many gambling houses per square kilometer (38 buildings / km²).

4) The age factor (X12)

Most of the commercial districts emerged after the construction of the first road in 1861 because of the construction of shop houses along the streets. There were also four old commercial districts that existed before 1861, which can be categorized into two types: the districts that had road access, and the districts without road access. The pre-1861 districts that had road access tended to have a very high activity intensity (64-71%). Meanwhile, the pre-1861 districts without road access tended to have a very low degree of activity (12-27%).

There are three independent variables that are associated only with the activity intensity of commercial districts that emerged after the construction of the first road in 1861: total length of canals/river ratio (X1), a ratio number of temples (X4), and a ratio number of facility buildings (X8). According to X1, X4 and X8 charts in Figure 3, the higher ratio of these four variables are associated with a higher activity intensity.

Finally, all nine commercial districts can be categorized into three groups.

1) The pre-1861 commercial districts that had a high level of commercial activity intensity

These districts, which existed before 1861, had a high level of commercial activity intensity with a high ratio of total length of roads (X2) and total number of gambling houses (X10). They were located inside the city wall and in the east area outside the city wall.

2) The post-1861 commercial districts

The districts were located inside the city wall and in the east area outside the city wall. They had moderate to high levels of activity intensity in association with the increase of five variables: total length ratio of canals/river (X1), total length ratio of roads (X2), the ratio number of temples (X4), the ratio number of facility building (X8), and the ratio number of gambling houses (X10).

3) The pre-1861 commercial districts with low level of commercial activity intensity

Their low level of intensity was due to their low ratio of total length of roads. They were located in the north and west areas outside the city wall.

7. Conclusion

The presence of a road became the major urban physical element that encouraged activity in the commercial districts of Bangkok in the mid-nineteenth century. Accessibility of roads in commercial districts was associated with higher level commercial activity intensity. This was especially true in the case of the pre-1861 districts (Sampheng, Bamrung Mueng - Fueng Nakorn, Tha Tean and Bang Lumphu) that had higher intensity than commercial districts that emerged after the construction of the first road in Bangkok (Sampheng and Bamrung Mueng - Fueng Nakorn). However, if the pre-1861 districts lacked road access (Tha Tean and Bang Lumphu), their commercial activity tended to have lower intensity than earlier mentioned for the pre-1861 districts. Moreover, the pre-1861 commercial districts were located near a cluster of canals and the Chao Phraya River. Meanwhile, the post-1861 commercial districts were located along the main roads.

There were also three more factors that encouraged the activity of commercial districts. The first factor deals with the location in relation to the city wall. According to the 1887 Bangkok map, areas on the east and north outside the city wall were those with few roads, while the west area outside the city wall and the inside area had many roads constructed. The second factor is about gambling houses which was not illegal in the early Rattanakosin period. They were then gathering places for people from different classes. The third is the age factor, which divided the commercial districts into two periods of time: 1) pre-1861 commercial districts, and 2) post-1861 commercial districts. The activity of post-1861 commercial districts could be stimulated to a higher degree if the districts had good access to canals and the Chao Phraya River as well as certain numbers of temples, traditional landmarks and facility buildings in their neighborhoods.

During the early Rattanakosin period, the commercial districts were areas where people gathered for selling their agricultural products. The trading activities took place in the open space near the canal or river occasionally, and only a few buildings in the districts were used for doing business.

However, Sampheng and Bamrung Mueng were exceptions. Sampheng district was actively used as a port area for international trade, while Bamrung Mueng – Fueng Nakorn was a high density commercial district that was located at the center of the city in the early Rattanakosin period. After the construction of the roads, commercial activities became more prevalent. People started to use their houses and constructed buildings for doing business. According to the discussion, commercial districts of Bangkok in the mid-nineteenth century can be categorized into three groups: 1) pre-1861 commercial districts that had the highest activity due to their location in the areas with a lot of road access (the inside area and the east area outside the city wall), 2) post-1861 commercial districts that were located along the roads, and 3) pre-1861 commercial districts that had lower activity than other districts due to their locations in the areas with little road access (the west and north areas outside the city wall).

Furthermore, this paper helps to classify the characters of Bangkok commercial districts in the mid-nineteenth century through an investigation on activity and urban physical elements in commercial districts. However, this study only focuses on the associations in one period, which is considered a preliminary to the whole process of city transformation. For further studies, the associations between commercial activity and urban physical elements from different periods should be also investigated in order to reach the complete findings on the potential urban physical elements that encourage commercial activity of Bangkok commercial districts.

References

- Askew, M. (2002). *Bangkok: Place, Practice and Representation*. New York: Routledge.
- Baker, C., and Phongpaichit, P. (2014). *A History of Thailand*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Buddasorn, T. (2013). *Rak Reum Doermtee Nai Siam [First things in Siam]*. Nonthaburi: Dokya.
- King, R. (2011). *Reading Bangkok*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- London, B. (1980). *Metropolis and Nation in Thailand: The Political Economy of Uneven Development*. Colorado: Westview Press.
- Murphey, R. (1996). A History of the City in Monsoon Asia. In J Gugler (Ed.), *Urban Transformation of Developing World (18-60)*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nawigamune, A. (2010). *Thin Than Baan Chong [Tales of the River and Places]*. Bangkok: Pimkam.
- _____. (2004). *Bangkok Kab Hua Muang [Bangkok and Rural Area]*. Bangkok. Sang Dao.
- Pallegoix, J. B. (2009). *Lao Reung Krung Siam [Description of the Thai kingdom or Siam]*. S. T. Komonbut (Ed.). Nonthaburi: Sri Panya.
- Phongpaichit, P., & Baker, C. (1995). *Thailand: Economy and Politics*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Plainoi, S. (2012). *Lao Rueng Bangkok Chabab Somboon [The Complete Bangkok Story]*. Bangkok: Pimkam.
- Piromruen, S. (2012). *Urban & Environmental Planning*. Bangkok: Silapakorn University.
- Pisali, V. (2014). *Krung Thep Yam Rati [Bangkok at night]*. Nonthaburi: Matichon PUBLISHING HOUSE.
- Sampachalit, S. (2009). *Ton Kam Nerd Khong Chon Chan Nai Tun [Birth of capitalist in Thailand]*. Bangkok: Srong San Book.
- Webster, Douglas. (2004). Bangkok: evolution and adaptation under stress. In J. Gugler (Ed.), *World Cities Beyond the West: Globalization, Development and Inequality (82-118)*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wongthes, S. (2012). *Kruthep Ma Jak Nai [Bangkok: a historical background]*. Bangkok: Ruen Kheao Kan Pim.

A Framework for Effect of Language on Order-Making Process of Freight Forwarder from China to Thailand

Ting, Sun

Watanabe, Woramol Chaowarat

School of Logistics and Supply Chain
Naresuan University
Thailand

Abstract

In recent years, Thais are increasingly interested in shopping on China's e-commerce platform. Thailand's local e-business industry is developing, but the public cross-border online shopping is active, it's an interesting phenomenon. In the process of online shopping, consumers need to communicate with sellers or service providers about price, type, shipping and so on. Language has become one of the obstacles to cross-cultural communication. Therefore, freight forwarders play as an intermediary to help Thailand consumers to shop smoothly and happily, which provide translation services, ordering services, payment services, transport services and so on. The objectives of this paper are to study the impact on the efficiency of language in cross-border e-commerce, identify the process of cross-border e-commerce that the language most effect on. The statement of cross-border e-commerce, the freight forwarders which operate cross-border e-commerce business, and the impact of language in cross-cultural communication is briefly reviewed. This paper intends to identify the critical factors effect on cross-border e-commerce by using Critical Success Factors (CSFs), which is particularly formed for e-commerce business. The Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) is used to identify the influence level of language in all critical success factors, and the cross-border e-commerce process that language most affect. By using this method, the organization will notice the importance of language on the order-making process and its effects. Lastly, a numerical example is shown to illustrate the result.

Keywords: Language; Order-making Process; Cross-border E-commerce; China; Thailand; Freight Forwarder

I. Introduction

In recent years, foreigners gradually interested in shopping on China's electronic commerce platform, which includes United States of America, European Union, ASEAN, Japan, and Thailand. In 2015, ASEAN became China's third largest e-commerce importer, accounting for 11.4% (CECRC, 2015). Thailand's local e-commerce industry is developing, but the public cross-border online shopping is active, it's an interesting phenomenon. Thais can buy favorite items on China's e-commerce platform, through international carriers transport to the destination for consumption or retail. In the process of online shopping, buyers need to communicate with sellers or service providers about inventory, price, type, shipping cost, delivery time, after-sales and so on. Limited

language skills have become one of the obstacles to cross-cultural communication (Victor, 1992). Information which is not smoothly transferred may lead to longer time process and even lead to misunderstanding. Therefore, the organizations began to rise to help Thai people shopping on Alibaba or other e-commerce platform, exchange currency, and look for international carriers. The number and scale of organizations are increasing year by year, eventually developed into the cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder industry. Freight forwarders play as an intermediary to help Thailand's consumers to shop smoothly and happily, which provide translation services, ordering services, exchange services, cross-border shipping services, and after-sales service and so on. The continual growth of cross-border e-commerce raises the need to understand more about cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder, especially identifying critical factors that affect their success. As cross-border e-commerce producer and customers from different region cannot communicate face to face, the limited language skills may become a barrier for negotiation, tracking logistics information, after-sales service, and resolving dispute. Furthermore, limited language skills may result in buying incorrect items, delayed delivery, or receiving questionable goods due to miscommunication with the producer. The impact of language on cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder cannot be neglected, so it is the right time to conduct a research of this topic.

As such, this paper aims to study the impact on the efficiency of language in cross-border e-commerce, and identify the process of cross-border e-commerce that language most effect on. This paper proposes a critical success factor (CSFs) framework to identify the critical factors effect on the success of cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder. The analytic hierarchy process (AHP) model is used to identify the influence level of language in all critical success factors, and the cross-border e-commerce process that language most effect on. Since it is only a little study focus on the impact of language on working process of freight forwarder in cross-border e-commerce from China to Thailand, so this paper intends to bridge this gap. Such this paper hopes to call the organizations' attention of the importance of language on the order-making process and its effects, and provide guidance for the development of relevant industries. Moreover, researching cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder development from the perspective of language is conducive to promoting the development of cross-border e-commerce small and medium-sized enterprise (SMEs) between Thailand and China.

II. Principal and Literature Review

Cross-border e-commerce, critical success factor, analytic hierarchy process, freight forwarder, and language are used as keywords to search for related English and Chinese papers in Scopus, ScienceDirect, CNKI, CQVIP and other database respectively. This paper briefly reviews the statement of cross-border e-commerce, the freight forwarder which operates cross-border e-commerce business, and the impact of language on cross-cultural communication, and research tools critical success factor (CSF) and analytic hierarchy process (AHP) respectively.

The Statement of Cross-border E-commerce

By geographical range, e-commerce is divided into domestic and cross-border e-commerce business. Cross-border e-commerce is a new type of international trade, which means that the trading entities in different environments to trade, pay and settle business activities with the e-commerce platform (Sun and Wang, 2015). E-commerce business processes include online order placing and taking, electronic payment and receiving, and logistical system linking with courier service, across all players in strategic business networks (Bijayendrayodhin, Carroll & Sandow-Quirk, 2002). Cross-border

e-commerce have fewer links, lower cost, shorter cycle and other advantages. These superiorities help to win a place in international trade (Chen, 2016). With the development of e-commerce and the improvement of the consumption level of residents, many consumers are increasingly strong demand for cross-border online shopping. Moreover, cross-border e-commerce demand for multilingual talents is growing.

The procedure of cross-border e-commerce is divided into 4 basic processes, which includes pre-order process, order-making process, transportation process and after-sales process (Ma, 2012). Pre-order process involves collecting products information, filling in orders in e-commerce platform system. Order-making process cover proposes of the ordered goods (ORDERS), response proposed purchase order (ORDESP), change purchase order (ORDCHG), transport instruction (IFTMIN), negotiation and payment. Transportation process includes shipping, customs clearance, and cargo tracking. After-sales process involves after-sales service, handling complaints, products returned and resolving disputes.

The Freight Forwarders Which Operate Cross-border E-commerce Business

International freight forwarding business refers to the international freight forwarding companies accept incoming and outgoing goods for the consignee, consignor or his agent's commission, as principal or transact business in their own name, charged agency fees or commissions, issuing a transport document to fulfill the contract and payment of freight transportation and service fees (Wood, Barone, Murphy & Wardlow, 2012; Schramm, 2012). International freight forwarder has extra expertise in preparing documentation and processing customs and implementing activities related to international shipments. The forwarder does not transport the merchandise but acts as a specialist in the logistics network (Pope & Thomchick, 1985). A considerable part of the cargo agents master a variety of means of transport and storage of goods, conducting business activities, including land, air and sea freight.

Online shopping need adopt logistics and transportation to be finalized. From China to Thailand, land transportation spends 3-5days, maritime transport spends 7-15 days. In 2008, some organizations began to rise to help Thailand's customers conduct cross-border procurement on China's e-commerce platform. At present, organizations in cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder industry have certain quantity and various size; most are SMEs. Freight forwarding company acts as a third party provide the shipping service and other auxiliary service for the producers and the buyers' transactions. With the thriving of Thai residents shopping in websites of China, this phenomenon has attracted the attention of scholars. This paper defines cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder as third-party import commodities from foreign country's e-commerce platform into Thailand, through providing ordering service, online payment service, and cross-border logistic service.

The Impact of Language in Cross-cultural Communication

Language difference is an unavoidable problem in cross-cultural communication, people from different countries may choose use language of one country or the third country. In the field of industrial marketing and purchasing, suppliers' language skill have influence in establishing a trustful relationship with foreign buyers (Cunningham, 1981). The difference in language is one of the elements of international business that usually noted as a barrier to effective communication across culture (Victor, 1992). Gomez-Herrera, Martens, and Turlea (2014) found that language as information-related trade costs become more prominent in online trade, which is benefitting to established long-term relationships in offline B2B cross-border trade environment. Limited language

skills may cause misunderstanding, leading to buying wrong items, and unresolved disputes of unreceived goods or questionable products. Language is a powerful business driver for increased cross-border e-commerce competitive advantage (Kraemer, Dedrick, Melville, & Zhu, 2006).

Critical Success Factors

Critical success factors is a management term that is necessary for an organization to achieve its mission. CSFs was primarily applied in data analysis and business analysis. D. Ronald Daniel of McKinsey & Company has developed the concept of "success factors" in 1961. John F. Rockart has refined the process into critical success factors between 1979 and 1981. Critical success factors are the few key areas where must be reliable to assure successful competitive performance and must be given extraordinary and continual consideration to achieve better performance (Bullen & Rockart, 1981). Growth rate, sales volume, business stability, customer acceptance, and overall satisfaction were measured standard for the e-commerce entrepreneurs' success (Sebora, Lee & Sukasame, 2009). CSFs concept can use to aid an organization build guidelines for administer corporation's activities, identify critical issues associated with executing strategic plans and improve performance. CSFs is a business-based, logical, time-sparing, inexpensive planning tool for line management. CSFs doesn't have a standard set of measures to provide the necessary operating information. Critical success factors have five prime sources; they are the industry critical success factors, competitive strategy and industry position, environmental factors, temporary factors, and managerial position. Industry critical success factors are determined by the industry's competitive structure and economic, political and social environment. Organization's key requirements is a part of industry key success factors. At present, interviews method is commonly used for the most critical success factors. The procedures of critical success factors application involve 3 vital steps. The first is identifying the strategic objectives of the enterprise. And then identifying all the success factors by analysis core factors and sub-factors influencing specific objectives and strategy. The last is identifying critical success factors. Critical success factors are usually controlled by five or six factors, which are determined by decision-makers (Bullen & Rockart, 1981).

Analytic Hierarchy Process

The analytic hierarchy process (AHP) is a structured method for analyzing and managing intricate decisions, which was established by Thomas L. Saaty in the 1970s. It consists of an overall objective, a group of alternatives to achieving the objective, and criteria that connect the alternatives to the objective. A hierarchy is an abstraction of the system structure to study the components' functional interactions and its impacts on the entire system. Hierarchy structure can easily adjust to fit many sized problems (Saaty, 1980). AHP can be applied in prioritization, choice, ranking, resource allocation, benchmarking, quality management, and conflict resolution when the decision maker has multiple alternatives or criteria. The steps of AHP process is given as:

- (1) State the problem, identify the objectives, the criteria for evaluating the alternatives, and the alternatives. Structure the problem as a hierarchy.
- (2) Making pairwise comparisons judgment matrix by using a nine-point scale which is given by Thomas L. Saaty. Enter pairwise comparison matrix and force their reciprocals. Synthesizing the priorities in one level concerning to their impact on next level. Pairwise comparison has the advantage of focusing exclusively on two objects at a time and on how they relate to each other since each object is methodically compared with every other (Saaty, 1980).

A matrix is an array of numbers, arranged in a rectangle. The number 2,4,6,8 and their reciprocals are used to facilitate compromise between slightly differing judgments (see Table 1).

Table 1: Priority Scale From 1 to 9

Numerical Rating	Verbal Judgment
1	I factor and j factor are equally important
3	I factor is weakly more important than j factor
5	I factor is strongly more important than j factor
7	I factor is very strongly more important than j factor
9	I factor is absolutely more important than j factor
2,4,6,8	Compromise between slightly differing judgments
Reciprocal	The row of i meets the column of j, the column of i meets the row of j

(3) Calculate matrixes, find out the eigenvector and maximum eigenvalue. The eigenvector provides the priority order, and the eigenvalue is a measure of the consistency of the judgment. If there are more than two levels, the various priority vector can be combined into priority matrices, which yield one final priority vector for the bottom level.

(4) Check the consistency of the matrix judgments. Consistency is a central question in judgments. Consistency index (C.I) represented by $(\lambda_{max}-n)/(n-1)$. Random index (R.I) is the consistency index of a randomly generated reciprocal matrix from the scale 1 to 9, which is reciprocal forced (see Table 2). Consistency ratio (C.R) is the ratio of C.I to the average R.I for the same order matrix. A consistency ratio of 0.10 or less is considered acceptable (Saaty, 1980).

Table 2: RI Value Table

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
0	0	0.58	0.9	1.12	1.24	1.32	1.41	1.45	1.49	1.51	1.48

$$CI = \frac{\lambda_{max}(A) - n}{n - 1}; CR = \frac{CI}{RI}$$

(5) Calculate the total weights and define priority of all success factors.

Literature Review

One of the most commonly used methods for studying the factors that affect cross-border e-commerce development is critical success factors. For this paper, CSFs of cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder refer to the limited number of specific elements of commerce implemented, they must meet the key requirements of businesses, as well as successfully compete against competitors in meeting the needs of customers (Sebora, Lee, and Sukasame, 2009). Success factors of cross-border e-commerce found in literature as a guideline to identify CSFs of cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder between China and Thailand. According to existing cross-border e-commerce literature, 18 success factors of cross-border e-commerce summarized from 75 English papers and 52 Chinese papers; foreign language is one of the success factors (see Table 3).

Table 3: The Success Factors of Cross-border E-commerce

Success Factor	QTY	Author
Cross-border logistics	48	Abdallah, F. 2014; Lendle, A., et.al, 2012.
Online payment	36	Gomez, H., et.al, 2014; Mesut, S., et.al, 2014.
ICT infrastructure	24	Aye, N., et.al, 2013; Desai, P., et.al, 2009.
Credit system (Trust)	20	Aslam, M. A., 2013; Kai, Feng, 2015.
Legal systems, IPRs	41	Bieron, B. and U. Ahmed 2012; Hertig, G. 2000.
Customs clearance	20	Guy H. Gessner and Coral R. Snodgrass, 2015.
Talent	14	Yimin, Z., et.al, 2006; Bao Xiaoxiong, 2012.
Foreign language	14	Gomez, H., et.al, 2014; Jarrar, M., 2003.
Government policy	18	Alexandru, Irina & Alice, 2014; Kraemer, K. L., 2006.
Product and service	11	Mesut, S., et.al, 2014; Deng., and Wang, 2016.
After-sales service (Dispute resolution)	10	Cortés and de la Rosa 2013; Jarrar, M., Verlinden, R. and Meersman, R., 2003.
Taxation	8	Agrawal, D. R. and W. F. Fox, 2016;
Economic situation	4	Mesut S., Ahmet I., Sefer S., 2014
Customer experience	4	Abdallah, F. 2014; Wang Dalin., 2015.
Global business risk control	4	Arnold, V., et.al, 2012; Kraemer, K. L., et.al, 2006.
Business process	4	Asosheh, A., et.al, 2012; Chen, N. and J. Yang, 2017.
E-commerce awareness	4	Mesut, S., et.al, 2014; Chen Yunbo, 2013.
cultural differences	2	Rudolf R. S., Mo Y., Matthias H., 2007

Notes: QTY-quantity of relate paper

Another method used in this paper is analytic hierarchy process. AHP is a powerful and understandable method that allows organizations or individuals to integrate qualitative and quantitative elements in decision-making process (Campbell & Ma, 2015). It is possible to elicit the hierarchy judgments by questionnaire. AHP is a scalable method and has no data intensive. Yimin, Keqing, and Zeshu (2016) built the talent evaluation model of cross-border e-commerce based on the AHP. Liu (2016) proposed the improved AHP algorithm to evaluate and study the service of the cross-border e-commerce logistics. Alharbi and Naderpour (2016) used AHP to analysis the problem structure and determining the weights of e-commerce development risk factors. Lokhande and Meshram (2016) applied AHP to find most probable web attack on an e-commerce site. Wang, Jia, and Guo (2016) studied on the function of computer technology in the e-commerce environment security and risk assessment. Wang, Liang, and Zhang (2015) researched online shopping satisfaction evaluation of e-commerce platform based on the factor analysis and AHP. Sun and Xue (2015) used AHP to verify e-commerce logistics distribution mode. Chen, Windasari and Pai (2013) utilized an AHP method to evaluate IT readiness priority which critical to support the adoption of e-commerce of Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs) in South-East Asia. Ramanathan (2012) proposed a new mathematical programming model for estimating the importance levels of performance criteria and application in e-commerce based on the AHP.

In conclusion, the AHP is a measurement theory for handling quantifiable and intangible criteria in numerous areas (Tyagi & Kumar, 2014; Ugboma, Ogwude & Ogwude, 2006). It is an effective method in prioritization when the decision maker has multiple alternatives or criteria. Therefore, AHP is suitable to apply to determine the influence level of all critical success factors and examine the cross-border e-commerce process that most critical success factor most effect on.

III. Research Methodology

This paper discusses methodology from both quantitative approach and qualitative perspectives (see Figure 7). This paper intends to identify the critical success factors by use critical success factor which is particularly formed for e-commerce business. The analytic hierarchy process (AHP) is used to determine the influence level of language in all critical success factors, and examine the cross-border e-commerce process that language most effect on. By using this method, the organization will notice the importance of language on the order-making process and its effects. Lastly, a numerical example is shown to illustrate the result.

This paper aims at Thailand's freight forwarding enterprises, which help Thai customers import commodities from China's e-commerce platform. This paper focuses on entire process, which includes pre-order process, order-making process, transportation process, until the completion of the after-sales process. The interview and questioner are conducted with experts who come from various size enterprises including SMEs of cross-border e-commerce freight forwarders in Bangkok and surrounding area. The experts are key decision makers, owners, CEOs, or subordinates who tied directly to cross-border e-commerce strategies and implementation and have more than 3-year work experience of cross-border e-commerce projects.

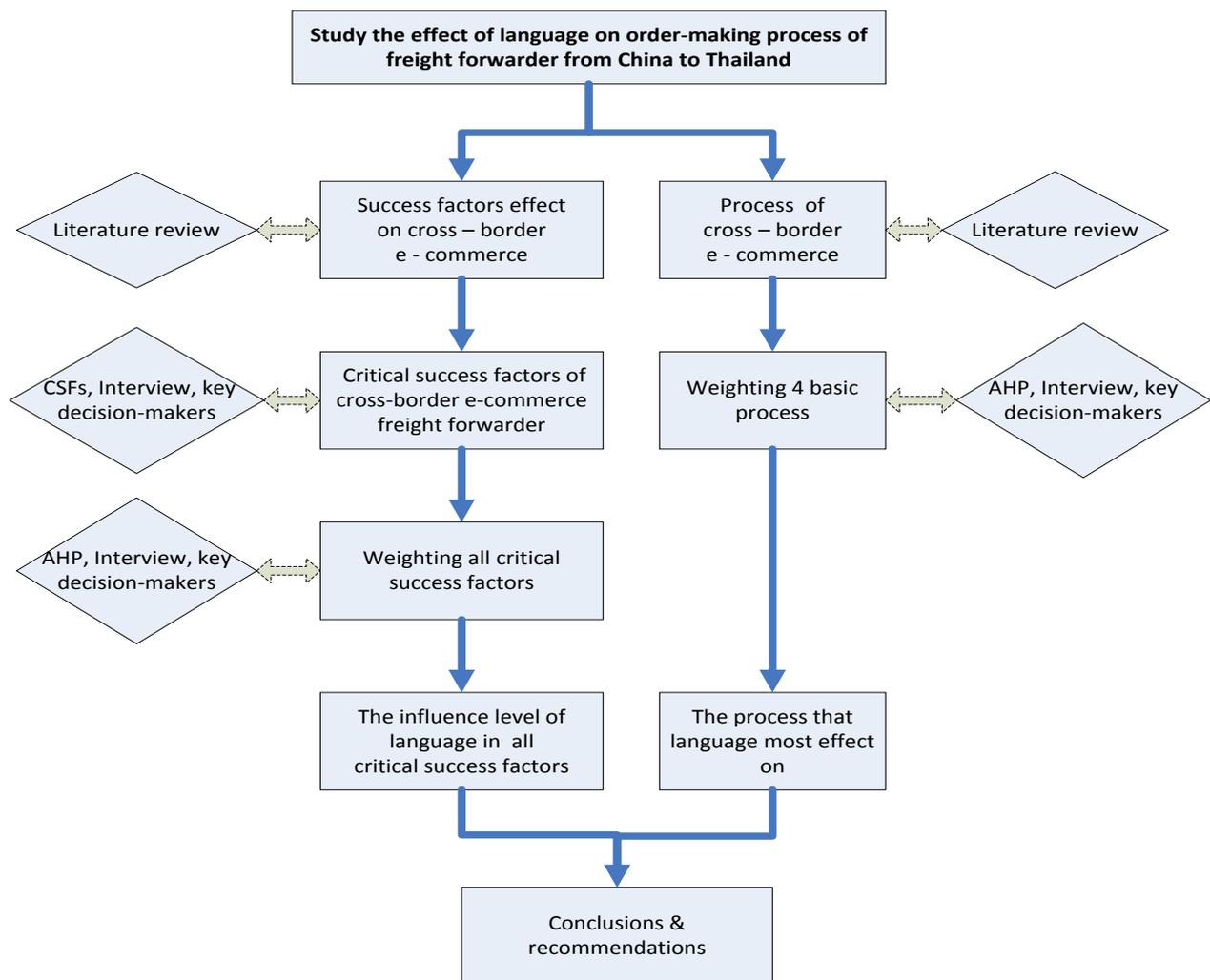


Figure 7: Research Methodology

Identify the Critical Success Factors of Cross-border E-commerce Freight Forwarder

1. Literatures from the fields of “cross-border e-commerce” are used to determine candidate factors that might influence the success of cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder. CSFs is a structured technique assist to determine the information most needs. Hence, critical success factors concept is used to explore the critical factors effect on freight forwarder success. 18 success factors of cross-border e-commerce are summarized from previous studies are used as a foundation to explored critical success factors. Base on the critical success factors and cross-border e-commerce theories, the 18 success factors are categorized into 4 components (see Figure 8). The four-prime sources that constitute the conceptual framework of critical success factors of cross-border e-commerce freight forwarding entrepreneurship are labeled as industry critical success factors, competitive strategy and industry position factors, and managerial position factors and environmental factors. Temporary factors cannot be considered in this paper, because they are characteristic, timed and changing in each different period. Industry critical success factors involve cross-border logistics, online payment, credit system, information communication technology (ICT) infrastructure, foreign language skills, and after-sales service. Competitive strategy and industry position factors cover service, global business risk control, and customer experience. Managerial position factors consist of talent, business process and e-commerce awareness of manager. Environmental factors comprise legal systems and IPRs, customs clearance, government policy, taxation, economic situation, and cultural difference. The overall perspectives for the conceptual model are inspected by the impact of those elements on the success of cross-border e-commerce.

2. An in-depth interview is conducted with experts who come from cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder industry. Further, semi-open questions are used to investigate what factors interviewees believed were critical to the success of cross-border e-commerce. The criteria for evaluating the critical success factors are obtained by inquiring experts. Thus, the critical success factors and criteria of cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder are obtained.

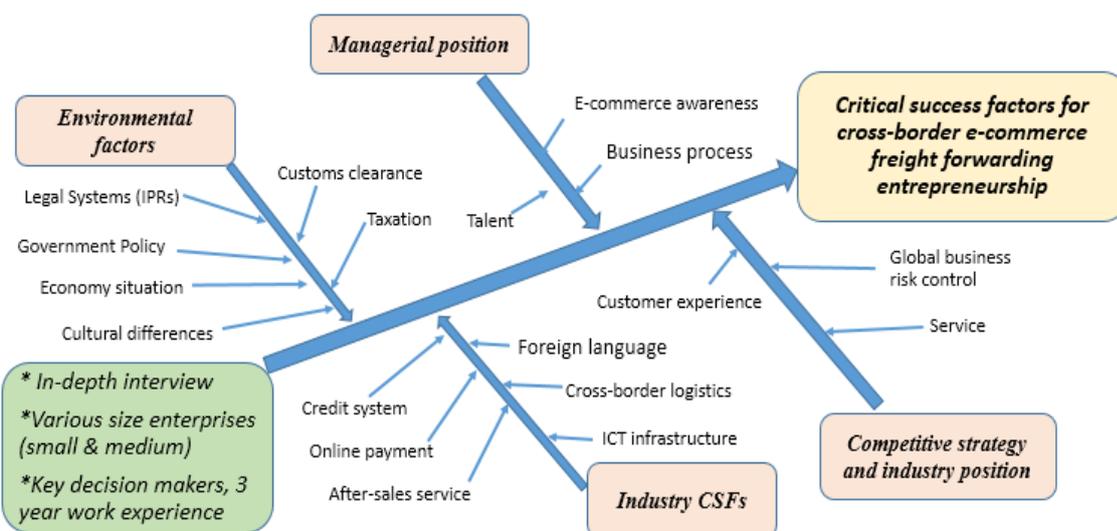


Figure 8: The CSF Model of Success Factors of Cross-border E-commerce Freight Forwarder

Determine the Related Process Activity

1. Based on the results of CSFs and the synthesis of the expert's opinion, AHP conceptual model guiding the present study is developed to examine the effects of all critical success factors. The AHP is a powerful measurement in manage quantifiable and intangible problems. Firstly, the AHP model is designed to identify the influence level of all critical success factors. The pairwise comparison is applied to determine the weight of criteria and all critical success factors by using Satty's 1-9scale. The experts from cross-border e-commerce freight forwarding company score each alternative and criteria within this range. The AHP model samples are shown in Figure 9.

2. Calculate matrixes, find the eigenvector and maximum eigenvalue of all critical success factors. At the same time, check the consistency of the judgments of the interviewee. If the value of CR is larger than 0.1, it needs to give a score for pairwise comparison again until the CR is lower than or equal 0.1. Thus, the priority of all critical success factors are obtained. The weight's priority means important level of factors and which should be focus on.

3. After the influence level of critical success factor is determined, another AHP model is designed to identify the process that foreign language most effect on. Base on the cross-border e-commerce theories and Ma Xiaorui's (2012) opinion, this paper divided procedure of cross-border e-commerce from China to Thailand into 4-process, which include pre-order process, order-making process, transportation process and after-sales process. The key decisions maker in cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder will give each process a score according to the influence level of language. By computing the eigenvectors and checking the CR, the 4-basic process will be ranking through quantify the weight.

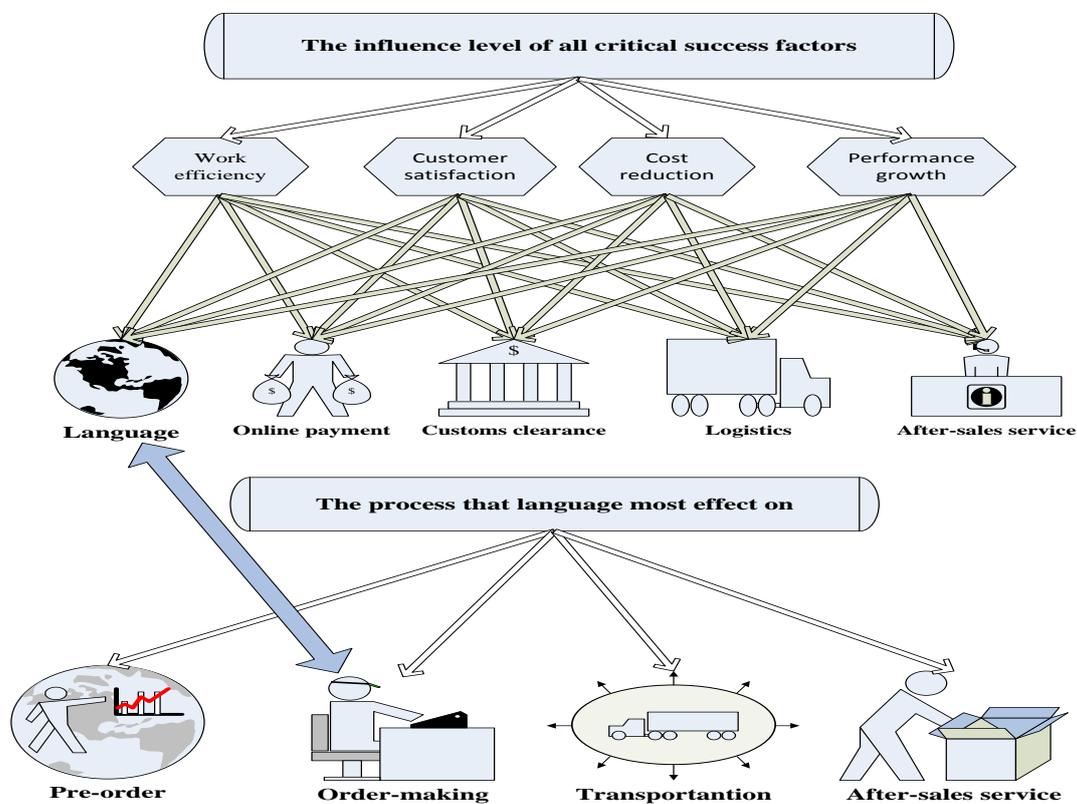


Figure 9: Conceptual Model for Examine the Influence of Critical Success Factors

Table 4: Example of Questionnaire of Criteria

Criteria	Saaty's 1-9 scale																	Criteria
Work efficiency	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Customer satisfaction
Work efficiency	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Cost reduction
Work efficiency	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Performance growth
Customer satisfaction	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Cost reduction
Customer satisfaction	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Performance growth
Cost reduction	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Performance growth

IV. Numerical Illustration

The numerical example is given for better illustration the effect of language and other critical success factors.

1. First, the critical success factors of cross-border e-commerce are determined by using semi-open questioner. The success factors which over 50% interviewees believe are critical factors will be selected as critical success factors. Thus, the critical success factors and criteria of cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder are obtained by interviewing freight forwarding operators in Bangkok and the surrounding area. Finally, according to the opinion of interviewees, 8 critical success factors and 4 criteria for evaluating them are obtained by interviewing 3 managers of cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder. The interview results of critical success factors are shown in Table 5. As shown in *Table 5*, the 8 critical success factors cover online payment, cross-border logistics, foreign language, after-sales service, ICT infrastructure, service, customs clearance, and talent. Some variables are eliminated, such as credit system, global business risk control, customer experience, business process, e-commerce awareness, legal systems and IPRs, government policy, taxation, economic situation, cultural difference. The 4 criteria include work efficiency, customer satisfaction, cost reduction, performance growth.

Table 5: The Interview Result of Critical Success Factors and Criteria

Success Factors	Percentage	Success Factors	Percentage
Cross-border logistics	100%	Talent	100%
Online payment	66.7%	Business process	33.3%
Credit system	0	E-commerce awareness	0
ICT infrastructure	100%	Legal systems and IPRs	33.3%
Foreign language skills	66.7%	Customs clearance	100%
After-sales service	66.7%	Government policy	33.3%
Service	100%	Taxation	0
Global business risk control	0	Economy situation	33.3%
Customer experience	33.3%	Cultural difference	0

2. After the critical success factors were identified, the hierarchy structure of the influence level of criteria and all critical success factors are developed. By using AHP approach, the pairwise

comparison judgment matrix of 4 criteria are entered and force their reciprocals. Finally, the weight of the criteria is prioritized, as shown in Table 6. The consistency ratio is 0.044, so the result is available. The customer satisfaction has the highest weight, follow by performance growth, cost reduction, and work efficiency.

Table 6: The Pairwise Comparison Judgment Matrix of Criteria of Interviewee 1

Criteria	Work efficiency	Customer satisfaction	Cost reduction	Performance growth	Weight
Work efficiency	1	1/3	1/2	1/2	0.123
Customer satisfaction	3	1	3	1	0.376
Cost reduction	2	1/3	1	1/3	0.156
Performance growth	2	1	3	1	0.344
Consistency ratio	0.044				

3. After calculating criteria weights, 4 decision matrixes are developed for 8 critical success factors concerning work efficiency, customer satisfaction, cost reduction and performance growth respectively, and then calculate the weighted normalized decision matrix (see Table 7, Table 8, Table 9, Table 10). All the value of C.R is less than 0.1. Therefore, the results are considered acceptable. Finally, the priority of all critical success factors is obtained, as shown in Table 11.

As the Table 7 shown, talent is in the first place of all critical success factors in work efficiency, which means that talent is most important for work efficiency. The ICT infrastructure and foreign language ranking after it. It's clear that talent, ICT infrastructure, and foreign language are most critical for improving work efficiency.

The service has the highest weight of all critical success factors in customer satisfaction, follow by cross-border logistics and ICT infrastructure (see Table 8). Language is in the sixth place in customer satisfaction. It indicates that good service is beneficial to improve the customer satisfaction.

Table 7: The Pairwise Comparison Judgment Matrix of Critical Success Factors in Work Efficiency of Interviewee 1

Work efficiency	Cross-border logistics	ICT infrastructure	Online payment	Foreign language	Service	Talent	After-sales service	Customs clearance	Weight
Cross-border logistics	1	1/2	3	1/2	3	1	2	1	0.136
ICT infrastructure	2	1	3	1	3	1	1	2	0.169
Online payment	1/3	1/3	1	1/3	1	1/3	1	1/3	0.056
Foreign language	2	1	3	1	3	1/3	1	3	0.164
Service	1/3	1/3	1	1/3	1	1/3	1/2	1	0.057
Talent	1	1	3	3	3	1	1	3	0.198
After-sales service	1/2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1/3	0.107
Customs clearance	1	1/2	3	1/3	1	1/3	3	1	0.114
CR	0.08	RI	1.41	CI	0.11				

Table 8: The Pairwise Comparison Judgment Matrix of Critical Success Factors in Customer Satisfaction of Interviewee 1

Customer satisfaction									Weight
	Cross-border logistics	ICT infrastructure	Online payment	Foreign language	Service	Talent	After-sales service	Customs clearance	
Cross-border logistics	1	1	5	1	1	1	5	1	0.169
ICT infrastructure	1	1	5	1	1	1	2	1	0.151
Online payment	1/5	1/5	1	1	1/3	1	2	1/3	0.068
Foreign language	1	1	1	1	1/3	1/2	2	1	0.103
Service	1	1	3	3	1	2	3	1	0.184
Talent	1	1	1	2	1/2	1	3	1	0.132
After-sales service	1/5	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/3	1/3	1	1/3	0.047
Customs clearance	1	1	3	1	1	1	3	1	0.145
CR	0.05	RI	1.41	CI	0.07				

As shown in Table 9, the talent has the highest weight of all critical success factors in cost reduction, follow by cross-border logistics and foreign language. In other words, talent is the most inevitable and indispensable to reduce the total cost.

Table 9: The Pairwise Comparison Judgment Matrix of Critical Success Factors in Cost Reduction of Interviewee 1

Cost reduction									Weight
	Cross-border logistics	ICT infrastructure	Online payment	Foreign language	Service	Talent	After-sales service	Customs clearance	
Cross-border logistics	1	2	3	1/2	1/3	1	3	1	0.153
ICT infrastructure	1/2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	0.113
Online payment	1/3	1/2	1	1/2	1/3	1/3	1/2	1	0.057
Foreign language	2	1	2	1	1	1	1/2	3	0.147
Service	3	1	3	1	1	1/2	1/2	1	0.137
Talent	1	1	3	1	2	1	1	3	0.163
After-sales service	1/3	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	0.142
Customs clearance	1	1	1	1/3	1	1/3	1	1	0.088
CR	0.09	RI	1.41	CI	0.12				

Clearly, service has the highest weight of all critical success factors in performance growth, follow by ICT infrastructure and cross-border logistics (see Table 10). It represents that the good service quality has a significant influence on performance growth of cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder. Language is in the fourth place in performance growth.

Table 10: The Pairwise Comparison Judgment Matrix of Critical Success Factors in Performance Growth of Interviewee 1

Performance growth									Weight
	Cross-border logistics	ICT infrastructure	Online payment	Foreign language	Service	Talent	After-sales service	Customs clearance	
Cross-border logistics	1	1	3	1	1/3	1	3	1	0.131
ICT infrastructure	1	1	3	1	1/2	2	3	3	0.167
Online payment	1/3	1/3	1	1	1/3	1/3	1	1/3	0.061
Foreign language	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	0.125
Service	3	2	3	1	1	2	2	2	0.208
Talent	1	1/2	3	1/2	1/2	1	1	1/3	0.090
After-sales service	1/3	1/3	1	1	1/2	1	1	3	0.101
Customs clearance	1	1/3	3	1	1/2	3	1/3	1	0.116
CR	0.09	RI	1.41	CI	0.13				

From the opinion of interviewee 1, obviously, service, ICT infrastructure, cross-border logistics and talent are in top four positions, followed by foreign language, customs clearance, after-sales service and online payment (see Table 11).

Table 11: The Weight of Critical Success Factors of Interviewee 1

	<i>Work efficiency</i>	<i>Customer satisfaction</i>	<i>Cost reduction</i>	<i>Performance growth</i>	<i>Weight of CSFs</i>
<i>Weight of criteria</i>	0.123	0.376	0.156	0.344	
<i>Cross-border logistics</i>	0.136	0.169	0.153	0.131	0.149
<i>ICT infrastructure</i>	0.169	0.151	0.113	0.167	0.153
<i>Online payment</i>	0.056	0.068	0.057	0.061	0.062
<i>Foreign language</i>	0.164	0.103	0.147	0.125	0.125
<i>Service</i>	0.057	0.184	0.137	0.208	0.169
<i>Talent</i>	0.198	0.132	0.163	0.090	0.130
<i>After-sales service</i>	0.107	0.047	0.142	0.101	0.088
<i>Customs clearance</i>	0.114	0.145	0.088	0.116	0.122

4. After the weight of critical success factors of every interviewee was computed, the final priority of critical success factors is identified by calculating summary weight of all interviewees (see Table 12). According to the summary weight of all interviewees, it's evident that service, ICT infrastructure, cross-border logistics and talent are top four critical factors of cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder. Foreign language is in fifth place, followed by customs clearance, after-sales service and online payment.

Table 12: The Priority Weight of Critical Success Factors

	<i>Interviewee 1</i>	<i>Interviewee 2</i>	<i>Interviewee 3</i>	<i>Summary weight</i>
<i>Cross-border logistics</i>	0.149	0.154	0.148	0.451
<i>ICT infrastructure</i>	0.153	0.158	0.189	0.500
<i>Online payment</i>	0.062	0.058	0.057	0.177
<i>Foreign language</i>	0.125	0.131	0.118	0.374
<i>Service</i>	0.169	0.149	0.223	0.541
<i>Talent</i>	0.130	0.137	0.110	0.377
<i>After-sales service</i>	0.088	0.089	0.061	0.238
<i>Customs clearance</i>	0.122	0.125	0.093	0.340

5. After the influence level of critical success factors are determined, the hierarchy structure of the effect of language in working process of cross-border e-commerce is developed. AHP approach is used to make a pairwise comparison matrix and obtain the priority weights for working process with regards to the effect of language.

Table 13: The Priority Weight of the Influence Level of Language in Working Process

<i>Language</i>	<i>Pre-order</i>	<i>Order-making</i>	<i>transportation</i>	<i>After-sales</i>	<i>Weight</i>
<i>Pre-order</i>	1	1/7	3	1/5	0.099
<i>Order-making</i>	7	1	7	3	0.565
<i>transportation</i>	1/3	1/7	1	1/5	0.055
<i>After-sales</i>	5	1/3	5	1	0.280
<i>C.R</i>	0.088				

The priority weight of the influence level of language in working process is shown in Table 13. According to AHP theory, the value of CR in this numerical example is 0.088, so the result is considered acceptable. As Table 13 shown, the language mostly effects on the order-making process, follow by after-sales service process, pre-order process and transportation process.

V. Results and Discussion

The cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder belongs to the service industry, which as a communication intermediate between China's e-commerce producers and Thailand's customers. Hence the service quality plays a most critical role in the development of the cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder industry. The cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder helps both sides to overcome the obstacles in language, online payment, cross-border logistics, and after-sales process. The freight forwarder act as a platform provides order-making service, transportation of the batch and scattering commodities from China to different destination in Thailand. The results illustrated that multiple language talent plays a demonstrably important role in order-making process and after-sales process. The multiple language talent is conducive to increase work efficiency and reduce false assembly.

Therefore, in order to improve work efficiency and cost reduction, the managers should concentrate on the team management and training of employees, along with recruiting multilingual cross-border e-commerce talents. Moreover, the freight forwarder is supposed to pay more attention to improving the service quality, reduce cross-border transport time and cost, enhance ICT system performance continuously, so as to improve the customer satisfaction and performance growth.

VI. Conclusions

This paper utilized CSF concept to determine the critical success factors of cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder, and proposed AHP approach to determine the influence level of language and the process that language most effect on. This paper synthesizes the priorities of criteria and critical success factors by using a nine-point scale. Pairwise comparison is used to determine the priorities of each pair of factors.

The numerical example in this paper found that service, ICT infrastructure, cross-border logistics, talent and foreign language are top five critical success factors for cross-border e-commerce freight forwarder between China and Thailand. Thus, the organization should concentrate more on the importance of the critical factors and its effects. Cross-border e-commerce requires not only practitioners of e-commerce capabilities while requiring practitioners to master the relevant foreign language and cross-cultural communication. Multiple languages talents are an essential bridge of cross-border e-commerce, who can represent the company or individual to smoothly communicate with consumers and providers.

This paper's findings provide new theoretical grounds to research the effect of language on working process of freight forwarder. Besides, this paper also provides an empirical assessment of the essential components in cross-border e-commerce and implications of the means to prioritize critical success factors.

The future research can expand to more various companies and more various commodity categories, and implicate in real practice. The outcomes of this paper enable managers to make better decisions during framing strategies in improving cross-border e-commerce performance effectively.

Acknowledgments

The first author is sincerely grateful to the NTC Overnight Express for the support. The authors greatly appreciate the valuable comments and suggestions by the anonymous reviewers and editors.

References

- Abdallah, F. (2014). Postal Service Innovation: New Value Propositions to Enable International E-commerce. *Postal Services in the Digital Age*, 6, 80.
- Agrawal, D. R., & Fox, W. F. (2017). Taxes in an e-commerce generation. *International Tax and Public Finance*, 24(5), 903-926.
- Alexandru, P. D., Irina, M., & Alice, C. (2014). Consumers' attitude towards consumer protection in the digital single market, as reflected by European barometers. *Amfiteatru Economic*, 16(36), 563.
- Alharbi, S., & Naderpour, M. (2016, May). E-Commerce Development Risk Evaluation Using MCDM Techniques. In *International Conference on Decision Support System Technology* (pp. 88-99). Springer, Cham.
- Arnold, V., Benford, T. S., Hampton, C., & Sutton, S. G. (2012). Enterprise risk management as a strategic governance mechanism in B2B-enabled transnational supply chains. *Journal of Information Systems*, 26(1), 51.
- Aslam, M. A. (2013). B-2-C Pre-Dispute Arbitration Clauses, E-Commerce Trust Construction and Jenga: Keeping Every Cog and Wheel. *Masaryk UJL & Tech.*, 7, 1.
- Asosheh, A., H. Shahidi-Nejad, and H. Khodkari. (2012). Introducing a Localized Cross-Border E-Commerce Model, case: Iran B2B E-Commerce. *International Journal of Information Science and Management (IJISM)*, 1, 39.

- Aye, N., Khin, H. S., Win, T. T., KoKo, T., Than, M. Z., Hattori, F., & Kuwabara, K. (2013, March). Multi-domain Public Key Infrastructure for information security with use of a multi-Agent System. In *Asian Conference on Intelligent Information and Database Systems* (pp. 365-374). Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg.
- Bao, X. (2012). Analysis on the Advantages and Disadvantages of B2C Mode of Cross - border E - commerce Exporting (出口跨境电子商务 B2C 模式的优劣势分析). *China Business Update*, 20, 19.
- Bieron, B., & Ahmed, U. (2012). Regulating e-commerce through international policy: Understanding the international trade law issues of e-commerce. *J. World Trade*, 46, 545.
- Bijayendrayodhin, B., Carroll, J., & Sandow-Quirk, M. (2002). Cybermediaries: facilitators of the development of electronic commerce in Thailand. In *COLLECTeR 2002: Seventh Annual Conference on Electronic Commerce, Melbourne*.
- Bullen, C. V., & Rockart, J. F. (1981). *A primer on critical success factors*.
- Campbell, C., & Ma, J. J. (2015). Looking forward, looking back: Drawing on the Past to Shape the Future of Marketing. In *Proceedings of the 2013 World Marketing Congress*.
- Chen, J. K., Windasari, N. A., & Pai, R. (2013, December). Exploring E-readiness on E-commerce adoption of SMEs: Case study South-East Asia. In *Industrial Engineering and Engineering Management (IEEM), 2013 IEEE International Conference* (pp. 1382-1386). IEEE.
- Chen, L. (2016). *An Analysis of the Development Pattern and Influencing Factors of Cross - border E - commerce*, Electronic commerce.
- Chen, N., & Yang, J. (2017). Mechanism of government policies in cross-border e-commerce on firm performance and implications on m-commerce. *International Journal of Mobile Communications*, 15(1), 69-84
- Chen, Y. (2013). The Probe into the Development Trend of China's Cross - border E - commerce under the Trend of International E - commerce. *Business*. 13, 295.
- China e-Business Research Center (100EC.CN). (2015). *2015-2016 export of cross-border e-Business development report*. <http://www.100ec.cn>
- Cortés, P., & de la Rosa, F. E. (2013). Building a global redress system for low-value cross-border disputes. *International & Comparative Law Quarterly*, 62(2), 407-440.
- Cunningham, M. T. (1981). *International marketing and purchasing: A survey among marketing and purchasing executives in five European countries*. Springer. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Deng, Z., & Wang, Z. (2016). Early-mover advantages at cross-border business-to-business e-commerce portals. *Journal of Business Research*, 69(12), 6002-6011.
- Desai, P., Ashrafi, N., Kuilboer, J. P., & Koehler, W. (2009). Regulatory privacy practices in Europe. *AMCIS 2009 Proceedings*, 171.
- Gessner, G. H., & Snodgrass, C. R. (2015). Designing e-commerce cross-border distribution networks for small and medium-size enterprises incorporating Canadian and US trade incentive programs. *Research in Transportation Business & Management*, 16, 84-94.
- Gomez-Herrera, E., Martens, B., & Turlea, G. (2014). The drivers and impediments for cross-border e-commerce in the EU. *Information Economics and Policy*, 28, 83-96.
- Hertig, G. (2000). Regulatory competition for EU financial services. *Journal of International Economic Law*, 3(2), 349-375.
- Jarrar, M., Verlinden, R., & Meersman, R. (2003, November). Ontology-Based Customer Complaint Management. In *OTM Workshops* (pp. 594-606).
- Kai, F. (2015). Game Analysis of the Credit Model of Cross-Border E-Commerce. *Science Mosaic*, 6, 030.
- Kraemer, K. L., Dedrick, J., Melville, N. P., & Zhu, K. (Eds.). (2006). *Global e-commerce: impacts of national environment and policy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lendle, A., Olarreaga, M., Schropp, S., & Vezina, P. L. (2012). *There goes gravity: how eBay reduces trade costs*.
- Liu, Y. (2016). Research on cross border e-commerce logistics service based on improved AHP algorithm. *RISTI (Revista Iberica de Sistemas e Tecnologias de Informacao)*, (E7), 235-244.
- Lokhande, P. S., & Meshram, B. B. (2016, March). Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) to Find Most Probable Web Attack on an E-Commerce Site. In *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Information and Communication Technology for Competitive Strategies* (p. 62). ACM.
- Ma, X. R. (2012). *An Empirical Study on the Influencing Factors of Women's Online Shopping Behavior in B2C Mode*, B2C 模式下女性网购行为影响因素的实证研究. (Doctoral), Heilongjiang University.
- Pope, D. J., & Thomchick, E. A. (1985). US foreign freight forwarders and NVOCCs. *Transportation journal*, 26-36.

- Ramanathan, R. (2012). A mathematical programming model for estimating the importance levels of performance criteria and an application in e-commerce. *Expert systems with applications*, 39(2), 2067-2072.
- Saaty, T. L. (1980). *The Analytic Hierarchy Process: Planning, Priority Setting, Resource Allocation*, ISBN 0-07-054371-2, McGraw-Hill
- Saaty, T. L. (1990). *Decision making for leaders: the analytic hierarchy process for decisions in a complex world*. RWS publications.
- Savrul, M., Incekara, A., & Sener, S. (2014). The potential of e-commerce for SMEs in a globalizing business environment. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 150, 35-45.
- Schramm, H. J. (2012). *Freight Forwarder's Intermediary Role in Multimodal Transport Chains: A Social Network Approach*. Springer Science & Business Media.
- Sebora, T. C., Lee, S. M., & Sukasame, N. (2009). Critical success factors for e-commerce entrepreneurship: an empirical study of Thailand. *Small Business Economics*, 32(3), 303-316.
- Sinkovics, R. R., Yamin, M., & Hossinger, M. (2007). Cultural adaptation in cross border e-commerce: a study of German companies. *Journal of Electronic Commerce Research*, 8(4), 221.
- Sun, L. & Wang, F. (2015). *Current Situation and Countermeasures of China's Cross - border E - commerce Development*, *China Business and Market*, ISBN 1007-8266.
- Sun, T., & Xue, D. (2015, February). E-commerce logistics distribution mode research. In *Computational Intelligence & Communication Technology (CICT), 2015 IEEE International Conference* (pp. 699-702). IEEE.
- Tyagi, M., Kumar, P., & Kumar, D. (2014). A hybrid approach using AHP-TOPSIS for analyzing e-SCM performance. *Procedia Engineering*, 97, 2195-2203.
- Ugboma, C., Ugboma, O., & Ogwude, I. C. (2006). An analytic hierarchy process (AHP) approach to port selection decisions—empirical evidence from Nigerian ports. *Maritime Economics & Logistics*, 8(3), 251-266.
- Victor, David A. (1992). *International business communication*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers.
- Wang Dalin, Li Jinfang, et al. (2015). The Industrial Function and Realization of M2B2C Cross-border E-commerce Export Mode - A Case Study of China (Hangzhou) Cross-border E-commerce Comprehensive Experimental Zone (M2B2C 跨境电商出口模式的产业功能及实现——以中国 (杭) 跨境电子商务综合试验区为例). *Journal of The Party School of CPC Hangzhou*, 5, 90.
- Wang, X., Jia, Y., & Guo, L. (2015, December). Study on the Function of Computer Technology in the Electronic Commerce Environment Security and Risk Assessment. In *Intelligent Transportation, Big Data and Smart City (ICITBS), 2015 International Conference* (pp. 784-786). IEEE.
- Wang, Y., Liang, L., & Zhang, J. (2014, December). Based on the Factor Analysis and AHP Online Shopping Satisfaction Evaluation Research. In *Computational Intelligence and Design (ISCID), 2014 Seventh International Symposium* (Vol. 2, pp. 362-366). IEEE.
- Wood, D. F., Barone, A., Murphy, P., & Wardlow, D. (2012). *International logistics*. Springer Science & Business Media.
- Yimin, Z., Keqing, G., & Zeshu, W. (2016, May). Study on evaluation model of cross-border e-commerce talent based on AHP-PSO. In *Information Management (ICIM), 2016 2nd International Conference* (pp. 1-5). IEEE.

When Politics Meets Football: The New Era for Thai Football?*

Vititanon, Nuttakorn
School of Law
Mae Fah Luang University
Thailand

Abstract

Football in other countries may fully be business. It is different in Thailand, most of football teams are dominated by politicians. The turning point of Thai football league is not only from external factor from AFC as many people believe but it also relate to internal factor from Thai politics context. Especially after the coup in 2006, when politics was frozen. Those politicians have used football as a tool to maintain their popularity. Meanwhile political power is also greatly advantageous to football teams. For example, stadium, sponsor, etc. Therefore, Thai Politics and football are inseparable.

Keywords: Thai Politics, Thai Football Clubs

Introduction

The new era of the Thai Premier League was in 2008 which rapidly gained the popularity from local fans around the country. The number of fans have been growing substantially from only a couple of hundreds spectators in each match into thousands of them. It has been estimated that each of the Thai Premier League clubs was likely to invest 10-100 million baht annually to build up their clubs. Each club hires not only Thai football players, but also includes many foreign players into the club (Katjinakul, 2017). Thailand national football club advanced into the final round of several continental tournaments. The growth of Thai football industry was preliminary assessed and a projected turnover from Thai football related business was estimated at 12 billion Thai baht for 2016 (Thansettakij, 2016). While Thailand's domestic politics was the main internal factor influencing Thai football industry, Asian Football Confederation (AFC) was the main external factor that improved Thai football industry. The AFC had a plan called as Vision Asia programme 2008 with an aim of professionalism and a growth of Asian football as equivalent to those of European's. There is an announcement of regulations for every football club to register a legal corporate or run as a business. This results in capitals gathered by each football club in order to reach the goal of professionalism for its club. Capital is a major factor for each club to create a sustainable environment and development.

* This paper was the revised version of its original paper: *Politics and Football in Thailand*. The revision was made with more current information added to make the paper more clear and concise. The purpose of this paper was to show that many Thai politicians, still today, have aligned themselves with football clubs, reflecting unique Thai society's characteristics thought football.

Politicians and Their Football Clubs

Before the inception of today's Thai League, most of Thai League football clubs in the past were the organization of government authorities club that based in Bangkok and Metropolitan. The purpose of having a football club at that time was to promote the organizations. Meanwhile, the other local clubs were competing in the semi-pro league called the Provincial League and gradually were promoted to higher leagues. In 2017, there are total of 36 clubs in Toyota Thai League (T1) and M-150 Championship (T2). Among the 36 clubs (18 clubs in each league), 23 clubs are provincial teams which are 11 clubs from T1 league and 12 clubs from T2 league. Looking back in 2008, there were only 10 provincial clubs from both leagues altogether.

There are 20 football clubs, more than half of all clubs in the T1 and T2 leagues, have either the politicians or their families as chairman of the clubs. These 20 clubs are Krabi FC, Port FC, Chonburi FC, Chainat FC, Nakhonpathom United, Nakhonratchasima Mazda FC, Bangkok FC, Buriram United, Prachuap FC, Rayong FC, Ratchaburi Mitr Phol FC, Lampang FC, Sisaket FC, Songkhla United, Samutsongkhram FC, Singha Chiangrai United, Sukhothai FC, Suphanburi FC, Angthong FC, and Ubon UMT United (for additional detail see Table 1.).

The Thai Premier League also contains 7 government authority's organization clubs, comprised of government agency's clubs for instances Army United FC, Air Force Central FC, Royal Thai Navy FC, Kasetsart FC, Police Tero FC, and state enterprise's clubs for instances Port FC, PTT Rayong FC. The rest of the clubs, in small number, belongs to private business investors.

In particular, when we look at the highest league we can clearly see the increase in number of the clubs owned by politicians. Among the 18 clubs, there were 7 clubs owned by politicians in 2011 (Kanparit, 2011, p. 147), 9 clubs in 2013 (Vititanon, 2014, pp. 132-136), and then 10 clubs in 2017.

Numbers of Thai football clubs that are run by politicians or their families involve both local and national politics. For Example, Wittaya Khunpluem, chairman of the Chonburi FC Football Club, is the president of Chonburi Provincial Administrative Organization. He is a younger brother of Sonthaya Khunpluem, the leader of the Phalang Chon Party. Newin Chidchob, Buriram United FC's chairman, is the leader of Bhumjaithai Party. Newin's wife, Karuna Chidchob, is the president of Buriram Provincial Administrative Organization.

More than any other parties, the Democrat Party has formed strong relationships with 6 football clubs. Pheu Thai Party has formed relationships with 4 clubs, and Bhumjaithai Party has form relationships with 3 clubs (see Table 1.).

Among several government service positions, president of Provincial Administrative Organization is the most common position found running football clubs. The 5 presidents of Provincial Administrative Organization running football clubs are Sunee Sommee (Lampang), Anucha Nakasai (Chainat), Wittaya Khunpluem (Chonburi), Songkiat Limanurak (Prachuap Khiri Khan), and Niphon Bunyamane (Songkla). There are 4 family's members of presidents of Provincial Administrative Organization running football clubs. They are Miti Tiypairat – a son of a former president of Chiang Rai Provincial Administrative Organization, Somsak Thepsutin – an older brother of a president of Sukhothai Provincial Administrative Organization, Newin Chidchob – a husband of a president of Buriram Provincial Administrative Organization, and Somkiat Kittidhrakul – a younger brother of a president of Krabi Provincial Administrative Organization.

Political involvement is obvious in Regional League Division 2, Northern Region. In 2013, among the

total of 16 Northern regional clubs, there were 13 of them (more than 80%) having politicians as a club chairman. 11 of the politicians were directly working for political parties. 6 of them working for Pheu Thai Party, while the rest working for other parties. The only football club that has its politician chairman from The Democrat Party was Phrae United FC. These facts showed that football clubs in Thailand are still relying so much on politicians (Vititanon, 2014, pp. 137-138).

Around 2 years before the significant changes of Thai football league in the lead to the new era of the Thai Premier League, Thai coup d'état took place on 19 September 2006 resulted in Thai Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra being forced out, 4 political parties were dissolved with the total of 220 former party members banned from participating in politics for 5 years twice in a row, in 2007 and 2008. While waiting to get back into Thai politics again, many of these banned politicians have changed their focus into running football clubs instead (see Table 1.).

The table below showed that 10 football clubs struggled with the impact of the coup. Eventually most of the clubs could fully run their clubs again in late 2009. The table does not include those banned politicians who was running football clubs in different leagues, such as Euro Cake League Pro (T3), Euro Cake League (T4) or Regional League (Division 2) in the past. Some of the politicians running football clubs in these different leagues were Veerapol Adireksarn – a chairman of Saraburi FC (a younger brother of Pongpol and Yongyot Adireksarn), Wuttipong Chaisang – a chairman of Chachoengsao Hi-Tech FC (a younger brother of Chaturon Chaisang), Chaiya Angkinun – a chairman of Phetchaburi FC (a son of Bubpha Angkinun), and Sugarno Mata – a chairman of Yala United FC (a younger brother of Wan Muhamad Noor Matha).

In case of leading football clubs abroad like in Premier League, La Liga, Serie A, Bundesliga, or Ligue, we have rarely seen the football teams owned by politician. One of the important cases was A.C. Milan, the Italian football club, which once was owned by Silvio Berlusconi, the former Prime Minister.

13TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THAI STUDIES
 GLOBALIZED THAILAND? CONNECTIVITY, CONFLICT AND CONUNDRUMS OF THAI STUDIES
 15-18 JULY 2017, CHIANG MAI, THAILAND

Table 1

Club	Name of Chairman/Political Position	Payty/Political Organization	Remark
Krabi FC	Somkiat Kittidhrakul - a younger brother of a president of Krabi PAO.	Democrat Party	
Port FC	Nualphan Lamsam - an advisory committee of Democratic Party	Democrat Party	
Chonburi FC	Wittaya Khunpluem - the president of Chonburi PAO	Phalang Chon Party	*
Chainat Hornbill FC	Anucha Nakasai - the president of Chainat PAO	Bhumjaithai Party	*
Nakhon Pathom United	Panuwat Sasomsub - a son of Chaiya Sasomsap	Pheu Thai Party	*, **
Nakhonratchasima Mazda FC	Wannarat Channukul - the leader of Chart Pattana Party.	Chart Pattana Party	*
Bangkok FC	Nattaphon Teepsuwan - a former MP	Democrat Party	
Buriram United	Newin Chidchob - the leader of Bhumjaithai Party	Bhumjaithai Party	*
Prachuap FC	Songkiat Limanurak - the president of Prachuap Khiri Khan PAO	Democrat Party	
Rayong FC	Dechathorn Ropplekha - a member of Rayong PAO council	Democrat Party	
Ratchaburi Mitr Phol FC	Boonying Nitikarnjana - a former MP	Bhumjaithai Party	**
Lampang FC	Sunee Sommee - the president of Lampang PAO	Pheu Thai Party	
Sisaket FC	Tanet Khruerat - a former MP	Pheu Thai Party	
Songkhla United	Niphon Bunyamanee - the president of Songkhla PAO	Democrat Party	
Samutsongkhram FC	Somchai Tunprasert - the Mayor of Samutsongkhram Municipality	n/a	
Singha Chiangrai United	Miti Tiyapairat - a son of Yongyuth Tiyapairat	Pheu Thai Party	**
Sukhothai FC	Somsak Thepsutin - the leader of Matchima group.	Matchima group	*, **
Suphanburi FC	Warawut Silpaarcha - a former MP	Chart Thai Party	**
Angthong FC	Somsak Pitsanananthakul - a former MP	Chart Thai Party	**
Ubon UMT United FC	Veerasak Jinarat – a former Senator	Matchima group	

*: *The effects of the dissolution of political parties and the 1st revocation of the election rights in 2007 on oneself or the member of the family.*

** : *The effects of the dissolution of political parties and the 2nd revocation of the election rights in 2008 on oneself or the member of the family*

Patron-client Relationships in Thai Football Industry

Although there was an announcement of regulations for every football club to register a legal corporate or establish as a company, football clubs in Thailand still very much involved with political power and Patron-client relationship. As we can see that many chairmen of Thai football clubs are politicians.

In general football clubs have revenues through four main channels: ticket sales, TV broadcast deals, sponsorships and souvenirs. Top football clubs in Europe often have quite equal percentages of revenues from all channels, while Thai football clubs have only one major revenue, sponsorships.

Stadiums

One of major issues of Thai league clubs is that many football clubs do not have their own stadium. In the top Thai professional league, Thai League T1, there are only 6 football clubs that have their own stadiums which are Singha Stadium of Chiangrai United FC, I-Mobile Stadium of Buriram United FC, Leo Stadium of Bangkok Glass FC, SCG Stadium of Muangthong United FC, Mitr Phol Stadium of Ratchaburi Mitr Phol FC, and UMT Stadium of Ubon UMT United FC. Besides the 6 mentioned stadiums, many other stadiums are belong to Local Administrative Organizations. There are 10 stadiums used in T1 and T2 league, are owned by Provincial Administrative Organizations (PAO) for examples, Chonburi Stadium - a home stadium of Chonburi FC, Thalay Luang Stadium - a home stadium of Sukhothai FC. There are 4 stadiums used in T1 and T2 league, are owned by Sports Authority of Thailand (SAT) for examples, The 700th Anniversary Stadium - a home stadium of Chiang Mai FC, Tinsulanon Stadium - a home stadium of Songkhla United FC.

There are some interesting facts here. 1) In those provinces where the owners, politicians, of football clubs and the politicians from the opposition party have conflict of interests. Those clubs may end up not able to use provincial stadium as their home stadium at all. The provincial stadiums are under the custodianship of PAO. The football clubs cannot use the stadium or charge high price of a seat without PAO's permission. Otherwise the clubs may have to find another stadium instead. This was the case for several Thai football clubs for examples Chiang Rai United FC, and Osotspa M-150 Samutprakan FC. 2) When the politicians who own the football clubs are in power, in the government party, they may channel excessive state funds into developing their own rural provinces and football clubs including the provincial stadium. The clear example of this was The Suphanburi Provincial Stadium, a home stadium of Suphanburi FC. The stadium constantly received construction projects sponsored and funded by Sports Authority of Thailand 3) when the football clubs have good relationship with politicians in the government party, they may rent the provincial stadium with special lower rate such as Chiangmai FC, or some football club may use the stadium without any charge. This probably because the government employees hope for relationship-building with in-power politicians.

Sponsorships

As mentioned above, main income of Thai football clubs comes from sponsorships. The sponsorships often rely on personal connection which is a mutually beneficial relationship between sponsor and recipient. Those football clubs that have a chairman with high political position will find it easier to get sponsor for the club. One of the Thai politicians, Newin Chidchob, chairman of Buriram United FC,

admitted to this fact through an interview⁴³. He stated that because of his political connections while he was in the government party, Thailand's most modern New I-Mobile Stadium was able to be quickly built for Buriram United FC's home games to replace the old stadium (Khao Kradong Stadium) which owned by Buriram PAO.

Top 5 football clubs that have the highest revenue from having the Chang sponsor's logos on their jerseys are Buriram United FC, Sukhothai FC, Chonburi FC, Suphanburi FC, and Police Tero FC respectively. Among the 5, 4 of them are owned by politicians. Compared with England's Premier League, most of football teams are supported by online betting companies. For many clubs, their sponsorship deals rely on close relationships with their sponsors for examples Nakhon Ratchasima FC and Mazda, Muangthong United FC and SCG, Ratchaburi FC and Mitr Phol, Chiang Rai FC and Singha, Sisaket FC and Muang Thai Insurance. Those clubs ran by private companies often receive sponsorships from one of the company's owned businesses. For examples Bangkok United FC is sponsored by True Corp, Bangkok Glass is sponsored by Leo beer, and Thai Honda Ladkrabang FC is sponsored by Honda.

Most of football clubs in lower leagues are sponsored by beer businesses. In 2012, approximately there are 33 clubs (28%), out of the total of 117 clubs, having beer company logos as their shirt-front-center sponsorships. This number has not yet included those clubs having beer companies' logos on other parts of their jerseys than the center front. About 70% of the logos was Leo beer, Boon Rawd Brewery, while 30% was Chang beer (Vititanon, 2012). In 2016, when we specifically look at the clubs in Regional League Northern Division, 10 clubs (63%) out of the total of 16 clubs are sponsored by beer businesses: 6 clubs sponsored by Leo beer, while 4 clubs sponsored by Chang beer (Vititanon, 2014, pp. 137-138).

The football matches of those clubs sponsored by beer companies will only have the beer of that particular companies available for sale at football stadiums. This fact alone shows a close connection between Thai football and beer industries. However, selling beer around the stadium could become an issue, if the football clubs do not have their own stadium but instead rent or use government stadium. According to Thai law, the Alcohol Control Act, it is illegal to sell, buy, or drink alcohol at government offices or owned-by-government places. Once Phuket FC has lost sponsorship deal with Thai Beverage because of a ban on alcohol sales in and around the club's Phuket City home ground.

For minor sponsorships (logos on other minor parts on the football club's T-shirt), some football clubs are sponsored by government agencies or state enterprises through the connections with politicians who owns the clubs. For the football clubs outside of Bangkok, many sponsorships come from big or well-known businesses and companies in the provinces.

Special Benefits

Having a politician runs a football club may lead to using state resources for private benefit, which in fact is the cost that the club should pay for, for examples spending budget of local government agency on advertising boards, having hundreds of police officers as security or traffic police for a football match, providing transport to get the football fans to matches, and having government agency personnel come to cheer the club at a football match.

⁴³ For examples, "...I think the only experience helpful for running the football club was building up connections, or finding sponsorship deals for the club. It is not to use our power over others, but rather showing them that if they get involved in running the football clubs, what exactly will they get in return...", From Newin Chidchob Created in Buriram, Creative Thailand Magazine, Vol. 3 No. 9 June 2012, 32, "...during my early years, I still had political connections. The connections helped me gain quite many sponsorship deals for the football club. However lately I have not been exercising any of those political connections at all...", From Football a New Business in Thailand, Strategy+Marketing Magazine, Vol. 12 No. 136 July 2013, 60-81.

Football clubs in lower leagues rely more on patron-client relationships for many of them are not financially strong enough to survive and be profitable by themselves. It is harder for new football clubs to survive with no supports through politicians' connections for stadium, sponsorship, security, public relation, traffic management and etc.

Football as a Gaining Popularity Tool

The establishment of a regional league, where the concept of localism: the one province one football club policy is brought in as the key strategy, has facilitated a connection of local and national wealthy investors, and drove the clubs to success. We can clearly see localism through the football clubs' logos. For instances, Chiang Rai United FC uses rhinoceros beetle or fighting beetle as its logo, while Buriram United FC's logo is Phanom Rung stone castle. Many of the football fans bought the football club car stickers that has the clubs' logo on it. They bought football club jerseys and wear them on their everyday life. They spent their weekends at the stadium watching football matches. All of these become more and more common and can be seen everywhere in Thailand, especially on the days of football matches. Localism has attracted enormous interest from those who see the potential, including politicians, of making some serious benefit from the sport.

In the paper of Dorsey and Sebastian (2013), they mentioned cultural and political traits that drew politicians into football. Those traits are as follows:

1. Majority of clubs rely on local government funds to run their programs.
2. Football remains a channel for politicians for creating a positive public image, mass mobilization, and a source of support for a general election.
3. Majority of football fans are new potential voters in an election.

Politicians who own or support football clubs may open their speech for a nomination to the fans at a football stadium during the half-time break or after a football match. Besides presenting personal qualification and policies, those politicians also show their football team performance for political campaign as well. Football has become a political tool for creating a positive public image.

Football fans are potential voters and could possibly have a multiplier effect being able to influence their family members, relatives, friends and colleagues to vote for the politicians running their favorite football clubs. During election season, football fans assist candidates by running electoral campaigns, and putting candidate's ballot number or name on all cheering equipment.

Politicians who won elections will in return bring in funding and financial supports, from government's budgets, to the football clubs. However, in recent years, it has been difficult to do so because Thailand's National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) is now in power since coup in 2014 and has been strictly checking and controlling local budgets and spending plans.

Siriwat (2012, pp. 38-39) mentioned the same way in her thesis that football has served political functions for those in power as the fan clubs provide as political bases for those in power. She has also pointed out that local politicians and local administrative organizations in Thailand were part of Thai football clubs' success as they provided the clubs with their resources. She explained that Chonburi FC has become a sense of pride like never before. If viewed as a social system, the football club, Chonburi PAO and the community are agents, relying on one another to maintain and reproduce the structure of the community.

The favor of using football as the political tool was first significantly originated by Thaksin Shinawatra, the former Thai Prime Minister between 2001 to 2006. He and his party had successfully used football to accomplish the popularity. As the head of the government, Thaksin had an idea of

investing in professional football team like Liverpool.

When the 2006 coup occurred, Thaksin fled the country. In 2007, he bought Manchester City and owned the team for almost two years. Even though he got a lot of criticisms, he clearly got political advantage from this investment. Almost every match Manchester City played absolutely, as the owner of the team, the broadcast also showed his face. That means Thai people could see him as well. Including bringing some Thai national players to train with the club in England and selling shirts which had his name on, therefore he could maintain his popularity among Thais. All of his efforts of being recognized had become the role model for many Thai politicians.

All the facts mentioned above has been characterizing Thai football industry in unique ways as following. 1) Different from other countries, Thai football fans cheer not only for players and managers of the clubs, but also for the club's chairmen/politicians. The football club flags and marketing boards often have a portrait of the club's chairman on them. For example, the flag of Sukhothai FC has a portrait of its president Somsak Thepsuthin with a word 'The Hero' on it. During the football matches, many football clubs' chairman often sit with the players and coaches, not separately like we usually seen in Europe and other countries. 2) Political conflicts affect a football match in terms of number of spectators, atmosphere in the stadium, and football fans' behaviors. For example, during the football match between Chiangmai FC and Buriram FC in 2010, violence erupted in the crowd as the fans started to yell and throw bottles and fireworks into the ground. This was because the Chiang Mai football fans who were Red Shirt supporters wanted to express their hatred of Nawin Chidchop as he shifted from the People Power Party (PPP) to the opposition Democrat Party during the 2008 Thai political crisis.

Conclusions

Thailand is among a very few countries in the world where football clubs are monopolized by politician in different contexts from other countries which run football as a business. In contrast Thai football is used by politicians to gain personal popularity before they involve in politics or to maintain their roles. Meanwhile, government power also supports the management of football club. All successful clubs have thrived by relying on state power. To run the club without any political power would be a difficult task because they are closely related inevitably. Therefore, football and politics are inseparable. This is Thai political feature that just happened in the post-Thaksin era.

References

- Dorsey, J. M. & Leonard C. S. (2013). The politics of Indonesian and Turkish soccer: a comparative analysis. *Soccer and Society*, 14:5, 615-634.
- Kanparit, S. (2011). Football and politicians. *Sarakadee Magazine*, 27(321), 132-136.
- Katjinakul, P. (2017). *More fun! 5 big issues should know before watching Thai League 2017. The Momentum*. Retrieved from <http://themomentum.co/momentum-feature-thai-league-2017>
- Siriwat, C. (2012). *Football culture and the politics of localism: a case study of Chonburi football club*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University.
- Thansettakij. (2016). *The popularity of football in Thailand make money flow 12,000 million baht*. Thansettakij. Retrieved from <http://www.thansettakij.com/content/81358>
- Vititanon, N. (2012). *Politics of Thai football: Interesting statistics*. Retrieved from <http://prachatai.com/journal/2012/07/41554>
- Vititanon, N. (2014). *Politics and football in Thailand: Karn Muang Kub Football Thai*. In Punyakaew, W. (Eds.) *Thai football: history, power, politics and masculinity* (103-151). Chiang Mai: Center for Gambling Studies.

Spatial Economic Initiatives in Thailand

Walsh, John
Shinawatra University
Thailand

Abstract

In common with other mainland Southeast Asian countries, Thailand has historically been dominated by a primate city, Bangkok, in which all principal economic, social, political, religious and monarchical institutions have been concentrated. Awareness of the problems that this concentration has caused has been recognized in developmental plans since the 1950s, when efforts at decentralization were first introduced. Assisted by improvements in transportation infrastructure made during the Cold War period, initiatives such as the creation of the Northern Region Industrial Estate have been intended to develop other parts of the country to modify migration flows and reduce income inequalities which have become more marked through the years. The Board of Investment has been instrumental in offering incentives to foreign and domestic investors in industrial estates to the north of Bangkok in Pathum Thani and Ayutthaya, where good roads link the places of production with the markets of the capital and the main port of Laem Chabang. Currently, the border special economic zone policy aims, insofar as its objectives have been coherently stated, to promote development in border regions which can take advantage of cross-border trade and investment. In these efforts, success has usually been achieved when public sector agencies have provided what private sector interests wanted and this is likely to continue in the future. This paper explores the various economic spatial initiatives that have taken place in the country and attempts to analyse when and where these have been successful and what lessons failures have been able to provide.

Keywords: Thailand, special economic zones, economic geography, regional development

1. Spatial Initiatives

Thailand has maintained spatial economic initiatives since the introduction of the five-year National Economic and Social Development Plans (NESDP) in the decades after the ending of WWII (see Table 1 below). This period saw the beginning of the Cold War period and gradual decolonization. The British state began to withdraw from Malaya (now Malaysia) and Burma (now Myanmar) and, after a lengthy and bitter struggle, the French state withdrew from Vietnam, Lao PDR and Cambodia. The French were effectively replaced by the USA, whose military forces were only expelled after a ruinous war that brought about Communist revolutions in the three countries concerned. The perceived threat of Communism was greatly increased by the victory of the Chinese Communist Party in the civil war that ended in 1949. As an ally of the west, Thailand required development to buttress itself from following its own revolution and some measure of redistribution of resources would help to dissuade the poor from throwing in their lot with revolution. The spatial dimension to this situation had become increasingly important because of the primate nature of the capital city Bangkok, under which all important social, economic, political, religious and monarchical institutions are clustered together in one place (McGee, 1967).

National Plan	Urban and Spatial Development Guidelines
1 st , 1961-6	No priority
2 nd , 1967-71	Recommended decentralization to expedite rural development in the Northeastern Region
3 rd , 1972-6	Emphasis on measures to control population size and migration from rural areas to Bangkok recommended development of new towns as satellite towns of Bangkok
4 th , 1977-81	Developed regional cities as centers for rural-regional decentralization; developed Bangkok as the self-contained polycentric metropolis so that the inner zone, the suburbs and the outer zone could have economic and social centers of their own
5 th , 1982-6	Initiated development of economic areas in Eastern Seaboard to divert economic activities from Bangkok Metropolitan Region (BMR); formulated structural plan of BMR and identified specific roles for each community; developed five regional cities: Chiang Mai, Khon Kaen, Nakhon Ratchasima; Chonburi and Songkhla-Hat Yai
6 th , 1987-91	Formulated development policies on urban and specific areas, e.g. growth management of Bangkok through fiscal and legal measures and the Regional Cities development programme accelerated development in the Eastern Seaboard area and preparation for new economic zones in Upper Southern Region, Songkhla Lake Basin and Pakpanang Basin
7 th , 1992-6	Formulated development guidelines for BMR by coordinating infrastructure investments together with land and environmental management; continued development in Eastern Seaboard area; launched industrial development policy in Upper Central region with Saraburi province as the centers
8 th , 1997-2001	Continued development in Eastern Seaboard area, Southern Seaboard area, Western Seaboard area and the BMR; emphasis on economic cooperation with neighboring countries under the framework of the Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Growth Triangle (IMT-GT), Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) and Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC)
9 th , 2002-6	Formulated strategy on restructuring of sustainable rural and urban development through empowering community; developing livable city and community; reducing rural and urban poverty; developing benign urban-rural linkage and formulating strategy on regional, sub-regional and community development; launched provincial cluster development policy
10 th , 2007-11	Emphasis on strategy to empower community as country's foundation; focused on participation of all partners in every step of development, especially in clarifying roles of development partners to be used as guidelines in formulation of action plans; continued provincial cluster development policy

Table 1: Thailand's Spatial Strategy, 1961-2011; source: adopted from Kmonwatananisa 2008:6-9.

The 11th plan, covering the period 2012-6, includes among its objectives the restructuring the economy towards inclusive growth, strengthening the agricultural sector, building interconnectivity across countries in the region towards socio-economic security and managing future disaster risks (NESDB, 2011). Of course, the technocratic discourse in these plans is aimed at demonstrating that Thailand's development has been a foreseen, planned, rational and coherent process when, in reality, a great deal of ideological and interpersonal conflict has taken place behind the scenes. For example, the extensive role of cross-border labor migration in the country is almost completely ignored.

The road system has been improved and extended, initially with US help and subsequently with The Asian Development Bank's Asian Highway Network, particularly to the northeastern Isan region, where the country's poorest agricultural lands are located. This was done on the Haussmannesque principle that the roads will provide more convenient access to military vehicles. In terms of redistribution, some concessions were offered by making available land for foreign direct investment and the encouragement of factory creation. Foreign capital, principally from Japan, was used to build some regional centers where manufacturing could take place, as well as agroindustrial processing, thereby beginning labor history in the country. The location of such centers has depended on some resource access issues and, to a lesser extent, market access. Consequently, extractive and chemical industry facilities became concentrated on the Eastern Seaboard region next to the sea from which hydrocarbons were being transported, while low labor costs in the north of Thailand provided the logic for the Northern Region Industrial Estate based at Lamphun. As a middle class emerged in Bangkok, it started to make sense for factories to open for consumer goods production to the north of the city in Ayutthaya and Pathum Thani. At this stage, the Board of Investment (BoI) was established to offer various incentives to potential investors and to guide them towards certain locations. The Industrial Estate Authority of Thailand (IEAT) was established to build and supervise industrial estates within the public sector and to coordinate activities within and between them. Private sector operations were also permitted and companies such as Amata were formed to offer such services. Workers moved from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector to take the better paying jobs that had become available and migrated to where the factories were located. This brought about various kinds of social change.

So far, this historical development has followed an internal logic and replicates what might be found in other rapidly industrializing nations. However, in more recent years, different initiatives have been used with different and, sometimes, contradictory apparent purposes. This paper seeks to investigate these differences and try to explain their purpose and effects. It continues with a brief exploration of the theoretical framework of this use of economic geography and will then go on to highlight the development of secondary cities, border areas and other spatial initiatives.

2. Theoretical Framework

Lenin's theory of uneven and combined development helps explain differential rates of development across geographic areas but perhaps might be supplemented by a greater awareness of the agency which both public and private sector organizations have to create new forms of nature (cf. Novack, n.d.). Initially, the uneven distribution of natural resources leads to the location of various economic activities: mining, for example, takes place where minerals may be found and markets will flourish where land and water routes cross. Population centers will be created where these markets intersect with sacred or kingly imaginings and artisans will gradually gravitate towards these areas. In the Mekong region, low population densities and a preponderance of difficult terrain meant that the

endemic warfare has been based on forcible capture and relocation of communities, preferably communities of skilled artisans. Population growth was made possible by surplus food produced by agriculture which enabled urban areas to be sustained and this followed the rice frontier (Baker & Phongpaichit, 2014). That is, wet rice paddy land spread along the banks of rivers and streams before large-scale irrigation projects was created. Consequently, human development was both shaped by natural geography and in turn also shaped the environment. Second nature represents the stage of economic development at which human endeavor has changed the land so as to make use of comparative advantages provided by the uneven distribution of resources (Smith, 2010). Third nature represents a subsequent form of economic development during which human endeavor modifies existing forms of comparative advantage and creates new ones that are related to more sophisticated types of production and consumption. For example, virtual connectivity is required for the acquisition and provision of many of the advanced services which become available as part of the knowledge-based economy (Walsh, 2013). As infrastructure has developed, it has become possible to locate economic activities in a wide range of locations because the transaction costs of transportation have declined relatively. Location designs for inward investment projects may still be influenced by basic incentives such as tax reductions and tariff rebates but are likely to become influenced by additional considerations, including complementarity of resources, ability to establish global value chains and the degree to which an investment facility is desired to be embedded within the local economy. Industrial estates then move to becoming special economic zones (SEZs) (various terminologies are possible) which offer more sophisticated mixtures of incentives which might be aimed at encouraging specific types of economic activity or help foster networks or clusters of companies within different sectors (cf. Porter, 1998). These effects are based on proximity which, since the time of Marshall (1890) at least, has been known to be linked with idea generation and enhanced creativity through sharing knowledge and ideas.

At the same time, cities, even in primate city states, do develop in response to demographic and economic changes. They do so in different ways: "Market towns offer internal economies of scale. Medium towns present external economies of localization. Larger cities generate external economies of urbanization associated with diversity and innovation. City regions lead to scale, localization, urbanization, and networking economies (Mohanty, 2014:2). Cities are essential for economic development because it is only cities which can provide the combination of labor, markets, capital and infrastructure necessary to make possible the two central activities of such development, which are import substitution and innovation (Jacobs, 1985). However, these are not issues devoid of political context. Indeed, under neoliberalism, spatial initiatives are controlled by capital owners whose activities are privileged above those of the people. Where capital wills it, people are expelled from the system and forced to move elsewhere, to regions currently less favored (Sassen, 2014).

Governmental attempts to recognize, redress or take advantage of these issues are referred to in this paper as spatial economic initiatives and they can take place at a variety of scales, from the national down to the community levels.

3. Forms of Spatial Initiative

The principal forms of spatial initiative that have been used in Thailand include the following:

- Location of SEZs. Current government policy calls for more than ten SEZs to be built in border regions across the country. These SEZs will apparently include an industrial estate and a border trading zone, possibly incorporating duty-free trading. It is possible that day return migrant

workers will be used in factories which are supposed to feature value-adding activities. To date, very little progress has been made in building any of these zones (see Tables 2 and 3);

- Infrastructure development. In addition to the Asian Highway Network led by the Asian Development Bank, the government has published numerous plans to build roads, waterways and railroads across the country, in some cases in conjunction with Chinese and Korean interests. Not much progress has been made outside Bangkok, although within the capital several projects involving new or extended line are progressing for the two public transport systems;
- The East West Economic Corridor (EWEC) and the North South Economic Corridor (NSEC), in addition to the Eastern Economic Corridor which exists within Thailand only. These initiatives have a transnational provenance and aim to take advantage not just of adjustments to the capital-labor relationship but also to cross-border complementarities or arbitrage opportunities. The NSEC has been accompanied by free trade agreements with China and the ability to send goods by rapid transportation from Singapore in the south to Shanghai and beyond in the north and has been successful, albeit in the disruptive manner that capitalist developments tend to be. The EWEC has been less successful, since geography and history have determined that east-west connections in the Mekong region are much less practical and important than north-south ones (especially since the latter could take advantage of relatively convenient valley movement. The EWEC concept depended at least in part on currently unmet supply conditions in terms of infrastructure (e.g. deep sea ports on the southwest coast of Myanmar and the eastern part of Vietnam (building on Da Nang) and also demand conditions – what are the goods and services required from this economic area that are not available elsewhere? These various conditions have meant that the EWEC has been both problematic to build and to operate successfully;
- Bangkok has been undergoing quite extensive gentrification since the coup of 2014. This has been accompanied by the forcible movement of various street vending area and the dispersal of various long-term but informal residential communities. This has also occurred in popular tourism destinations such as Phuket and Pattaya, apparently for aesthetic reasons, although state agencies have used a discourse of criminality. Attempts to reorganize the large number of public transport tourist vans have been part of this policy, which is being resisted through the politics of everyday living;
- Some specific initiatives have been planned to meet local geographical conditions. For instance, many plans have been made but have not yet been approved or implemented to dig a canal across the Kra Isthmus. Such a canal would represent the largest earthwork construction in the world but would have considerable advantages for shipping, especially Chinese shipping which would no longer have to sail through the Straits of Malacca. The building of bridges across the River Mekong might also be seen as attempts to promote the new patterns of economic development;
- Very limited decentralization of power has taken place and, where it has done, it is often the result of activities by local government authorities. For example, some agencies in the Isan region have been adding names of buildings and roads in local dialects in addition to the Central Thai dialect.

In addition to planned initiatives, change has also arisen from successful forms of commercial and independent development in some of the emerging secondary cities of Thailand. In the case of Nong Khai and Udon Thani, cities have profited from the emergent Lao middle class in Vientiane who will cross the border for health, leisure and retail activities. Udon Thani now has a population in excess of 1.5 million and has begun to attract Bangkok developers aiming to build large condominium projects

to house working people with higher levels of income (and also for those planning to sublease) (Katharangsiporn, 2013). Private sector operations also drive regional development. Tesco Lotus, for example, has developed an extensive range of retail stores of various sizes throughout Thailand and, to support effective distribution, has built large centers in important locations such as Pathum Thani, Ayutthaya, Khon Kaen and Surat Thani which are significant in creating jobs and increasing the demand for accommodation and related services (Jitpleecheep, 2015). It can also be the case that cross-border economic activities can lead to improvements in a local economy in terms of the residential and retail sectors. In Aranyaprathet on the border with Cambodia, for example, money earned in the Poipet casino complex seems to be largely responsible for the rapid growth of the city (Katharangsiporn, 2014).

Other cities, such as Khon Kaen and Chiang Mai, have developed as regional centers. In other cases, there has been tourism-led development. More generally, enhanced connectivity through telecommunications and virtual networks has revolutionized many forms of work and made possible telecommuting and the footloose professional (Webster, 2006). That is, there is a set of professionals who can do their work outside of an office environment and can submit assignments or code electronically and be paid the same way. Such professionals might prefer to live in a salubrious environment such as Phuket or Chiang Mai and communicate via internet with their work-based networked stakeholders. There is a clear incentive for people to do this but it becomes problematic if people are working in Thailand (in this case) without paying taxes or having a work permit. Internet cafes which they might use to communicate with others would also be vulnerable to charges of breaking the law by facilitating such activities and some have run into trouble this way (and have also been raided with respect to the roles of users with respect to illegal gambling, child sex rings, potential acts of terrorism and acts of *lèse majesté*).

As mentioned above, the border SEZ approach is being promoted by the current administration as a means of propelling the country's economy forward, at a time when it is faltering for a variety of reasons. A two year, two phase plan for border SEZs was announced. In the first phase, they will be created at Tak (Mae Sot district), Sa Kaeo (Aranyaprathet district), Songkhla (Sadao district), Trat, Mukdahan and Nong Khai. The special zones will cover 10 districts and 36 tambons with a combined area of 2,932 square kilometers (Theparat, 2015b). Five or six additional provinces will be developed for the following year. In general, the announcements were met with little enthusiasm in the provinces affected, although in part this might be because of lack of understanding of what it will entail and, in any case, the land prices began rocketing very soon afterwards. Nong Khai is currently scheduled to be part of a second wave of SEZs to be launched as cross-border schemes within the next two years, along with areas in the provinces of Chiang Rai, Kanchanaburi, Nakhon Phanom, and Narathiwat. In the first year, the first phase is as follows: "Tak, Mukdahan, Songkhla, Sa Kaeo and Trat provinces which will span 10 districts and 36 tambons with a combined area of 2,932 square kilometers. The development plan, starting with Mae Sot in Tak and Aranyaprathet in Sa Kaeo, will be carried out from 2015-6 (Post Reporters, 2015). To some extent, the SEZs will be used to house (in part) already existing or emerging agro-industrial clusters such as tea and saa paper in the north of Thailand (Apisitniram, 2014).

13TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THAI STUDIES
 GLOBALIZED THAILAND? CONNECTIVITY, CONFLICT AND CONUNDRUMS OF THAI STUDIES
 15-18 JULY 2017, CHIANG MAI, THAILAND

Province	Neighboring Country	Border Trade 2011	Value (billion baht) 2012	% change
Songkhla	Malaysia	603.21	557.72	-7.54
Kanchanaburi	Myanmar	104.36	108.71	4.00
Nong Khai	Laos	45.14	64.07	29.55
Sa Kaeo	Cambodia	38.22	51.32	25.53
Mukdahan	Laos	41.82	49.97	16.31
Tak	Myanmar	22.10	3937	43.87
Chiang Rai	Myanmar, Laos	34.01	39.24	13.33
Trat	Cambodia	21.91	24.94	12.15
Ranong	Myanmar	25.33	19.99	-26.71
Ubon Ratchathani	Cambodia, Laos	11.09	13.33	16.80
		982.21	1,011.72	2.92

Table 2: Leading Thai Provinces for Cross-Border Trading; source: Commerce Ministry.⁴⁴

Province	No. of Projects	Value (baht)	Principal Activities	Principal Sources
Tak	22	3.5 bn	Plastic packaging, underwear, sportswear, machinery	China, Taiwan, Myanmar
Songkhla	6	1.7 bn	Rubber gloves, latex, ceramics, herbs	Thailand, Malaysia
Mukdahan	4	831.5 mn	Construction materials, plastic bags, animal feed, plastic packaging	Thailand, China, Japan
Sa Kaeo	3	1.3 bn	Aluminium heat sinks, plastic products	Thailand
Kanchanaburi	2	639.6 mn	Shrimp feed, animal feed	
Nong Khai	1	310 mn	Containers and pallets	
Trat	3	568.4 mn	Containers, plastic pellets, consumer goods	Thailand, Australia
Chiang Rai	1	16 mn	Crepe rubber	
Narathiwat	0			
Nakhon Phanom	0			

Table 3: Proposed Projects for BSEZs as of March 28th, 2017; sources: Theparat, 2016, 2017⁴⁵

The Thailand Development Research Institute (TDRI), an influential government think tank, argues that the border SEZ concept is not guaranteed to be a success and does not inspire confidence in terms of how incentives and privileges have been determined. Insofar as the zones will be used to return to the low labor cost competitiveness approach, this is no longer possible (Rattanakhamfu, 2015). The preferable approach is:

⁴⁴ Katharangsiporn, 2014.

⁴⁵ Theparat, 2016, 2017.

“The government should turn SEZs, catered [*sic*] for producing low value-added products into SIZs [special innovation zones], designed for higher value-adding activities by encouraging more high-skilled foreign workers and professionals to work in Thailand, while upgrading the technological capabilities of the domestic workforce (*ibid.*)”

It remains to be seen whether the current regime or any putative replacement will make these necessary changes and, if the current policy actually is implemented, how those projects which are less than successful will be handled.

4. Governance Issues

In general the BOI and IEAT remain influential players in formal public sector initiatives, although both were sidelined at one point when it was planned to take management of the border SEZ projects to within the Office of the Prime Minister. It is certainly notable that the customary empire-building and resource snaring of the Thai bureaucracy has been very evident with one exception – so much effort has been expended characterizing previous government activities as ‘corrupt’ that now civil servants are very reluctant to take any actions at all for fear of falling foul of a similar accusation.

In common with other Mekong Region and East Asian countries, people in Thailand have a general expectation that the government should and will take actions to solve problems within markets and coordinate actions between them. This is true even of people within the private sector, who also anticipate government support for their various activities. As a result, foreign firms find themselves having to deal with government interactions more commonly than they might expect or desire. Further, there is a common perception that proper planning will be capable of resolving any problems as long as sufficient resources are available for it.

By contrast, there are some SEZs – whether they have that formal designation of it, in other parts of the Mekong region where control over governance has been given over almost entirely to investors. This has had predictable impacts on industrial relations within those zones.

Both the overly heavy and overly light presence of government support in the governance of spatial initiatives run counter to the assumptions of advanced capitalism, which supposes that economic activities will perhaps automatically attract the appropriate level of support.

For the provision of infrastructure, new forms of public-private partnerships are being explored and a new law has been introduced to regulate these ventures. In some cases, state-owned enterprises have become corporatized in part so as to participate in joint ventures and new investment projects. For example, East Water has created a commercial component capable of signing contracts with government agencies to fulfill specific water-related projects. Auctions of large water management projects in the wake of the 2011 floods produced consortia of bidders, many of which were linked to the successful K Water Corporation from Korea.

However, overall, the lack of progress in recent years has meant that understanding the practical issues of governance of economic issues has not developed. Much remains to be discovered about how these issues will be managed.

5. Eco-Industrial Estates and Networks in Thailand

The 2011 floods in Thailand took more than 700 lives and was one of the world’s three most severe economic disasters of that year. The incoming Pheu Thai administration, under PM Yingluck Shinawatra, faced its first significant emergency and was hamstrung by the limited ability of

government to act. There was little coordination between government efforts and those of the opposition-controlled Bangkok Metropolitan Administration and the army, which has long taken a role in disaster relief. Contentiously, provincial and peripheral areas were sacrificed to preserve central districts of Bangkok. Popular blame has fallen on the technocrat managers of the Royal Irrigation Department (RID), which manages the dams, as well as other unaccountable agencies and institutions. This has lent popular support to Pheu Thai's strategy of broadening and deepening the scope of the democratically-elected government vis-à-vis unaccountable and unelected agencies. Decentralization of water policy projects is part of the plan to increase the numbers of legitimate political actors and the Committee for Water and Flood Management will advise the RID and require any decisions made to be transparent and accountable. Plans to introduce a Ministry of Water will see the disaster mitigation infrastructure overseen by government agencies. The city of Bangkok will be at the heart of this struggle, since many of the large infrastructure projects will be located there and, as a primate city, it would be unthinkable for many elements of society for it to be subject to what is considered to be outside control. The connectivity involved in this example centers on environmental issues and the Industrial Estate Authority of Thailand, which regulates SEZs in the country and supervises private sector management, has sought to improve it by introducing Eco-Industrial Estates and Networks. According to the Master Plan being published, over the next few years a range of new eco-friendly projects will be launched and many existing projects will be converted to the new status. It is defined as follows: "Eco industrial town refers to a sustainable form of industrial development based on the balance between economy, environment, society, compliance with the law and technological feasibility." Public participation in development decisions concerning these estates is incorporated at various levels and energy efficiency targets have been set. Above all, efforts are being made to ensure that companies operating factories within estates do not just abide by the regulations set but fully buy into the ethos that it is hoped will be instigated. The definition of an eco-industrial park (EIP) or village can vary somewhat. One useful starting point is that it "... is a community of companies, located in a single region, that exchange and make use of each other's by-products or energy (Desrochers, 2001)." It is a part of the industry ecology approach that most commonly involves private sector operations that have developed over time in response to market-based signals, which provokes the question as to whether an injection of public sector control might be beneficial in this regard.

Industrial ecology itself may be defined as "... a broad, holistic framework for guiding the transformation of the industrial systems. This will be a shift from the linear model (mine pit to producer to consumer to dump) to a closed-loop model more closely resembling the cyclical flow of ecosystems (Lowe, 1995)."

A well-known example of the EIP is to be found at Kalundborg in Denmark. This grew as an unplanned industrial park that now has numerous contracts resulting from the symbiotic use of the material inputs. Principal organizations involved include the coal-fired power station, Asnaes, as well as an adjacent oil refinery, pharmaceuticals plant, a plasterboard manufacturer and the municipality of Kalundborg itself, which distributes power and water to some 20,000 people as a result (IISD, n.d.). The symbiotic relationships between these organizations have resulted in savings such as the following:

- “* yearly CO₂ emission reduced by 240,000 tons;
- 3 million m³ of water saved through recycling and reuse;
- 30,000 tons of straw converted to 5.4 million liters of ethanol;
- 150,000 tons of yeast replaces 70% of soy protein in traditional feed mix for more than 800,000

pigs;

Recycling of 150,000 tons of gypsum from desulphurization of flue gas (SO₂) replaces import of natural gypsum (CaSO₄) (Kalundborg Symbiosis).”

Several projects in Canada have sought to adopt similar benefits, albeit with a greater role for the public sector in designing the physical environment so as to promote both sustainability and connectivity. At the TaigaNova EIP, for example, there are measures to ensure pedestrian and bicycle connectivity, hybrid road cross-sections to permit alternative stormwater management systems and land use bylaws that help ensure an additional 25% of energy efficiency, reduction of environmental impacts during construction, product-by-product synergy and other measures (TaigaNova Eco-Industrial Park, n.d.).

Singapore, as might be expected, leads the way in sustainable development in Southeast Asia. A primary example of this is the CleanTech Park, which links Nanyang Technological University, Jurong Eco-Garden and manufacturing hubs at the Jurong Industrial Estate. The location of these facilities has been designed not just for minimal environmental degradation and access to public transportation systems but also to enhance interaction and connectivity between people from different organizations by providing various physical spaces where people can encounter each other and interact together (JTC, 2014). The Singapore venture is led by a corporatized government agency given extensive resources to undertake defined developmental goals, which is another aspect of the EAEM.

It is clear that the EIP concept is one that can be developed in a variety of ways that greatly exceeds the initial symbiotic use of inputs approach. Inevitably, as the scope and scale of such a project expands, there will be more opportunity for missteps to be taken.

Area	Means
Use of energy	Solar energy, energy-saving, building design
Use of other resources	Lean production
Negative externalities	Pollution controls
Stakeholder relationships	Public participation
Governance	Compliance with IEAT requirements

Table 4: Areas of Environmental Concern in SEZs; source: Author

The IEAT has identified a number of criteria for qualification as an eco-industrial park, including allocating 10% of total land as green areas and having zero complaints about illegal water use and waste disposal in the previous two years (Wongsamuth, 2014). It has been announced that new IEs (and indeed SEZs, in aspiration) will adhere to new, green rules and existing estates will be moved towards these SEZ criteria by 2019. Currently, more has been spent on advertising than has actually produced results. The same might be said for various other cluster based industries and the s-shaped industrial paradigm, which apparently will be linked to the Industry 4.0 Thailand concept. The s-curve model is also anticipated to be used in new industrial estates to be placed in the Eastern Economic Corridor. The concept is this: “The S-Curve is a model under which a new business with higher

technology and innovation is created at a time when the company's growth reaches its peak and begins to taper or level off (Apisitniran, 2017)." The corridor consists of 30,000 rai in the provinces of Chonburi, Rayong and Chachoengsao which will have a focus on selected industries: next-generation cars; smart electronics' affluent medical and wellness tourism; agriculture and biotechnology; food; robotics for industry; logistics and aviation; biofuels and biochemical; digital and medical services. This plan is rational in that these are sectors that offer promise of future growth and in which Thai individuals and organizations have in the past demonstrated ability. However, it suffers from the basic problem of top-down planning: it is based on the assumption of demand and supply conditions that have not been demonstrated in reality. A related scheme for an SEZ aimed at promoting the entertainment sector and related activities foundered on the reality that entertainers want to live and work where they want to live and work and not in artificially created areas that do not offer the forms of social and personal relations and experiences that they value and which they consider important to their performances and creations.

6. Conclusion

The rapid and drastic changes in government style from authoritarianism to democracy and back again poses considerable problems for the governance of important economic activities. Not the least of these problems is the management of transitions between different levels of transparency and accountability. Owing to hierarchical practices within Thai bureaucratic institutions, decision-makers tend to be clustered at the higher levels and so mid- and lower-ranking officials can only await new instructions and not anticipate events so as to improve efficiency. This results in unnecessary delays. More research is required to itemize and evaluate the other results.

Regional development within a country is important in balancing supply and demand conditions for migration, for reducing tensions resulting from economic inequality and for basic issues of equality. The precise formulation of importance of these different issues within a policy mix is not really important – results are more important than reasons in a Theravadin Buddhist country after all. The issue is to decide what is effective and do what can be done to bring about desirable policy objectives.

References

- Apisitniran, L. (2017.4.7). S-curve industrial estate mulled, *Bangkok Post*, B1.
- Baker, C. & Phongpaichit, P. (2014). *A history of Thailand*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jacobs, J. (1985). *Cities and the wealth of nations: Principles of economic life*. New York, NY: Random House Publishing USA.
- Pitsinee, J. (2015.10.6). Tesco Lotus distribution hub planned for northern region, *Bangkok Post*, B3.
- Katharangsiporn, K. (2013.3.16). Condo projects set to rise in rapidly urbanising Udon Thani, *Bangkok Post*, B6.
- Katharangsiporn, K. (2014). Making a run for the border, *Bangkok Post*, B8.
- Kmonwatananisa, N. (2008). *Thailand's management of regional and spatial development*. Bangkok: NESDB.
- Marshall, A. (1890), *Principles of economics*. London: MacMillan.
- McGee, T.G. (1967). *The Southeast Asian city: A social geography of the primate cities of Southeast Asia*. London: Bell, 1967.
- Mohanty, P.K. (2014). *Cities and public policy: An urban agenda for India*. New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd.
- Novack, G. (n.d.). *Uneven and combined development in history*. Retrieved from: www.marxists.org/archive/novack/works/history/ch05.htm.
- Porter, M.E. (1998). Clusters and the new economics of competition, *Harvard Business Review*. Retrieved from:

13TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THAI STUDIES
GLOBALIZED THAILAND? CONNECTIVITY, CONFLICT AND CONUNDRUMS OF THAI STUDIES
15-18 JULY 2017, CHIANG MAI, THAILAND

- <https://hbr.org/1998/11/clusters-and-the-new-economics-of-competition>.
- Rattanakhamfu, S. (2015). *Leveraging special economic zones for the economy*. Retrieved from: <http://tdri.or.th/en/tdri-insight/leveraging-special-economic-zones-for-the-economy-2/>.
- Sassen, S. (2014). *Expulsions: Brutality and complexity in the global economy*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Smith, N. (2010). *Uneven development: Nature, capital and the production of space* (third edition). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Theparat, C. (2016.7.28). SEZs lure 39 projects worth B7bn, *Bangkok Post*, B3.
- Theparat, C. (2017.3.28). Investors pledge B8.5bn for border SEZ projects, *Bangkok Post*, B1.
- Walsh, J. (2013). Social policy and special economic zones in the Greater Mekong Subregion, *International Journal of Social Quality*, 3(1), pp.44-56.
- Wongsamuth, N. (2014.1.30). Industrial estates set to go green, *Bangkok Post*, B3.

Bridging the Knowledge Gap Between Local Communities and Technical Agencies for Flood Early Warning in Ayutthaya, Thailand

Wannathong, Warittha

Murphy, Kilian

Asian Disaster Preparedness Center (ADPC)
Thailand

Paphavasit, Sitthinadda

Graduated School of International Relations
Ritsumeikan University
Japan

Abstract

Flooding provides a host of challenges throughout the Chao Phraya River Basin of Thailand. The devastating flood in 2011 served as a stark reminder of the fact that the communities in the central plain of Thailand are at-risk and should prepare themselves better. Despite the vast meteorological and hydrological data possessed by government technical agencies in Thailand, very little useful information could be derived from such information to help warn the communities that were in harm's way. Data was in fact made available to the public, however, not all concerned stakeholders and the communities knew where to access the data and more importantly, how to interpret and use such data. Part of the Program for Reduction of Vulnerability to Floods in Thailand aims to address that gap. The program is funded by USAID/OFDA (USAID's Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance) and is implemented by Asian Disaster Preparedness Center (ADPC). The program identified pilot communities who were deemed at-risk from future flood and worked with them to increase their capacity in understanding flood-related information as well as the flood risk management overall. At the same time, the program also engaged relevant technical agencies, e.g., Thai Meteorological Department (TMD), Royal Irrigation Department (RID), and Department of Water Resources (DWR), who act as information generators and providers. The purpose of this engagement is to help the technical agencies understand needs from non-technical users such as the communities and help them tailor key messages that should be disseminated locally. This 2-way interaction was proven to be a success in bridging the gap between the communities and the technical agencies with local presence. In addition to increasing information exchange that are useful for flood early warning for communities, the program had created a functioning network of community leaders and representatives of the technical agencies that will ensure sustainability of the program intervention long-term.

Keywords: Disaster Risk, Flood, Early Warning, Community

Introduction

Flooding poses a host of challenges throughout the Chao Phraya River Basin of Thailand. The last decade has witnessed an increase in the frequency and intensity of floods in the country, but prior to 2011, there was little capacity for proper flood preparedness among local authorities and communities at risk. As a result, major flood events like the one in 2011 caused widespread impact in the Chao Phraya River Basin, which in turn negatively affected the country's economy. The 2011 flood impacted more than 13 million people and caused 680 deaths (Meethom, 2013). There were 64 provinces affected in the 2011 flood especially in northern and central regions. Ayutthaya Province, located in the downstream of Chao Phraya River Basin of Thailand, was one of the most affected areas with 15 out of its 16 districts inundated from September to early December. During that time, people received news, warning information from many sources not only from government agencies news but also from social media such as Facebook, Twitter, mobile applications (figure 1), and etc. However, even in cases where there were numerous sources of information there was limited access or use of that information in preparing or responding to the flooding events.



Figure 1: Mobile applicatoins providing different information

Sources: <https://www.it24hrs.com/2011/app-thaiflood-appstore-ios/>

The information which the public received from technical agencies was typically delivered in scientific formats which is difficult for the general population to understand, moreover, there was confusion and lack of integration between data and information received from the aforementioned sources. This was shown in a lack of capability to prepare the necessary mitigation measures and led to mistrust from the public in regards to the flood early warning messages which they were receiving (Health, 2012). Equipped with necessary knowledge and skills, the community can act as effective first responders to hazards such as flooding. In cases where the community possess the capacity to obtain information and have an in-depth understanding of community risks in advance, they should be able to cope with crises, including flooding, in a systematic way. This system can be developed by using a Community Based Flood Early Warning System (CBFEWS) which is a tool and integrated system based on people-centered, timely, simple and low cost technology. The CBFEWS is used as a means to bridge the gap between community and technical agencies as part of an overall early warning system.

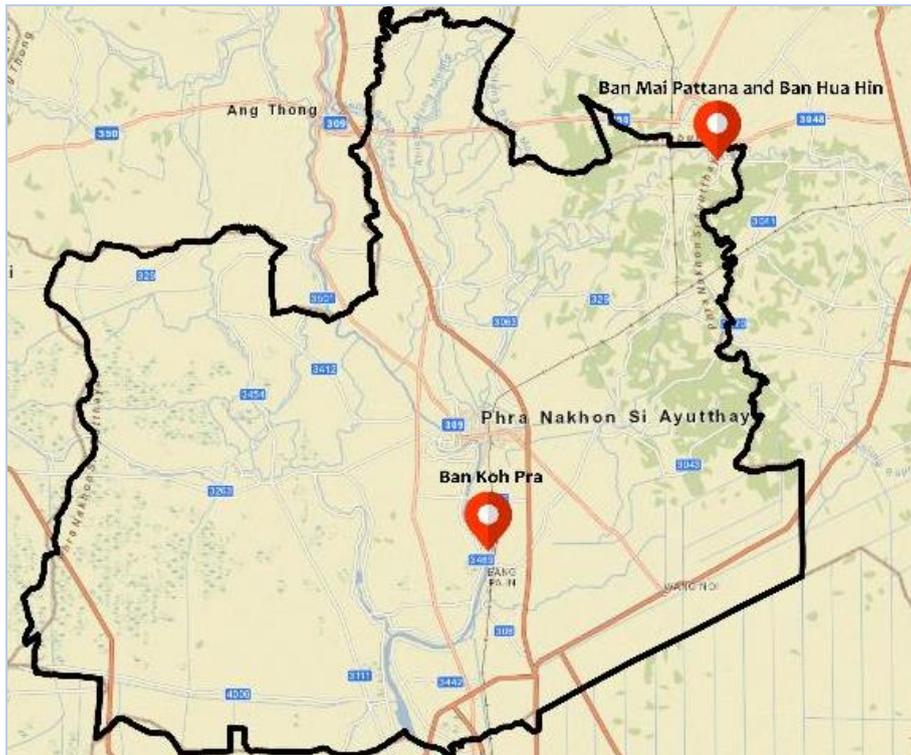


Figure 3: Location of two pilot areas

Source: ADPC

The purpose of this paper is to share the example of CBFEWS implementation in Thailand and the key lessons learned in order to increase public interest in developing and using flood early warning as part of community based disaster risk reduction (CBDRR) activities as well as to enhance the network governance for CBFEWS by engaging two key actors (community and technical agencies) to share information and exchange knowledge. In the past, the community used to be an information receiver, however, this paper will provide an example of community that changed their role to become the information provider. At the same time, the technical agencies who play a crucial role as information disseminator could be an information receiver and user, including data received from the community itself. The sample communities have expanded their information exchange platform to a wider network of flood early warning information and data sharing in the Chao Phraya River Basin. The lessons learned from program implementation can help further promote CBFEWS in the context of sustainable development and this knowledge shared in order to assist community flood resilience in other contexts.

Research Methodology

This study uses a qualitative research approach by gathering information from literature reviews, program implementation experiences, observations, and interviews with the pilot community representatives who had participated in PFRVF program implementation from 2012-2017.

Early Warning Systems in Disaster Risk Management

The disaster management cycle consists of three phrases; pre-disaster with mitigation and preparedness process, during-disaster with response and rescue operation and post-disaster (which is further divided into rehabilitation and reconstruction). Early Warning System (EWS) is considered as one of the most important elements in the pre-disaster phase. In this sense, early warning systems pay more attention to information and the processes which convey this information to the receivers.

In this sense, precise information will ensure that accurate and specific warnings can be provided. Additionally, UNDP (2014) gives a definition of EWS as an integrated system which analyzes disseminates information for individual, community and relevant actors at risk to appropriately prepare and response to disaster, or to, at least, reduce impacts and losses. EWS consists of four key elements (1) disaster risk knowledge; (2) detection, monitoring, analysis and forecasting; (3) dissemination and communication; and (4) people capacity in responding to the disseminated information (UNDP, Glossary of terms in disaster risk management in Thai, 2014).

Recognizing its importance, ADPC has developed and implemented various EWS's since the Indian Ocean Tsunami 2004 in partnership with international, national, local governmental agencies, together with at risk communities in the region (ADPC, ADPC, 2015). The EWS development program implemented by ADPC included the Establishment of the End- to- End Multi- Hazard Early Warning System in the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia which designed the national EWS in Bangladesh, the Maldives, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka. This program linked the international agencies through to the local level in terms of the system design, institutional arrangements, and capacity building. The Climate Forecast Applications (CFA) Program implemented in Indonesia, and Philippines was created to provide a sustainable end-to-end system by enhancing the community capacity in accessing the forecasting information and adapt into the water and agricultural sector. Moreover, the Program for Hydro- Meteorological Disaster Mitigation in Secondary Cities in Asia (PROMISE) aimed to minimize the impacts of hydro-meteorological events including flood. PROMISE targeted in the urban communities in 6 countries includes Bangladesh, Indonesia, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Vietnam (ADPC, ADPC Web site, 2008).

Community-based Flood Early Warning System

Notably, the term 'community- based' has been gaining more attention in the disaster management field. People are no longer focused only on rescue and recovery operations provided by the government, but also recognize efforts on strengthening capacity at the local community level because the community is the unit that is directly impacted by disaster.

Community-based flood early warning systems (CBFEWS) have four key elements; risk knowledge, warning service, communication & dissemination, and response capability (UNISDR, Early Warning Systems in Context of Disaster Risk Management, 2006). Risk knowledge refers to risk assessment, which can be done at the community level based on people's experiences in the past. Risk knowledge also includes mapping, which will enhance capacity to prepare for response. When the community has sound and solid risk knowledge, warning service is the following element in the EWS and concerns the sound scientific basis for the disaster prediction. At this point the support from technical agencies in terms of knowledge and equipment are very important in order to generate accurate warnings.

Additionally, other essential elements of CBFEWS are communication and dissemination that focus on the understanding in warnings in addressing risks and responses toward risks. It is undeniable that clear and easy-to-understand information is the key of effective communication and dissemination. It allows people to think critically and logically prior to decision making on risks. Response capability element is the final component that strengthens EWS. Communities which possess a high capability to receive and understand warning services are typically less vulnerable and more likely to respond effectively to risks. At this point, capability and capacity can be built at the community level through both formal and informal education (UNISDR, Early Warning Systems in Context of Disaster Risk Management, 2006).

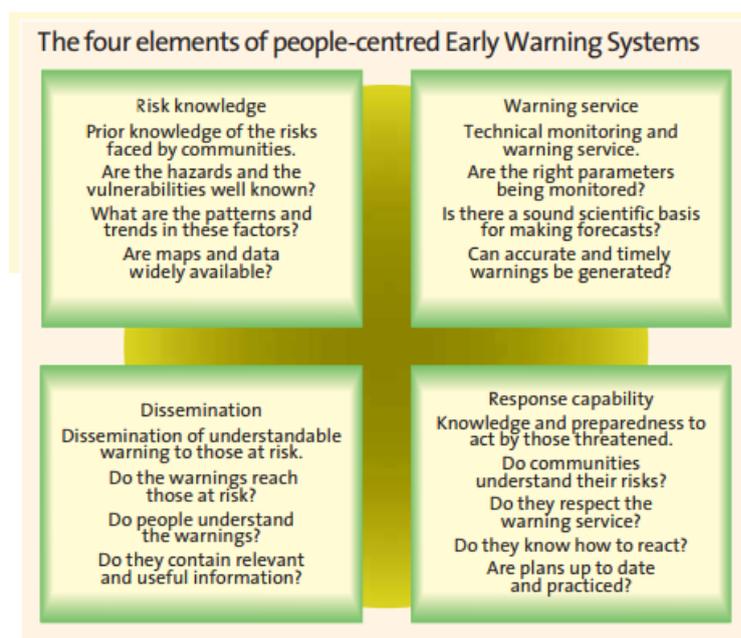


Figure 4: Four elements of CBEWS
 Source: UNISDR 2006

Networking and Governance in Community-based Flood Early Warning System

Networking and governance in CBEWS are the keys to strengthening capacity for community on early warning and also preparedness for disaster, especially floods. Networking governance brings different stakeholders to work together, yet different actors pay attention to different elements. The basic goal of informal networks is to increase stakeholder engagement and allow information exchanges to take place more effectively (Laeni, 2015). Asian Disaster Preparedness Center (ADPC) has successfully implemented pilot cases at the local level in terms of capacity building for communities in flood early warning systems. ADPC has brought together main technical agencies from government including Royal Irrigation Department, Department of Water Resources, Thai Meteorological Department and Department of Prevention and Mitigation and communities to create end-to-end early warning systems in flood risk prone locations.

Key activities in the network include capacity building through training for pilot communities and flood forums where stakeholders share flood risk information. The 'Mr. Warning' initiative was one of the successful outcomes from creating networking governance in terms of flood early warning systems. Traditionally, people received information from the Sub-District Administrative Organization (SAO), however, with the advancement of technology, the stakeholders are able to create LINE application groups in order to exchange information regarding flood risks. This advancement also increases the capacity of Mr. Warning to reach more groups and individuals throughout the community. Laeni (2016) concluded that collaborative governance and networking helped increase awareness for both the technical agencies and communities involved. Moreover, it later successfully strengthened emergency support, besides from the preparedness and early warning processes.

Pilot CBEWS Activity under the Program for Reduction of Vulnerability to Floods in Thailand, 2012-2017

The Program for Reduction of Vulnerability to Floods in Thailand supported by USAID-OFDA has 3 components including 1) Training and capacity building for technical agencies in national, provincial, and local government agencies, 2) Demonstration, and 3) Information and Networking. The pilot

CBFEWS was implemented under the demonstration component. The CBFEWS and governance network development was able to draw on the supplementary information, knowledge, and network from the two other components of this program as shown in figure 1 and details as below.

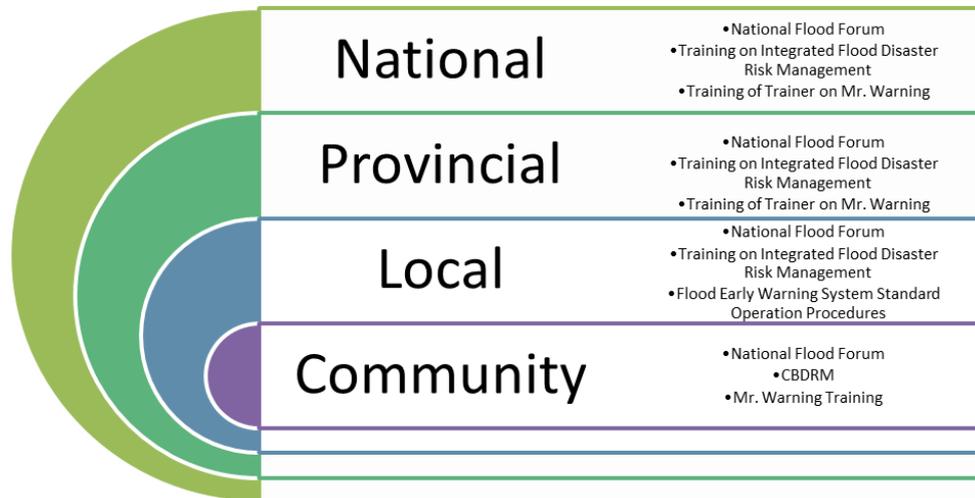


Figure 5: List of relevant activities under the PFRVF during 2012-2017

Training on Integrated Flood Disaster Risk Reduction for DDPM and Technical Agencies

The project worked together with the DDPM Academy to develop the training course on Integrated Flood Disaster Risk Management (IFDRM) during 2012-2014. The IFDRM provided a platform for the officials from different agencies from 19 provinces in Chao Praya River Basin to join the training. Participating agencies included DDPM from both national and provincial offices, Provincial Planning and Policy section, RID, DWR, local government, and Hydro Agro Informatics Institute. The training course was designed to cover Disaster Risk Management phases including preparedness, response and emergency, and recovery. EWS is one of the main sessions in this training and used a case study of the 2011 flood in the session discussions. The IFDRM was tailor made in 2013-2014 for RID, DWR, and TMD, which aimed to enhance the capacity of technical agencies in flood, risk reduction in terms of DRR. These training courses created a network between stakeholders located in the different provinces in the river basin and also between the relevant agencies.

Flood Forums

Under the PFRVF flood forums were convened at both international and national level. Both forum themes were to create the network on flood risk reduction at national and international level. This paper will discuss only the national flood forums, organized 3 times throughout 2012-2014. The 1st national flood forum was organized in 2013 focusing on Flood Early Warning Systems in the Chao Praya River Basin, including lessons learned and the way forward. Participants of this forum included DDPM, DWR, TMD, RID, BMA, and Industrial Federal Association. The 2nd national flood forum organized in Ayutthaya province focused in the Local Government Flood Early Warning Systems and standard operating procedures (SOP). This forum provided an opportunity to compare two samples of Flood Early Warning System SOPs in Ayutthaya province. The final national flood forum was designed to collect data and recommendations for improving the EWS in the basin with inputs from community, local government, and related national flood management agencies under the general theme of flood early warning system.

A Series of Consultative Meetings

The program team conducted a series of consultative meetings with technical agencies including DDPM, RID, DWR, and TMD to explore their interest to participate in program implementation and gain information on their relevant activities related to CBEWS to be used in the training course design and improve the CBEWS in pilot areas.

Curriculum Assessment Workshop on the Training of Trainers for Mr. Warning

A curriculum assessment workshop was conducted with participation of representatives from DDPM and their provincial offices, TMD, DWR, RID, Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand and Office of the National Water and Flood Management Policy. The main goal of the workshop was to finalize the curriculum and resource persons for the Training of Trainers (ToT) for Mr. Warning¹. The draft curriculum presented in the meeting covered 4 elements of EWS and focused on needs involving river flooding. The ToT was divided into 6 modules, including 1) basic knowledge and fundamental information about flood disaster, 2) flood and weather monitoring and forecasting notably in the Chao Phraya river basin, 3) EWS at the community level, 4) drills and tabletop exercises involving EWS, 5) how to be a good presenter, and 6) practice on curriculum development.

The meeting also concluded that target participants should not only include DDPM officers but also representatives from technical agencies including TMD, DWR, RID, ONWFMP, and the National Disaster Warning Center. The training aims to build core trainers for Mr. Warning and also strengthen the network among flood related agencies for improved information sharing and technical-know how related to flood EWS. Participants of the first ToT would become trainers for Mr. Warning at the pilot sites of the program in 3 provinces.

Training of Trainers for Mr. Warning

The Training of Trainers (ToT) for community-level Mr. Warning⁴⁶ was organized at the Disaster Prevention and Mitigation Academy, Pathumtani campus. The 4-day training course was designed to provide trainees under the Mr. Warning initiative with the required technical knowledge related to riverine flood early warning. The participants are from the offices of regional and provincial DDPM, provincial TMD, DWR, RID from the middle to downstream provinces of the Chao Phraya River basin, ONWFMP, and the National Disaster Warning Center who had been identified as possible trainers for Mr. Warning. Technical specialists from ADPC, TMD, DWR, RID, and ONWFMP were instructors of this ToT. The training course included lectures, exercises and group work sessions. After working through lectures on the technical substance and exercises. After the practice training sessions, participants discussed how they could adapt the training course to suit the capability of Mr. Warning as the designated person would be a community member. This process was deemed essential because most of the training sessions focused on technical knowledge and information that would be too advanced when used at the community level. The key observations from this brainstorming session were listed as follows: 1) the trainer or facilitator should collect the community basic information for specific training course design such as the community having access to the internet or not 2) hazard map development together with hazard profile should be a starting point of pilot training as a tool for the community and trainers to understand the community context, and 3) work with local government to ensure the EWS and knowledge transfer can supplement and add value to the current local EWS.

⁴⁶ Mr. Warning is a community based volunteer on flood early warning monitoring and dissemination. The volunteer on flood early warning is one of training courses of DDPM.

Community Based Flood Risk Reduction (CBDRR) Activities

The CBDRR activities in the area focused not only the CBEWS but also included other flood risk reduction preparedness and mitigation measures in the program. The CBDRR activity empowers local government authorities and communities to create their flood risk reduction measures and design their early warning systems. All community development programs need to understand the community context by building up a good rapport with the community and capture community context and profile, which will be used in planning and development of the initiative. The time to build up the familiarity and working relationship with the community can take more than 2 months and requires connecting with other stakeholders in the area, especially those engaged in flood risk reduction. Other stakeholders can be identified during the Participatory Risk Assessment process (PRA).

PRA process: the program team together with DDPM provincial office facilitated the PRA (a process to analyze and understand the community hazards and its coping capacity). This process includes hazard assessment, vulnerability assessment and capacity assessment (Murshed, 2004). The PRA process conducted by using several tools including hazard mapping (figure 6), hazard profile listing, Venn diagram, Seasonal Calendar, and semi-structure interview, moreover, the program team designed new tools to use in this process which easy to understand their problem by using scenario based and discussion. The result of this process was used in the CBEWS design and planning process.



Figure 6: Hazard map developed by Ban Koh Pra Community in 2016

Year B.E.	Hazard	Impact	Remark
2507	Flood	Low impact	
2521	Flood	Flood level 2 meters; The road was cut off due to flood Agricultural area partially damage from flood	
2538	Flood	Agricultural area partially damage from flood	
2545	Flood	Low impact	
2549	Flood	Low impact	
2553	Flood	Flood level 2 meters; The road was cut off due to flood, Agricultural area and some houses partially damage from flood	
2554	Flood	Flood level 2 meters; The road was cut off due to flood Agricultural area and some houses partially damage from flood	

Table 1: Translated Hazard profile of Ban Hua Hin developed in 2012

Community Based Flood Early Warning System and Planning Development: two pilot communities defined their early warning system based on the PRA outputs which included structural and non-structural measures. The community identified their risk area based on the hazard mapping developed under the PRA process which considered flood effects and impact to people in that area. Vulnerable groups including persons with disabilities, children, elderly, and women were also taken into account when the community designed the CBFEWS and flood preparedness and response plans. The PRA process also facilitated the process of setting up the Disaster Management Committee at village level and initiating the flood mitigation measures, such as boats for evacuation, tents for temporary camps, installation of a water level gauge, broadcast system, flood warning board for warning purpose and etc., all of which were listed out during this process.



Figure 7: CBFEWS and Planning Development in Ban Koh Pra in 2016

Ban Hua Hin and Ban Mai Patthana identified the location of staff gauges to be established in the temple for public access. On the other hand, Ban Koh Pra identified the staff gauge location in two places according to their monitoring capacity, the sample of community hazard maps with EWS equipment location and other mitigation measure decided by community (figure 8). Additionally, the community also uses the hazard map to identify appropriate monitoring and information dissemination methods.

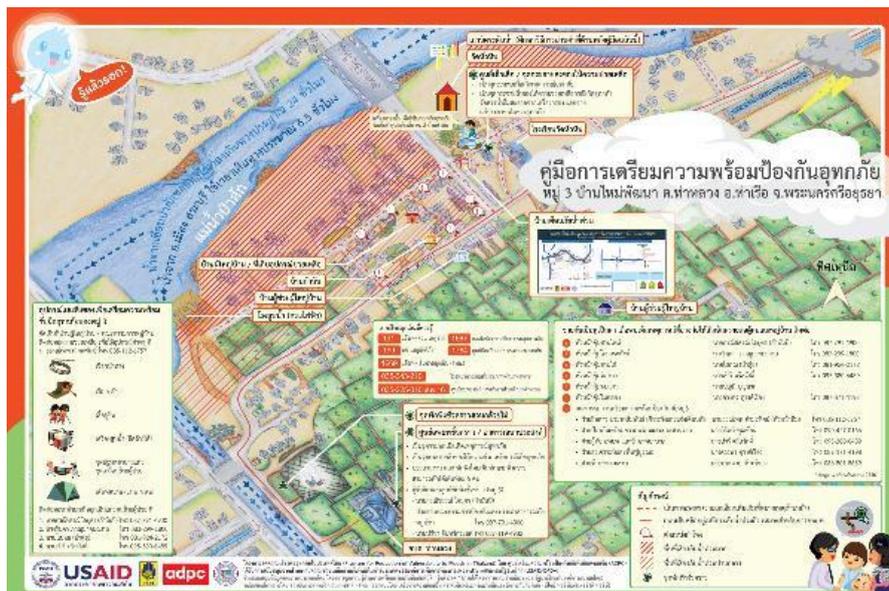


Figure 8: The hazard map and flood mitigation measures information of Ban Mai Patthana developed in 2014

Under the CBFEWS design and preparedness planning process, ADPC drew on their experience of CBDRR and EWS development to strengthen linkages between communities, local government authorities and technical agencies in the area by conducting consultative meetings with concerned agencies and stakeholders. Subsequently, EWS was designed based on outputs from these workshops. The consultative meetings held as part of this process underlined the essential need to engage local government authorities to involve in the system design and discussion and to ensure governance in the decision making process as well as to strengthen existing networks in the area. (Sajcha Bunjongsiri, B.E.2560).

Setting up the Village Disaster Management Committee (VDMC): the VDMC was selected by the community members. The structure of committee could be designed depending on varies roles and tasks and based on the specific needs and capacities of the community. The VDMC of two communities selected EWS volunteers as the persons to monitor and disseminate flood warning information to other community members and to send feedback to local government and other concerned agencies.

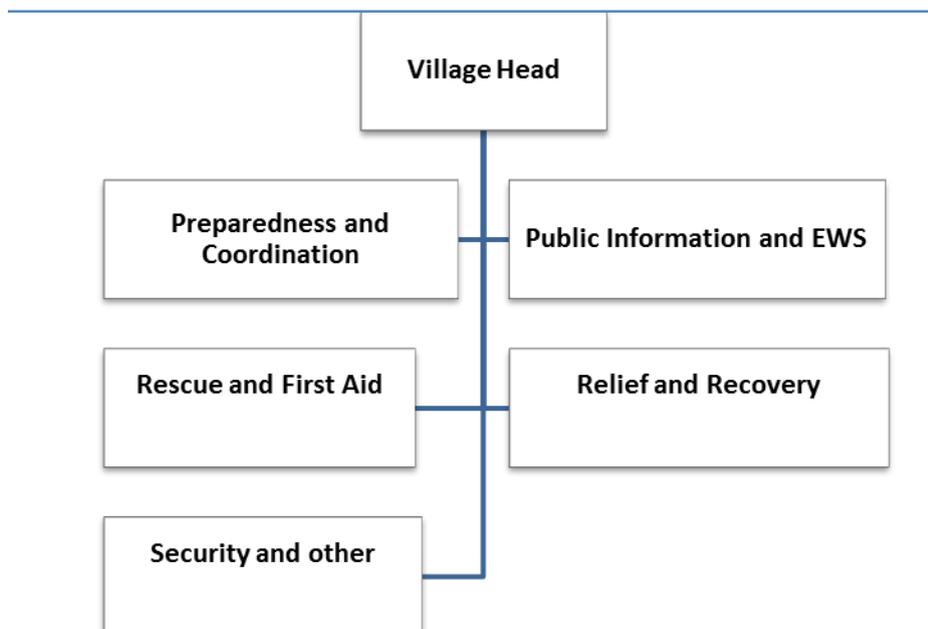


Figure 10: The VDMC structure as utilized in Ban Hua Hin established in 2013

Training on Early Warning System and Mr. Warning Training:

- *Ban Hua Hin and Ban Mai Patthana:* communities in the two pilot areas participated in the EWS training in March 2013. The training was designed to cover all the identified needs in the case of each location. Prior to the organization of the EWS training, the needs of persons with disability on warning dissemination and evacuation was assessed through face-to-face interviews. The EWS training was participated by various groups of participants, such as females, children, disabled groups and senior citizens who were invited to ensure that vulnerable groups were taken into consideration during the warning dissemination and evacuation processes. The EWS training consisted of two parts; 1) presentation of end-to-end early warning system concept, and flood monitoring and warning system at local level presented by a representative from the RID regional office who are responsible for the Rama VI dam operation and participated in the training as a resource person. During the training,

the villagers had an opportunity to discuss with RID on the causes of flood and other flood related issues. The final part of the training was a role-playing exercise. Additionally, representatives from these two villages received flood monitoring training from the hydrology experts on technology to be used to complement local knowledge which communities had used in the past to monitor flood levels by observing the water level in the river or waiting for the announcement from SAO. The training course covered the flood monitoring and forecasting by using the information from internet sources and also informed participants on how to read the flood staff gauge which was installed at the community shown in figure 10.



Figure 10: Training on EWS at Ban Hua Hin and Ban Mai Patthana

- *Mr. Warning Training*: Representatives from Ban Pho Sub-District Authority and Ban Koh Pra participated in a Mr. Warning training course in 2016. The training curriculum had been designed for these particular areas, however, the program team and selected trainers from ToT of Mr. Warning courses and maintained the main concepts of the original training. Selected sessions were adapted to suit the local context, especially the flood monitoring and forecasting session on how to use specific information concerning upstream locations. During the training, the scientific information and data were explained to the participants and the representatives were able to discuss with the resource persons on flood management in the local area. At Ban Koh Pra, Mr. Warning, participants were selected by community members including vulnerable groups as well as taking into consideration that the selected persons should be capable of applying the knowledge to enhance the flood warning systems already in place. The participants including children and youth groups, VDMC representatives as well as community leaders.



Figure 11: Mr. Warning Training at Ban Pho SAO

The flood level staff gauges were installed in 4 specific locations of Ban Pho SAO including 2 staff gauges in Ban Koh Pra in the north and middle of the island shown in (figure 12).



Figure 12: Community Hazard map shows the staff gauges locations

Flood Warning Dissemination, Communication, and Community Response

The CBFews in three pilot areas use information mainly sourced from technical agencies' websites, especially from RID for water level and TMD for weather forecast. Moreover, for the flood and weather forecast component of CBFews, Ban Hua Hin and Ban Mai Patthana take advantage of the direct linkage that has been established between Tha Luang SAO and Rama VI Dam as a result of their engagement in the PFRVF program. In Thailand, the rainy season commences in mid-May. TMD provides a formal announcement about the beginning of rainy season via their website and other public sources. When there is tropical rain likely to affect the river basin, TMD sends out advisory notifications to RID and DDPM via phone, letter, and fax. RID starts the protocol of rainfall and water level monitoring and DDPM sends advisory notifications to its provincial offices and relevant local government authorities start their observation and local area data collection.

At community level, after receiving the advisory notification about the water and rainfall levels, during the normal conditions, water level observations shall be taken one or twice a day. During inclement weather, the observations by community shall be made every four to six hours and when the water elevation reaches a particular reference point, the observation shall be made every 2 hours and EWS VDMC shall immediately inform the relevant local authority for their area. The information collection at community level will be placed at a community water level board and sent to the DDPM provincial office, other concerned agencies, and local government authorities through Line Application (figure 13). Table 2 shows the summary of flood warning dissemination method / channel, communication for flood water assessment level for community alerts and preparation measures for response.



Figure 13: Water level observes at the staff gauge share in Line Application group

Table 2: CBEW process

Community/ Flood Assessment Level	Information Source	Dissemination Channel to community members	Community Response
Ban Hua Hin and Ban Mai Patthana			
Normal	Internet, Line application, news from Local government, staff gauge	Board	Notice staff gauge and announcement from SAO
Get Set	Internet, Line application, news from Local government, staff gauge	Board, public speaker, and face to face	EWS VDMC Closely monitor the water level every 4 hrs. and community secure moveable belongings
Critical/Emergency	Internet, Line application, news from Local government, staff gauge	Board, public speaker, and face to face	EWS VDMC Closely monitor the water level every 2 hrs. community secure moveable belongings, and vulnerable groups prepare necessary belonging to evacuate to shelter at SAO office and Ban Hua Hin School
Ban Koh Pra			
Normal	Internet, Line application, news from Local government, staff gauge	Board	Notice staff gauge and announcement from SAO
Get Set	Internet, news from Local government, staff gauge	Board, public speaker, and face to face	EWS VDMC Closely monitor the water level every 6 hrs. and community secure moveable belongings
Critical/Emergency	Internet, news from Local government, staff gauge	Board, public speaker, and face to face	EWS VDMC Closely monitor the water level every 4 hrs. community secure moveable belongings, and vulnerable groups prepare necessary belonging to evacuate to shelter at community mosque

Simulation and Table Top Exercise (TTX)

The exercise designed by the project team and DDPM provincial office drew on the experience of the 2011 floods in three pilot areas, took into account the particular context and socio-economic details in each case. Participants from pilot areas used role-play as their exercise in addition to the TTX which was organized separately. The role- playing exercise raised the awareness of participants on the importance of vulnerable groups which need to be considered during the warning and evacuation processes while the TTX focused on the EWS and response of VDMC. The TTX also provided a platform to practice coordination among local government and the community in terms of EWS and response. The CBEWS and preparedness and response plans took the lessons learned from these exercises to revise the plan and EWS in the respective communities.

Discussion

The activities under the program reduced the gaps in knowledge and information sharing for EWS and flood risk reduction between the communities and technical agencies in the target areas. This was achieved using the CBEWS approach, together with community development with a focus on strengthening networking and governance. The CBEWS implemented in the communities took into consideration the social-economic context, culture and way of life, local government as well as the policies of agencies concerned with flood risk. Significantly, the initiatives at the community level were participatory in nature, engaging both community and technical agencies.

The PFRVF designed the program implementation to engage the technical agencies especially provincial or regional offices who directly work in the affected areas. Consultative meetings, workshops, and trainings should be participated by representatives from different levels which the program aimed to fulfill as far as possible. The local government has a significant role to play in flood risk reduction both in institutional arrangement and policy implementation. Representatives at the national level were not engaged at the local level or in the field so these platforms were an important way to showcase the initiatives and feedback on the implementation experience to the national level.

For initiatives which include participation from community means, the officers of SAO or human resource of local government are key figures for flood risk reduction efforts as part of CBEWS implementations. Co-ordination and clear focal points are imperative. The community must be able to interact with and easily approach their local government and relevant technical agencies to help ensure more efficient lead- times for warning dissemination and effective operationalization of response measures. Likewise, the authorities should be able to engage with communities who are at the forefront of exposure to flooding hazard risk for the most up-to-date and detailed information.

The CBEWS could not have been implemented nor would it have been sustainable without the interest of community members and strong leadership at the local level in the target areas. The PFRVF has been implemented since 2012 and involved the stakeholders at all level in various activities and objectives which its experience in facilitating and implementing the program, the PFRVF have learned the lesson learned and challenges in implementing the PFRVF in strengthening the network and reduce the gap of EWS development and arrangement at community level and those points are summarized as below:

Institutional Arrangement and Policy Implementation

The program team started activities by conducting a series of consultative meetings at national level to get a buy-in from management level. After selecting suitable pilot sites, DDPM, as the program implementing core partner, connected the program team with the DDPM provincial office, academy, and regional office to ensure the implementation could run smoothly and avoid duplication with other development projects and work by other technical agencies in the same areas. Additionally, the linkage of EWS arrangement and implementation required local government support. This was necessary for ongoing support to continue these kind of activities in the future. Moreover, the activities of PFRVF under component one (training and capacity building) and component three (networking and information sharing) use a river basin approach for program implementation. Flood hazard in the river basin can cover many jurisdictional areas means that institutional arrangements for flood forecast and dissemination should be linked with other local governments or provinces. The training course and forum created a platform for participants from upstream, middle stream, and downstream to share any limitations on flood management and needs in terms of EWS and response. The training course was designed to cover the DRM process from preparedness to recovery by using the river basin approach as a case study.

At the pilot area, Tha Luang SAO where Ban Hua Hin and Ban Mai Patthana are located, plan to continue the CBEWS activity in other villages under its jurisdiction. During the implementation of TTX for SAO and the nearby sub-district which was invited to participated in the EWS TTX for the SAO and community leader levels found that the EWS was already in place but needed to strengthen the technical information knowledge and response capacity at community level which identified interest to organize the EWS training at for the community. For Ban Pho SAO where another pilot village is located the CBEWS will be continued using SAO budget for the maintenance of EWS equipment received under the pilot program as well as engaging the VDMC to act as community trainers to train other communities to be able to use the EWS information in their own areas. From the program experience, feedback revealed that in order to ensure that sustainability of CBEWS and networking amongst relevant agencies and areas, the following measures can be taken:

Empowering People at the Community Level

There are various groups which comprise communities and it is essential to include all groups as part of an effective implementation process. The program team took into account this inclusiveness approach when facilitating the formulation of community EWS and response plans. The key challenges and lessons learned are listed below:

- The engagement of technical agencies at national through to provincial level in all processes of implementation to provide an enabling environment for participation both at policy and implementation level.
- Ensure common understanding among agencies, especially on the concept of CBEWS and its application. At ToT of the Mr. Warning training course, the program design for training sessions covers DRM and CBDRM concepts by using a community case studies and linkage with other EWS component sessions. The participants are from the national, regional, and provincial levels. The training was designed for representatives from different agencies to have to work together

in the same group in order to draw on the different capacities of the various agencies in the CBFEWS training. This training course also provides the example of the importance of coordination for overall flood risk reduction efforts.

- The technical agencies and local government can work as local based partners to ensure the EWS is effectively established in the local area. The lessons learned from bringing technical agencies, local government, and community together in the same activity like EWS training in Ban Hua Hin and Ban Mai Patthana is demonstrated by the example of changing the format and language of the flood warning letters issued by the RID to Tha Luang SAO when providing the notification about the possibility of flooding in this area.
- Conducting regular training on CBFEWS for communities by the technical agencies and local government to ensure the sustainability of the interventions.
- The development of standardized SOPs of technical agencies such as RID, TMD, and DWR about their role in CBFEWS would be useful when the responsible person has changed or staff turnover occurs. The steps for building up community rapport and understanding the community is the most important group in implementing CBFEWS at the community level. Whilst not a technical part of the process, this step should also be planned in a systematic way by identifying key informants and informal leaders of the community in target areas.
- The inclusiveness approach is needed in EWS development, during the PRA process to assist in identifying the vulnerable groups and involving them in the CBFEWS development processes. For instance, in Ban Koh Pra youth groups and children were able to participate in the EWS training which utilized computer skills and technology for the purpose of flood monitoring. Young community members who were familiar with the technology were able to assist adults or elderly to reduce the skills gap amongst the group. On the other hand, the program also learned that the elderly in a secondary city like Ayutthaya Province are mostly retired. This group proved to be a key driver of CBFEWS in the community. In Ban Hua Hin and Ban Mai Patthana as many retired persons joined the activities and volunteered to be part of VDMC as part of the pilot implementation. The EWS training also encouraged elderly community members to practice using the computer and technical information.
- It was important to acknowledge diversity within the target communities. The pilot communities were comprised of two religious groups (Muslim and Buddhist). The program team had to accommodate the differences in culture and way of life in the community, such as the different emergency response requirements and support during floods. Furthermore, it was important to motivate the community members from both faiths to engage as VDMC members to address their specific needs and help implement appropriate EWS and response plans.
- Using the PRA process as a platform of assessing and identifying the community history and knowledge. The PRA is a process of assessing the community hazard risk in the same time it could be a tool of discussion about the local wisdom especially the community capacity or the community flood risk reduction characteristic such as Ban Hua Hin use the lowest area as their flood monitoring point which led the discussion after the PRA process about staff gauge installation location that could be the same or nearest to their prior flood observation area.
- Establishing a sense of ownership: community participation and empowerment are the key

factors for the sustainability of CBFEWS implementation. The CBFEWS design and planning development processes, where the community used hazard maps and other PRA tools to discuss and design the mitigation measures, created a feeling of ownership which led the community members to continue engaging in the activity independently. In Ban Hua Hin, the community have continued their CBFEWS implementation using their own community funding.

- The technical agencies work directly with the community to create an effective channel for communication and strengthen the EWS network. The forum, Mr. Warning training and TTX engaged the program stakeholders at different levels to share their needs and gaps in terms of flood information and forecasting. After the community received information from concerned agencies, the community would also send the flood monitoring information to the technical agencies to help the responsible agencies to understand the local situation and plan the necessary response and relief measures according to the situation. The feedback and information sharing directly helped to enhance the warning information provided to technical agencies for dissemination for at risk communities.

Conclusion

The implementation of CBFEWS can be seen to have created stronger linkages between the technical agencies and communities for enhanced community flood risk reduction. This was achieved via knowledge sharing through networks and capacity building activities which utilized a people-centered, inclusive approaches, along with effective network governance. The program observed that community rapport, engagement, and empowering people across different groups can help generate a learning atmosphere and created an effective sense of ownership which aided the program implementation and sustainability. In addition, the technical agencies need to continue the CBFEWS approach as part of their policy implementation and create the necessary partnerships in local areas to support EWS development.

The process of linking the technical information to communities could not have been at the community level itself but required local government involvement too. The local government acts as a stakeholder for policy development and implementation, and according to the National Disaster Prevention and Mitigation Plan, the local government executive officer is the area command focal point when a level 1 disaster occurs.

Overall, effective network governance is created over an extended period of program implementation and in the pilot areas through program facilitation by engaging and working closely with local people and relevant representatives of local government and technical agencies. However, there are some outstanding additional factors which remain which can help the strengthening of such networks and CBFEWS to be considered for future study and implementation. These are: (1) current policy on flood risk management in Thailand does not fully acknowledge or pay adequate attention to CBFEWS, meaning that guidance for practitioners is currently unclear and should be improved to provide a more comprehensive and full set of policies for this area of concern; (2) in some cases informal communication methods like LINE application have gained popularity as formal communication channels for early warning. Whilst utilizing internet based applications for this purpose has many benefits it also poses certain challenges: there is greater potential for the failure of warning messages which means it is less reliable than traditional methods of telephone or SMS. The program team also noted the content

provided on such platforms often lacked important or complete details such as the exact source of information, location, dates and times which lessened the reliability and usefulness of the information. Reliance on apps as a channel for communication also tends to exclude those community members without access to the internet or mobile phones; (3) the community and local government focal point for such initiatives should aim to share and institutionalize knowledge by conducting lessons learned workshops or regular training with involvement from technical agencies. Likewise, new local government and technical agency staff should also engage and familiarize themselves with the local community, otherwise, the sustainability and long term value of the initiatives will be undermined by staff turnover and personnel changes. Lastly the local knowledge should be integrated with official information and technology by conducting workshops or interviews with community members to ensure elements of local wisdom such as effective methods of obtaining water level notification are integrated into decision making.

References

- ADPC. (2008). Retrieved from ADPC Web site: <http://www.adpc.net/v2007>
- ADPC. (2015). ADPC. Retrieved from Asian Disaster Preparedness Center Web site: www.adpc.net
- Bunjongsiri, S. Keowaan, B., Kande, P., Chinnarasri, C. & (B.E.2560). *Lessons Learned in Alleviating Flooding at a Community Level*. วารสารวิจัยและพัฒนา มจร. ปีที่ 40 ฉบับที่ 1 มกราคม - มีนาคม 2560, 103-115.
- Disaster Prevention Measures Bureau, D. D. (2011). *Openbase*. Retrieved from Openbase: <http://www.openbase.in.th/files/zealzone.pdf>
- Health, T. (2012). <http://www.hiso.or.th>. Retrieved from www.hiso.or.th: http://www.hiso.or.th/hiso/picture/reportHealth/ThaiHealth2012/eng2012_14.pdf
- Laeni, N. (2015, March 23). *Asian Disaster Preparedness Center*. Retrieved from Bringing Collaborative Governance in Community: <http://www.adpc.net/igo/contents/Publications/publications-Details.asp?pid=1060&t=Building%20Flood%20Preparedness%20in%20Community:%20%3Cbr%3EImplementing%20Early%20Warning%20Systems%20in%20Ayutthaya#sthash.006Fvz1C.dpbs>
- Meethom, N. P. (2013, November). *ERI*. Retrieved June 20, 2017, from ERIA: <http://www.eria.org/>
- Murshed, I. A. (2004). *Community-Based Disaster Risk Management Field Practitioners' handbook*. Pathumtani: Asian Disaster Preparedness Center.
- Pradhan, N., Bajracharya, N., Bajracharya, S., Rai, S., & Shakya, D. (2016). *Community based flood early system-resource manual*. Kathmandu: ICIMOD.
- UNDP. (2014). *Glossary of terms in disaster risk management in Thai*. Bangkok, Thailand.
- UNDP. (2016, March). Retrieved from Climate Information & Early Warning Systems Communications Toolkit: *UNDP Programme on Climate Information for Resilient Development in Africa*: <http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Climate%20and%20Disaster%20Resilience/climate-info-and-ews-communications-toolkit.pdf?download>
- UNISDR. (2006). Retrieved from Early Warning Systems in Context of Disaster Risk Management: www.unisdr.org/2006/ppew/info-resources/docs/ELR_dt_23-25.pdf
- UNISDR. (2007, August 30). UNISDR. Retrieved from UNISDR Web site: <https://www.unisdr.org/we/inform/terminology>

The Absolute Monarchy and the Development of the Alcohol Industry in Early Twentieth-Century Thailand

Warren, James A.⁴⁷

Mahidol University International College
Thailand

Abstract

During the nineteenth century, the production and distribution of alcoholic beverages in Siam was in the hands of Chinese tax farmers and Western entrepreneurs. While the Thai state derived considerable revenues from both the tax farms on spirits and the customs duties on imported alcohol, a perceived increase in alcohol consumption and public drunkenness became a cause of great concern for the government. However, its attempts to control the alcohol trade were severely restricted by the limits on the kingdom's fiscal and judicial sovereignty imposed by the unequal treaties with the Western imperial powers. Although the government managed to implement some regulatory measures, such as the promulgation of an excise law in 1889, and assumed responsibility for the collection of alcohol taxes in 1909, the production and distribution of alcoholic drinks remained in the hands of Chinese entrepreneurs and Western businesses. Control of the alcohol industry in Thailand was thus deeply intertwined with concerns about national sovereignty and security. This paper will focus on the Thai government's efforts to develop and indigenize the alcohol industry in the early twentieth century. In particular, it will examine how the Excise Department assumed direct control over the Bang Yi Khan distillery in Bangkok in 1927 in order to experiment with different production methods and how the government sought to nurture Thai businesses through the granting of distillery concessions in the provinces. In doing so, this paper will offer new perspectives on the longstanding debate over the role and impact of the Thai state in the country's industrialization.

Keywords: economic history, alcohol, industrialization, unequal treaties

From the mid-nineteenth century on, Thailand (or Siam as it was known until 1939) experienced a broad range of economic, political and social transformations resulting largely from the country's encounter with Western imperialism. After signing a series of so-called unequal treaties with the Western colonial powers between 1855 and 1870, the kingdom was incorporated into the capitalist world economy as a producer of foodstuffs, mainly rice, and raw materials, such as tin and teak, for export, on the one hand,

⁴⁷ The research for this project was made possible by a seed grant from Mahidol University International College. I would like to thank Matthew Copeland for providing the cartoon on page 11.

and as a market for Western imported manufactures, particularly cotton textiles, on the other. Politically, the threat of colonization motivated the Thai royal elite to reform the traditional system of government administration into one based on Western models, centralizing state power in the hands of the absolute monarchy. At the same time, increasing numbers of people from China migrated to the country in search of opportunities for trade and work. Besides this Chinese commercial class and labor force, a Thai middle class of government officials also began to emerge in the late nineteenth century as a consequence of the state-building programme. The growing number of both Chinese and Westerners exerted a profound influence on Thai cultural practices and political ideas; indeed, the Western concept of civilization, or *siwilai* (ศิวิไลซ์) as it was transliterated into Thai, became the standard by which the Thai elite and, later, the middle class measured themselves. Lastly, and most significantly in terms of political development, military and civilian officials overthrew the absolute monarchy in June 1932 and replaced it with a limited form of constitutional democracy that gave way to military dictatorship during the Second World War.

Despite all of these transformations, however, the Thai economy remained relatively undeveloped until the 1960s. As James C. Ingram (1971) concluded in his pioneering study, there had been considerable quantitative changes but no real qualitative change: the real incomes of the predominantly agrarian-based population remained roughly what they had been in the 1850s and the economy had experienced little improvement in terms of productivity or diversification. Although the government had attempted to promote industrialization through the creation of state enterprises from the late 1930s onwards, manufacturing represented just a small proportion of the Thai economy in 1950. The reasons for this lack of development were many and included external factors, such as the constraints placed upon the Thai government's fiscal autonomy by the unequal treaties, and internal ones, such as the government's failure to invest sufficiently in infrastructure and education. Ultimately, though, Ingram (1971) found external forces to be the most critical, casting Thailand as a 'passive entity, adapting to changes and market influences originating in the world economy' (p. 217).

Ingram's observations gave birth to one of the perennial debates in the historiography of modern Thailand as scholars have identified different reasons for Thailand's underdevelopment (see, for instance, Sungsidh, 1983; Hewison, 1989; Sompop, 1989; Suehiro, 1989; Porphant, 2012). One aspect of this debate has focused on the role of the Thai state, particularly the absolute monarchy, in promoting industrialization. During the 1970s, a number of Thai scholars, the most prominent being Chatthip Nartsupha, adopted a political economy approach to explain Thailand's relative lack of development. They highlighted how what they termed the *sakdina* (ศักดินา) class, meaning the Thai royal and noble elite, monopolized the kingdom's land, labor and capital. Rather than use these resources to promote economic development along capitalist lines, however, the *sakdina* elite chose to secure their political dominance instead. Government expenditure under the absolute monarchy thus prioritized defense and internal security over education, for instance (Chatthip & Suthy, 1981). Moreover, the *sakdina* elite's predominance prevented the emergence of an independent capitalist class. Instead, the immigrant status of the country's Chinese merchants forced them into a subordinate relationship with the *sakdina*

elite, in which they exchanged bribes and rents for connections and protection. From this alliance, there emerged a group of conservative-minded 'bureaucratic capitalists' that, because of their dependent position, were unable to effect the technological and institutional changes that might have led to the country's industrialization (Chatthip & Suthy, 1981; Chatthip, Suthy, & Montri, 1981). While recognizing that other factors, such as the tariff restrictions on imports and the small domestic market, hindered industrialization, these Thai scholars laid the blame for the failure to industrialize firmly on the absolute monarchy. A number of domestic entrepreneurs did try to engage in manufacturing but most failed because of a lack of government support (Chatthip, Suthy, & Montri, 1981).

In response to this analysis, Ian Brown (1988, 1997) has emphasized the significance of external constraints upon Siam's economic development and, in doing so, gives a more sympathetic account for the relative lack of action by the absolute monarchy. For Brown, the critical determinant in the country's underdevelopment was the threat of Western imperialism in Southeast Asia and the unequal treaties, in particular. These treaties placed heavy restrictions on the taxes the Thai state could impose and thereby curtailed its fiscal autonomy and resources. Moreover, the contemporary experiences of China made the Thai government reluctant to take out a foreign loan in order to finance large-scale infrastructural or developmental projects. With its limited financial means, the government had to priorities its expenditures; the threat of being colonized dictated that it invested in items such as railways and the armed forces that would strengthen its security first and foremost. Brown (1988, 1997) also rejects the assertion that the dependent position of Chinese capitalists prevented them from investing in economic diversification. Once more, the free trade provisions of the unequal treaties were crucial because these ensured that local manufacturers would be unable to compete with the flood of cheap, mass-produced goods from the West. Furthermore, the absolute monarchy was eager to work with Chinese capital in establishing new enterprises, such as the Siam Commercial Bank and the Siam Cement Company. While government support for both of these was important, it was by no means the only factor in their success. Indeed, the Siam Cement Company succeeded because its cement had a significant price advantage over imports, which carried high freight charges.

Besides cement, the Thai alcohol industry was one of the most obvious examples of success in domestic manufacturing in the first half of the twentieth century. Indeed, the period witnessed the birth of two enduring and internationally recognized Thai brands: Singha beer in 1934 and Mekhong whisky in 1941. Interestingly, the former was the result of private capital investment in Thailand's first brewery, while the latter was produced by a government-owned and operated distillery. During this period, the government also granted concessions for distilleries throughout the country to private entrepreneurs. As Nualnoi Treerat (2008) observes: 'These concessions became one of the great engines of primitive accumulation for Thailand's early capitalism' (p. 130) and the families that have held them, including the Tejapaibul, Lamsam, Mahakhun and Sophonphanich, represent most of the great Thai business groups of the latter part of the twentieth century. Today, the two main Thai companies with substantial interests in the alcohol industry are among the most high profile and internationally successful of all Thai business groups. In addition to producing the beer after which it is named, the Singha Corporation has branched

out into food, fashion (Singha Life), hotels and hospitality, and property (Singha Estate PCL), to name just a few of its diverse business interests (Singha Corporation, 2016). Its main domestic rival, ThaiBev, produces both Chang Beer and Mekhong whisky and has distilling operations in Europe and China. Most significantly, ThaiBev became a major regional player through its acquisition of the Singapore conglomerate Fraser & Neave (F&N), with its interests in food and beverages, property and publishing, in 2013 (Head, 2013). In light of these examples, it is worth considering to what extent the absolute monarchy was responsible for laying the foundations of the future success of the Thai alcohol industry. A close examination of government policy on alcohol production and sales in the early twentieth century will thus offer new perspectives to the long-running debate over the role of the Thai state in the kingdom's industrialization.

Western Imperialism and the Thai Alcohol Industry

At the start of the twentieth century, two considerations largely dictated the Thai government's policies on alcohol: revenue and security. Both of these concerns were closely connected to the unequal treaties. With regards to revenue, the Thai state had become increasingly dependent on tax farms on domestic production and consumption over the course of the nineteenth century as other sources of income had been abolished, such as the royal trading monopolies, or curtailed, in the case of customs duties. Under the system of so-called spirits farms, private entrepreneurs paid the state an annual fee for the exclusive right to collect and retain taxes on the production, importation and sale of alcoholic drinks, primarily rice spirits and wines, in particular areas of the country. These tax farms, along with the actual manufacture and sale of spirits, were under the control of ethnic Chinese (Sunthon, 1937/38). In the early 1900s, they were providing the state with about four million baht a year, which was roughly 10 percent of its total income (Paisal, 1994, p. 116; Ingram, 1971, pp. 328-29).

By this time, though, the entire tax farming system had come under increasing strain and the Thai government had begun to replace certain farms with the direct collection of the relevant taxes by state officials. In the case of the spirits farms, their monopoly on the alcohol trade had been undermined by the unequal treaties, specifically the limits on import duties and the guarantee that Westerners and their Asian subjects could conduct trade on equal terms with Siamese. Initially, importers of alcoholic beverages only had to pay the three percent ad valorem customs duty rather than the various fees levied on domestically produced liquor, meaning their spirits could be sold more cheaply. This price advantage encouraged entrepreneurs to import increasing quantities of spirits from Hong Kong, Macao, Batavia and Singapore. By the 1880s, these imports were having a serious impact on sales of local spirits, the profits of the spirit farmers and the income of the state (Porchai, 1988). Even after the Thai government was able to renegotiate the treaty provisions regarding alcoholic beverages in the mid-1880s, importers still enjoyed a number of advantages. Although the government was now able to impose duties on foreign spirits equal to those on domestic ones, the resulting Excise Act C. S. 1248, promulgated in 1889, was poorly worded and contained numerous loopholes (Warren, 2013)⁴⁸. The duty on all spirits with a

⁴⁸ The abbreviation C. S. is for the Thai term *chulasakarāt* (จุลศักราช); it refers to the Burmese-derived dating system used in Siam until the late nineteenth century.

strength of 50 percent alcohol by volume (ABV) or less was fixed at 8 baht 37.5 satang per the (๓), or roughly 2 baht per imperial gallon, regardless of origin; while that on stronger spirits increased in proportion to strength (Sathian, 1941, pp. 6, 50)⁴⁹. The problem here was that limitations in the distilling equipment and processes used in Siam meant that local spirits could not compete with imported ones in terms of strength and cost. In the early twentieth century, wily entrepreneurs imported high-strength spirits of up to 90 percent ABV which, after having paid the duty, they watered down to the same strength as domestic spirits, commonly around 30 percent ABV, and sold them at a lower price (Sunthon, 1937/38). In short, the price advantage derived from the unequal treaties ensured foreign spirits were a constant threat to the incomes the spirit farmers and, in turn, the Thai state received from sales of domestic spirits.

Turning to the issue of security, the ready availability of cheap alcohol led to a perceived increase in public drunkenness and disorder from the late nineteenth century onwards that became a great concern for the Thai government. As one member of the elite put it in a letter to the Portuguese consul in the early 1880s, they might lose their country 'like the Red American Indians did theirs' (quoted in Porchai, 1986, p. 48). To make matters worse, the extraterritorial privileges granted to subjects of the treaty powers made policing the smuggling and bootlegging of alcoholic drinks difficult. Under the treaties, Westerners and their Asian subjects in Siam were under the jurisdiction of their respective consuls rather than the Thai state, effectively granting them immunity from Thai law. Some entrepreneurs and criminals exploited their extraterritorial status to engage in the illicit production and distribution of spirits; if the spirits farmer or state officials should try to arrest these bootleggers then their consul would intercede on their behalf. Acutely aware of how the Western powers used such incidents as pretexts for colonial interventions, the Thai government would have little choice but to acquiesce to the release of the foreign subject. Furthermore, as imported spirits began to threaten the profits of the spirits farmers in the 1900s, some used the powers granted to them under the excise law to harass foreign importers and dealers of licit spirits. Such actions led to petitions from the relevant consuls for redress and meant the spirits farmers had become dangerous liabilities to the Thai government (Warren, 2013).

More generally, this fear of imperial intervention pushed the absolute monarchy to adopt conservative economic policies that emphasized balanced budgets, currency stability and the avoidance of foreign loans (Porphant, 2012). Indeed, the government often eschewed or delayed policies that might have promoted Siam's economic development, such as reforming property rights in land, if those policies also carried the risk of facilitating foreign economic penetration (Larsson, 2012). These concerns overrode any wish to upgrade the alcohol industry through foreign investment and technology transfer. In 1908, for instance, the government rejected two separate proposals by Western businessmen to establish modern distilleries in Siam, despite being offered the right to take ownership of said distilleries at a future point in time (NA ก.ก.0301.1.7/9, Memorandum: M. Fontaine's proposal for distillery; NA ก.ก.0301.1.7/10, Memorandum: Proposed distilleries by M. Blondel). Clearly, Western imperialism and the unequal treaties, in particular, hindered the development of the Thai alcohol industry and dictated the related policy options of the Thai government in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

⁴⁹ The *the* was a Thai unit of measurement equivalent to about 19 litres.

The Government System of Alcohol Administration

In order to resolve some of the problems outlined above, the Thai government decided to abolish the spirits farms and implement a system of direct collection of alcohol taxes by the state in 1909. Since it already collected the customs duties on imported alcohol, the Customs Department (กรมศุลกากร) assumed overall responsibility for administering the excise duties on domestically produced alcohol as well. Upcountry, government officials from the superintendent commissioners of the various monthon (มณฑล) down to village headmen were given various duties, including actively promoting sales of licensed liquor and suppressing moonshine⁵⁰. At first, this new system was implemented only in those monthon covering the northern, central and southern regions of the country. In the north-eastern monthon and remoter areas, the spirits farms were retained for some time (Ministry of Finance, 1931/2; Sunthon, 1937/38).

With regard to the production of alcohol, the new system of distilling concessions bore strong similarities to the terminated spirits farms but with a greater degree of government control. Comprehensive guidelines for selecting the annual concession holders were laid down. As a rule, the government limited the number of such concessions per monthon to the minimum necessary to meet demand; thus, in those monthon where communications infrastructure made widespread distribution possible, there was just the one concession. Moreover, every distillery had to be located in an area approved by the government; in Bangkok, for instance, this was the long established site in Bang Yi Khan (บางยี่ขัน) sub-district near the west bank of the Chaophraya River. Each concessionaire, meanwhile, had to sign a contract with the government that specified numerous conditions regarding the amount, price, quality, and strength of spirits to be produced; any infractions would incur a fine and the possible denial of a contract renewal. The government was particularly keen on ensuring that all spirits produced under license, commonly referred to as *sura rong* (สุราโรง), were of a uniform strength. This uniformity would ensure they could be sold anywhere in the country, while also discouraging their dilution and facilitating the detection of moonshine (NA ร.5 ค.14.1.ข/31, เรื่องกำหนดระเบียบ; Chanthaburi to Chulalongkorn, 19 July 1909). If they were to compete successfully with imported spirits in terms of cost and price, the optimum strength for local spirits was between 28 and 30 percent ABV (Sunthon, 1937/38).

Despite these administrative changes, the actual production, distribution and sale of local spirits remained in Chinese hands. Initially, at least, the distilling concessions went to many former spirits farmers; indeed, the government's selection policy actively favored those farmers who had previously demonstrated their reliability over any other applicants (NA ร.6 ค.7/3, Chanthaburi to Prachinkitibodi, 10 April 1911). In those monthon where the government already owned distilleries, it tried to centralize operations in one particular location and began upgrading the equipment to improve the quality and quantity of spirits produced. It also encouraged concessionaires to follow suit, providing land on which they could build distilleries in exchange for the right to buy the establishment when the concessionaires'

⁵⁰ A *monthon* was an administrative unit composed of several provinces under the authority of a Bangkok-appointed commissioner, in a system that had been established as part of the reforms of the Ministry of the Interior in the 1890s.

contract expired (NA ๖.5 ๓.14.1.๗/31, Chanthaburi to Chulalongkorn, 19 July 1909). Besides investing in improving their distilleries, concessionaires were also expected to help promote sales by paying for the licenses of retailers in their area or to donate money for suppression efforts (Sunthon, 1937/38). Clearly, the government was not just interested in increasing alcohol revenue but developing the indigenous alcohol industry so it might compete with those of foreign countries. In particular, the government hoped that fixing the number of distillery concessions in each month would encourage innovation among incumbent and potential concessionaires. Both groups would, ideally, seek to become more efficient and reduce production costs in order to submit more competitive bids, for instance, or offer to reduce the price of their spirits in line with government policy. Just as importantly, this measure gave the government a firm legal basis for rejecting any requests by foreign companies to establish distilleries of their own because it could always claim that the number of concessions was already at its maximum limit (NA ๖.6 ๓.7/4, Chanthaburi to Prachinkitibodi, 15 February 1912; NA ๖.6 ๓.7/7, Chanthaburi to Vajiravudh, 22 January 1913).

When security concerns came into conflict with development goals, however, the government gave greater importance to the former. In the early 1910s, for instance, Tom Ya, a Chinese entrepreneur and owner of a candied pineapple factory in Bangkok with the official title of Luang Chitchamngwanit, experimented in producing a pineapple liqueur, with the aim of eventually securing a distilling concession for its mass production. Despite his claims that this liqueur could be produced more cheaply than rice spirits from the government-owned distillery and would be able to compete on price with foreign alcohol, the government rejected his proposal. The basis for this decision was the policy specifying that any distilleries in the capital had to be located in Bang Yi Khan sub-district and there could be only one concession holder. Granting Tom Ya the concession would necessitate the closure of the Bang Yi Khan distillery and set a precedent that others, particularly Western capitalists, might try to follow (NA ๖.6 ๓.7/7, Chanthaburi to Vajiravudh, 22 January 1913). The unequal treaty provisions ensuring equality of treatment meant that if the government wanted to stop Western economic penetration, it had to create legal restrictions that applied to both foreigners and Siamese alike. As the above case shows, though, this may have hindered the development of the kingdom's alcohol industry.

The new system of government administration of the alcohol trade was an undoubted success in revenue terms. The state's income from alcohol taxes, including duties on imported alcohol, almost doubled, from 3.21 million baht in 1908/9 to 6.32 million in 1909/10⁵¹. With the exception of 1912/13, alcohol receipts remained at over 6 million baht a year throughout the early to mid-1910s (Paisal, 1994, pp. 116-17). In the first year of operation, at least, the increase in sales of local spirits exceeded expectations, with shortages reported in some areas. Numerous reasons were given for this success, including the efforts of government officials in suppressing bootlegging and the greater availability of competitively priced local spirits (NA ๖.5 ๓.14.1.๗/31, Chanthaburi to Chulalongkorn, 19 July 1909).

⁵¹ Under the old Siamese calendar that was used until 1940, the year ran from 1 April to 31 March. Therefore, I have used 1908/9 to represent the Siamese calendar year that ran from 1 April 1908 to 31 March 1909 and similar formulations for other years.

Nevertheless, the import of high-strength spirits for dilution remained a threat and began to effect sales of *sura rong* from 1911 on (NA ๖.6 ๓.7/12, Phromphong to Chanthaburi, 7 November 1913)⁵².

The main challenge to the government's new alcohol regime came from the Société Française des Distilleries de l'Indochine (SFDIC), which was the main supplier of the state alcohol monopoly in French Indochina. This company was one of those that had previously had its proposal to build and operate a modern distillery in Siam rejected by the Thai government. However, the SFDIC did not abandon its goal of moving into the Thai market. In 1909, it established a branch in Bangkok so that it might import its spirits and build up a customer base in the country. According to its main agent in Siam, though, the company's attempts to expand its operations into the provinces were obstructed by local government officials, in blatant contravention of its treaty rights. This led to a prolonged dispute between the Thai government and the SFDIC, supported by the French government, as each side accused the other of misinterpreting the unequal treaties and related laws on alcohol. The main problem for the Thai government was that the excise law was poorly worded and already out of date, having been drafted with the old system of tax farming in mind. For its part, the SFDIC was ruthless in exploiting loopholes in the law to press its advantage; in particular, it claimed that, according to the letter of the law, importers and wholesalers of foreign spirits were not required to have a license. Under significant diplomatic pressure from the French, the Thai government had to accept these literal interpretations and, in November 1911, it took measures to ensure they were understood and upheld by all officials (Warren, 2015). This further enhanced the price advantage of foreign spirits because wholesalers who dealt in them solely did not have to pay any license fees.

Ironically, in having forced the Thai government to recognize the rights of importers and wholesalers to operate without a license, the SFDIC unwittingly undermined its own position in the kingdom by making it easier for others to import spirits. In 1912/13, the amount of foreign spirits entering the country, particularly from the Netherlands East Indies, increased substantially. This led to a decline in sales of both government-licensed liquor and the SFDIC's spirits. Additionally, since the Thai administration had been so focused on resolving the dispute with the SFDIC, it had devoted little time to ensuring local distillers and vendors followed the law or to suppressing bootleggers. By the mid-1910s, therefore, moonshine had made a comeback and was also affecting government sales, if not those of the company as well (NA ๖.6 ๓.7/12, Phromphong to Chanthaburi, 7 November 1913).

In the mid-1910s, the government decided to hire a Frenchman, P. Petithuguenin, as an advisor to the Customs Department to help improve tax collection and the regulation of foreign spirits (Sunthon, 1937/38; Wanphen, 1983). In order to restrict the importation and dilution of high-strength spirits, the government issued regulations in 1917 that required all dealers to keep detailed accounts of the spirits they handled. This would enable excise officials to detect whether those spirits had been diluted and

⁵² While Western wines and spirits grew in popularity among the Thai elite in the early twentieth century, the government was not overly concerned about these beverages as they did not compete directly with sales of *sura rong* (NA ๖.6 ๓.7/12, Phromphong to Chanthaburi, 7 November 1913).

then prohibit their transportation or sale on the grounds that they were now illicit (NA ร.6 ก.7/14, Chanthaburi to Vajiravudh, 12 February 1917; Ministry of Finance, 1931/32). Despite these measures, however, the importation of high-strength spirits for dilution continued into the mid-1920s. Indeed, imports of all spirits increased by 28 percent between 1916/17 and 1925/26. Local liquor, meanwhile, remained uncompetitive in terms of cost and price (NA ก.ก.0301.1.7/24, Opinion on rate of duty). Ultimately, success in developing the domestic alcohol industry depended on the government regaining its fiscal autonomy so that it could levy different tariffs on local and foreign alcohol.

The End of the Unequal Treaties and the Revision of Tariff Rates

The breakthrough in revising the unequal treaties and related customs rates came with Siam's declaration of war against Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1917. In the long term, King Vajiravudh (r. 1910-1925) hoped this move would build up goodwill among the Allies for renegotiating and eventually terminating the treaties. In the short term, meanwhile, it removed one of the obstacles to amending the duties on alcoholic beverages; unlike the other spirits conventions concluded with the treaty powers in the 1880s that allowed the government to amend these rates by just giving six months notice, the agreements with Germany and Austria-Hungary required the consent of their respective governments before any such adjustments could be made. With Siam's declaration of war, all treaties with these two powers were void (NA ร.6 ก.7/18, Chanthaburi to Vajiravudh, 9 March 1918). In May 1918, therefore, the Thai government was able to promulgate an amendment to the excise law, under which the threshold for incremental increases in the duty on spirits was lowered from 50 percent to 25 percent ABV (Sathian, 1941, pp. 59-61). In other words, imported spirits of up to 50 percent ABV were no longer subject to the same rate of 8 baht 37.5 satang per the as local spirits of around 30 percent ABV. These new tariff rates had an immediate impact upon the state's alcohol revenue, which jumped from 8.62 million baht in 1917/18 to 10.5 million in 1918/19 (Paisal, 1994, p. 117). Nevertheless, as suggested above, other factors, such as wholesalers of foreign liquor not requiring a license, ensured that imports maintained their price advantage over domestic spirits. After sales of the latter and, concomitantly, alcohol tax receipts reached a high of 973,531 the (approximately 18.5 million liters) and 10.9 million baht respectively in 1919/20, both fell away in the early 1920s (NA ก.ก.0301.1.7/33, Memorandum on administration of Excise Department; Paisal, 1994, p. 117). Pinpointing the impact of imported spirits on these declines is hard, however, as other factors, principally the failure of the rice crop in 1919/20 and a consequent drop in rural incomes, played a significant role.

In 1920, Siam received its anticipated reward for entering the First World War on the side of the Allies when the United States signed a new treaty that restored the kingdom's fiscal and judicial autonomy. By 1926, the other treaty powers had concluded similar agreements and Siam was now free to impose differential tariffs on imported and domestic alcoholic beverages. Consequently, the government issued the Customs Duties Act B. E. 2469 in March 1927, along with an amendment to the excise act⁵³. Imported

⁵³ The abbreviation B. E. is for the Buddhist Era, the dating system still used in Thailand today.

alcoholic beverages, with the exception of beer and wine, were taxed at a rate of 2.5 baht per liter of pure alcohol (with a minimum of 70 satang a liter), compared to an equivalent rate of 2.25 baht (and a minimum of 63 satang per liter) on all domestically produced alcohol. These new rates amounted to a modest increase on the previous joint rate of 60 satang per liter of pure alcohol. The duty on imported beer and wine, meanwhile, was fixed at 12 percent ad valorem (Sathian et al. 1934/35+, vol. 39, p. 585; Sathian 1941, p. 66). However, there was no separate excise rate for local beer and wine, presumably because neither type of alcohol was produced in Siam at the time. The limited nature of these measures and their effects tend to support Ingram's (1971) assertion that the government intended the new tariff rates to increase revenue rather than promote domestic production. Indeed, alcohol revenue rose to a high of just over 12 million baht in 1927/28 before declining to 10.5 million in 1929/30 (Paisal, 1994, p. 117). Excise officials attributed this decline partly to the impact on people's spending power caused by bad harvests in the late 1920s (NA น.น.0301.1.7/25, Excise report, 17 June 1929). When alcohol revenues then dropped precipitously during the worldwide depression years of the early 1930s, reaching a low of 5 million baht in 1933/34, the government resorted to further tariff increases in order to maintain its income (Paisal, 1994, p. 117). In February 1931, an amendment to the customs act doubled the duty on the spirits favored by the well-off, such as brandy and whisky, to 5 baht per liter of pure alcohol (with a minimum of 2.5 baht per liter) and raised that on other alcoholic beverages with a strength greater than 5 percent ABV to 3.5 baht per liter of pure alcohol (with a minimum of 1.05 baht per liter) (Sathian, et al. 1934/35+, vol. 43, pp. 292-93).

Working out the precise impact of these tariff increases on sales of imported and local alcohol against the backdrop of economic distress in the late 1920s and early 1930s is difficult. Nevertheless, some general trends in overall consumption are clear. After the first tariff increases, imports of spirits decreased from 3.37 million liters in 1926/27 to 2.47 million liters in 1927/28. With the collapse of worldwide trade during the depression years, imports of spirits then fell to under 500,000 liters a year by 1931/32. A decrease in Chinese-style rice spirits made up the largest proportion of this overall decline (Customs Department, 1929, p. 142; 1932, p. 148). Sales of government-licensed spirits also fell during this period: from 879,000 the (approximately 16.7 million liters) in 1926/27 to 385,000 the (roughly 7.3 million liters) in 1931/32 (NA น.น.0301.1.7/48, Necessity for strong measures). Government officials disagreed as to the impact of the 1927 increase in excise duty on this fall. One report stated that this increase had led to a rise in the price of licensed spirits (NA น.น.0301.1.7/25, Excise report, 17 June 1929), while a later examination dismissed such concerns by claiming that it had not affected the consumer. Specifically, since both the amount distillers had to pay the government and the size of the measuring glass used for retailing spirits had been reduced, the price had remained the same. According to this latter report, the real reasons for declining sales were that people were seeking alternatives to licensed spirits, principally moonshine but also legal substitutes, and government control mechanisms and personnel were inadequate (NA น.น.0301.1.7/33, Memorandum on administration of Excise Department). The only alcoholic beverage that benefitted from the increase in duties was beer, as imports doubled from 625,328 liters in 1927/28 to 1.32 million liters in 1931/32 (Customs Department,

1932, p. 148). According to Makoto Nambara (2004), upper- and middle class Thais began to drink increasing amounts of beer as the price of imported spirits rose. Japanese brands such as Sapporo were the main beneficiaries as the new rates made these low-price beers more competitive than European ones. Even when the duty on beer was increased to 15 satang per liter or 30 percent ad valorem, whichever the greater, in October 1931, imports only suffered a one-year dip to 1.08 million liters in 1932/33 before recovering once more to around 1.4 million liters in the mid-1930s (Nambara, 2004, pp. 11-15). One lesson to be drawn from this discussion of the increases in customs and excise duties was that these rates could be manipulated to encourage consumers to drink certain beverages. The absolute monarchy, however, seems to have been more concerned with maintaining its revenues rather than using tariffs in a protectionist manner in order to promote domestic manufacture.

Enforcement and Prohibition

Besides imported spirits and beer, the other main rival to government-licensed spirits was illicit liquor. As already suggested, excise officials perceived a widespread increase in bootlegging and moonshine during the late 1920s and early 1930s to be one of the main factors behind the decline in sales of licit spirits (NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/45, Memorandum: Desirability of changes in excise policy). Between 1926/27 and 1931/32, offences against the excise law doubled from 7,315 to 15,716 cases (NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/33, Memorandum on administration of Excise Department; NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/48, Necessity for strong measures). This rapid rise provides some evidence of the increase in illicit stills but also suggests some improvements in suppression efforts. Nevertheless, there were some serious defects in the Thai state's preventive capacity. First, the penalties for excise offences were just small fines, which could easily be covered by the proceeds of bootlegging. Second, provincial authorities often commandeered excise officials for unrelated tasks such as assessing the land tax and suppressing banditry. This latter situation was exacerbated by cuts in the number of provincial preventive staff in 1932 as part of the government's economy drive (NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/25, Excise Report, 17 June 1929; NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/33, Memorandum on administration of Excise Department; NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/48, Necessity for strong measures). Ultimately, the government realized that if it were to maintain sales of licensed spirits then it needed to ensure they were affordable so that people were not drawn to moonshine instead. However, there is no evidence that the absolute monarchy decided to cut the price of domestically produced liquor in this period.

Throughout the 1920s, people also sought other alternatives for government spirits that were not covered by the excise law. These substitutes included medicinal spirits (ya dong/ยาตอง), palm toddy (particularly in the south of Siam) and even imported, denatured alcohol mixed with another beverage to make it palatable (NA ก.ค.0301.1.4/3, Customs report on Foreign Office letter; NA ก.ค.0301.1.2/7, Proposed tax on toddy; NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/33, Memorandum on administration of Excise Department).⁵⁴ Given the popularity of medicinal spirits and palm toddy, their domestic production had the potential to

⁵⁴ Denatured alcohol, also called methylated spirits, is ethanol that has been produced for industrial purposes such as a solvent or fuel. Various substances are added in order to render denatured alcohol unfit for human consumption.

develop into significant business enterprises and become another source of state revenue. In 1923, for instance, the intellectual provocateur Narin Phasit made huge profits from manufacturing and selling his A Pair of Doves (ชานกเขาคู่) brand medicinal alcohol (Koret, 2012). Rather than encourage these nascent industries, however, the government chose to protect its existing alcohol revenue. In September 1924, it passed an amendment to the excise law that effectively prohibited the production and sale of these two forms of alcohol (Sathian, 1941, pp. 62-65). This ban was ineffective in restricting the consumption of palm toddy, however; leading some officials in the Ministry of Finance to suggest that the beverage be legalized and taxed in 1927. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the Excise Department rejected this proposal, arguing that, since palm toddy was so easy to make, its legalization would impact heavily on revenues from licensed spirits (NA ก.ค.0301.1.2/7, Revenue Department's scheme for taxing palm-trees; Proposed tax on toddy).

Economic Nationalism and the Alcohol Industry

The 1924 ban drew some sharp criticism from members of the Bangkok literati and media, for whom it was evidence that the absolute monarchy was prioritizing its own interests and those of foreign capital over the wellbeing and development of the Thai nation. As Narin put it in one of his many publications, 'it truly looks as if it is the Westerners themselves who are drafting the laws [of our country] for the very purpose of not allowing any of our products to have a chance of success. In this way, Siamese people will be forced forever to buy the products that they produce' (quoted in Koret, 2012, p. 96). Similarly, the Bangkok kanmuang (บางกอกการเมือง) newspaper carried a satirical cartoon depicting King Vajiravudh chasing some anthropomorphized bottles of spirits representing the small-time local entrepreneur into a trashcan, while foreign bottles of spirits look on happily (see Figure 1). Such criticisms were part of a broader nationalism that emerged among the middle class in the 1920s and contributed to the general feeling of discontent with the established order that culminated in the overthrow of the absolute monarchy in 1932. Here it is worth noting how these criticisms predicted those of the Thai political economy scholars outlined in the introduction.

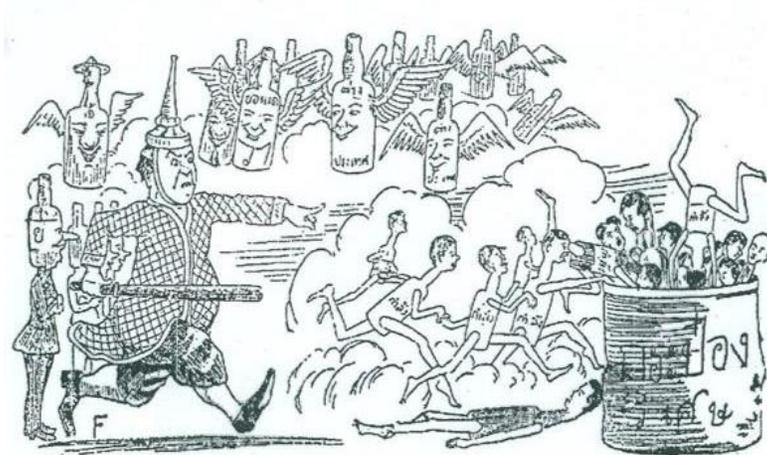


Figure 1: Cartoon from Bangkok kanmuang, 25 September 1924.

Besides the absolute monarchy and Western business interests, another target of nationalist discourse was the country's Chinese population. Indeed, anti-Chinese sentiment was promoted by the Thai royal elite itself as King Vajiravudh sought to fashion a Thai nationalism centered on the idea of the monarchy as protector of the nation. In the king's writings and those of other members of the elite, the Chinese were cast as economic parasites exploiting the Thai peasantry and competing unduly with indigenous entrepreneurs (see, for instance, NA ก.ค.0301.1.30/15, Chao Phya Yomaraj's letter to the King on Chinese question). Unsurprisingly, the dominance of Chinese businessmen and traders in the alcohol industry became an issue in the 1920s. At a meeting of the Supreme Council of State (อภิรัฐมนตรีสภา) in February 1931, for instance, Prince Boriphat Sukhumphan observed that distilling was the work of chek (เจ๊ก), a derogatory term for Chinese people in Siam (NA ร.7 ก.6/7, Report on Meeting of Supreme Council of State, 3 February 1931). Despite this rhetoric, though, the absolute monarchy did not implement any policies designed to curb Chinese control of the alcohol trade.

Both these anti-Chinese and anti-Western sentiments came to the fore when another French company, La Compagnie Générale des Colonies, proposed building a modern distillery in Siam in the mid-1920s. Interestingly, the company recruited M. Petithuguenin, the former French adviser to the Siamese government on excise matters, to present its case. In his proposal, Petithuguenin argued that the distilleries in Siam were of such primitive design that it was easy for bootleggers to replicate the flavor of licensed spirits. Since this moonshine was indistinguishable from licit liquor, it was impossible for excise officials to detect contraband by taste alone. The proposed distillery would use the new amylo process to produce alcohol from rice that would be superior in quality and cheaper to manufacture than that made with existing methods. Citing the experience of French Indochina when the amylo process was introduced, Petithuguenin claimed the new rice spirits would make detection of moonshine easier and lead to the elimination of bootlegging. Consequently, state alcohol revenue would rise but with no increase in consumption. The new distillery could also produce rectified and absolute alcohol for industrial and medical purposes. Lastly, a certain proportion of shares in the company would be reserved for Thai nationals. In return, the company wished to operate the distillery for a fixed period of fifteen years, after which the government would have the right to take over the distillery upon paying appropriate compensation. The government would also guarantee a fixed amount of annual sales for the company's spirit (NA ก.ค.0301.1.4/3, Alcohol under national control; NA ร.7 ก.6/1, Note explaining advantages).

One of the principal proponents of the scheme in the Thai government was Prince Charoon, the Siamese ambassador to France. He framed his support in nationalist terms, specifically the regaining of control over the alcohol industry from the Chinese. Allowing the French to invest in the distillery in Siam was preferable to continued Chinese predominance as the French 'are few and have not a strangle hold of the interior of our country'. Indeed, the Chinese were 'the greatest danger to our existence as a Nation'. The prince also argued that establishing a 'French interest will counteract the interests of the other powerful neighbor', meaning the British empire in Southeast Asia (NA ร.7 ก.6/1, Memorandum by Prince Charoon). While recognizing the need to improve distilling methods in Siam, most of the relevant

government officials were against the proposal, though. They felt that the financial conditions imposed on the government would be too onerous and allowing any foreign capitalists to have a stake in the alcohol industry would hamper regulation efforts. If a new distillery were really necessary then the government could build one itself (NA ก.ก.0301.1.4/3, Customs report on Foreign Office letter; NA ร.7 ก.6/1, Stevens to Traidos, 2 March 1927). The company's case was not helped when the French threatened to withhold the signing of the new convention between Siam and Indochina if they did not get the distillery. Raymond B. Stevens, the American foreign advisor to the Siamese government, warned: 'If [...], this French syndicate is sufficiently powerful in France to control the action of the French Government, it would be a conclusive and final argument in favor of rejecting their proposal' (NA ร.7 ก.6/1, Memorandum on proposal of French syndicate). Unsurprisingly, the Thai government rejected the proposal in March 1927. In light of this, the criticism of Thai middle-class nationalists that the absolute monarchy chose to safeguard Western interests over national ones is hard to sustain. Once the unequal treaties had been terminated, the Thai government was able to take a harder line with foreign capital. As one government report on the French distillery proposal put it: 'times have changed, [...] Siam no longer desires to purchase treaties or conventions, or even another nation's goodwill, by giving doles, concessions, monopolies, or other bribes, to the nationals concerned' (NA ก.ก.0301.1.4/3, H.H. the Minister, 2 February 1927).

The Absolute Monarchy and the Promotion of the Alcohol Industry

Nevertheless, the French company's claims as to the primitiveness of the distilleries in Siam in the mid-1920s does raise questions over the extent to which the absolute monarchy actively sought to develop the industry. According to a 1926 Customs Department report, there were 70 distilleries in total in the kingdom, all of which were owned by the government. Of these distilleries, five were large factories located in the central region, twenty were medium-sized ones found in the provincial centers of the rest of the kingdom and the remaining were small operations serving remote areas. All of these used the same distilling process, which was common knowledge among bootleggers as well and thus confirms Petithuguenin's claim as to the difficulty of detecting moonshine. Moreover, all the annual distillery concessions had changed holders since the government had established the concession system in 1909. The competitive nature of the bidding process does seem to have stimulated some improvements in distilling methods; for instance, some of the larger distilleries had converted their Chinese stills to more efficient steam-powered ones that could produce spirits of up to 50 percent ABV. However, local spirits were still more expensive to produce than imported ones because of the higher cost of raw materials, specifically rice and molasses. In turn, the higher price of local spirits meant that the concessionaires had to subsidize retailers by paying for their licenses (NA ก.ก.0301.1.4/3, Customs report on Foreign Office letter; NA ก.ก.0301.1.7/24, Opinion on rate of duty; Sunthon 1937/38).

A large part of the problem lay in the system of concessions itself. The one-year duration of the concessions would have encouraged the holders to stick to their tried and trusted methods in order to fulfill the terms of their contract with the government and guarantee a renewal, rather than experiment.

Furthermore, the process for selecting concessionaires favored the incumbent as the government would forward them the proposals of any other person wanting to take on that concession and then invite them to make a better offer through, for instance, lowering their prices. These provisions would have encouraged concession holders to focus on maximizing their short term profits (NA ร.6 ค.7/4, Supphayok to Mahitthon, 7 February 1923; เรื่องหลวงสวามิภักดิ์). Ultimately, the government was more concerned with safeguarding its revenue and controlling who might become a distiller than it was with encouraging innovation among domestic entrepreneurs. In this context, the characterization of bureaucratic capitalists by Chatthip, Suthy and Montri (1981) is particularly apt:

The capitalists enjoyed short-run profits through monopoly under the Sakdina protection. They lacked initiatives and hardly expanded their businesses. Their aim was to realize immediate profits not economic development. Moreover, a large part of the profits had to be handed over to the Sakdina partners, leaving little for reinvestment. (p. 22)

Overall, the French company's assessment of the concessionaire system as 'an unsuccessful compromise between the old Chinese farming system and an attempt to adopt western [sic] lines of Government control' seems fair (NA ร.7 ค.6/1, Note explaining advantages).

Starting in the late 1920s, the government initiated some significant changes in its alcohol administration. In July 1929, it established an independent Alcohol Department (กรมสุรา), which assumed responsibility for collecting excise duties from the Customs Department, within the Ministry of Finance. Within a year, however, this new department was merged with the Revenue Department (กรมสรรพากร) since the two had similar duties. This arrangement was also short lived, though, as it was found to be ineffective and the responsibilities were too great for one department head. Therefore, the Alcohol Department became independent once more in February 1931 and, after it assumed responsibility for collecting taxes on other domestic manufactures such as matches, was renamed the Excise Department (กรมสรรพสามิต) in February 1932 (Phichai, 1985; Sunthon 1937/38).⁵⁵ Additionally, a new foreign advisor for excise matters, Whitham D. Reeve, was hired in 1931. While these changes no doubt led to improvements in efficiency and expertise in the long term, they must have caused some severe disruptions in the short term.

As increasing numbers of people sought to get involved in the alcohol industry, the government also made the tendering system for selecting distillers and wholesalers more competitive during the late 1920s and early 1930s. Whereas before the government had exercised a degree of discretion in the selection process, it now granted distilling concessions and wholesale licenses on the basis of who would provide the greatest income to the state. As Reeve noted in 1931, 'The main idea seems to be to squeeze as much as possible out of the distiller before giving him his contract' (NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/34, General principles of excise control). This proved to be counterproductive, however, as potential distillers and

⁵⁵ The department had long been referred to as the Excise Department in English and I follow this practice in this paper (NA ร.7 ค.6/7, Minister of Finance to Prajadhipok, 2 February 1932).

wholesalers would submit unrealistic bids to win the auctions and, when they were later unable to fulfill the terms of their contract, would then ask the government for assistance by, for example, letting them increase the price of their alcoholic beverages. Some might also seek to maximize their profits through dishonest means, such as adulterating licensed spirits with moonshine in the case of wholesalers (NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/33, Memorandum on administration of Excise Department; NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/46, Letter from D. G. Excise Department, 19 June 1933; Sunthon, 1937/38). Reeve caught the essence of the problem once more when he observed that 'the whole of the trade is "nursed" by the department and initiative is taken away from the manufacturer and distributor. The whole idea of the department seems to be to increase sales and so get more duty' (NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/34, General principles of excise control).

Given these observations, it is unsurprising that the only real improvements in the alcohol industry were due to the government becoming directly involved in manufacturing. In the late 1920s, the Excise Department started producing spirits itself at the Bang Yi Khan distillery in Bangkok as a means of obtaining information, such as the costs of production, for more effective control of the distilling concessions. By the early 1930s, this government distillery had proved to be a success through both producing good quality spirits and making a significant profit (NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/34, General principles of excise control). Besides the regular licensed spirit, it also experimented in producing some of the Chinese-style spirits that were popular at the time with the aim of reducing imports of said liquor. Following the tariff increases in 1931, meanwhile, various businesses that used pure alcohol in their products such as apothecaries and perfumeries suggested the Excise Department start producing alcohol of 95 percent ABV. After the department's experiments in producing such high-strength alcohol proved successful, this led to a debate within the government about whether the manufacture of such alcohol should be done by the government or be left to private enterprise (NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/26, Excise's proposal to manufacture alcohol for sale; Director-General of Revenue to Minister of Finance, 27 October 1932). Upcountry, meanwhile, many of the smaller distilleries had been closed. In some of those that remained, the government had upgraded their apparatus so that they could also produce Chinese-style liquors and blended spirits. As before, the concession holders tended to be ethnic Chinese (NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/33, Memorandum on administration of Excise Department; NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/50, Memorandum: Excise Adviser's comments on distillery; Sunthon, 1937/38).

The most obvious and celebrated example of the absolute monarchy's support for the alcohol industry, however, is its assistance in helping Phraya Bhirombhakdi (Boonrawd Setthabut) set up Siam's first brewery company in the early 1930s (Sungsidh, 1983; Hewison, 1989). In January 1931, Bhirombhakdi applied to the Ministry of Finance for a license to brew beer. While Finance was in favor of the proposal because it would help develop domestic industry, the rate of duty to be imposed was a sticking point. The existing rate on beer was calculated on the same basis as that on domestic spirits and amounted to 63 satang per liter. As Bhirombhakdi noted, this rate was higher than the cost of producing beer and would render his enterprise unprofitable. Predictably, Finance was concerned about how locally produced beer would impact upon the revenue from the duties on local spirits and imported beer. When negotiations reached an impasse, Bhirombhakdi used his royal connections to gain an audience with King

Prajadhipok (r. 1925-1935) and win his support. The king proposed a much reduced rate of duty that was agreed on by all sides. However, the overthrow of the absolute monarchy in June 1932 complicated matters once more as the new constitutional government did not want to uphold the previously negotiated rate. Fortunately for Bhirombhakdi, Prajadhipok still retained sufficient influence to help secure a duty of 10 satang per liter of beer, in contrast to the 15 satang or 30 percent ad valorem levied on imports. The king's assistance did not stop there, however. After Bhirombhakdi had established Boon Rawd Brewery Co., Ltd. in 1933, he faced a severe shortage of funds and had to request the king's help again. Prajadhipok duly lent him 150,000 baht from the Privy Purse (Sungsith, 1983). In 1934, the company produced the first bottles of Singha beer, which went on to become the market leader in Thailand by the 1940s (Nambara 2004). It is fair to say that the monarchy's assistance was crucial in ensuring that Boon Rawd Brewery was a viable business in its first years.

Conclusion

From the foregoing discussion, it should be clear that external factors played a critical role in the development of the Thai alcohol industry in the early twentieth century. In particular, the unequal treaties opened up Siam to the import of cheap spirits from Western colonies in Asia, over which the Thai government had little control and with which local spirits could not compete effectively. Meanwhile, the constraints on the Thai state's revenue raising capability and the fear of Western capital being a vehicle for colonial intervention led the absolute monarchy to see the alcohol industry in terms of revenue and security. Consequently, the government prioritized safeguarding its income from the distillery concessions and preventing Western businesses acquiring a foothold in the country over promoting innovation and diversification. Even after the termination of the unequal treaties, revenue concerns remained a key determinant of government policy. In the late 1920s and the worldwide depression of the early 1930s, the government used tariff increases on alcohol to bolster its income rather than afford some protection to domestic manufacturers as it even raised the excise duty on local alcohol.

The conservative approach of the absolute monarchy undoubtedly hindered the development of the alcohol industry as it subordinated the interests of local entrepreneurs to those of the state and gave them little leeway for innovation. Indeed, the government often considered new initiatives by the private sector in terms of the impact they might have on existing alcohol receipts rather than the potential future rewards. It is not surprising, therefore, that perhaps the greatest advancement in the industry during this period, namely the founding of the brewery company that would produce Singha beer, was in a product with which the government had had the least involvement. Support for this new enterprise came primarily from King Prajadhipok acting as an individual rather than the government itself, which under both the absolute monarchy and the post-1932 constitutional regime took a hard line towards the brewery proposal in terms of taxation until the king intervened.

Besides Bhirombhakdi's brewery, the other major development was the state becoming involved in manufacturing itself when the Excise Department started to distil spirits at Bang Yi Khan in the late

1920s. This state enterprise would go on to produce the first bottles of Mekhong whisky in 1941. It was also a forerunner of the other state enterprises manufacturing products such as cigarettes and matches that the government of Luang Phibun Songkhram (1938-1944) established during the Second World War. Similarly, the anti-Chinese and anti-Western rhetoric of the absolute monarchy anticipated the economic nationalist policies of Phibun that actively sought to limit the involvement of foreigners in the Thai economy. Clear continuities in alcohol policies between the absolute monarchy and its successors can thus be seen. While its actual achievements in promoting the alcohol industry were modest, the absolute monarchy did, nevertheless, lay some important foundations. Ultimately, though, in assessing the role of the absolute monarchy in developing the alcohol industry one must judge it by its time and circumstances. Economic orthodoxy in the early twentieth century did not advocate a strong role for the state in the economy and, even if it did, the absolute monarchy's hands were tied by the unequal treaties and the colonial threat for most of the period.

References

Archival Sources

In the text, all sources from the National Archives of Thailand, Bangkok, are prefixed with the abbreviation NA and cited according to the cataloguing system used in those archives.

Documents from the Fifth Reign (ร.5), Ministry of Finance (ก.)

NA ร.5 ค.14.1.๗/31, จัดอากรสุราเป็นของรัฐบาล [Organising alcohol revenue by the government], 1907-10.

Documents from the Sixth Reign (ร.6), Ministry of Finance (ก.)

NA ร.6 ค.7/3, สุรามณฑลราชบุรี [Alcohol in monthon Ratchaburi], 1911.

NA ร.6 ค.7/4, เรื่องราวผู้มีชื่อร้องขอทำการต้มกลั่นน้ำสุรา [Concerning reputable people petitioning to distill alcohol], 1911-1925.

NA ร.6 ค.7/7, ความเห็นกระทรวงพระคลังเรื่องหลวงจิตรงานวานิชตั้งเครื่องต้มกลั่นสุราที่สามเสน [Opinion of the Ministry of Finance on Luang Chitchamongwanit's distillery in Samsen], 1912-13.

NA ร.6 ค.7/12, รายงานเรื่องจัดเก็บภาษีสุราเป็นของรัฐบาล [Report on organizing the collection of alcohol taxes by the government], 1913.

NA ร.6 ค.7/14, กฎเสนาบดีกระทรวงพระคลังมหาสมบัติ ว่าด้วยระเบียบการจัดการจัดบัญชีน้ำสุรา ตามความใน พระราชบัญญัติภาษีขึ้น [Minister of Finance's regulations about system of accounting for alcohol according to the excise act], 1916-17.

NA ร.6 ค.7/18, แก้ไขคดีเก็บภาษีสุราต่างประเทศ [Amending the rate of duty on imported alcohol], 1917.

Documents from the Seventh Reign (ร.7), Ministry of Finance (ก.)

NA ร.7 ค.6/1, บริษัทฝรั่งเศสขออนุญาตผูกขาดต้มกลั่นสุราในสยาม [French company's request for an alcohol monopoly in Siam], 1926-27.

NA ร.7 ค.6/7, จัดตั้งกรมสุราและจัดการกรมสุรากับเปลี่ยนนามกรมสุรา [Establishing and managing the Alcohol Department along with changing the name of the Alcohol Department], 1929-31.

Documents from the Office of the Financial Adviser (ก.ค.0301.1)

NA ก.ค.0301.1.2/7, Proposals for taxation of toddy palms, 1927-28.

NA ก.ค.0301.1.4/3, Proposal for a distillery monopoly, 1925-26.

NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/2, M. Fontaine's proposal for the establishment of a French distillery, 1903-4.

NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/9, M. Fontaine's further proposal for a spirit distillery, 1908.

NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/10, M. Blondel's proposal for a spirit distillery in Bangkok, 1908.

NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/24, Allowance in rate of duty which should be made to excised liquor as against imported liquor, 1926-27.

NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/25, Decline in excise revenue, 1929-30.

NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/26, Excise Dept.'s proposal to manufacture alcohol for sale, 1930-32.

NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/33, Memo on administration of Excise Dept. Sept. B. E. 2474, 1931.

NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/34, General principles of excise control in Siam, 1931.

NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/45, Memo on desirability of certain changes in excise policy for B. E. 2477, 1933.

NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/46, Fines leviable under the contracts between the Excise Dept. and the wholesale dealers in spirits, 1933.

NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/48, Necessity for strong measures to suppress illicit distillation, 1933-34.

NA ก.ค.0301.1.7/50, Excise & opium miscellany, 1933-34.

NA ก.ค.0301.1.30/15, The Chinese question, 1916.

Newspapers

Bangkok kanmuang (บางกอกการเมือง)

Published Works

- Akira, S. (1989). *Capital Accumulation in Thailand, 1855-1985*. Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies.
- Brown, I. (1988). *The Élite and the Economy in Siam, c.1890-1920*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- _____. (1997). *Economic Change in South East Asia, c.1830-1980*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Chiwa-udomsap, P. (พิชัช จีวะอุดมทรัพย์). (2528 [1985]). ภาษีสรรพสามิตกับกิจการสุรา [Excise taxes and the alcohol business]. Thammasat University, Bangkok, Master's thesis.
- Corporation, S. (2016). *Singha Uses Beer Cashflow to Fund Diversification in Thailand Property, Foreign Assets*. Retrieved from <http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/singha-uses-beer-cashflow-to-fund-diversification-in-thailand-property-foreign-assets-300256591.html>.
- Customs Department, Thailand. *Annual Statement of the Foreign Trade and Navigation of the Kingdom of Siam*, various years. Bangkok: Customs Department.
- Head, J. (2013). *BBC: Thai whiskey tycoon Charoen takes over Fraser and Neave*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-21289363>
- Hewison, K. (1989). *Bankers and Bureaucrats: Capital and the Role of the State in Thailand*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies Monograph No. 34.
- Ingram, J.C. (1971). *Economic Change in Thailand, 1850-1970*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Koret, P. (2012). *The Man Who Accused the King of Killing a Fish: The Biography of Narin Phasit of Siam, 1874-1950*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- Laiyalak, S. (เสถียร ลายลักษณ์) et al. (2477+ [1934/35+]). ประชุมกฎหมายประจำปี [Collected laws by year], 70 vols. Bangkok: Nitiwet.
- Laiyalak, S. (เสถียร ลายลักษณ์). (2484 [1941]). พระราชบัญญัติการขึ้นในจุลศักราช ๑๒๔๘ พร้อมด้วย พระราชบัญญัติแก้ไขเพิ่มเติม [The Excise Act C. S. 1248 along with amendment acts]. Bangkok: Nitiwet.
- Larsson, T. (2012). *Land and Loyalty: Security and the Development of Property Rights in Thailand*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Manarungsan, S. (1989). *Economic Development of Thailand, 1850-1950: Response to the Challenge of the World Economy*. Bangkok: Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University.
- Ministry of Finance, Thailand (กระทรวงพระคลังมหาสมบัติ). (2474 [1931/32]). *กรมพระจันทบุรี [Prince Chanthaburi]*. Bangkok: Ministry of Finance.
- Nambara, M. (2004). *The Beginning of the Thai Beer Industry: The Establishment of the Boonrawd Brewery Co., Ltd.* Nagoya University: Economic Research Center Discussion Paper.
- Nartsupha, C. & Prasartset, S. (1981). *The Political Economy of Siam, 1851-1910*. Bangkok: The Social Science Association of Thailand.
- Nartsupha, C., Prasartset, S. & Chenvidyakarn, M. (1981). *The Political Economy of Siam, 1910-1932*. Bangkok: The Social Science Association of Thailand.
- Ouyyanont, P. (2012). *Underdevelopment and Industrialisation in Pre-War Thailand*. Australian Economic History Review, 52 (1), 43-60. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8446.2012.00340.x
- Piriyarangsana, S. (1983). *Thai Bureaucratic Capitalism, 1932-1960*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Social Research Institute.
- Suchiputto, W. (วันเพ็ญ สุจิตโต). (2526 [1983]). พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอกรมพระจันทบุรีนฤนาถ กับงานด้านการคลัง พ. ศ. 2450-2474 [His Royal Highness Prince Chandaburi and his financial work (1907-1931)]. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Master's thesis.
- Thannaphon, L. S. (หลวง สุนทร ธนผล). (2480 [1937/38]). ประวัติการจัดเก็บภาษีสุราตามราชเท [History of the collection of alcohol taxes by the]. Songkhla: Aksonsiri.
- Thomya, P. (พอลใจ ถมยา). (2529 [1986]). บทบาทของพระองค์เจ้าปฤษฎางค์: ศึกษากรณีการเจรจาตกลง ในหนังสือสัญญาเกี่ยวกับสุรากับนานาชาติ พ. ศ. 2424-2429 [The Role of Prince Prisdang: A study of agreement on the regulating of the traffic in spirituous liquors, B. E. 2424-2429]. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University.
- Treerat, N. (2008). Khun Charoen and the Liquor Industry through Crisis and Diversification. In Phongpaichit, P. & Baker, C. (Eds.) *Thai Capital after the 1997 Crisis*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

13TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THAI STUDIES
GLOBALIZED THAILAND? CONNECTIVITY, CONFLICT AND CONUNDRUMS OF THAI STUDIES
15-18 JULY 2017, CHIANG MAI, THAILAND

- Visalo, P. Phra (พระ ไพศาล วิสาโล). (2537 [1994]). ประวัติศาสตร์การบริโภคสุราในประเทศไทย [History of alcohol consumption in Thailand]. Bangkok: Health Systems Research Institute.
- Warren, J. A. (2013). *Troublesome Spirits: Alcohol, Excise and Extraterritoriality in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Siam*. *South East Asia Research*, 21 (4), 575-99. doi:10.5367/sear.2013.0176
- _____. (2015). *Semi-Colonialism Distilled: The Société française des distilleries de l'Indochine and the Siamese Government in the Early Twentieth Century*. *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 30 (3), 641-74. doi: 10.1355/sj30-3b

How Gender Justice Belongs To Us All? - Lesson Learned From Empowerment Based Work With Thai Grass Root Women

Wasi, Jaruapapha

Women Wellbeing and Gender Justice Program
Sexuality Study Association
Thailand

Abstract

This article is a narrative study of Thai grass root women groups, whose works are supported by women wellbeing and gender justice program under the Sexuality Study Association. In between 2013 – 2016, the author has worked closely with the program as the main internal evaluator and facilitated the lesson learned process. This study explores empowerment factors, which support the women movement powerfully, provide intersectoral participations and made a valuable change. Samples women groups are selected from 7 accomplishment projects. As a result, these 5 success factors for empowering based working procedures are recommended: (1) The core team comprises of problem owners and empathized supporters, whose collaboration cultivates equal partnership. (2) Shared vision of “Anti-oppression Spiritual-based Feminism” and work practice of “nonviolence”. (3) Collaboration with ones who have power-over could diminish resistances and achieve faster. (4) Using of various dialogue processes to develop perception/participation among communities’ members/organizations about gender justice, and (5) The purpose of change remain connected from individual and family level to community/organization/society level.

Keywords: Gender Justice, Empowerment, Grass Root Women, Social Justice

This article is a lesson learned summary about empowerment in capacity building initiative for people working with women issues for gender justice in Thailand. All participants are government officials, NGOs, grassroots leaders and problem owners occupied with two issues: gender based violence against women and unintended pregnancy. These lessons are derived from the work of Women wellbeing and Gender Justice Program by the Sexualities Study Association, which granted various projects to local communities, government organizations and state enterprises between 2012 and 2016.

By the sexual violence topic, 7 accomplishment projects are selected and classified into 4 groups based on different context. The first group is based on two minority case studies: Hmong ethnic group in northern Thailand and Thai Muslim in southern Thailand. Its main interest is the cultural change of relationship between men and women in family. The second group is the project within a large organization: Bangkok Mass Transit Authority (BMTA). Its purpose is the policy and operation procedure development for prevention and resolution of sexual harassment in the workplace, which involves 13,500 personnel. The third group is two government officer organizations: police women and personnel

in state hospitals' One Stop Crisis Center that can create special education curriculums for their staff to improve gender sensitivity, understanding with empathy and can offer empowering counseling to the victims of gender-based violence. And the last group is two local communities in Amnat Charoen and Songkhla province that can create new powerful collaboration among teenagers, parents, teachers, community leaders, Community Health Promoting Hospitals and District Hospitals for prevent unintended pregnancy in teenagers effectively.

As internal auditor of the Women wellbeing and Gender Justice Program, the author has conducted field works, interviews with key personnel, focus group discussions among projects beneficiaries and two self-assessment workshops by half and the end of the program. Lessons learned, which related with success factors for gender justice works, are explored from these processes. Five critical factors are introduced and discussed in this article.

Success Factor 1: The Core Team Comprises of Problem Owners and Empathized Supporters, Whose Collaboration Cultivates Equal Partnership.

To guarantee that the purpose and work process focus on the benefits and empowerment of the persons affected with problem, equal expression of power are encouraged within the working group. Based on their own experiences, the problem owners will provide information from their perspectives. By the way, identification of their own needs and recommendation for the solution by themselves enable their self-confidence. Moreover, most of supporters as team members, who have more potential to access knowledge, funding resources, relationships, policy network and authorities, become additional source of power for the problem owners.

A case study of the Hmong ethnic group demonstrates this as well. In the past, married women were excluded from the family permanently. The achievement of the project is that: all of the Hmong families in Thailand accept the new tradition of allowing divorced women to return to their families. The working core group is consisted of women with domestic violence experiences, women leaders, male local community leaders, who are relatives of the first two groups and male Hmong university lecturers.

Another case study is development of a friendly and fair health service system for unintended pregnancy in Songkhla, which is the largest province in southern Thailand. Lecturers of the Faculty of Nursing, Songkhla University, which is the largest university in the region, cooperate with nurses of district hospitals, directors of District Health Promotion Hospitals and the village health volunteer team, who announce their phone number publicly for consultations service. Other key partners are lecturers from the Faculty of Medicine, who work in obstetrics and gynecology in the university hospital. The core group has changed the local communities' behaviors. They could understand, accept, and talk more and openly about prevention and resolution of unintended pregnancy issues. As a result, the rate of unintended pregnancy has decreased significantly. After that the working scheme becomes one of the best practices of the District Health System (DHS) of the Ministry of Public Health.

The essential condition behind the success of team work is the "power-sharing" culture. The equal power begins with the formation of collective leadership from various sectors. To provide supportive working environments for shared power, some ground rules are generated such as regular meetings attendance, brainstorming and decision-making. In conflict situation or any tendency of power monopoly, program officer as internal auditor could intervene by using advisory, counseling and group

facilitation tools. By the worst case, in which conflict could not be resolved, project termination would be optional.

Success Factor 2: Shared Vision of “Anti-oppression Spiritual-based Feminism” and Work Practice of “Nonviolence”.

One of basic requirement for receiving granting support from the Women wellbeing and Gender Justice Program is that all project grantee have to participate in the training workshop based on the conceptual framework of "Anti-oppression Spiritual-based Feminism".

This concept was developed by Ouyporn Khuankaew, an important feminist trainer of Thailand. Since 2007, this thought model was commonly implemented within women movement, who works with HIV, sexual diversity and reproductive health issues. After that, the idea was distributed among problem owners in grassroots level. Recently, with support of the program, the extended target groups are government officers, especially multidisciplinary team in the hospital and the female police.

By self-research, working experience with several international social activists such as Riane Eisler, Joanna Macy, Starhawk, Paulo Freire, George Lakey and Thich Nhat Hanh and her own experiences of domestic violence, Ouyporn developed a spirituality based feminist concept for social justice. Furthermore, as a trainer to grassroots women in neighboring countries for a long time, she has listen to a lot of suffering cases, with which most women have been facing.

By combining the gender equity lens with the social justice lens, this concept shifts the direction of working more inclusively. The important of participation from other sectors, not only women, are enhanced. With the shared vision of just society, which has power-with culture, human dignity, human value, gender justice, solidarity, sharing, caring and individual empowerment, more actors are invited. With the missions of (1) structural change to reduce the power-over of the oppressors in patriarchal society, (2) healing and empowering power-within of the oppressed such as women and other disadvantages to liberate themselves and (3) transform social relationship towards power-sharing culture, everybody could become the alliance for just society and/or gender justice movement.

Based on those vision and missions, nonviolent strategy and action plans could be designed implemented. From holistic well-being perspective, to achieve good life of both individual and society, nonviolence practices are required. Mindfulness, interconnectedness and system thinking are integral parts of nonviolence. Practicing mindfulness enables self-healing from suffering and power to help others. Interconnectedness, which is emerged from experience based group learning, provides understanding and awareness of other change agents in numerous sectors. Through power theory, root causes analysis of social problems and marginalization/mainstreaming concepts, system thinking supports deep and wide understanding of social complexity.

While most of women related issues have to deal with a lot of cultural frictions and scope of works often overlaps with male authority in the area or organizations, nevertheless most of the working team members are women. In community level, most of women were confined to cultural roles. They were told that good women must obey, follow and support families and communities. As well as in the organizations, most of them are low level workers with fewer opportunities to participate in any decision making processes for organizational change. Therefore, when the working team starts working in their communities, they begin with seeking for alliances by organizing the training for local leaders or targeted

group based on those concepts.

Their self-liberation through mindfulness, open-minded for collaboration through interconnectedness viewpoint and strategic change through social complexity understanding are critical capabilities for success.

Success Factor 3: Collaboration with Ones who have Power-Over Could Diminish Resistances and Achieve Faster.

To achieve gender justice faster and easier, widespread collaborations should be established, especially with the decision-makers in the policy level. Always, their influences among community leaders, religious leaders, organizational leaders and government officers shape people opinions and emotion in both communities and organizations. The supportive attitude of the authorities could reduce the social barriers that working team are facing with. Also, it is the initial diminishment of mainstream patriarchy in Thai society.

Hmong women group is the first one who understands this crucial point. Continuously, they organize meetings for male Hmong leaders, where the vulgar crying sounds of suffered women are heard, and their alliances increases. A leap forward occurs when a shaman groups and several clan leaders approved the change of traditional practice. The shamans assure that the ritual of getting divorced daughters back to the family can be conducted, because it was allowed in the past. In many areas, this group of shamans travels with the Hmong working team to host numerous family reunion ceremonies. Simultaneously, the clan leaders, who support the change, formally announce at the annual family convention that their clans welcome divorced daughters back to their families. Gradually, other clan leaders adopt this new practice in the following 1-2 years.

Muslim women group is the next one who applies these findings into their project work on domestic violence in rural Pattani as well. At first, they invited religious leaders and community leaders in the area to attend the training workshop, which facilitated shared vision and introduced the theory of change for both advantaged and disadvantaged groups. Some of them are fathers, brothers or husbands of women in the working team. These male leaders become alliance for change. While religious leaders began to teach more about roles and right duty in the family, the community leaders made an announcement to support the working team. It is the first time in Muslim culture that the family affecting the problem was visited by the assembly of women, religious leaders and community leaders. This kind of collective leadership encourages the victimized family and solves the problem more pragmatically. Another major by-product is renewal the atmosphere of trust and solidarity within the community, after the long period of mistrust because of the insecurity issues, which led to abundant deaths by bombs and assassinations. Within Bangkok Mass Transit Authority (BMTA), the labor union has initiated initiatives to prevent and address sexual harassment in the organization. Then, the program persuaded the chief executive to work with the unions through the training workshop activity. Unlike other issues, after the management level understand the concept, they can work with the unions without conflicts. The progress of work is quite rapid. BMTA is the first organization that declared corporate policies and guidelines on prevention and resolution of sexual harassment. Related training manual and workshop for new recruitments are developed. After the cabinet resolution on June 26, 2015, government agencies have to take the sexual harassment measurement in the workplace. BMTA turns out to be the learning platforms of this issue for

others. It is still the only one large organization with strong commitment with this subject.

In the case of training workshop for female inquiry officers and Hospital's OSCCs, the project manager is the middle level executive, whose authorities allow decisions making in a specific policy level, and still depend on the upper level management level. Challenge is to convince both superior bosses and inferior agency chiefs, who would support their personnel, how the training could benefit the staffs and organization image.

However, too much dependency of policy's makers has a weakness as well. The BMTA case reflects this flaw quite good. Recently, the new leaders of labor unions and the new chief executive team want to replace some of project working members with their own personnel. Even though they are people who initiated the work. The prevention and resolution of sexual harassment in the workplace project was restrained because of the political change in the organization, despite the fact that it is the national best practice.

Similar situations could be found in other projects with different degrees. Another case is the unintended pregnancy matter within farmer community in Amnat Charoen Province. After the former sheriff, who understood and supported the working team, was moved to other place. The core group consisting of parents of unintended pregnancy children, whose attempt is to prevent and solve this problem, has to bring a flower basket to the new sheriff and inform about their previous works. One more case is the unintended pregnancy issue in Songkhla. Once the medical lecturer, who gave support to the working team, decided to move to Bangkok for study purpose, the project work related with pregnancy termination was moderate, because he was the only one medical doctor in the province, who conducted the abortion for people in need.

Success Factor 4: Using of Various Dialogue Processes to Develop Perception/Participation among Communities' Members/Organizations about Gender Justice.

To introduce new concepts and idea to community, topics of conversation could challenge traditional belief of men and others. Using of dialogues tools provide participation process for every stakeholders. Although collaboration with policy's makers enable achievement faster, but sustainability could become another concern. Hence, participation from all interested party is required. The working team tried to develop conversations subsequently using various tools such as continuous dialogue group and mass communication.

Hmong women group conduct dialogue group constantly, to heal suffered women. Parents in Amnat Charoen facilitate dialogues among parents and youth for listening to opinions and youth sexual experiences in every village. At the same time, mass media for change are produced. For examples: Hmong women created clip video about ritual that welcome divorced daughters back to her family, with supportive announcement of spiritual leaders in communities. It is distributed in Hmong language to Hmong communities in many provinces. Additionally, other activities are communicated via Facebook in Hmong language. Homehug group, which is consisted of parents and youth, conducted evening radio programs for communities. Conversations topics like reproductive health, birth control and sexual organ caring, provoked disagreement from community leaders. The working team of unintended pregnancy in Songkhla used mobile cars with loudspeakers to promote the issue in open market and tradition ceremonies. Large plate in front of health service unit said that people affected with unintended

pregnancy are welcome. Stickers with contact information for consultation were everywhere in the village. These are innovative communication tools in Songkhla.

Furthermore, the Feminist Participatory Action Research (FEMPAR) are introduced and promoted among the working project teams, communities and organizations. Apart from situation analysis and resolution developments, FEMPAR turns out to be important empowerment tool for researchers. Women and other sexual oppressors could have more self-confidence and gather into group for negotiation with unfair structure and institutions. They solve problems by themselves and breakthrough the wall of biases and learning disability of people with more authorities. Transformation of cultural obstacles into learning process provide understanding for communities and organizations that women's problems belongs to communities and organizations too. As long as women suffer, men are unhappy as well, because women are their daughters, their mothers, their wives and theirs sisters.

Hmong women group called their project as research project and invited others to "conduct research together". Therefore, more engagements were provided. In Songkhla, FEMPAR is implemented in a district hospital. It is founded that bias and labeling people affected with unintended pregnancy were from both villager and health service officers. That's why the health service with gender sensitivity is developed and implemented to provide more choices for people in need.

Moreover, public seminar is another communication tool recommended by the program. Every projects organized public seminars in almost every levels such as community, district and province. In seminars, leaders and policy's decision makers were informed and expressed their opinions to the projects works. By scaling up perception and participation through information and conversations, network of alliances are expanded. For examples: The district hospital in Amnat Charoen connected parents, who are active with unintended pregnancy issue, with civil society in the province. As well, district hospital and some TMPHs in Songkhla begins to implement and apply the health service for people affected with unintended pregnancy.

Besides, journalists were invited to participate in public seminars of larger projects. Addressing and prevention of sexual harassment within BMTA and among female police officers gained extra interest from the press. Hmong culture's issue was new and unusual for them as well. New media topics expand conversations space about gender justice in the society. News, which are publicly distributed, come back to organizational and community leaders in positive way. As a result, project works receive more support from them.

Success Factor 5: The Purpose of Change Remain Connected from Individual and Family Level to Community/Organization/Society level.

The main theme and core value of the program is the "women wellbeing", which means that women happiness or positive life experiences in 4 dimensions: physical, emotional, social and spiritual health, are connected, balanced and holistic. It is related with and result of gender and sexual justice, which is the society that support everybody to access all social/economical/political opportunities/services/benefits equally and just. Their basic right and freedom are guaranteed and protected. Negligence, exclusion and discrimination because of gender and sexuality are unacceptable.

Every projects supported by the program are designed for capability building and strengthening purposes. Staffs and working team are provided opportunities to become change agents, who could

create social innovation based on their works. Dr. Varaporn Chamsanit, the program manager described that “To make a change towards gender justice, women must have strength within themselves and make a change by themselves. Inequality could disappear, only when the problem’s owners fight against it. They could have alliances, but the advantaged people never initiate the change. People who affected by the problem, in this case are women. To make a change, women has to change herself first, before changing external structure. Changing of mental model is hard work. It takes time. Output is qualitative, not quantitative. Priority change begins with attitude, not with the system. It is software, not hardware.” (Interview, 5 February 2016)

By evaluation at the end of the program, findings are 3 behavioral changes of all grantees.

The first one is that they take care of their body, mind and spirituality better. Their power-within increases. Meditation is an essential tool to cultivate mindfulness, attention and inner security. Many of them have more courage to face more challenges. More often, awareness and self-reflection are practiced. More self-understanding, as the result of family and society’s factors, could liberate themselves from patriarchal culture and gender injustice within Thai society. More justice sensitivity provides sharper equity lens, which could detect inequity and injustice issues more.

Secondly, relationship with other and working style are changed as well. Implementation of heartfelt listening and nonviolent communication in real life nourish better relationship with close one, colleagues and service clients. Power-with culture is applied to working with co-workers and service clients too.

The last one is change of social attitude and working purpose. They can link their actual work to gender inequality and social injustice. Therefore, the new purpose is working towards a just society. Seeking alliances enables more working in team or networks. Many of them said that they felt more joyful and hopeful, additionally, they were never disheartened and tiresome as previous time.

By the police case, after senior female police officers already organized the training workshop for the graduated female cadets, they established the female inquiry officers club with the purpose to change working structure within the National Police Office, which supports the protection of children and women.

In Pattani, after working in community level achieved, scaling up to province level is implemented. The Provincial Islam Commission are asked to review religious rules, which could be applied to prevent and resolve domestic violence issues.

Besides in Songkhla, the next milestone is upgrading of friendly and equity health service for people affected with unintended pregnancy to provincial level.

In the previous ten years, women wellbeing and gender justice movement in Thailand become new independent movement, which proposed various intersectional topics such as cultural change, new education, political participation as active citizen, environment and ecosystem protection, animal protection, spiritual development towards new consciousness, women and sexual diversity as human right. However, to accomplish the goal, there is still a long way.

Normally, women and gender matters are marginalized in every social working context. In the beginning, each project has to face with both internal struggles and shortage of external support. Because most of working staffs are female and newcomers of project management, they lack essential skills such as project proposal development, project administration, teamwork and working result report writing. Moreover, confrontation always occurs after interfering with sensitive sexual issues, which were hidden

undisturbed in Thai society for a long time.

Nevertheless, working with marginalized topics has some advantages. Staffs have freedom to design and try in working area, which has less control and rules. New order could emerge from these chaos situations to handle with the unknown future.

Although the Women Wellbeing and Gender Justice Program granted only projects for period of 6 – 24 months, whose outputs were limited by scope of work, but subsequently funding for the new projects increased output both quantitative and qualitative. In addition to budget support, knowledge, administrative skill and working process design are provided as well. Other empowerment and learning tools are project monitoring and evaluation, participatory lesson learned, new project development based on former works and involvement of all stakeholders.

Under the umbrella of the program, with shared vision of women wellbeing in just society with more gender justice and missions of policy and structural changes, all intermediary outputs of various projects were linked with long term outputs of the program. To assure above logical framework, the empowerment and result-based monitoring and evaluation are implemented within the program. This tool support working staffs to achieve their objectives both in short and long term, expand alliances network, increase knowledge and collect small success in each steps as further working resources for the next milestones. Working staffs could avoid the trap of project working, which focuses only activities accomplishment and forget the long term objectives.

Conclusion

Those five factors, based on gender justice work in Thai society, are introduced as crucial success features, which could apply to other women related issues.

In the beginning, starting from problems owners and empathized supporters is highlighted. After that, working team is empowered with new paradigm of women wellbeing and gender justice. As well, the concept of individual happiness, which interconnects with social justice, provides deep understanding with ourselves, social complexity and other stakeholders. Expanded collaboration, which involves advantaged group or privilege class through public communication tools, opens more space for possible future and changes. Lastly, intersectoral and intersectional working could be strengthened.

Change as the result of work progress could be classified into 5 levels as following:

1st Level: Emerging of new knowledge, especially experiences based understanding and shared vision for change between working team and target group.

2nd Level: More individuals or group with more information, knowledge, paradigm and basic skilled for working towards gender justice and social justice.

3rd Level: Existence of strengthening teamwork capable of working for change.

4th Level: Presence of system and working mechanism to produce and increase more drivers for create or improve community rules/operation procedures.

5th Level: Incidence of supportive social atmosphere, which is aware of importance of gender justice and social justice, and existence of widely working participation.

All of these have the same goals, which are making a change toward happiness and justice, healing and liberating the oppressed, empowering them and working together for me, for you, for us and for all of us in the society.

Acknowledgement

- Women Wellbeing and Gender Justice Program, Sexuality Study Association
- Hmong Women Network Thailand
- Homehug Homepang Bangpun Group, Chan Lan Subdistrict, Phana District, Amnat Charoen Province
- The Planned Parenthood Association of Thailand and women (Pattani Province) and women volunteers for reduce domestic violence in Manangyong and Rata Panyang Subdistrict, Yaring District, Pattani Province
- Faculty of Nursing, Prince of Songkla University, Rattaphum Hospital, Sathing Phra Hospital, Kradangnga Subdistrict Health Promoting Hospital and local community leaders in Rattaphum and Sathing Phra District, Songkla Province
- Bangkok Mass Transit Authority and The Bangkok Mass Transit Authority State Enterprise Workers Union
- Bureau of Health Administration, Office of the Permanent Secretary of Ministry of Public Health
- Female Investigator Club

Funding

This article received a support from Center for Just Society Network for registration fee and English translation.

References

Wasi, J., Srisa-nga, T., Sanguanwong, N. and Vachirachai, P (2016). *Full Internal Evaluation Report for Women Wellbeing and Gender Justice Program (2012-2016)*, Bangkok: Sexuality Study Association.

Translating 'Rong Wongsuwaan from Thai to English

Waters, Tony

Department of Peace Studies
Payap University, Chiang Mai
Thailand

Abstract

'Rong Wongsuwaan is a major Thai literary figure of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. He wrote dozens of memoirs, novels, and wrote columns for the Siam Rath newspapers. In recognition of his writing and photography, 'Rong Wongsuwaan was named a "National Artist" in 1995. But little of what 'Rong Wongsuwaan wrote has been translated into English.

My students and I have undertaken a translation of 'Rong Wongsuwaan's book "On the Back of the Dog," which is about his travels in California in the 1960s and 1970s. The book is a unique Thai look at the cultural history of California at a time of social upheaval. 'Rong Wongsuwaan provides a Thai perspective on issues like advertising, food likes, racial tensions, and the tension between older and younger generations.

This paper will discuss the significance of 'Rong Wongsuwaan in Thai literature, as well as his potential significance in the English-speaking world.

Keywords: 'Rong Wongsuwaan, Thai Literature, California

'Rong Wongsuwaan (young man!) is a major Thai writer from the second half of the twentieth century. His published work began in the 1950s with a photo-essay of the people living in Bangkok's dump, and continued until his death in 2009. And through it all, he signed his name as "young man!" in the belief that he had stopped aging at age 28. As with all great writers, his work dealt with the human condition as he encountered it, whether in Bangkok where he got his start as a writer and photographer, or in San Francisco where he went as a correspondent for the *Siam Rat* in the 1960s, or later here in northern Thailand where he closed out his career by even writing in the local language, Khammuang. This paper is about how we (i.e. my class at Payap University and I) translated 'Rong's idiomatic English into idiomatic Thai.

I often try to describe 'Rong's writing to my English-speaking friends. And the closest English word I can find to describe it is "Gonzo Journalism," a term that was used to describe the American journalist Hunter S. Thompson who developed an "energetic first-person participatory style" in which the writer is both a third person narrator, and a first person participant. 'Rong's writing meets both of these criteria, though I think he would prefer a comparison to Hemingway, whose portrait is still in his office. But in fact 'Rong's style is peculiarly suited to the Gonzo description, even though he in fact also uses an older Thai

fashion in which dialog drives the story. ‘Rong uses this approach critique of whichever society he observes. Most of this critique of course is about his native Thailand. But the work I am going to talk about today is not about Thailand, but my home state of California, which is the setting for ‘Rong’s book, which is roughly translated, *Astride the Greyhound Dog: The Golden Sunshine*.

The original title of this Thai Studies Conference paper referred to difficulties in translating ‘Rong’s Thai into English. I will return to this subject briefly at the end of this paper, but for the bulk of the paper, I will instead describe how we are to translate ‘Rong’s book for the first time to an English-speaking audience.

The Story of the ‘Rong Translation Project

I was a Peace Corps Volunteer in the early 1980s in Phrae. While there, I learned speak “street Thai” well, and also read a bit. While here also, I became aware of Thai literature through translation which, in the 1980s, was pretty hard to come by. The first major literary translation into English was Botan’s *Letters from Thailand* (translated by Susan Kepner) which was published in 1969 in Thai, and in the late 1970s in English.

Thai Literature in Translation

I started revitalizing my Thai again only in 2010 when I made my first extended trip back to Thailand since the 1980s. I was pleased to see then that Suriwong Book Center had a number of Thai novels translated since *Letters from Thailand*. A number of novels and short stories about the movement from the farms into Bangkok, such as *Child of the Northeast*, and *The Happiness of Kati*. Perhaps most important, Kukrit Pramoj’s masterworks, *Many Lives*, and *Four Reigns*, were also translated into English, by Meredith Borthwick and Tulachandra, respectively. Finally of course, there is *Khun Chang Khun Phaen*, which appeared in English only in 2010, a masterpiece in the translation by Chris Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit.

Still, the shelf of translations from English to Thai at is still quite small, particularly considering the vitality of Thai literature. With this in mind, on moving back to Thailand, I sought out a “translation project” for myself. I had read a reference to Kukrit Pramoj’s *Farang Sakdina*, in which it was described as a take-off on Montesquieu’s 1721 novel *The Persian Prince* (see Anderson 1985, and Reynolds 2006:115). I also had Thai friends who insisted that “anything Kukrit” was a good idea, so I started casting about for a way to translate something like that.

In January 2016, I was pushed in the direction of Rebecca Weldon, the museum specialist who now lives in Chiangmai. She did not discourage me from translating Kukrit, but insisted a writer I had not heard of, ‘Rong Wongsuwaan was the way to go, since noting he wrote was translated into English. She had personally known ‘Rong and his wife Tim since the 1980s, and pointed me back to the Suriwong to see which of his 100+ books would be appropriate. I found the ‘Rong section and purchased three, including two skinny books, and a fat book which had pictures from his trip to California which intrigued me. I took the books to show Becky—thinking one of the short ones would be most appropriate. She disagreed, and pointed me to the fat one, which is the reason I am here today talking about the first half only—that is how far we have gotten with the translation. Just over 200 pages of a 432 page book!

Why it is “We” Translation

Beginning last August, the English Department at Payap University humored my fantasy of becoming a Thai-English literary translator. They did this by giving me an 8 a.m. class of first six Thai students, and then the next semester nine. During the two semesters, we did a rough translation of all 188 pages of *Farang Sakdina*, and about 200 pages of ‘Rong Wongsuwaan. The two works stretch across the breadth of Thai social criticism; one is social philosophy, and the other Gonzo journalism. What they share in common is the touchstone of Thai Buddhism, and a passion for an indirect form social commentary on modern political issues. They also have what must be for the Thai reader, a pretentious tendency to break into either Old English (Kukrit), or 1970s English slang of California popular culture (‘Rong). How Thai readers deal with this truly mystifies me.

What Were Those Writers Thinking? English for a Thai Audience

Both Kukrit and ‘Rong were newspaper writers, for the *Siam Rat*. I’ve often wondered, what were they thinking? Kukrit after all was writing in Old English for a throw-away newspaper. Did anyone really understand him? ‘Rong’s book was not originally written for a newspaper (though he did plenty of newspaper writing), used California idiom about “Finding Myself Generation,” the fine art of whiskey consumption (let the ice melt), tucked between references to Thai Buddhism.

‘Rong Sojourns in California, early 1960s and 1976

‘Rong Wongsuwaan’s first book was a book of photography “Children of the Garbage Dump” published in 1956. At this time, he also attracted the attention of Kukrit Pramoj who hired him to work for *Siam Rat*. This resulted in ‘Rong being sent by California as a “foreign correspondent” for *Siam Rat* in 1962. But Kukrit did not pay that well, and ‘Rong ended up making a living in California tending bar in San Francisco, while always observing people, looking for stories in what he called the “Concrete Jungle” (Guardian 2009).

Anyway, after being tempted to stay on in California, ‘Rong headed back to his home in Bangkok in 1967 where he resumed his writing career. It was then that he wrote his 1969 book (still untranslated) *The Smell of Ganja*, which is perhaps his best known book in Thai.

After returning, from California ‘Rong married Sumalee (Tim), a northeastern girl. He wanted to show her California and introduce her to the source of so much of his writing. And this is what the 200 pages we have translated are about.

Astride the Iron Greyhound

By ‘Rong Wongsuwaan

Translated by: Jiranan Sirikunpahisan (Taew), Airin Horatschek (Airin), Kwanjira Wiwattana (Palm), Mayweya Koryaklang (Fang), Kuansiree Suanek (Meaw), Supon Phonchatchawankun (Su), Thirawit Pueng-ngam (Thor), Krittaporn Ruankaew (Yo), Hande Yilmaz (Hande), Sasithorn Katika (Cake), Nattaporn Chantajitpreecha (Nati), Chris Benson (Chris)

1) The last day in the last week of June, 1976

It was 102 ° F in Los Angeles. Your humble writer told Malee it was time to quickly escape from the hot weather. Not the kind of hot which came from lying soaked with sweat next to a Thai canal, but the kind of hot that challenged anyone to walk naked into the concrete jungle. So after two minutes of thinking, I chose to travel by the Greyhound bus. It was a charming and speedy iron horse that gave a smooth ride for so many years of roving around California. I did not love or hate it—like other vehicles.

“Just leave the driving to us” as the television jingle went....

This advertisement worked quiet well.

Driving your own car can cost the state more than one million dollars per mile to build, which is one kind of challenge. This State of California was so proud of its expensive roads and taxes! Americans have a car culture. If it is possible, they will exchange their car every year—it would be worth the money to them! And that 6 percent sales tax was immediately charged whether drinking coffee or buying shoes.

In the earlier paragraphs it seems like I didn't quite yet revive from my wine. After all, airplanes are the transportation that saves time and money; it takes only 50 or 55 minutes from Los Angeles to San Francisco by air. Most Americans usually use the plane due to the hurried nature of their lives, but there is really no scenery; we can see nothing except clouds and the underwear of stewardesses. Airline companies in this country compete with each other aggressively, and they try to attract customers in order to make more profit. Some companies intentionally or not, design seductive uniforms for their stewardesses in this competition.

Americans in fact are accustomed to being naked, and even talking or discussing “sex” openly at dinnertime, or on the bed. But, for some strange reason, that little peek at the stewardess is still a provocative sensuality.

The next reason your humble writer wanted to travel by bus is that I wanted Malee to see the western states of America through a pane of glass that has the movement, not just clouds. So, I chose to ride the Greyhound.

I hope that the audience will not hate Malee when she takes some action in this story. However, I will not let her appear on paper more than necessary. I guarantee that Malee will not interfere with the story in a fashion that the audience can blame her for ruining it. After all she's just the wife of the writer, and not that of someone like the prime minister.

'Rong and Malee's Trip to California in 1976

On the 1976 trip to California, 'Rong wanted to show Malee his old stomping grounds—while also explaining to his readers in Thailand what it is that makes the Americans so strange to the Thai eye.

He uses this trip to describe American parenting, nutrition habits, style of business, race relations, Peter Fonda's "Easy Rider," the exploitation of Mexican workers, and the consumption of popular culture. In doing this he brings a Thai Buddhist sensibility to his subject. Meaning that the law of karma and suffering underpin what he is writing about.

But to get to the laws of karma, 'Rong takes his Thai reader on a long trip through not just the culture of 1970s California, but a brief history of California itself. By doing this, he reveals his special affection for San Francisco with its Spanish and Mexican history, Bear Flag Rebellion, Mark Twain, Emperor Norton of the United States, the Great Earthquake, Bohemians, Beatniks, and eventually 'Rong's own question, asked in the third person, is the writer 'Rong Wongsuwaan a proper San Francisco hippie or not?

Now I just re-read the last sentences. As a proper baby-boomer Californian this does not even make sense to me, as 'Rong wrote it. Beatniks, hippies, yeah, that works. Even Peter Fonda and Easy Rider works well, though I had to check Wikipedia. Same for Emperor Norton. But there is still a mystery for me. How did 'Rong's Thai readers understand it? The fact that this book has been a best-seller in Thai would seem to me to mean that it somehow appeals. Or as 'Rong said "In the earlier paragraph it seems like I didn't quite yet revive from my wine." I guess not everything needs to make sense.

Listen, or rather read, 'Rong's tale of the advertisement describing a Maryland chicken farmer who slaughters and sells more chickens than anyone else in the world. I am told by my Thai students and colleagues this is nothing more than a satire on the CP Corporation's Jaran Chiaravanont. Here is what 'Rong wrote in 1978 about the "chicken farmer" who is the founder of what is today (2017) Thailand's biggest industrial conglomerate.

The man in the ad was already old man at the age of 56 with a thin shape but healthy looking (like his chicken skin). He was bald and his big nose was hooked like a hawk's beak. This man challenged every woman to pinch his chicken meat in order to prove whether it is fresh or not.

"It is the only way to prove that the chicken meat was not preserved by freezing process. When you pinch the meat, it should not be stiff..."

This meant to gently knead the meat—and let the softness of it run through your fingers.

That man killed 1.6 million chickens per week at his farm in Maryland (and many other branches). Wall Street looked at him with admiration because of the \$180 million sales each year. He was the chicken professional knowing everything from its droppings to its heart. He knew how to profit from the chicken, in a way that made him enormously rich.

He had a blue Mercedes-Benz, wore a necktie designing by Paris Fashion Institute, loved to play tennis, and had more than 3000 workers.

He also spent \$1 million each year on advertising. Anyway, I thought such an amount quite humble.

“Nothing can push your spoiled products out onto the market as quickly as a good advertisement” he shared in a fashion that helped the listener jump to any conclusion he wanted.

He also made motivational speeches. For example,

“Only strong people can make their chicken meat soft!” or,

“Chickens in my farm consume better food than the food you eat!”

This last sentence might cause Thai people to feel angry, and make them want to kick him in his mouth, but for Americans it was clever.

American people are very hard to understand (‘Rong, 1978, p. 37).

It is important to remember that ‘Rong’s 1978 Thai audience is a population already aware of the push of modernity, whether from CP with its marketing tricks, the urban poverty of Bangkok’s alleys and garbage dumps, or on the rural farms where CP developed its exploitative chicken rearing practices among poor farmers who were wrestled with drought, and the risks the capitalist markets. CP’s response of course was to lend these same farmers the money to buy CP’s chicks, feed, and antibiotics, and then promise to return later to purchase the mature chickens at whatever price “the market” then offered, or not. The result of such practices, of course was often debt peonage when the money paid for the mature chickens was not enough to pay of CP’s loans. This is of course a story of debt and risk that played out across Thailand, and around the “developing” world.

‘Rong’s chicken farmer story is straightforward satire which might have come out of critiques by a French post-modernist simulacrum—but without those pretensions! After all, ‘Rong is also writing about the allure of advertising and consumption for its own sake. There are other writings of this sort sprinkled throughout the book, such as a lament about Peter Fonda and the “Easy Rider” culture of Hollywood’s elite, meditations on Mexican farm workers and their diet of tacos (try rendering “taco” into Thai), and always the tensions between the various levels of society, particularly those of the conflicted middle class.

While such vignettes are straightforward, ‘Rong still paints a much more complex picture of American society from inside of “Joe Chung’s Cocktail Lounge,” where he describes the relationship between a young successful black man, a 35 year-old white “cougar,” and the Chinese bar-owner. In the dialog, the conclusion comes back to how Thai and American are different, a conclusion that ‘Rong highlights by reaching back into an odd mix of Marxist focus on the power of money, and a Buddhist views of karma.

The conclusion is going to be wow!, we are really very different creatures than these Americans, and it is the empathy that makes “us” Asian, and the loneliness of individualism that makes “them” American. But to get to this rather neat conclusion, ‘Rong takes some pages. Here is what he wrote about Joe Chung’s Cocktail Lounge, and 891 Market Street, San Francisco.

By 'Rong Wongsuwaan

Your humble writer sat at Joe Chung's Cocktail Lounge frequently during Happy Hours 5.00 pm. – 7.00 pm. The whisky and cocktail were sold for less than the normal price, i.e. for 60 cents rather than 70 cents. Even just 10 cents is not much, but it gives meaning to the relationship. So, drinkers are more likely to come and relax than at other times, and it makes it easier for friends and acquaintances to meet, because they know about this hour.

The bartender was Chinese, with small elliptical eyes shaped like a sesame seed featured prominently on his face. Among the American faces he was different. He wore a dark blue Chinese pants and a dinner jacket, He also wore an outer red jacket trimmed in gold, maybe just to show off his wealth as a Chinese, more than for any other reason.

But being Chinese also means that the costs of doing business are to be avoided, and kept down and profits up. No other group can copy this Chinese method of doing business.

The young black man sat down on the left side of the counter He is a not older than twenty-three years old.

"Scotch whiskey!" His manner indicated that he had little experience with the protocols of drinking.

He does not select the type of whiskey, but trusts the judgment of the bartender. And in such a case he absolutely will get the cheapest whisky in the bar. This bar doesn't care more about its customer than it does profit.

Your humble writer peeps at the man again. He drinks a lot, and he doesn't wait for the whiskey to be cold enough. Rather he swills it down his throat before the ice can melt, and he continues with a second shot, not even a minute later.

No, he doesn't get angry! His face is so happy, and there is a smile on his dark face. He has just never learned how to love whiskey. So, he hurries to drink it. He drinks it as if it were an enemy to be endured. I tell myself that he still needs to learn about whisky, and how to be a friend with it.

Then whiskey will be his very good friend....

"He looks like Sammy Davis" Malee whispered.

Sammy Davis' dark skin was like that of every black, and your humble writer shrugs his shoulders.

He looks with excitement for a chance to flirt with a girl who sits next to him.

"The wind is might strong tonight!" he said.

It's strong like it is every day in San Francisco. You must come from another place?"

"New York!"

"Well look. People from here don't speak like that. They begin the conversation much more coyly."

"I didn't know what I should say."

"But you can say lots of things."

"I feel lonely. .." The young black man put his glass down on the bar, and told the bartender to fill it again.

"You wanna have someone to drink with?" she asks.

"What are you drinking?.." he asks rather than answering.

"Vodka Martini " she looked away "To be honest, I don't drink vodka that someone else buys for me"

"I don't think you should refuse, " he said, forcing the question.

"Actually-you may think I am annoying and look down on you. But I have never thought about the nature of skin color."

"Vodka martini for her," the young man with the ebony skin told the bartender.

"On the rocks"

She adds this, explaining precisely what she wants.

That lady is over 35 years old, your humble writer guesses, but probably not 40 years. She has a reddish face that said she loved alcohol more than water or milk. She looks so hot, like the girls I saw in the bars in the brothel districts of Patpong in Bangkok or around Bang-Lamphu Square's bar, she would had called 'cougar' or whatever.

But now that I meet her in Joe Chung's Cocktail Lounge, she's in this story at first sight.

"How long have you been here?" she asked.

"2 months."

"Do you like San Francisco?"

"I'm not really sure..."

"I bet that you won't go anywhere else. People who come to San Francisco usually want to spend their whole life here."

"Are you from here?" he asked.

"I was born in Oakland but I really love it here in San Francisco, so I moved across the bridge." She said this with a smooth and moderate tone.

"Have you ever visited New York?"

"Nope, I've never been further than the Reno, just three hours to the east, in Nevada."

"Did you go to play cards there?"

"If not to do gamble, why would I have gone Reno?"

"Some go to get married there," he pointed out.

"You're right..." she said while sipping Vodka Martini, "but I never got married in Reno."

"Just playing cards in Reno?"

"I played every gambling game there-blackjack, keno, roulette. Except I didn't play the slot machine. I hate the slot machine--it is a bastard thief with one arm."

She is describing the "one-armed bandit" the nickname of the of the slot machine."....

"Perhaps, next Friday I will ride that iron Greyhound to fight against that one-armed bandit."

"Why don't you invite me to go with you?"

"Would you mind....?"

"No! I don't mind help from a pretty boy like you."

"I'll tell you once a woman shouted at me 'Piece of shit! just because I am black.'"

"I'm sorry for you, but that was not me."

"You are a good girl."

"No, I'm just a combination of good and bad."

"People in the church say that I am bad, but the homeless living on the street say I am good."

"I see what you mean."

"But as we are going to Reno together, I beg you-please don't be jealous."

"Why?"

"I have been there-getting a divorce from two of my husbands."

The man just shrugged his shoulders and whistled.

She went to the restroom which was located behind the bar.

The bartender poked his face over a counter, and spoke to that young inexperienced black man.

"I don't want to intrude on your business, but you must know some facts about life. Some women are o.k. to take out for dinner, watching a movie together, and making love, but they not suitable to ask for marriage. Some are even more terrible, they are not suitable for anything. Listen to me, that woman is a blood sucking leech; you should hurry to go back home, because it is better than dating her."

At that moment, San Francisco heard a young black man cuss....

"Leeches! I have heard that Chinese people like to eat them, is it true?"

The end of that sentence, it sounds like he is scoffing at the bartender.

"Sorry, I just thought that we are friends.." the bartender mumbled.

"Thanks, Charlie! But I feel lonely."

Americans, black or white, they prefer to call Chinese people Charlie, which is a reference perhaps to the old Charlie Chan movies, or the war in Vietnam. It seems like it has a contemptuous meaning, just like the word "Chink."

Your humble writer does not have any reason to hate black people. The many black people I knew are wonderful friends. Some of them are doctors of high esteem. Some of them are musicians who create the world of jazz. Some are very charming bisexuals that your humble writer spent time with in the gay bars without knowing whether it was day or night. Some of the black people are poets who like to explain about the trash and flowers at the same time, as well as much else. ... They are friends who help each other when in need...

Some novels refer to goodness of the black people, and their yearning for freedom. It is the special condition that Americans admire equality for all before the law, and it is part of the constitution of the nation...

It is also the conflict underpinning society.

That white "cougar" is back from the toilet.

The cheap perfume she wears is sweetly scented.

"Shall we go together, honey?" She said it as if she had slept on the same pillow with him last night.

"Do you not drink more?" he asked.

"Yes....."

"One for the road!"

He used this as an explanation for one last drink.

It is the last shot at Joe Chung's Cocktail Lounge.

"I never refuse alcohol "

"I believe that..."

But the Drama is not over yet.

Black and white look deeply into each other's eyes, through his glass of water and blended Scotch whisky, and her vodka martini, without even knowing each other's names. But that's not necessary.

The bartender shrugs his shoulder.

A lonely horny guy and an alcoholic woman. She is hungry. What misfortune hit her? Or perhaps she doesn't have money for the cheap room rent in the slum? Is her kid sick and staying in a poor hospital? Is her husband disabled by the war? Anyway, the pension is not enough to blow away the coldness and loneliness in her life.

She can be fill any one of these roles....

But the bartender is shaking his head because he's bored. As with the psychiatrist and the police, a lot of people are at his bar. If he were a writer he would have a lot stories to tell.

So your humble writer drinks a cocktail called a Gibson. It is a mix of gin, dried vermouth, topped with a pearl onion.

It cost 60 cent per glass during Happy Hour.

Change is 40 cents and it is better to leave that as a tip for him, though not for every glass. Still he thanks us again and again. Because of the money, he opens his mouth to speak to me, the man with the strange face.

"Linda is dangerous woman," He said.

"Linda!"

"She named herself after Linda Lovelace the movie star. This woman calls herself Linda in her honor."

He is referring to the movie called "Deep Throat." This movie was so scandalous that it shook the church, the court, the monks and the censors. After fighting in court to be allowed to meet the letter of the decency laws, the film was permitted to be shown publicly. Still, the Americans were worried. They were concerned about the problems of morality, and what that meant for the country. But the nation's erotic mood was edgy, and people were frustrated to the point that in some cases they became mentally ill. And so the film was plainly obscene for anyone who was pessimistic about the state of society's morality. And the more optimistic view was that the film reflected the capacity of a more liberal society to throw aside old ethics.

But to find that second answer you must be indifferent to the relationship between sin and

merit.

Still for the second group of people, those optimists, you could almost hear them exhale. So your humble writer promised to take Malee to go see the film on a night we were both free in San Francisco.

“Do you think that she is a blood-sucking leech?” I asked the bartender.

“I don’t want to gossip about anyone. But in the garden in which she plays with men, that is the thing that is true.”

“Is Linda a liar?”

“Worse than that...”

“Perhaps an incorrigible bullshitter? Tricky?”

“... I’m just saying that the bitch’s gonna take whatever she wants. She wants money, and will get money if she can.. If she doesn’t get any money she will get a ring. Got no ring, take a watch. If she could take off the man’s shoes, she would, I think. Anyway, I feel like my mouth is always butting into others’ business where it does not belong. I’m feeling pity on that poor black calf.”

“Blacks don’t want any pity- do they?” Your humble writer offered this thought.

“Everybody all over the country is the same, all throughout the country, whether they are black or white. It’s an American thing. But as for me, I am different. I do not have the feeling that I am a person unto himself. I am an Asian, so I empathize with others.”

“I understand your feeling, Charlie.”

“But think again. Tonight, that dirty slut Linda will surely have money for tomorrow.”

“Have you known her for a long time?”

“Since her name was Marilyn,” he shrugged. “Marilyn on the sidewalk. Marilyn who never was the playful lover of a person like President Kennedy. But her ass is unbeatably beautiful.”

“Leech?”

“Yes- she is.”

“I am also thinking about the superstar agencies in Hollywood. They’re also leeches.”

“It’s similar but not the same. These leeches have different kinds.”

“She’s a beautiful woman. Hmm, I mean, she was,” I said.

“Many people have said the same that you do. Let’s face it, her life is sad. and horrible.. If it had been someone else’s life, that person would kill themselves. But Linda never gave up. You know what? On some nights when she isn’t able to get a man, she sells her blood down on Mission Street. Some weeks she is thin like a zombie.

“This was her destruction... .After donating blood, the money she received os used to buy just a few glasses of whiskey. Then she walked out and fell down in the street.”

“She was told that the place where the blood was purchased is a gift for the hospital. But it was really just a private business operated for profit,” she continued.

Along Mission Street is found the transcript for poverty. Pawn shop, cheap grocery stores, and a rented room where big rats with wet fur run from the pipe hole to the ceiling. Thieves and starving people walk by in opposite directions. Pickpockets wait for the victim in the building corner and so forth. The blood purchasing clinic is situated in this dejected atmosphere--in order to suck blood from the poor to help the rich.

So, the poor had no choice, they had to sell their blood for food.

Blood in this way was turned into a sausage, vegetables, and bread which is eaten. Some portion then turns to shit in the gut, some turned into energy and what was left turned back into blood. It is the infinite cycle, one that does not end until the last drop of blood evaporates from the corpse.

“May Satan himself protect this woman.”

I heard myself praying

Linda dirty bitch! Your humble writer will not forget the spark that is still inside her eye.

Her sad smile reflects crying. She still has a lust for life, while still becoming accustomed to the punishment of being human.

Her price is cheap! But somehow she is still worth more than the Buddhist nun who does not keep her strict precepts, and who uses religion as a mask to cover her face, but who still wanders along the street begging for money--seeking friends in this world who will share her suffering.

Tomorrow, your humble writer hopes to meet her again. ('Rong 1978, pp. 94-104).

With all that drinking and drama, it seems like it is 2 a.m. but it is really only 7 p.m., which is the end of Happy Hour at Joe Chung's Cocktail Lounge, 891 Market Street, San Francisco. But this hour is not only a chance to ask for 10 cents more per drink, it is also a chance for 'Rong and the bartender finally get to know each other a bit, and begin to philosophize about what they had seen transpire, while identifying a shared commonality as Asians in America.

By 'Rong Wongsuwaan

Yellow Chow Mein Noodles, Chinese-American Taste

Ten minutes went by, and the customers have left the bar and I am alone with Malee. Her watch told us that it is now 7 p.m., which is the end of Happy Hour. The price of whiskey changed back into the normal price, which is 70 cents per glass.

The Chinese bartender whistled in a fashion that was not really a song. After the fifth Gibson we are becoming familiar with each other, and the tips are the fiber linking our relationship. His eyes look hesitant and doubtful. He cannot figure out whether I am a Mexican off the corn farm, or a fisherman from Naples.

"Where are you from?"

Just asking the question relieves his worries.

"Everywhere except hell," I respond.

His face changed, to one more suitable for friends, perhaps because he concluded I was not a Mexican or from Naples. "Is this your first time in San Francisco? "

"No, years ago I was nearly a San Franciscan."

"Why aren't you still?"

"I think I'm not suitable for any other place except Bangkok."

"Bangkok!"

"Why?"

"Nothing. We are both Asian."

“Do you know Bangkok?”

“I’ve read about it in the newspaper. One of your generals fled to Taiwan because of politics. He was rich wasn’t he?”

Your humble writer shrugged in response.

“Are you from Taiwan?”

“That has nothing to do with me anymore. I’m from there from before Chiang Kai Shek came to rule the island.”

Malee saw somebody’s hand come out from a small room at the back of the bar. The hand had fried rice with fried bean sprouts on top and a piece of fried pork... The chair in front of the bar is empty. The bartender asked me, did I want another Gibson? I nodded and when he brought the booze for me, he went to have dinner

But he ate while standing and watching for a new customer, ready to leave his meal immediately if one arrived.

He ate with a fork instead of using a spoon or chopsticks.

“I am starving!”

So in leisure, I finished the night’s last Gibson, put down the tip, and waved to the bartender. I walked out of Joe Chung’s bar and went to the cafeteria which was next door. (‘Rong, 1978, pp. 105-107).

Translation Tricks for ‘Rong’s Book

I started out this essay by assuming that it would focus on translation tricks from English to Thai. This is the proposal I wrote for TSA. But the deeper I get in the essay, the further this subject drifts from that original attempt. As ‘Rong wrote, it seems that I maybe had a little too much wine when writing the above pages. But I like the preceding pages, because they are starting to distil the essence of this book for the English reader. So I want to leave it as it is.

But I will here briefly return to the subject of my proposal, as this is one which many Thai have commented to me about. There is the idea that what ‘Rong writes is so unique and colloquial that it is “untranslatable” in its entirety because the subtleties of pathos and humor are not transferable from Thai into any other language. And this is undoubtedly true—as every translator knows, as the shopworn idiom asserts, something is always “lost in translation,”

What is Lost in the Translation from Thai to English?

'Rong's Thai is often colloquial, and very reflective of Thai nuance. For example, Thai is notorious for the complexity of its pronouns, so that seems like a good place to start.

After that I will briefly discuss 'Rong's capacity to switch between English and Thai, his references to Buddhism, and his references to smiling. There could of course be many more issues, but in the limited space I have here, this seems to be the best way to start.

Pronouns

Thai is a language rich in pronouns—and English is not. Going back almost to Shakespeare, English restricted itself to simple variations on first, second, and third person, singular, plural, gendered in the third person only. Some declension based on sentence structure (nominal, possessive, accusative) is also found.

Pronouns in Thai, in contrast, reflect a variety of qualities, especially relationships, but also the quality of the relationships. 'Rong the narrator thus calls himself *Khapajao* (which we often but not always, translate is "Your humble writer"), but in dialog refers to himself as the more conventional *Phom*. And in the few times he talks to Malee, will become *Chan*. His free translation of Pink Floyd's song "Money" at one point translates the word "you" into Thai as the insulting "*Meung*" (p. 148). His translation of Pink Floyd's "Eclipse" (pp. 145-146) uses two or three different forms of "you". It is indeed a playful addition by 'Rong to songwriter Roger Waters' English.

Another original way that 'Rong uses pronouns is when he uses dialog to have Americans argue, particularly fathers and sons. 'Rong puts in their mouths affectionate pronouns like the first person *Chan*, and the third person *Gae*, (p. 55) pronouns which express affection, even as father and son discuss the need of the younger generation to "find myself," and dress sloppily, a concept that everyone of my Thai student translators found absolutely appalling!

'Rong typically refers to women in the third person as *Hlon*, which we typically translate as "her," a word rarely used in my "street Thai," but which has some currency in Thai soap operas, and other venues of Thai popular culture. In translating such terms into English (or translating 'Rong's translations of English into Thai, back into English), I tried to ask myself what the native Thai reader would hear, and often learned a lot about the subtleties of the Thai pronouns from my students. I am sure that the English language's poverty of pronouns leads to meaning is lost in translation.

The Interplay between English and Thai is also Lost

'Rong himself was very well-read in English, and frequently inserts English words into the text, though using the Thai alphabet. I often wonder how much a 1980s Thai reader would understand when confronted with English words like "Finding Myself," "Easy Rider," "Concrete Jungle," the names of cocktails, and other idiomatic English which 'Rong presumably learned while bartending in San Francisco.

For this reason, I am surprised that this book has done so well in the Thai market; its ready use of English would I think be confusing to many Thai. However, for the emerging market of well-traveled and English-savvy Thai, it is accessible—and funny. This interplay is of course lost completely in our English translation which has few Thai words.

The Buddhism is obscure to the English reader—but sharp for the Thai

References to karma and suffering infuse what 'Rong writes about California. For the English reader, references to karma, Nirvana, respect for elders, the duties of Buddhist nuns, and horror at the chaos caused by the concentration of wealth and attendant selfishness, are obscure. But for a Thai reader it is a reminder of an ancient world-view which is contradicted by the chaotic American life 'Rong saw in California. Or in 'Rong's description of the "cougar" Linda he met in the bar:

Her sad smile reflects crying. She still has a lust for life, while still becoming accustomed to the punishment of being human. Her price is cheap! But somehow she is still worth more than the Buddhist nun who does not keep her strict precepts, and who uses religion as a mask to cover her face, but who still wanders along the street begging for money--seeking friends in this world who will share her suffering.

The Thai Smile

Which brings up my last point, now that my paper is beyond the word limit of the International Thai Studies Conference! And this is the subject of the Thai Smile, and the difficulties of translating this into English. As modern advertising says—Thailand is the land of smiles, probably more so than other nations. But the other nations smile for limited purposes. As any translator of 'Rong quickly finds out, there are many reasons for the smile. There are a plethora of smiles which communicate and express meaning in silent ways that are clear to the Thai audience, but not so perhaps to the English-speaking audience. And with that, I would like to smile warmly (a distinctly English type of smile), and thank you for your attention, and reading this far!

References

The Guardian (2009). *Obituary*. Rong Wongsuwaan

<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2009/may/29/obituary-rong-wongsawan>

Wongsuwaan, 'R. (1978 2013). *Bon Lang Hma. Dadd Si Thong (On the Back of the Dog: The Golden Sunshine)*.

Bangkok: Sothan Gan Phim.

Changing Society and Buddhist Monks' Health

Wisitcharoen, Khanitta

Faculty of Nursing
Srinakharinwirot University
Thailand

Boonchieng, Waraporn

Faculty of Public Health
Chiang Mai University
Thailand

Abstract

In Thailand, Buddhist monks have a very close relationship with Thai people because the monks are from their locality and have been and still are part of their community. The community is an informal support source for Buddhist monks as they are generally dependent on the community for the necessities of life such as food, clothing, lodging and medication. However, a changing society in Thailand has been affecting the lifestyle and behavior of monks. This qualitative study was designed to explain how this changing society has affected the health of the Buddhist monks in San Sai Mahawong sub-district, Saraphi district, Chiang Mai province. The results revealed that the changing society has forced people in the Sansai Mahawong community to go to urban cities in order to find jobs. Consequently, the traditional pattern for preparing food to give to Buddhist monks is tending to break up and the relatives of the Buddhist monks are the main means of support. Buddhist monks are now receiving food which is either relatively easy to prepare or commercially available from local shops. In addition, there is a trend for Buddhist monks to be physically inactive because lay people brought food offerings to them at the Temple. To counter the problems associated with the lack of exercise increasing physical activity among Buddhist monks using physical devices was recommended. However, this idea is unpopular with lay people who refused to accept the principle due to issues of decorum. Therefore, the changing society may have a negative impact on Buddhist monks' health especially in so far as they are the victims of non-communicable diseases.

Keywords: Buddhist monks' health, Thai community and Buddhist monks, changing Thai society, Thai monks

Introduction

In Thailand, Buddhist monks have a very close relationship with Thai people because the monks are from their locality and have been and still are part of their community (Buates, Chantachon, Paengsoi, Kangrang, & Sarakham, 2010). Buddhist monks play an important role in spiritual support, a role which is a key factor in the Thai community (Kuramasuwan et al. 2013; Larpthananon, 2014). One example of their role is that they share knowledge with the villagers and community members about how to live according to Buddhist principles (Atipanyo, 2011).

The community is an informal source of support for Buddhist monks, the community being part of the temple (Buates et al., 2010). The temples link the individual and the environment in the context of social issues, economics and resources available to the community members while the temple being established in line with their beliefs and faith.

Buddhist monks generally depend on the community for the necessities of life such as food, clothing, lodging and medication (Kuramasuwan, Howteerakul, Suwannapong & Rawdaree, 2013; Larpthananon, 2013). Focusing specifically on the issue of food, the volume 5 of Vinaya Pitaka in Mahavagga, Part 2, states that Buddhist monks cannot prepare and cook the food (Payutto, 2003) but they can consume a normal diet before twelve o'clock noon (Buates et al., 2010). After that, they cannot eat anything except Panaa (strained fruit juice) which must be consumed before the following dawn. Therefore, Buddhist monks depend on food from food offerings. One study revealed that lay people select the food for food offerings according to their beliefs (Srimanee et al., 2013). For example they may believe that food can bring good fortune to their life so they will prepare a rich dish for the monks, or that if they prepare a dish that their passed away relatives particularly enjoyed, these relatives will be pleased with the food offering to Buddhist monks and again they will gain merit.

Changes in society from an agricultural economy to an industrial capitalist system have led to urbanization and modernization in Thailand (Khaewwan, nd). These changes have been affecting the lifestyle and behavior of the Thai people (Phuphaibul et al., 2012) and hence have also affected the lives of Buddhist monks. A study showed lifestyle changes resulted in time limitations for preparing and cooking food for monks (Angkatavanich et al., 2014). Therefore, the food that people often select for their offerings would either be relatively easy to prepare or commercially available (Angkatavanich et al., 2014; Srimanee et al., 2013). Curry and deep fried foods are most commonly found in almsgiving sets, the set usually having a high calorific content from coconut milk or is very rich in oil from the preparation process (Angkatavanich et al., 2014). As a result, most of the foods offered to the monks are more likely to be high in calories, salt and sugar and low in protein (Angkatavanich et al., 2016; Kuramasuwan et al., 2013; Srimanee et al., 2013).

As regards physical activities among Buddhist monks, Buddhist monks cannot exercise in the same way as the general population do because all parts of the Vinaya Pitaka (the basket of Buddhist discipline) were established with the view of controlling the Buddhist monks' behavior (Srimanee et al, 2013). Therefore, Lord of Buddha allowed alms-gathering (walking for food offerings in the morning), sweeping the temple court and cleaning the lodge (Kuti) and walking meditation (Buates et al., 2010; Kuramasuwan et al., 2013; Larpthananon, 2013) as the recommended physical activities for Buddhist monks. A previous study indicated that Buddhist monks still have a tendency to be physically inactive

which leads to associated health problems. The study by Kuramasuwan and colleague (2013) demonstrated that 49.9% of Buddhist monks can be considered as living a sedentary lifestyle. However, to date, the literature about social change involved studies concerning Buddhist monks from the central region in Thailand but the research did not cover Northern Thailand. The objective of this study is to investigate and explain how the changing society affects the health of Buddhist monks in Northern Thailand.

Methods

The qualitative study aimed to examine how the changing society affects the health of the Buddhist monks in San Sai Mahawong sub-district, Saraphi district, Chiang Mai province. The study involved five focus groups with 34 participants which included 8 lay people, 8 churchman's guides, 3 healthcare providers, 8 village health volunteers and 8 community leaders. Content analysis was used to analyze the data.

Results and Discussion

Social and Cultural Aspects of Caring for Buddhist Monks

Originally, Sansai Mahawong had a society, culture and language which were rooted in the Northern Thai tradition. The people have traditionally been living near their relatives and were in form of the extended family. Most of the community residents were located on the basin and along the banks of the Ping River. People worked in the agricultural sector as Longan and vegetable growers.

The relationship between the Buddhist monks and their community is based on the temple. Communities surround the temple geographically as families and individuals established their community before or at the same time as the temple was established (Buates et al, 2010). The temples link the individual and the environment in the context of social issues, economics and resource availability as the temples were established by community members in line with their beliefs and the abbot and monks came from the community members.

This study showed that the community residents in Sansai Mahawong have high respect for the Buddhist monks. Community residents were expected to look after their monks so as to gain merit. Therefore, they support the necessities of life for the Buddhist monks such as food, clothing, lodging and medication.

The culture around the health care of Buddhist monks is related to support from their community in a similar relationship as they would have to a relative. There are five groups of people who take important roles in the health care of Buddhist monks. The churchman's guide is the merit leader who acts as a coordinator between the monks and the people in their community. The churchman's guide is informally responsible for the health of Buddhist monks including the monitoring of, for example, the preparation of food in the food offerings or to give medicine when the monks are sick. Healthcare providers provide an annual checkup and they can give medication and advice to Buddhist monks who have health issues. Lay people are also important in the lives of Buddhist monks because they provide food and medicine and can send Buddhist monks to the hospital when they have severe illness. The village health volunteers (VHVs) are the representatives of the community members who provide care and health advice to

Buddhist monks. Finally, community leaders are the headmen in the villages that act as coordinators between the government and their community.

Social Change and Preparing Food Offerings for Buddhist Monks

In previous years community residents prepared food for food offerings to Buddhist monks. They offered food that they believed could bring good fortune to their life so they will prepare a rich dish for the monks or that if they prepare a dish that their passed away relatives particularly enjoyed, these relatives will be pleased with the food offering to Buddhist monks and again they will gain merit. Moreover, the relatives of the Buddhist monks prepared food that they knew their family member preferred, again a food which is high in calories. In addition, community resident together, with the relatives of Buddhist monks organized their day to prepare food that they would prefer but now, however, economic development has brought great changes in recent time. Low agricultural incomes have forced people in the Sansai Mahawong community travelling every day to urban cities in order to find jobs so their time was more limited. Consequently, the traditional pattern for preparing food to Buddhist monks is tending to break up and relatives of Buddhist monks are the main preparers and suppliers of the food offerings.

"I am a relative of Buddhist monk; I am the main preparer of food to him. I know what he likes"

"Nowadays, less people offer food to the monks, thus, I always prepare food for monks because he is my nephew"

The beliefs about food offerings to monks such as the preparation of a dish their passed away relatives particularly enjoyed are still current. Participants believe that the Buddhist monks are the mediators between the dead and the living.

"My father passed away last year. He likes Hang-le curry and curry with coconut milk. I offer this food to Buddhist monks because I believed that monks are the mediators between the dead and the living".

"I know that my relative like Northern style chilly dip and streaky pork with crispy crackling. Thus, I offer this food to the monks for my relatives so will get these dishes too."

Regarding the belief that the food will bring good fortune in life, participants also offer food that they believe will make their life better or a dish which has a good standing such as Larb Moo (Spicy minced pork).

"When I celebrate the new house, I offer Larb Moo (Spicy minced pork) to Buddhist monks because Larb mean I will receive money or belongings in my life."

In some cases there is a tradition of offering Central region traditional foods which has led to changes in eating style. The offering of Central region traditional foods to Buddhist monks was done because they thought that this food was excellent. Sometime the people thought that Buddhist monks lost the appetite for Northern region traditional food therefore they offered Central region traditional food to Buddhist monks.

"I offered Central region traditional food to Buddhist monks because this food enriched the meat and it so delicious"

"I think that Buddhist monk lost the appetite for Northern region traditional food because when they were invited to commit to this religious life and I offered Northern region traditional food, they ate too little. Therefore, I offered Central region traditional food because it has been new food for them."

When participants have a religious ceremony, most of them offered food which they thought was excellent so they offered meat and fewer vegetables. They thought that the meat was a better food because it was more expensive than vegetables.

"When we have a religious ceremony such as a Buddhist Holy Day or Visakha Puja Day, we offered excellent food which was prepared from meat because it was more expensive than vegetables. I think that meat is excellent ingredient for offering to Buddhist monks."

In addition, some participants have a job in the urban city which leads to limitations on the time for preparing and cooking food for the monks. Therefore, they often offer food which is relatively easy to obtain and is commercially available. Many people selected curry and deep fried food, these are most commonly found offerings in almsgiving sets.

"Because my time is limited and I have to hurry to get to work, I choose the food for almsgiving sets from the local shops for offering to the Buddhist monks"

Physical Activities among Buddhist Monks and the Belief of Community Residents

Buddhist monks cannot exercise in the same way as the general population because the Vinaya Pitaka guidelines were established with the view of controlling the behaviors of the Buddhist monks. The results showed the daily activities of Buddhist monks were alms-gathering (walking for food offerings in the morning), sweeping the temple court, cleaning the lodge (Kuti), walking meditation and cutting grass for between 30 and 60 minutes per day.

"In the early morning, I saw Buddhist monks were walking for food offering"

"In the morning or afternoon, Buddhist monks were cutting the grass and someone was cleaning their lodge"

As regarding increasing the physical activities carried out by Buddhist monks, the results showed that the use of sports equipment to do this was unpopular with lay people who refused to accept the principle due to issues of decorum and was considered to be against the Buddhist discipline.

"It is not appropriate for Buddhist monks because it is not polite."

"I think that it is not polite and against the Buddhist discipline"

“In my opinion, Buddhist monks should not use sports equipment; I have never seen Buddhist monks using the sports equipment”

In addition, some of Buddhist monks were not seen to exercise or increase physical activities.

“My relative who was a Buddhist monk, after he had lunch, he always sleeps at noon and does not exercise”

“In the temple that is near my home, Buddhist monks had sedentary lifestyle”

In summary, to increase physical activity among Buddhist monks, physical devices were recommended. However, this idea was refused by lay people due to the issue of decorum and against the Buddhist discipline.

The Health of Buddhist Monks and Social Change

Social change has had an effect on the health of Buddhist monks. The sedentary lifestyle and unhealthy food are now associated with the lifestyle of Buddhist monks and are also the major risk factors for diabetes. There are a total of 14 monks in the San Sai Mahawong community, nine of whom are at risk of diabetes five being identified as obese and overweight, and four who have been diagnosed as pre-hypertension. Seriously, one of monk died from the diabetes complication. These results are evidential that diabetes prevention is a serious issue for Buddhist monks and their community.

Conclusion

At the present time economic development is bringing great changes to what has recently been a traditional Northern Thai society. The culture around the health of Buddhist monks involves support from their community similar to that associated with a relative. As regards food offerings, the relatives always prepare food that the monk prefers. Belief about the food offered bringing good fortune to their life; a dish their passed away relatives particularly enjoyed, time constraints on food preparation and a change to Central region traditional food has led to changes in eating style. Consequently, curry and deep fried foods are most commonly found in the offerings many of which are very rich due to the coconut milk or the high levels of oil which are used in the preparation process. As a result, most of the foods offered to the monks are more likely to be high in calories, salt and sugar.

As regards physical activities among Buddhist monks, the main exercise for Buddhist monks involves alms-gathering and cleaning the temple. However, the level of exertion is not enough for the maintenance of health. The lay people refused to countenance the use of physical devices due to issues of decorum so in addition to issues of poor diet the sedentary lifestyle increases the risk for diabetes in Buddhist monks. As a consequence, the health status of monks in Sansai Mahawong is a very high risk for type 2 diabetes.

References

- Angkatavanich, J., Wisestrieth, W., Sangtian, A. and Somboonkul, P. (2014). *The Research Report on Lifestyle, Characteristic, Diet, Nutrition of Monks, Buddhist Novice and Lay people in Four Regions, Thailand*. Bangkok: Choraka Press, pp. 55-58
- Atipanyo, S. (2011). The roles of Buddhist monks for quality of life development: A case study of Long district, Phrae Province. (Unpublished master thesis), Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University, Bangkok.
- Buates, D., Chantachon, S., Paengsoi, K. & Kanggrang, A. (2010). Monks' Health: Holistic Health Care Model by Community Participation. *Journal of Social Science*, 6(3), 478-483.
- Khaewwan, B. (nd). *Social change in Thailand and World society*. Retrieved from <http://www.edupol.org/eduOrganize/eLearning/generalStaff/doc/group02/03/01.pdf>
- Kuramasuwan, B., Howteerakul, N., Suwannapong, N., & Rawdaree, P. (2013). Diabetes, impaired fasting glucose, daily life activities, food and beverage consumption among Buddhist monks in Chanthaburi Province, Thailand. *International Journal of Diabetes in Developing Countries*, 33(1), 23-28. doi:10.1007/s13410-012-0094
- Larphananon, P. (2013). *Health and wellbeing of Thai monks in 2012*. Social Research Institute. Bangkok: Charan Sanit Wong Printing.
- Larphananon, P. (2014). *Healthy nutrition practice for healthy monks*. Social Research Institute. Bangkok: Charan Sanit Wong Printing.
- Payutto, P.A. (2003). *The Pali Canon: What a Buddhist Must Know*. Retrieved from http://www.watnyanaves.net/uploads/File/books/pdf/the_pali_canon_what_a_buddhist_must_know_thai-eng.pdf
- Phuphaibul, R., Watanasak, S., Jitramontree, N., Apanuntikul, M., Youngpradith, A., Sinsuksai, N...& Phusri, R. (2012). Development Process for Sufficiency Health in Community. *Journal of Nursing Science & Health*, 35(1). 28-38.
- Srimanee, S., Mantawangkul, C., Phumrittikul, P., Chancharoen, K., Hongkrilert, N., & Romnukul, N. (2013). *Factors related to nutrition consumption behaviors of monks and foodstuff dedication behaviors to the Buddhist monks of people in Pasi Charoen District, Bangkok*. Research Center for Community Development, Siam University, Thailand.

**From Local Handicraft to Creative Art and Design:
A Case Study of Palm Waving in Kay Noi Village,
Mae Taeng District, Chiang Mai Province**

Wongreun, Wanthida

Royal Project Foundation and King's Recommended Project Supporting Center
King Mongkut's University of Technology, Thonburi
Thailand

Tantinipankul, Worrasit

School of Architecture and Design
King Mongkut's University of Technology Thonburi
Thailand

Petcharanonda, Bavornsak

Royal Project Foundation and King's Recommended Project Supporting Center
King Mongkut University of Technology, Thonburi
Thailand

Abstract

Kai Noi Village in Mueang Kai, Mae Taeng District, Chiang Mai is a predominantly Khmu highland community situated near the Center for the Royal Project Foundation in Mon Ngor. Agriculture is the major occupation of the community, and the primary crops are fermented tea leaves for chewing and variety of modern cash crops to supply the Royal Project Foundation. One of the village's unique forms of heritage is a woven craft made from the bark of branches of a local palm (*Livistona speciosa*) called "Khor." With the help of local agencies, a weaving craft group was created to produce sticky rice boxes and trays made of Khor bark. However, the weaving group could not meet the high volume of orders, since only a few villagers were willing to join the group to produce these crafts. This research studied the problem of the village's weaving crafts by undertaking in-depth interviews with local members to analyze all aspects of the weaving process, including time required for production and expenditures involved in making the products. The researchers learned that the sale of traditional weaving crafts failed to provide enough revenue and investment return so it was not attractive for villagers to join the group. The research team analyzed the situation and provided 3 solutions as follows: 1) to redesign more modern weaving products, 2) to develop weaving skills for products with a higher value, and 3) to reduce the cost of raw materials, such as changing materials to bamboo for some products. As a result, more villagers joined the group, increasing from 5 to 12 members. With higher standards and more modern designs, the weaving products of Kai Noi Village were presented at both international and national art and crafts events.

Keywords: Local History, Baan Bor Luang, Rock Salt, Bor Kluea, Cultural Heritage

Introduction

The Meaning and Value of Craft

The meaning of craft has changed significantly throughout history. During the medieval period in Europe, for instance, craft referred to a broad range of skilled trades which required an amalgamation of intelligence, skill and strength (MacDonald, 2005, 34). Moreover, before the 18th century, there was no clear separation between “crafts” and “art,” and in fact, the Latin term ‘ars’ denoted a particular skill or craft. However, during the era of the Enlightenment, the meaning began to change, and handicraft was degraded as it was based on technical skill for financial benefit in oppose to fine art of genius and free spirit according to Kant’s Critique of the Power of Judgement. Painting, sculpture, architecture, music and poetry became highly recognized as fine arts (Beaux Arts), thus separated from the common crafts and decorative arts (Kristeller, 1990, 165).

Ideas about craft shifted again in the mid-19th century, as the crafts and decorative arts were recognized as being as valuable as fine arts by a renowned British art critic, John Ruskin (1819-1900) and the designer, William Morris. John Ruskin argued that any great art, including paintings and sculptures in famous churches and palaces, could be considered as a part of the decorative arts.⁵⁶ William Morris also maintained that the “lesser arts,” which included “the crafts of house-building, painting, joinery and carpentry, smiths’ work, pottery and glass-making, weaving, and many others,” should not be detached from the higher arts of painting, sculpture and architecture.⁵⁷ Their strong argument to value crafts on par with the fine arts inspired the Arts and Crafts movement in England, which flourished in Europe and North America from 1880 to 1910.⁵⁸ William Morris also established a firm, Morris & Co., to bring artists, designers and architects with complementary skills to work on decorative art projects. Morris & Co. became a highly successful craft business bringing craft production to the level of art. However, by 1850, the industrial revolution had transformed the British economy and spread throughout the world. The domestic utilitarian goods produced by craftsmen were replaced by mass produced commodities (MacDonald, 2005, 36,37). Once again, the crafts declined when the avant-garde and modern movement replaced the Arts and Crafts movement by the 1930s. While modern and avant-garde art became a mirror of contemporary issues and social and political trends, handicrafts became a symbol of nostalgia and romantic ruralism. Whereas modern artists used technology, chance, spontaneous assemblage and originality in their work, the crafts became a separate domain associated with the continuity of traditions and materials of craft practice.⁵⁹ Moreover, beginning in the 20th century, there were various scholars working on historical, critical and theoretical studies of modern art, while there were few critical studies on the development of craft. It was not until 1971 that a Crafts Advisory Committee was created in United Kingdom, to provide grants, loans, exhibition and education about craft, thus stimulating critical discourses on contemporary crafts instead of fixed ideas of tradition and nostalgia. Finally, a Crafts

⁵⁶ John Ruskin, “Modern Manufacture and Design” in *The Two Paths: Being Lectures on Arts, and its Application to Decoration and Manufacture*, (New York: John Wiley and Son Publisher, 1872), 79,80.

⁵⁷ William Morris “The lesser Art” in *hopes and Fears for Art* (London: Strangeway&Son,1882) 3.

⁵⁸ Oscar Lovell Triggs, *Chapters in the History of the Arts and Crafts Movement* (Charleston: BiblioBazaar, 2009)

⁵⁹ Susan Rowley, ‘Craft, Creativity and Critical Practice’ in *Reinventing Textiles: Tradition and Innovation* (London, 2000) 2

Magazine launched in 1973 to promote critical thinking on contemporary crafts and provide an area for academic debate.

Handicraft in Thailand

In general terms, according to Cohen (2000:8), the crafts in Thailand can be categorized into two overlapping spheres of 'court arts' and 'folk crafts' by the detail of craftsmanship, distribution methods and major patrons or users. The court arts were mostly produced by highly skilled crafts people for royal ceremonial and ritual purposes at the palaces or temples, including gold and silversmithing, nielloware, lacquerware, silk and brocade weaving. On the other hand, the folk crafts were made of local materials for common purposes in everyday life such as basketry, mat-making, woodwork, bamboo work, ironsmith, stone cutting and many types of vegetable fiber weaving.

Crafts in Thailand have a different history and meaning from that of Europe. In contrast to the craft guilds of Europe, within the traditional context of the "mandala galactic polity" in Southeast Asia (Tambiah 1976:102-131), most of the royal crafts were produced by war captive slaves from neighboring kingdoms who were resettled around the capital (Cohen, 2000:7). Therefore, the early arts and crafts of Thailand developed by borrowing and adapting from Cham, Khmer and Chinese sources (Warren & Tettoni, 1994). Pensiri (2013) has argued that Thai handicrafts became a symbol of the civilization of the country in its struggle against colonialism, and in that context, the ruling elite sought to display and exhibit Thai craftsmanship internationally, such as at the exhibit at the court of Versailles in 1686 (Galois, 1971).

During the 1960s and 1970s, tourism boomed as a result of the US involvement in Vietnam War, and handicrafts were also promoted further and became a symbol of the identity of Thai culture. In addition, the Cold War context and communist threat also prompted the Thai government to stimulate new development and the market economy in the countryside. State authorities were also very active in promoting development in the hill tribe areas of northern Thailand during this period, in order to stem the illegal opium cultivation.

Economic and infrastructural development also brought western, industrialized products to villages. Western goods entered the countryside since the turn of the 20th century. As Thailand rapidly transformed from an agricultural into an industrially-based economy in the 1980s and early 1990s, foreign investment poured into central Thailand to produce export goods (Pasuk, 1996:143-170). Industrialization and major road expansion since this period led to the introduction of industrially produced good and products into the rural areas. As happened in Europe one hundred years before, in Thailand everyday goods produced with craft skills were threatened by cheap, mass-produced goods. The decline of crafts was more severe in the central plain Thailand near Bangkok than in the north, northeast and the south of Thailand (Cohen, 2000: 9-10).

While in England, the Arts and Crafts Movement and Crafts Advisory Committee was established to support crafts, in Thailand, the Foundation For the Promotion of Supplementary Occupations and Related Techniques under the Royal Patronage of Her Majesty the Queen (SUPPORT) was founded in 1976, in order to develop handicrafts as supplementary income for poor farmers in remote areas. One of

the missions of the foundation is to prevent the decline and disappearance of Thai handicrafts.⁶⁰

Handicrafts in Northern Thailand

In the northern Thai context, crafts people in the royal court of the Lanna Kingdom (years) were also from ethnic minorities villages brought to the region of Chiang Mai as war captives in the 19th century (Bowie, 1993:148). With its unique mountainous geography, handicrafts of the northern Thai region can be divided into two broad geographical categories of highland and lowland crafts. According to the Tribal Research Institute, the hill tribes are comprised of 9 groups, namely: Karen, Hmong, Mien (Yao), Lahu (Muser), Lisu, Akha Htin, Khamu and Lawa (Lua) (Kunstadter 1983, Lewis and Lewis 1984). Historically, the hill tribes mostly maintained their isolation from lowland society but, as a result of Cold War politics, problems with refugees, the communist insurgency and the practice of opium cultivation, Thai state authorities began to govern and intervene in the hill tribe areas from the 1960s onwards and sought to incorporate hill tribes into Thai society (Cohen, 2000:12). Although hill tribes began to lose their cultural identity as a result of these policies, the northern mountainous area became a popular attraction for foreigners searching for 'primitive' culture. Hill tribe crafts became commercialized by both tourism businesses and non-governmental organizations involved with some tribal groups who were refugees from neighboring countries, particularly Laos. Lowland crafts, in contrast, gradually grew in the area surrounding Chiang Mai, the capital city of Lanna Kingdom, to be well-known craft villages such as Bo Sang for paper umbrellas, San Kamphaeng for silk and Wualai for silversmithing, but they either faced urbanization or became modernized with a greater variety of products in response to high demand from tourists (Cohen 2000:15).

In the local context of two craft communities producing basketry and woodwork in Chiang Mai, Cohen (2000: 275-294) found four major factors leading to decline in village basket crafts. The first was changing patterns of livelihood that used craft products as tools in the field. Secondly, the industrial and urban development in drew young generations to industrial employment instead of practicing the crafts learned from an older generation. Thirdly, the cost of raw materials escalated or were harder to find in the area but the value of products remained low. Finally, crafts people were unable to adapt and develop skills to meet new demands and changing markets such as exports and souvenirs for tourists.

This research paper focuses on the development of basketry made from special palm bark and bamboo crafts in one of the hill tribe villages in Chiang Mai Province that is still relatively isolated and not yet impacted by tourism and market penetration. However, livelihood patterns and practices have been altered by state authorities and non-governmental organizations associated with the Royal Project Foundation since the 1960s, as cash crop cultivation and fruit orchard production was introduced. Modern agriculture gradually expanded and the traditional tea plantations declined. The handwoven baskets used in everyday life for tea cultivation was replaced by industrial produced baskets, and there is still no demand for woven products for export or tourist products.

The research mainly has explored how academic institutions, communities of artists and designers can

⁶⁰ <http://www.tsdf.or.th/th/royally-initiated-projects/10218-10218-โครงการศิลปาชีพ-พศ-2519/> and Rujaya Abhakara, Rai-Ngarn Phon Kan Wichai rueang Sodet Phranang Chao Sirikit Phra Baromrachininart kab Kan Thamnubamrung Silapa Haeng Chat: Sueksa Chaphor Silapa Hatthakram nai Phak Nue (Report about HM Queen Sirikit and Conservation of Thai Art: Study for Handicraft of the Northern Region), (Chiang Mai, 1999)

engage with local craft producers to enrich their skills and products in the context of northern Thailand. The research describes the development of woven crafts into creative design installations exhibited internationally. The research asks how local craft makers of Kai Noi village can benefit over the medium to long term from collaborating with designers and artists in art installation projects and international art exhibitions, apart from gaining a position in contemporary art world. Moreover, in which direction should the group of crafts producers develop to further adapt to the new market and demand in modern society?

Research Approach

King Mongkut's University of Technology Thonburi (KMUTT) and Rajamangaka University of Technology Lanna (RMUTL) have a shared mission of integrating excellence of research, academic service and teaching advancement in order to serve marginal communities, and as such, our research approach followed a "Socially Engaged Scholarship" approach. This research for social engagement reverses the normative pattern of academic research that starts from basic research to applied research and translational research that can be developed into final product. Basic research creates academic impact first and has only secondary interest in public impact. By contrast, this research study sought to collaborate with community at the start, in order to develop a research project aimed at problem-solving, creating user impact first and academic impact afterwards.

Research Methodology and Process

In this study, we employed participatory action research with members of the weaving group and all stakeholders involved in this handicraft project. We conducted the research focusing on engagement with community in 3 stages. At the first stage, fieldwork was undertaken in order to understand the broader community context, in part by interviews with all the key stakeholders and community members. Moreover, we tried to understand the meaning of crafts as well as the process of production in this village, and therefore analyzed all stages and costs of production including the payment for skilled labor. The fieldwork created trust between our researchers and the villagers.

In the second stage, weaving group members and researchers jointly created the process to solve the problems, pinpoint the location of difficulties and develop weaving products systematically. These discussions led to the realization that weavers of Kai Noi village in fact needed to develop new designs that could fit with a new market, increase value and bring more profit to the crafts community. The skill of crafts people also needed to be enhanced for crafting various finishings and forms. Another issue that arose was related to the availability of "Khor" palm branch bark was available only during the rainy season. Given this limited availability of raw material, costs associated with weaving were higher in the dry season thus there was less opportunity for villagers to practice. The villagers agreed with us to shift materials to bamboo strips, which is more abundant and cheaper.

The final stage of research had to do with managing the organization of the weaving group to make sure that part of profit was redistributed to community social welfare. Our research found that it was necessary to control and improve the quality of weaving products as part of the group's self-assessment and to maintain well-being of members of the group. With quality control, the group has greater

confidence to pursue the new suitable market segments that generate more income for the weaving craft group.

Weaving Products at Kai Noi Village

The location of this research study is the highland village of Kai Noi, Mueang Kai, Mae Taeng District in the north of Chiang Mai Province on the major route to Pai District of Mae Hongson Province. The research team from RMUTL-KMUTT Collaborative Center for Royal Project Foundation and Academic Activities was asked to visit Kai Noi village by the Mon Ngor Royal Project Development Center to assist the village's basketry weaving group. Kai Noi community is a settlement of multi-ethnic groups, but the Khamu were the first to settle down in this region as logging labor for Bombay Burmah Company who received a concession from Thai government. Soon, Lua, Karen, Hmong and Shan tribes as well as Thais from lowland areas moved to settle in the area. In 2011, the Kai Noi River flooded and mudslides following a depression storm wiped out the entire village. Fifteen houses disappeared and there were ten casualties. With the assistance of state authorities, the village relocated into the National Reserve area under the aegis of Mon Ngor Royal Project Development Center and currently repopulated to 60 households with 144 members.

The resettlement was hard as most community members had to set up a new farming system with new kind of crops. They faced a period of income shortage before harvesting time. The young and middle-aged population left the village to work in another province or the city of Chiang Mai. The elderly with weaving skills were left in the village, and comprised 41 percent of the population. The advantage of the new settlement is its unique landscape vegetation. Eighty percent of the new village territory was covered with a special kind of palm tree locally called Khor. The local palm (*Livistona speciosa*) leaves are utilized as unique roofing materials in the vernacular architecture of this region.

The supplementary income from selling Khor leaves as roofing averages around 800,000-1,000,000 Baht for the entire village or around 20,000 baht per household. Local government agencies and business such as resorts and stores in the region of Chiang Mai, Lamphun, and Maehongson annually order Khor leaves to replace the old roofing during the rainy season in order to prepare for special winter festivities. Kai Noi community became a hub of distributing Khor leaves in the upper Northern region of Thailand. Moreover, Khor is also a versatile plant in that every part can be used in everyday life of community members.

For example, the trunk of Khor can be used as firewood for cooking and steaming tea leaves. Its bark can be boiled as herbal medicine for diarrhea. Its shoots can be cooked as a curry which is popular for local festivities and important ceremonies. Cooking with Khor shoot signifies the highest level of important events such as weddings, funerals and community merit making ceremonies, since it is necessary to cut the whole plant down for getting its shoot. Khor curry therefore is the symbol of the community's unity and community participation. Khor curry cooked and served for guests also demonstrates the community's great honor to visitors. Khor fruit also can be lightly boiled for a snack. The leaves of 30 cm by 120 cm are usually stitched together with bamboo sticks and used for roofing.

As previously discussed regarding the supplementary income, we found that the price of one leaf is 10 baht. So it means that around 80,000 to 100,000 Khor leaves were cut annually and it means the same amount of Khor branches were cut. However, only 3,000 barks from branches were used as strips for weaving basketry while the rest got moldy and decomposed. If these 77,000 barks could be peeled to

approximately 770,000 strips, it could be woven for producing more basketry and possibly earn more income. Usually, the local community would not cut Khor branches in summer or winter since there was no order for Khor leaves, and this would waste the leaves.

The core of the Khor branch can be used as hardwood and the bark can be peeled to make traditional household kitchen utensils such as trays, sticky rice boxes, mats, bowls and various forms of containers. With its aesthetic quality of naturally-polished texture and elasticity, the community was asked to supply 700 large trays to the Office of Highland Research and Development Institute for the price of 100 baht each within the period of 3 months. With the assistance of Mon Ngor Royal Project Development Center, Kai Noi weaving group was created and 17 members were recruited. However, the group failed to deliver the products on time since 12 members left the group. Only 4 elderly and 1 adult committed to work. The major reason was the low payment which was insufficient for their labor and time. Moreover, they also failed to find enough materials to make strips for weaving.

Kai Noi as a Project-based Classroom

With KMUTT's research approach of "Social Lab", the first workshop was launched as a short-term operation to bring the team of 32 students from various faculties of KMUTT under the Gifted Education Office (GEO) to the area. They brainstormed with Kai Noi craftspeople to seek a solution to major problems of insufficient materials, and in spite of the short period of a 2-day visit, they were able to arrive at some feasible suggestions and solutions. One had to do with preservation of Khor barks. The students proposed that Khor barks should be preserved and protected from mold by two different processes and approaches: first, a dry heating process and second, a chemical coating process. However, both solutions need long-term research and precise testing from both RMUTL's laboratory in food development and KMUTT's chemical engineering department. The dry heating process needed to build an oven and test for its temperature that Khor strips could be dried but still durable for weaving. The chemical coating process needed to explore the right chemical substance that could protect Khor strips from mold and preserve the quality of Khor.

After the workshop, another KMUTT "Social lab" classroom was launched to exchange knowledge among the craft group of Kai Noi community, students, lecturers in Industrial Design Program of School of Architecture and Design, KMUTT, and the faculty of Industrial Design Program of Faculty of Art and Architecture RMUTL. The group of 8 students and 2 lecturers from School of Architecture and Design of KMUTT visited the community to learn the local contexts and problems of the crafts group and weaving process as a part of KMUTT's crafts design course. The class also consulted with Associate Professor Vassana Saima of RMUTL who has a long history of working with several craft communities in Chiang Mai.⁶¹ The workshop was organized to exchange knowledge between younger generations of urban students and the village elderly. The students learnt techniques how to form the product from strips made of bamboo or "Khor" palm leaves while the elderly craftsmen learned new design from young students. The result of the short-term activities initiated a mid-term operation for design research and

⁶¹ The course was operated by Assistant Prof. Woranooch Chuenruedeemol and Assistant Prof. Nanthana Boonla-or of School of Architecture and Design, King Mongkut's University of Technology Thonburi. Associate Prof. Vassana Saima is currently the head of Industrial Design Department of Faculty of Art and Architecture at RMUTL. Prof. Vassana is also renowned designer using bamboo strips to formulate very distinctive designed chandeliers and other products. Her works were highly appreciated in international arena.

development. After students understood the local context and problem of Kai Noi community, they created new designs and processes of weaving craft in order to generate new products that could bring higher income. In this stage, students and lecturers also brought new products to discuss with craft groups and the community also suggested some techniques of weaving for new designs.

From the “Social lab” classroom and workshop that brought students to understand the problems and context of the area, students not only created new products or solutions for problems but found the methods and tools for improving the weaving process, which is a medium-term project as well. A KMUTT Industrial Design student who designed a new bamboo backpack from an old basket for collecting tea as a part of her 2-month internship project found that the size and proportion of baskets were slightly different since each craft maker has different weaving skill and aptitude. She proposed to develop the mold for assisting the weaving process as her final exit project. The mold was designed to help each craft maker to weave the object in the same proportion and reduce the time of weaving product. The mold can be detached and composed in diverse shapes enable craft maker to standardize different forms of baskets. The final exit project of KMUTT Industrial Design student reduced the production time and increased the standard of the weaving product.

The field-based activities with academic institutions for skills development led to a greater variety of products than the traditional sticky rice boxes and trays. Moreover, KMUTT students developed methods for quality control by using a mold for forming the weaving product. Surprisingly, as a result of these innovations, the younger generation and teenagers expressed interest in joining the group to learn more about weaving baskets. With more members, the group started to use bamboo ribbon strips as a main material to practice making the product since the price of bamboo is lower and more abundant in the area. The woven bamboo products were sold and created more jobs in the community and thus the number of members in the weaving group increased from 5 to 12 and the products from community of Kai Noi were exhibited at international and national exhibitions. The group of crafts makers in community are now eager to produce the new merchandise and develop new skills. However, they still faced the problem that the expenditure was still high and there is an unclear market demand.

Kai Noi Craft and the International Art Exhibition

Through a network of international designers teaching at KMUTT, the craft group from Kai Noi Village, along with other 30 Thai craftspeople, were selected to demonstrate basketry weaving at the Thai Factory Exhibition of Setouchi Triannual 2016—a famous art event at Takamatsu Port on Shikoku Island, Japan. From exchanging ideas with Japanese visitors and other crafts producers at the exhibition in Japan, the craft group leader became more confident to create new products. For instance, the bamboo chicken coop was adapted to be plates and a cover for serving dessert at formal meetings at the local government head office.

The experience at Setouchi Triannual 2016 also became the village crafts group’s reference for designers and customers in Thailand and abroad. Through the network of KMUTT and RMUTL alumni and lecturers, the bamboo work and skill of Kai Noi village was brought to the attention of young designers of the SUPPORT Arts and Crafts International Center of Thailand (SACICT) which is a public organization aiming to support crafts development in Thailand. Kai Noi crafts group began to collaborate with SACICT for displaying indigenous weaving work at various international art shows.

The first exhibition event for which Kai Noi craft group collaborated with SACICT was the Chiang Mai’s

Design Week 2016, which took place from 3rd to 11th December. Kai Noi Craft group produced 100 bamboo boxes for Mr. Piboon Amornjiraporn, an exhibition designer of SACICT, composed them together with specific lighting as an installation art project called "Realm Pavilion." This art installation was displayed at the Three King Monument, the main entrance to this event. Moreover, the bamboo chicken coop was redesigned to be the lamps at Setoushi Triannual 2016 and bamboo boxes at Chiang Mai's Design Week exhibitions created an attractive lighting atmosphere. As a result, the craft community received several orders for making bamboo lamps from resort business owners who experienced the exhibition. The community needed to order more bamboo strips for the production of lamps and found that the cost of bamboo including labor cost was lower than Khor palm bark while they were sold at the same price of about 100 Baht. The Khor palm also was available only short period of rainy season and got moldy easily.

The 5,000 barb fish trap made of bamboo from Kai Noi craft group was also composed as a part of installation art at the main stage of the biggest music and art festival in Thailand, the Wonder Fruit Festival Pattaya, which ran the music event from 16th to 19th February, 2017. The installation art called "Whale: the Cross-Cultural Craft Collaboration" was designed by four artists: Vassana Saima and Piboon Amornjiraporn, Saruta Kiatparkpoom, and Naomi McIntoch. The art project was supported by The British Council of Thailand. The festival drew many celebrities who posted themselves with Kai Noi's art installation images on social medias. This event boosted strong confidence on craft products in the community. The younger generation of Kai Noi felt inspired to learn more weaving technique with their parents and elderly.

Through the connection of SACICT, Kai Noi craft group participated in the International Innovative Craft Fair 2017. The original baskets made from Khor bark from Kai Noi Village were displayed among handicrafts from other parts of Thailand and other countries. Moreover in this event, Kai Noi craft group was one of the 4 groups that supported bamboo crafts for Mr. Marvin Saima, a young artist, to compose an art installation titled "Theepa Malee" for the Innovative Craft Award 2017 (ICA) in SACICT Craft Trend Gallery 2018 Exhibition. The work received 4th Prize from 220 competitors.

Conclusion

The aim of this research was to explore the right process and methods to support local community handicrafts. The work started with identifying methods to preserve the unique material of Khor bark for making strips for weaving. However, while the research about Khor as a material was time-consuming, village crafts needed to be developed both in terms of the skills of artisans and product design. The crafts group and researchers agreed to adopt bamboo as a material for continuing to explore new methods and to practice weaving skills and establish their reputation. Furthermore, it was agreed that only the premium and high quality products would be made from Khor bark, which was harder to prepare and seasonally limited. Bamboo production activities helped with exploring new designs, functions and developing technical skills of weaving, thus generating income and attracting younger generations to join weaving group. The key of this study is the consideration for not only preserving the indigenous handicrafts but also enhancing the ability of all involving parties in thinking about crafts as open to adaptation and change according to new markets and demands. Academic activities and workshops also boosted confidence, developed processes of production, and enhanced skills and quality control. The

participation in international art exhibitions and festivities opened opportunities to practice with similar groups of professional interest, explored the potential for craft forms with contemporary lifestyle and, most importantly, generated diverse thinking for new design and markets among crafts makers. The Kai Noi craft group has developed from producing traditional handicrafts to creating integral forms and structures for modern designs and contemporary art installations. However, Kai Noi community still needs to demonstrate its capability to adapt to changing markets and real demand that constantly require new products for modern lifestyles.

References

- Abhakara, R. (1999). *Rai-Ngarn Phon Kan Wichai rueang Sodet Phranang Chao Sirikit Phra Baromrachinart kab Kan Thamnubamrung Silapa Haeng Chat: Sueksa Chaphor Silapa Hatthakram nai Phak Nue (Report about HM Queen Sirikit and Conservation of Thai Art: Study for Handicraft of the Northern Region)*. Chiang Mai.
- Bowie, K. (1993). *Cloth and the Fabric of Northern Thai Society in the Nineteenth Century: From Peasants in Cotton to Lords in Silks*. *American Ethnologist*, 20/1 (February): 138-158.
- Chartniyom, P. (2013). *Craft Communities in Urban Space, Bangkok: Authenticity, Transformation and Preservation*. *Veridian E-Journal, SU Vol.6 No. 1 January – April 2013*, 11.
- Cohen, E. (2000). *The Commercialized Crafts of Thailand: Hill Tribes and Lowland Villages*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Greenhalgh, P. (1997). *The History of Craft in Peter Dormer*. *The Culture of Craft*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 22.
- Kant, I. (2001). *The Critique of Power and Judgment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kristeller, P. O. (1990) *Renaissance Thoughts and the Arts*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 164-165.
- Leesuwan, V. (1981). *Thai traditional crafts*. Bangkok: Office of the National Culture Commission, Ministry of Culture.
- Lewis, P. & Lewis, E. (1984). *People of the Golden Triangle: Six Tribes in Thailand*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- MacDonald, J. (2005). *Concepts of Craft*. In Rampley, M. (Ed.), *Exploring visual culture: Definitions Concepts and Contexts*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Morris, W. (1882). *The lesser Art in hopes and Fears for Art*. London: Strangeway & Son.
- Parnwell, M.J.G. & Khamanarong, S. (1990). *Rural Industrialisation and Development Planning in Thailand*. *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*. Vol. 18, No. 2 (1990), 1-28.
- Phongpaichit, P. & Baker, C. (1996). *Thailand: Economy and Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rowley, S. (2000). *Craft, Creativity and Critical Practice*. *Reinventing Textiles: Tradition and Innovation*. London, 1, 16.
- Ruskin, J. (1872). *Modern Manufacture and Design in The Two Paths: Being Lectures on Arts, and its Application to Decoration and Manufacture*. New York: John Wiley and Son Publisher.
- Sukphisit, S. (1997). *The vanishing face of Thailand: folk arts and folk culture*. Bangkok: Post Books.
- Tambiah, S. (1976). *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand Against a Historical Background*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Triggs, O. L. (2009). *Chapters in the History of the Arts and Crafts Movement*. Charleston: BiblioBazaar.
- Warren, W. & Tettoni, L. I. (1994). *Arts and Crafts of Thailand*. London: Thames and Hudson.
<http://www.tsdf.or.th/th/royally-initiated-projects/10218-10218-โครงการศิลปาชีพ-พศ-2519/>
- Wenk, K. (1980). *Pearlmutter Kunst in Thailand: The Art of Pearl Mother in Thailand*. Zurich: Inigo von Oppersdoff Verlag.

**From Hunting and Gathering to Farming Society:
King Mongkut University of Technology Thonburi and its Role in Supporting
the Resettlement of the Mlabri Hill Tribe Community**

Wongwandee, Norachat

Royal Project Foundation and King's Recommended Project Supporting Center,
King Mongkut's University of Technology Thonburi
Thailand

Tantinipankul, Worrasit

School of Architecture and Design,
King Mongkut's University of Technology Thonburi
Thailand

Abstract

The Mlabri were historically a nomadic ethnic group who lived in the forests of Nan and Phrae Provinces of Thailand. Commonly known in Thai as "Phee Thong Lueang," the Mlabri relocated their settlement when the leaves in their roofs turned yellow. As a result of a hundred years of deforestation in northern Thailand and the establishment of national forest in 1960s, the Mlabri tribes were prohibited from continuing their hunting and gathering practice. They were forced out of the forest, heavily exploited as poor farming laborers, and dehumanized by other tribes and lowland people. In 2008, because of the limited land, a group of young Mlabri relocated from Baan Huay Hom, Rong Kwang District in Phrae Province to the area set up by Phufah Phatthana Center under the Royal Patronage of Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn in Bor Kluea District, Nan Province. King Mongkut University of Technology Thonburi (KMUTT) was asked to work with the Mlabri group to improve their quality of life. This research paper focuses on how KMUTT's faculties, students, and researchers have gradually engaged with the Mlabri in replacing their hunting and gathering practices by introducing modern cultivation with more sustainable methods. Through this project the university has sought to create and foster: 1) a partnership with community; 2) a symbiotic relationship between human and nature and 3) a community of life-long learning. The aim of the project is to support the Mlabri in developing their self-sufficient living conditions in modern society while also still preserving their pride in their indigenous identities and cultural heritage.

Keywords: Mlabri, community partnership, life-long learning

Introduction: History of Mlabri at Phufah Phatthana Center

Historically the Mlabri were a nomadic people living in the rich natural resource area of the forests in the northern region of Thailand, bordering Chaiburi Province in the Lao PDR. They were occasionally in contact with other hilltribes resettled in the adjacent area during the 1910s through 1980s. The timber logging concession started in northern Thailand at the beginning of 1900s and changed the life of nomadic tribes in the forest. For instance, the Hmong became laborers for logging companies and continued to practice swidden cultivation on the land around deteriorated forests after logging companies moved out. From this period onwards, the Mlabri became laborers for the Hmong, harvesting in exchange for rice, steel and clothes (Ikeya and Nakai, 2009). As the forest area reduced significantly, Mlabri began to move out of the forest and were in contact with Hmong who settled down in the area of Phrae Province. They built small temporary shelters in the vicinity of a Hmong village at Huay Hom as it was convenient to get hired as labor on Hmong farms. Research shows that one Hmong family usually employed 3-4 Mlabri laborers and each Mlabri person could have worked with 3-4 different Hmong families (Ikeya and Nakai, 2009). From the 1960s to 1970s, the Thai government attempted to settle the nomadic hilltribe populations around the forests for the purpose of national security in a Cold War political context (Walker, 1992).

From 1973 to 1984, Hmong, Lua, and Khamu tribes were the first groups to receive government allocated land along the border of national forests for settling permanently. From 1985 to 1986, government agencies began to map the roaming patterns of the Mlabri tribe in northern Thailand. The Department of Public Welfare and Forestry Department collaborated to start a housing and settlement project for the Mlabri. Firstly, state agencies conducted fieldwork, learned the Mlabri language and provided medical service. In the following years, Mlabri were also persuaded to learn how to cultivate land, raise livestock and undertake some household industries (ironsmith, basketry, and pottery). The state also hired Mlabri as laborers for government development projects in the area and built a road around the forest area where the Mlabri were roaming. In 1988, the Mlabri were also moved to a government village which provided land allocations and public facilities. By 1993, private and public organizations introduced tourism to several hilltribe villages. Moreover, the New Tribes Mission, an international evangelical group, were also involved with the government for developing the Mlabri settlement, buying land and helping to found the village at Baan Boonyuen Village, Phrae. However, a small group of Mlabri families planned to leave the settlement on the grounds that they desired to be more independent from the missionary group. This Mlabri group believed that they could live, travel and work by themselves but the missionary disagreed and felt that they were not ready to be fully independent as they were occasionally exploited by other hilltribe groups. In 1997, a preservation and development center for Mlabri was established at Baan Luang District, Nan Province. However, the establishment was opposed by local communities in the area. Another group of Mlabri in Nan forest also moved to Baan Huay Yuak, near a Hmong village which practiced cash crop cultivation in 1999. Fifteen rai of land were donated to form the new Mlabri community. However, similar a pattern happened that they also were exploited and fell in debt under the control of the Hmong at Baan Huay Yuak. In 2007, Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn paid a visit to the Mlabri community at Huay Yuak. In 2008, Mlabri from Huay Hom Phrae relocated to Phu Fah Phattana Center under the Royal Patronage of Princess Maha

Chakri Sirindhorn, in Bor Kluae Nan Province. The Royal Initiative Project started providing aid for Mlabri in 2009 and in 2012, King Mongkut's University of Technology at Thonburi (KMUTT) was asked to support the Mlabri group for developing skills in agricultural practice. Researchers from KMUTT started their involvement with the community in April of 2012, and have continued working until today. Synchronously, the Department of Forestry and Department of National Parks established a Mlabri village at Baan Huay Loo and entrusted them with 2000 rai of land.

The earlier research on Mlabri showed interest in only describing cultural, behavioral, tradition characteristic and history of Mlabri (Benezik, 1938; Boeles, 1963). This pioneer research had objectives to expand knowledge and understanding of Hunting and Gathering tribe in general terms. Surin (1982) studied about Mlabri but as a contemporary measure of the comparison between the past and present of hunting and gathering tribes through the analysis of archeological artifacts to understand the human behaviors in pre-historic period. Some researches about Mlabri lately focus on the consequences of modern development that generated impacts on Hunting and Gathering tribes in present time as a part of social and economic system (Sakkarin, 2005; Sakkarin, 2012; Shu, 2015). Most of them viewed Mlabri from the perspectives of outsiders aiming at creating ethnic data for academic purposes but lacks involvement in community.

Research Objectives

This paper investigates the working process and collaboration between KMUTT researchers and the Mlabri community at Phufah Phatthana Center over a three-year period (April 2013-April 2016) as part of the master plan for improving living conditions of the Mlabri community. KMUTT researchers helped to develop agriculture practices and adjust their everyday life activities to cope with modern Thai society while also aiming to preserve some of their unique cultural practices. The three areas of focus of this research are as follows:

- 1) Analyzing how KMUTT researchers collaborated with the Mlabri community to transform everyday life patterns and worldviews associated with hunting and gathering to be more suitable with modern agricultural practice.
- 2) Analyzing factors that affected the collaborative work between the KMUTT team and the Mlabri community at Phufah Phatthana Center.
- 3) Comparing the collaborative work with Mlabri to the Community of Lifelong Learning Model.

Research Framework and Methodology

This research reflects the experience of KMUTT researchers who have collaborated with around 40 members of the Mlabri community, teachers of the Non-Formal Education Center and Phufah Phatthana Center from April 2013 to April 2016. The researchers conducted their study using in-depth interviews, observation and discussion in focus groups. For working with the Mlabri, the research team used a collaborative approach with the community by employing Participatory Action Research (PAR) and Soft System Analysis (SSA) from concept of Life-long Learning Community (Khanchit, 2011).

Participatory Action Research is a research practice and methodology that strengthens the role of the

community since all members are expected to participate at all levels and dimensions of work from data collecting, factors analyzing, problem- solving, implementing and evaluating results together. Community members are the ones who brainstorm for solutions, implement them, analyze results and synthesize the work together, while the researchers act as coaches or facilitators. This method enables researchers to see the real problems in the community. The solution to problems will be generated from local wisdom, academic knowledge which is suitable, and available technology in the area. The participatory action research (PAR) is not different from other scientific researches in principle, but PAR objectives focus on solving problems in development. Moreover, these types of research continue with the contribution of the community and colleagues in terms of both the research process and long-term benefits from the research (Kamol 1997:8).

Life-long Learning Community Development is a development framework that focuses on facilitating community dialog to develop processes of critical thinking and analysis, in order to solve problems and improve their social and environmental conditions (Khanchit, 2011). Soft System Analysis (SSA) Is a technical method used in the Life-long Learning Community Development concept. SSA is employed. In this method, researchers must integrate themselves to be a part of community and plan future work together with the community. SSA derives from the idea that development in the community is often stimulated by external forces outside community without consideration for the perspectives and opinions of community members. Although development projects might fulfill their stated objectives, the benefits are often only short-term. Therefore, projects for the community must be developed based on the real needs of community. Outsiders must trust community thoughts and opinions (Thanaphan, 1997). Three core principles of SSA are as follows: 1) Every human being has dignity and identity and a right to determine the direction of his or her way of life. 2) Humans can learn, change perspectives and develop capabilities for higher social responsibility. 3) Everyone has power for innovation, leadership and creativity hidden inside and if rightly encouraged, one can develop and use this power.

SSA has a few key approaches which constitute codes of conduct. Firstly, the method to discover the real underlying problems is by talking, asking questions and learning about the concerns of the community by being part of the community. The situation can be discussed and views exchanged with mutual respect. The second step is that recommendations from the discussions on how to proceed must be reached collectively. Thirdly, community members, researchers and state agencies need to debate and discuss these recommendations and list them in order of priority. Fourth, all members discuss to determine the direction to proceed to the proposed scenario. Finally, everyone needs to develop a detailed plan, implement the plan and evaluate the result.

Royal Initiated Project and KMUTT's Framework

Understanding Mlabri's World

In the original context of hunting and gathering society, Mlabri hunted wild animals and collected forest products. Moreover, Mlabri had beliefs which embedded their lives with nature. The tribal rules, everyday life and settlement patterns all were a reflection of their respect for nature. Spirits of the forest or "Phee" and tigers were also important symbols in Mlabri's relationship with nature. Their beliefs influenced the Mlabri way of building shelters and migrating pattern.

The Mlabri relocated their settlement constantly when their roof leaves turned yellow, as they believed

that forest spirits would send tigers to attack and destroy their families if they settled permanently. Since they relocated regularly, Mlabri did not live in large groups as required to practice farming. Mlabri hunted and gathered food on a day to day basis, without knowledge of food preservation or planning for the future, since the tropical forest was abundant with wild food resources in the past. They usually built temporary shelters in the terrain midway between the ridge of mountain ranges and river valleys to avoid the roaming pattern of tigers that walked along the ridgeline and hunted prey in the river basin. Mlabri stayed in their shelters at dark since tigers roamed at night. Mlabri would have to evacuate promptly when they found any evidences of tiger such as footprints, carcass of preys or if some members got attacked. Mlabri also paid great respect to the spirits of the forest as they were obligated to inform forest spirits before starting a journey. Mlabri local wisdom for collecting forest products reflects sustainable living with nature. For instance, Mlabri collect honey without destroying the entire beehive. The honeycomb is left intact and larvae can grow and reproduce honey again. Mlabri also gather wild tuber vegetables without uprooting the entire plant so they can sprout and be collected again.

Mlabri are generally peaceful. They mostly avoided conflict with others by walking away instead of confrontation or, in worst case scenarios, running away to hide in the forest. The Mlabri communal system is uniquely strong. Traditionally, Mlabri social structure was a single family living in proximity to other relatives as a community in the same area in order to watch out for any danger. The community would take turns to take care of the houses and look after children. From their folktales, Mlabri could leave their children and household with neighbors in the village at the time of hunting for food in the forest and they shared products they collected afterward. The Mlabri had strong bonds with their neighbors and relatives would say that all Mlabri in Thailand and other parts of world know one another. Lowland peoples and other tribes referred to them with the pejorative name of “Phii Tong Lueang” or “spirit of yellow leaves,” which offended the Mlabri’s feelings since the Mlabri also feared spirits or “phii” in the forest. The term “Phii Tong Lueang” also suggests that they are not human beings. Mlabri said that “Phii” means the dead., Other tribes also referred to them with pejorative names.

Working with the Mlabri in Transition

There are currently 20 households of 78 Mlabri living at the area of Phufah Phatthana Center as a new community. They relocated from Baan Huay Hom, Rong Kwang District in Phrae Province to Phufah Phatthana Center in 2008. They abandoned the ancestral practice of cyclical relocation of their houses in the forest to establish a permanent settlement. Some of them began to practice farming on the land Phufah Phatthana Center allotted for them and some also worked as paid laborers on local farmland.

The team of researchers from KMUTT have been collaborating for 3 years with 40 members of the Mlabri community primarily in assisting them for developing skills for working in modern society and improving their quality of life while preserving their indigenous practices with the natural forest. The Mlabri still continue to practice collecting wild honey, weaving ivy bags and gathering forest products with limited forest resources, since other local communities also gathered forest products in the area.

The social structure of the community was analyzed and categorized into 3 groups according to their ability to communicate with researchers in Thai. The first was the group comprised of those who could communicate in Thai and the local dialect of Northern Thai. This group was around 20 percent of the Mlabri community, and they were mostly leaders in the community and the village committee. The

second group was comprised of those who partly understand Thai and the Lanna dialect. They were the majority, or about 60 percent of the community. The third group was about 20 percent, who were unable to communicate in Thai or northern Thai. At this stage, researchers met with a small group of leaders in the community and the village committee who could speak Thai and the northern Thai dialect, in order to introduce agricultural techniques and household resource management skills, such as food security reserves. The village committee and leaders understood and agreed to work with the assistance of researchers. Some who did not understand or were unsure walked away.

Researchers adopted the working principle of “reach-understand-develop” to work with the Mlabri. From 2008 to 2009, KMUTT researchers spent time with the community learning Mlabri language, and they sought to understand their problems and participate in village activities. For those who walked away, the KMUTT team sought out their relatives for consultation so they gradually gained their trust. To build more trust with some of Mlabri, the KMUTT team always came to work together with them on the vegetable farm. If they asked for help, KMUTT team provided 24-hour on-call support so that Mlabri could ask for emergency assistance. KMUTT team and Phufah Phatthana Center worked specially with Public Health Department of Bor Kluea District to send doctors and nurses to the community immediately in need of medical care. With tireless support, the KMUTT team gained trust from Mlabri so that most of Mlabri referred to KMUTT researchers as “Ar Thoeng” in their language which means “one of us.” More members of the community including those who walked away at the first stage gradually followed the village committee to practice and participate in the subsequent meetings with KMUTT. Finally, KMUTT researchers could organize the community meeting where the majority of members participated.

Researchers respected the opinion of the community and recognized the freedom of members to follow or disagree with KMUTT’s suggestion and assistance. The content for working with Mlabri included exercises for thinking about the cultivation process, observing, recording data and calculating for household expenditures and revenue. Moreover, researchers also tried to encourage the community members to think about the future and social security of their settlement but, for some members, they were unaccustomed to making plans for the future. The land allocated by Phufah Phatthana Center was limited and could accommodate more than 100-120 residents. Not only was adaptation to work in modern society but also planning for future growth was important for the Mlabri to learn. As of today, Mlabri population growth is increasing at the rate of 4.5 percent per year. The community could reach the limit in the next ten years--therefore Mlabri community has to not only increase their ability to produce enough food but also to consider family planning.

From 78 members of the Mlabri community, there are 33 men and 45 women. Thirty three of them are children and teenagers (age of 0-14) while the working age group (15-59) comprises 41 people. In terms of education, two-thirds of 30 members of the young working group finished at least primary school and one third completed secondary education and one-third that did not have education at all. As of 2016, most of the Mlabri’s children attend school provided by a special unit of the Highland Educational Center of the Non-Formal Education Department.

For the annual household accounting record, the community received a royal subsidy from Phufah Phatthana Center for more than half of their revenue (475,200 baht out of 856,323 baht). The revenue for the sale of wild honey was 200,000 baht. Most of the expenditures were for food and half of the food

expense was for meat products while about one quarter was for rice. Mlabri community members also are in debt for purchasing food and building materials at the early stage of resettlement since they no longer can collect materials from forest such as “Khor” palm leaves for roofing and bamboo for building. The village committee agreed that they have to develop their ability to cultivate rice and raise livestock for sustaining their daily consumption and reducing expenses in order to survive without royal subsidy. They also wish to work and earn more from agriculture, tourism, services and handicrafts. Management of forest resources is also a task for them to regulate all members to share the work to process forest products such as bottling wild honey and sharing the food from hunting.

Since the Mlabri group are already unique for their strong bonds with neighbors and relatives in the community, participatory methods are suitable for their social structure and help motivate them to complete tasks. KMUTT researchers organized a meeting atmosphere that supported participation among the working groups in the Mlabri community and thus generated a working process where researchers could collaborate with community members at all levels. First, the Mlabri community learned new knowledge, interpreted data and worked together. They shared labor, knowledge and profits together at second level. They also brainstormed for new work, calculated cost-benefit and investigated errors. Finally, they were able to repeat successes and correct problems.

Five Mlabri men now can grow 6000 kilograms of rice on the 16-rai farmland and could possibly expand to another 10-rai to sustain the rice demand of the community at 10,000 kilograms. They also learnt skill for operating a tractor machine and managing rice fields. Sixteen women can operate a vegetable farm including maintaining a work schedule and packaging for sale. Three of them can calculate cost-benefit and prepare seedlings. They can raise 2000 fish in total of 200 kilogram and can increase to 3000 fish and produce 1000 kilograms in the following year of 2016. The group also can produce 138 kilograms of strawberry from 2500 plants. Community members collectively worked together to raise 50 local chickens selling 12 of them to others and maintained 50 plants in a fruit orchard. All of these working projects were documented and calculated for expense and benefit.

Research Outcome

Format of Participatory Action Research KMUTT Conducted with Mlabri Community

Principles for participatory work KMUTT researchers employed are as follows;

1. Freedom of expression. In the meeting, all members of the community can express their opinions and all opinions are equally important for moving forward to improve community.
2. Consideration of hardship. The team focused on assisting those who might be facing more serious problems and need help as first priority. For instance, the family with less labor force or with more children would get more support and share of income.
3. Participation practice. The collaborative team of KMUTT and Mlabri conducted a monthly meeting after finishing the project open to reflecting on errors and solving problems together.
4. Value creation. In early stages of work, the researchers asked for Mlabri's knowledge and previous experience in a similar project. If they used to work in similar tasks, researchers asked how they had done it. The advantage of old experience and new methods should be discussed among the group and researchers.

5. Survey and practice. Researchers assisted community members with collecting data and analyzing it, such as household accounts for expenditure and revenue, community database and data of community fresh produce.
6. Creating new knowledge. The community and researchers can synthesize old experiences and new knowledge from what they learned in theory and practice in order to generate better quality of work.

The working processes that KMUTT researchers undertook were as follows:

1. Community background information. The researcher conducted fieldwork to learn community background information such as population, culture, education, health and life patterns, using interviews and literature reviews in order to understand how Mlabri live, think, work, and practice.
2. Building relationships. The researchers established trust among community members by sharing some thoughts, engaging in conversation, participating in community rituals and agriculture work, understanding their perspective of life, and building a similar standpoint to motivate their collaboration.
3. Survey and crosschecking. The team engaged in conversation with community leaders to crosscheck information such as household accounts of expenditures and revenue, daily expenditures, and analysis of activities.
4. Action and reflection. The researchers implemented follow up activities and discussion with the community to review information, analyze performance and revise the working process after launching project.
5. Building knowledge. The researcher generated new knowledge from the action and reflection that can be used for the next phase of development.
6. Change and transition. The Mlabri group developed their ability to collect data during the working period and learned to operate environmental friendly technology for agriculture. Mlabri were able to revise and develop their work by learning from textbooks, recommendations and their past experiences with KMUTT researchers.

Researcher Characteristics

1. Upholding principles. The researchers were able to provide enough knowledge and expertise to analyze situations, apply principles and justify responses during the working period they conducted activities with Mlabri community.
2. Creativity. The researchers were able to remember stories or social contexts of the Mlabri community and created various suitable methodologies for collaborating with Mlabri.
3. Understanding. The researchers can understand their Mlabri co-workers' perceptions and feelings toward work. The team adjusted the tasks and short-term goals depend upon situation in their families and community.
4. Reality. The researchers worked together with the community in the field and listened to their conversations. Therefore, the team was able to understand their everyday life situation and the

- origin of problems in the working process with community.
5. Ambition. The researchers were ambitious to achieve their end goal. They also passed this ambition to their co-workers and the Mlabri community to accomplish their tasks for the improvement of their living conditions with self-reliance on food, secured income and stable environment.
 6. Resilience. The researchers were not discouraged by mistakes or misunderstanding but used these as lessons to develop better work with the Mlabri. For instance, at an early stage of work, some Mlabri who did not understand or agree with the researchers walked away, but researchers sought them out and tirelessly supported them over a long period. For instance, the researchers continue to talk to the wives or husbands of those who walked away. As a result, they gradually returned to the meeting and collaborated with researchers. The number of participants grows from only 20 senior and leaders of the group in 2013 to 40 at the end of 2015.

Within a participatory framework, the Mlabri community created a working process with regulations for checking members' conditions, strengthening members' skills and improving the public benefit. The village committee regularly investigated for good quality work. The production process was recorded and analyzed together members of the community. For instance, all households in the community participated in gardening every Monday in order receive their portion of vegetables. The Mlabri community was able to develop skills and train each other to accomplish their tasks. Community members who already succeeded helped other members to work and develop similar working skills. For the public benefit, the community organized a cleaning day every Saturday so that members could work together for the community orchard, chicken coop and garden.

Factors Affecting KMUTT Collaborative Work with Mlabri

Internal factors within the community were as follows:

1. Healthy family relationships. Mlabri have very strong bonds with extended family and the entire village is related. Traditionally, Mlabri respect the elderly and express generosity to their neighbors and share food together.
2. Strong collective leadership. The village committee has a strong ambition to develop the villages into self-sufficient communities with skills in agriculture, service and craft. The committee and members learned and practiced together to improve their skills for better quality of work.
3. Awareness and consciousness of limited resources. The Mlabri community used to run away into the deep forest when they encountered problems and disagreed with other tribes. However, with permanent settlement at the present location and strict laws on utilization of national forest, Mlabri have to employ their knowledge in working efficiently together. They must realize that they rely on limited natural resources.
4. Public benefit. In a working group for agricultural production, members must share responsibilities and work together. The result is greater benefits for all, such as cheaper and more abundant food to share with other members in the community.

External factors for the success of development are from state agencies and non-governmental organization as follows:

1. The office of H.R.H. Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn's Projects supported infrastructure and coordinated with other state agencies to provide the support for the settlement of Mlabri community at Phufah Phatthana Center.
2. Department of National Parks also employed the Mlabri community for reforestation, seeding and citrus gardening projects which improved skills in agricultural work for them.
3. The Center for Education of the Highland Community at Phufah Phatthana Center, Office of Non-Formal and Informal Education, provided flexible, fundamental education for the young generation of Mlabri. Moreover, the office also assisted the KMUTT research team in translation and communication with the Mlabri community.
4. Office of Public Health also provided special health care for Mlabri in case of emergency and knowledge for healthy environment.
5. Private businesses such as local shops and resorts also supported Mlabri by purchasing wild honey and vegetables from community members, so Mlabri earned enough revenue to continue their farms.

Comparing KMUTT research on Mlabri collaborative work with the Lifelong Learning Community Concept

The work that the KMUTT research team had conducted with the Mlabri is compatible with the Lifelong Learning Community Concept as researchers adopted the Soft System Analysis method to develop the capacity of the community. The Soft System Analysis method can be implemented in the community in 8 steps as follows:

1. Identifying the problem. Researchers collected fundamental data with the Mlabri by living with families and working alongside Mlabri in the community. Therefore, they learned about problems through engagement and conversations with Mlabri.
2. Understanding problems together with the community. Researchers brought data to the meetings with the community to facilitate in-depth discussion about the problems with the community.
3. Creating goals together. Community members and researchers looked at the core of their problems, such as the large expense of buying food. They then set the goal to substitute this expenditure by cultivating rice, vegetable and raising livestock.
4. Maintaining direction to work toward goals. Researchers and the Mlabri community regularly discussed and evaluated the project's progress and surveyed limited resources.
5. Agreement to determine objectives. Community members and researchers organized village meetings to facilitate working and learning together.
6. Planning to work together. The community agreed to separate into small groups and to accomplish goals accordingly.
7. Implementing the plan. The community implemented their work following the plan and monitored their progress weekly and monthly.

8. Evaluating results. Researchers and the community regularly held meetings with the heads of project activities to evaluate the outcome and consequences of work.

By working with the community according to the SSA method, the KMUTT research team were able to establish a clear workplan with the full support of the Mlabri community. The community was able to contribute savings from their revenue to establish a village fund with a savings account of 50,000 baht. Community members also learned to make environmentally friendly food products such as rice, strawberries, and vegetables and earned income to continue to invest in small businesses. Some also were trained to work with tourism businesses and handicrafts. Moreover, the establishment of a village committee helped organize more fruitful activities and suitable education in the community.

Conclusion

The working process of the KMUTT team involved capacity-building for transitioning a hunting and gathering community to agricultural production. All in all, the project was a success due to the following factors:

1. The working process between KMUTT researchers and the Mlabri community emphasized participatory action research with a long-term objective of community self-reliance and sustainability.
2. Internally, the community had strong bonds among family and relatives within the community, as well as resilient group leaders with an awareness and consciousness of the need to support activities for collective benefit. Externally, state agencies, NGOs and networks of private businesses both in and outside Nan province also provided support for the Mlabri to strengthen their capacity for self-reliance.
3. When comparing KMUTT's work with the Lifelong Learning Community Development concept and its procedures, researchers found that KMUTT had embraced eight steps of SSA, which indicate the possibility that the Mlabri community at Phufah Phatthana Center could achieve the goal of being a self-reliable and sustainable community. From this study, the KMUTT team's working process helped to build capacity for the Mlabri to transition from hunting and gathering to successful agricultural practice. The Mlabri community at Phufah Phatthana Center could soon be economically independent if the members continue to work in this direction and it could be model for Mlabri communities in other areas of Nan and Phrae provinces.

References

- Bernatzik, H. A. (2005). *The Spirits of the Yellow Leaves*. Bangkok: White Lotus Press. pp. 1-178.
- Boeles, J. J. (1963). Second Expedition to the Mrabi of North Thailand (Khon Pa). *Journal of the Siam Society*, 11 (2), pp.133 – 160.
- Ikeya, K. and Nakai, S. (2009). Historical and Contemporary Relations between Mlabri and Hmong in Northern Thailand in Interactions between Hunter-Gatherers and Farmers: from Prehistory to Present. *SENRI ETHNOLOGICAL STUDIES*, 73(73), 247-261.

13TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THAI STUDIES
GLOBALIZED THAILAND? CONNECTIVITY, CONFLICT AND CONUNDRUMS OF THAI STUDIES
15-18 JULY 2017, CHIANG MAI, THAILAND

- Na Nan, S. (2005). *Mlabri kub kan chuang ching Sapphayakorn nai Baribot khong Kan Phatthana doi Rat* (MA Thesis, Human and Environmental Management, Graduate School, Chiang Mai University).
- Na Nan, S. (2012). *Mlabri bon Sen Thang kan Phatthana*. Chiang Mai: Center for ethnography and Development, Faculty of Sociology, Chiang Mai University. 95-119.
- Nimonjiya, S. (2015). From Interacting to Accessing: On Relationship between the Mlabri and the Forest. *Social Science Research Journal (วารสารวิจัยสังคม)*, 38(1), 137-170.
- Phukhachon, S. (1988). *Phon Wikro Klum Sangkhom la ha sat: Chon Klum noi phao Phee Tong Lueang nai Prathet Thai*. Bangkok: Fine Art Department.
- Phutthakosa, K. (2011). *Manual for Developing Life-long Learning Community: Completed Version*. Bangkok: National Research Council of Thailand.
- Sudprasoet, K. (2007). *Kan Wichai Patibatkan Baab mee Suan Ruam khong Phupatibatkan* (Research for Participation Workshop). Bangkok: Office of Human Resource Development Project, Ministry of Education.
- Thani, T. (1997). *Kan Sueksa Chumchon*. Khonkaen: Department of Social Development, Faculty of Social Science, Khonkaen University.

A Comparative Study of Vocabulary at Basic Level Category in Chinese and Thai Languages Based on the Prototype Theory

Yang, Yuting

School of Foreign Languages and Culture
Chengdu University
China

Abstract

Prototype theory refers to the graded categorization in which some members are more typical than others. Since it was formulated by the scholar Rosch in the 1970s, it has been widely applied into the field of linguistics with researches ranging from grammar, lexicon analysis to sentence structure. However, few attempts have been made on the application of this theory into the contrastive study of vocabularies at the basic level among different languages. This paper aims to make a contrastive study of vocabularies at the basic level category in Chinese and Thai languages through a survey, that is, to find out the similarities and differences of vocabularies at basic level between the two languages and also dig out the reasons for the differences based on the data collected from the survey, and finally explore how to apply the prototype theory into real classroom-teaching. During the survey, three tasks are assigned to 50 Chinese college students and 50 college students speaking Thai language as their mother tongue with a view to obtaining the first-hand data. Based on the research results, this paper concludes that vocabularies of the basic level category between Chinese and Thai languages vary a little in animal, fruit and cooking utensil categories, and prototypes of each category in these two languages are different, that is, some members are more typical than others, which are the results of different cognitive models influenced by different cultures. This research is expected to be meaningful in two aspects. First, it will provide insights into the teaching of Thai language in China as lexicon is the basic unit of a language. The teaching of vocabulary in Thai language will be more effective if the teacher is aware of the similarities and differences about basic level vocabularies between Chinese and Thai languages. In addition, it will facilitate cross-cultural communication as the awareness of the differences will avoid misunderstandings.

Keywords: comparative study; prototype theory; basic level category; Chinese; Thai languages

Introduction

As we all know, vocabulary plays an important role in the language learning and the appropriate use of vocabulary is a key to learning a language well. This paper strives to explore the differences between Chinese and Thailand vocabularies at the basic level category from the perspective of prototype theory, with an aim to providing some implications on the teaching of Thai language in China. The prototype

theory, the theoretical framework of this research, is one of the most important theories in cognitive linguistics, which provides new and creative perspectives and methods for researchers and scholars all over the world to explore how people cognize things and understand the world. It centers on two important concepts: categorization and prototype. Categorization is one of the basic ways for human beings to understand the world, which will lead to the stratification of members in a category. These stratifications are further divided into super-ordinate category, basic level category and the subordinate category by Rosch (Rosch, 1978). According to her, categories at the basic level are those used with the highest frequency in daily lives and it is at the basic level category that people cognize things more quickly and easily. That is the reason why the vocabulary at the basic-level category will be compared in this paper. And prototypes refer to those which are recognized easily in a certain category and have shared the most common attributes compared with other members. As to the relation between prototype and categorization, this paper will adopt what F. Ungerer and H. J. Schmid said. As they put it, "prototype categories most fully develop in the basic level while the vocabularies at the basic level only function as they do because they are structured as prototype categories" (Ungerer, F and H. J. Schmid, 2001).

I. Literature Review

The prototype theory is an important component in cognitive linguistics, which has drawn attention from many scholars abroad, such as Berlin, Kay, Labov, Lakoff, Langacker, Taylor. They have made great contributions to the development of the prototype theory. At the same time, the efforts of the researches and scholars who have devoted a lot to the development of prototype theory in China cannot be ignored. The studies on prototype theory at home mainly focus on the following aspects: review and analysis (Yang Zhong, Zhang Shaojie 1998; Zou Zhiyong 2000; Wu Shixiong, Ji Yuhua 2004; Shi Wenbo 2010, etc.); the application of prototype theory in the field of translation (Wang Renqiang, Zhang Yihua 2004); experimental study of applying prototype theory to classroom polysemy teaching (Zhao Yan fang, Zhou Hong 2000; Wang Zi chun 2006);researches on the semantic ambiguity and limitations of the theory (Yu Jianbing, Huang Hebing 2008). From the literature review, it can be seen that the prototype theory has seldom been used to do the contrastive study of vocabulary at basic level category. Therefore, it is of significance to carry out study in this respect.

II. Methodology

2.1 Research Question

In this survey, two questions will be dealt with. One is to dig out how vocabularies at the basic-level category are presented differently in Chinese and Thai language from the perspective of prototype theory and to find out the reasons for these cognitive differences. According to Roach, prototypical members in each of the categories should be more easily recalled than the non-prototypical ones and produced with the greatest frequency. Therefore, this paper adopts the notion that the members having the greatest frequency and being recalled first by subjects should be considered to be the prototypical members of a category. The other is to explore what implications it will have for the vocabulary teaching and cross-cultural communication.

2.2 Research Subjects

In the survey, 50 Chinese junior college students and 50 Thailand college students of the same grade are chosen as the subjects. The 50 college students who speak Chinese are randomly selected from Chengdu University in Sichuan, while the 50 Thailand college students are found with the help of the author's friends who study in Maejo University of Chiang Mai. The author of this paper choose these subjects mainly for the reasons that college students are a group of people whose cognition is at a comparatively high level and these subjects are growing up in their own county without being influenced by other cultures.

2.3 Research Method

The methods involved in this survey are questionnaire fill-out and personal interview, which are used to find out the differences about the vocabulary of basic-level category. In the questionnaire, subjects are required to finish three tasks altogether. First, they need to write down the attributes of three categories respectively, including animal category, fruit category and cooking utensil category. The reason why these categories are chosen to be analyzed here is that the differences among these categories in the two languages are mostly striking, and comparison can be made. And that these categories are closely related to people's daily life. In addition, the three categories contain the most common (defined by word frequency) categories of concrete nouns in both Chinese and Thai languages. Task two is to ask subjects to list as many vocabulary of basic level category as they can within 5 minutes. This task is to test how the subjects of different language backgrounds think of these basic levels differently in their minds and what the relations are the vocabularies at the basic level have in their life. Last, having listed the vocabularies at the basic level, the subjects also need to list the subordinate level categories of each basic level category within 10 minutes and put the categories in order from the prototypical ones to the non-prototypical ones. In this step, we can see by what standard the subjects cognize the subordinate level categories, by color, size, types or anything else. The three tasks are controlled within a certain time to make sure what the subjects write down on the questionnaire is what appears first in their minds.

2.4 Research Results

100 questionnaires are allocated to subjects with different language backgrounds. To make sure the time is well-controlled and the questionnaires collected to be effective, the whole process is controlled by the experimenters in person and all the requirements and the purpose of the research will be clarified to the subjects at the very beginning of the survey. What follows below will deal with the results in detail.

2.4.1 Basic Level Category in Animal Category

As is mentioned above, three steps are involved in the research of each category. As to the attributes of animal, both Chinese and Thailand students write something similar, for example they can breathe, breed, need food, and so on. Table 1 below shows the total number of categories given by subjects.

Table 1: The total number of categories given by subjects

Subjects	Chinese	Thailand
Number of animals at the basic category level	18	23
Number of animals at the subordinate category level	87	74

Table 1 shows the total number of animal categories both at the basic level and subordinate level given by the two different kinds of subjects. There is little difference about the total numbers at each level, with 5 differences at the basic level, 13 differences at the subordinate level. And differences about the exact category number can be shown below.

Table 2: Animal category members given by Chinese subjects

Category member	Dog	Sheep	Chicken	Pig	Cattle
Frequency of appearing	44	41	38	35	33
Category member	Cat	Bird	Fish	Snake	Rabbit
Frequency of appearing	29	29	25	18	17
Other animal category members: Monkey (14) elephant (11) panda (11)tiger (10)duck (10) rat (9) dolphin (7) lions (7)					

We can see from Table2, dog, sheep and chicken are the top three listed by Chinese subjects. And dog has the highest frequency of being listed at the first place. Therefore, dog is considered more typical examples of an animal category than snake and rabbit are from the perspective of prototype theory. The other seven animal category members listed with high frequency are pig, cattle, cat, bird, fish, snake and rabbit. These animals listed at the basic level category live closely with human beings and are quite easy to be seen by the people living in Chengdu. In Table 2, other animal category members listed by Chinese subjects include elephant, kangaroos, turtles, wolves, penguins, bees, peacocks, geese, snakes, bears, monkeys, deer, donkey and giraffes. Among them, monkeys, elephants and panda have higher frequency of being listed.

Table3: Animal category members given by Thailand subjects

Category member	Elephant	Dog	Pig	Snake	Buffalo
Frequency of appearing	35	34	29	26	22
Category member	Fish	Horse	Cat	Bird	Chicken
Frequency of appearing	22	21	19	19	17
Other animal category members: chicken (15),insect (15),scorpions (9), bear (9),duck (8),sheep (8),butterfly (4)					

The Table 3 shows that the top three animals are elephant, dog and pig. And like Chinese subjects, dog has the highest frequency of being recalled first by Thai subjects. Thus, dog can be regarded as the prototype of animal category. And the other seven animal category members listed that are in the top ten lists include dog, buffalo, fish, horse, bear, bird, cat, etc. It is easy to find that compared with Table 2, the top ten animal category members listed by Chinese subjects vary little with those listed by Thailand subjects, except horse, elephant and rabbit. The similarity partly lies in that both China and Thailand

belong to Asia, except that China is in the east of Asia while Thailand in the southeast of Asia, which cause small difference of the varieties of animals. Moreover, although the tropical weather makes Thailand have its special species, they rarely appear in people’s lives. Take the panda in China as an example. As we all know, Sichuan province is home to pandas, and there is a panda research center in Chengdu, which means panda is quite special for Chengdu people. However, panda appears with lower frequency compared with dog, sheep and cat in Table 2. That is simply because panda are a little bit far away from people’s daily lives compared with other animals even though it has won great popularity around the world. The results prove that what will be presented at the basic level category is neither too general nor too specific and category members that the subjects list are familiar to them and are close to their lives. In addition, we can see the vocabulary at the basic-level category is less limited with specific cultures and can reflect more common features shared by different languages. In the end, the subjects are required to accomplish the last task, that is, to write down the subordinate categories of the animal category as many as possible within 10 minutes. The Table 4 and Table 5 below are some extracts of what the Chinese and Thailand subjects wrote down respectively.

Table 4: Subordinate level listed by Chinese subjects

Superordinate level	basic level	subordinate level
Animal	Dog	little dog, chow-chow, husky, black dog, pug, labrador, collie, teddy
	Sheep	goat, lamb, small sheep
	Chicken	cock, hen, yellow chicken
	Bird	pigeons, lark, oriole, jade birds, parrots, starlings, thrush

Table 5: Subordinate level listed by Thailand subjects

Superordinate level	basic level	subordinate level
Animal	Elephant	baby elephant, bull elephant
	Snake	small snake, python reticulatus, python bivittatus, oriental whip snakes, golden tree snake
	Cattle	kho chon, cow, calf
	Dog	labrador, teddy, puppy dog, samoye

From Table 4 and Table 5, we can find that there exist great differences about the subordinate level categories that are listed by the two kinds of subjects even though the vocabularies at the basic level are almost the same. With the same animal, two types of subjects will present different amount of vocabulary at the subordinate level. This is attributed to multiple reasons. Firstly, some subjects are not familiar with what subordinate level categories are. In addition, the subjects have limited knowledge about the category required. According to the personal interview, we find that the subjects who write the most category members of the dog category are dog-lovers themselves. They know the specific type of a dog instead of categorizing by means of the color of their skin or size. So we can conclude that in terms of the animal category, there are great similarities between the vocabularies at the basic level category listed by Chinese subjects and Thailand subjects, but prototypes are not the same. For Chinese subjects, dog, sheep and chicken are prototypes of the animal category, while elephant, snake and pig are prototypes of the animal category for the Thailand subjects. Differences also exist at the subordinate

level in which the vocabularies subjects listed greatly depend on how much they know about the category and it has something to do with their living surroundings.

2.4.2 Basic Level Category in Fruit Category

In addition to animal category, the fruit category is also explored in this study. When it comes to fruit, the attributes like being juicy, healthy, sweet and being a good source of fiber and vitamin C are all mentioned by two kinds of subjects. As fruit is cheap and nutritious, almost every subject has an access to it, so the total numbers of the fruits given by the subjects are large, as given in Table 6 below.

Table 6: The total number of fruit category given by subjects

subjects	Chinese	Thailand
Number of fruits at the basic category level	21	27
Number of fruits at the subordinate category level	107	121

As is shown in Table6, the total numbers of fruit categories listed by the two different kinds of subjects vary little from each other, with 107 category members by Chinese subjects, and 121 category members by Thailand subjects, which may indicate that the fruits the two kinds of subjects know are rich in variety. Even so, the vocabularies about fruits at the basic level category listed by the two kinds of subjects are of some differences.

Table 7: Fruit category members given by Chinese subjects

Category member	Apple	Orange	Pear	Peach	Banana
Frequency of appearing	43	42	42	41	41
Category member	Grapefruit	Strawberry	Grape	Watermelon	Mango
Frequency of appearing	38	38	37	32	29
Other fruit category members: Lemon (23) cherry (21) pineapple (19) kiwi (19) pomegranate (15) blueberry (15) durian (14) persimmon (11)					

Table 7 shows that apple, orange and pear are the top three fruit category members listed by Chinese subjects in this survey. In addition, 82% subjects think of apple first. And the other seven fruits category members listed in the top ten lists include grapefruit, banana, peach, strawberry, grape, watermelon and mango etc. All these fruits are common to see in Chengdu. We can conclude that apple is the most prototypical member of the fruit category, which are used with the highest frequency and first understood and recalled by subjects within the time limits.

Table 8: Fruit category members given by Thailand subjects

Category member	Mango	Coconut	Banana	Pineapple	Rambutan
Frequency of appearing	37	41	38	35	33
Category member	Durian	Papaya	Orange	Pomelo	Mangosteen
Frequency of appearing	29	29	25	18	17
Other fruit category members: watermelon (17) dragon fruit (14) pear (13) jackfruit (10) lychee (9) tamarind (8) custard apple (7)					

It is well-known that Thailand has a plentiful supply of fruits due to its fertile soil and tropical climate, as well as its hot and humid temperature. The questionnaires for the Thailand subjects are assigned and finished in Chiang Mai of Thailand, and the fruits listed by the subjects are tropical fruits. Thus, it confirms that the vocabularies at the basic level category listed by these subjects have close relationship with their living surroundings. And also, mango, coconut, banana are the top three fruit category members having the highest frequency of being listed, and mango is recalled by 86% of subjects first, so mango is more representative of the fruit category than other fruits from the perspective of cognition. Comparing Table 7 with Table 8, there are few overlapping except banana, orange and mango. The main reason lies in that the subjects involved in the survey are local people who are influenced less by the outside culture and their cognitions reflect the true environment around them to a great degree. Chinese subjects are from Chengdu where most days throughout the year are cloudy, foggy and humid, while Thai subjects from Chiang Mai enjoy sunshine most of the year. Different climate breeds different fruits. Therefore, although the vocabularies at the basic-level category in different languages share great similarities, they will not be the same all the time due to different cultures, living environment and modes of cognition, as is shown in the fruit category.

Like the animal category, subjects are required to write down the subordinate categories of the fruit category. The Table9 and Table10 below are part extracts of what the Chinese and Thailand subjects list.

Table 9: Subordinate level listed by Chinese subjects

Superordinate level	Basic level	Subordinate level
Fruit	Apple	red apple, Fuji, little apple, red star apple
	Pear	Korla pear, fragrant pear, acid pear, shuijing pear, apple pear
	Peach	juicy peach, honey peaches in Longquan, crisp peach
	Orange	sweet orange, ugly orange, blood orange, navel orange, citrus

Table 10: Subordinate level listed by Thailand subjects

Superordinate level	Basic level	Subordinate level
Fruit	Banana	red banana, baby banana, lady finger banana, imported banana, wild banana
	Mango	Small mungo, big mungo, aroemanis, okrong, native mungo
	Pear	fragrant pear, snow pear, banana pear, sour pear, juicy pear, sugar pear

As we can see from the above, vocabularies at the subordinate level within the fruit category share some common features which overlap but many specific and highly distinctive features are highlighted and these are what make it possible to distinguish, for example, the features of bananas of China from those of bananas of Thailand.

2.4.3 Basic Level Category in Cooking Utensil Category

The animal and fruit category mentioned above belong to the natural category, the artificial category will also be explored in this research. As cooking utensil category is created by humans to meet daily needs, it is classified into artificial category in this paper. The two kinds of subjects view the cooking utensil as the small tools used in the kitchen for cooking and food preparing. The table below shows the total number of the cooking utensil categories.

Table 11: The total number of utensil category given by subjects

Subjects	Chinese	Thailand
Number of cooking utensil at the basic category level	15	18
Number of cooking utensil at the subordinate category level	43	34

As is seen in Table 11 above, the total numbers of the kinds of utensil categories listed by the two different kinds of subjects vary little among the subjects within a given time, with 43 category members listed by Chinese subjects, and 34 category members by Thailand subjects. Chinese subjects listed 9 more utensil than Thailand subjects.

Table 12: Cooking utensil category members given by Chinese subjects

Category member	Wok	Bowl	Chopsticks	Plate	Basin
Frequency of appearing	35	34	34	32	32
Category member	Cleaver	Pan	Rice cooker	Cutting board	Knife
Frequency of appearing	29	27	27	21	21
Other cookware category members: presser cooker (14) Scoop strainer (11) mortar and pestle (10) meat grinder (9) steaming baskets (8)whisk (7)					

As is seen from Table 12, wok, chopsticks and bowl are the top three cooking utensil category members listed by Chinese subjects. Moreover, the majority of subjects think of bowl first when it comes to cooking utensil. In other words, bowl can be regarded as the prototype of the cooking utensil category. And the other seven cooking utensil category members listed that are in the top ten lists include plate, cleaver, basin, pincers, pan, cutting board and rice cooker, which can be seen in the kitchen of almost every Chinese family. These are the typical members of the cooking utensil category. It is interesting to see Chinese subjects think of basin as a kind of cooking utensil here. Unlike Chinese people, a basin in Thailand usually serves as the function of washing rather than being used as a utensil, while basins have larger volumes compared with bowls, so some Chinese subjects like to use basins to hold a larger amount of meal. This example shows that subjects' classification standards for a category were different. It can be seen that not all subjects agree on which member should belong to a certain category or not.

Besides basins, steaming baskets also appear on the list. In the traditional Chinese family, steaming baskets are used with a high frequency during cooking, which are often used in conjunction with a wok with different sizes. They make dishes possible at the same time by stacking layer upon layer of these baskets. In summary, the top ten cooking utensil categories shows that they are the basic cooking utensil category members in Chinese subjects' daily life. Similar to the animal and fruit category, the cooking utensil category Chinese subjects list are based on their lifestyle and have close relationships with their daily life.

Table 13: Cooking utensil members given by Thailand subjects

Category member	Spoon	Plate	Fork	Pot	Microwave
Frequency of appearing	37	41	38	35	33
Category member	Strainer	Spatula	Chopping Block	Steamer	knife
Frequency of appearing	29	29	25	18	18
Other cooking utensil category members: cutting board (16) cleaver (11) stove (10) mortar and pestle (10) peeler (9) banana leaf (7)					

From Table 13, we can notice that spoon, rice cooker and fork are listed with the highest frequency by Thailand subjects. In addition, fork ranks the first when the frequency of members in the first place of the category is concerned. Therefore, fork is the prototypical example of the cooking utensil category. It is apparent that Chinese and Thailand subjects have different prototypes in the cooking utensil category. And the other seven utensil category members listed that are in the top ten lists include pot, strainer, and spatula, microwave, steamer and bamboo strainer. The utensil category members listed by Thailand subjects have some overlapping with those listed by Chinese subjects. Chinese people like to eat with chopsticks while Thailand people used to eat with fork, which is the reason why Chinese list chopsticks at the first place while Thailand people list the fork. And plate is mentioned by both types of subjects, but plates are mainly used by Thai people to eat rice and Chinese use them to serve to meal. It is interesting to find that banana leaf is also listed by some Thai subjects as the cooking utensil. As banana trees can be seen everywhere in Thailand, the leaves of it are usually used to wrap steamed foods, so it can be served as one of the containers in the kitchen. In a summary, the subordinate level categories the subjects listed are mostly restricted to people's living surroundings, which also make the evidence stronger that people cognize things based upon their experience in their life and cognition of the environment they live in.

Table 14: Subordinate level listed by Chinese subjects

Superordinate level	Basic level	Subordinate level
Cooking utensil	Pan	braising pans, frying pans, baking pan
	Chopsticks	bamboo chopsticks, chopsticks made of stainless steel,
	Bowl	soup bowl, rice bowl, wooden bowl, small bowl, ceramic bowl, soup bowl, finger bowl, sugar bowl, flower bowl

Table 15: Subordinate level listed by Thailand subjects

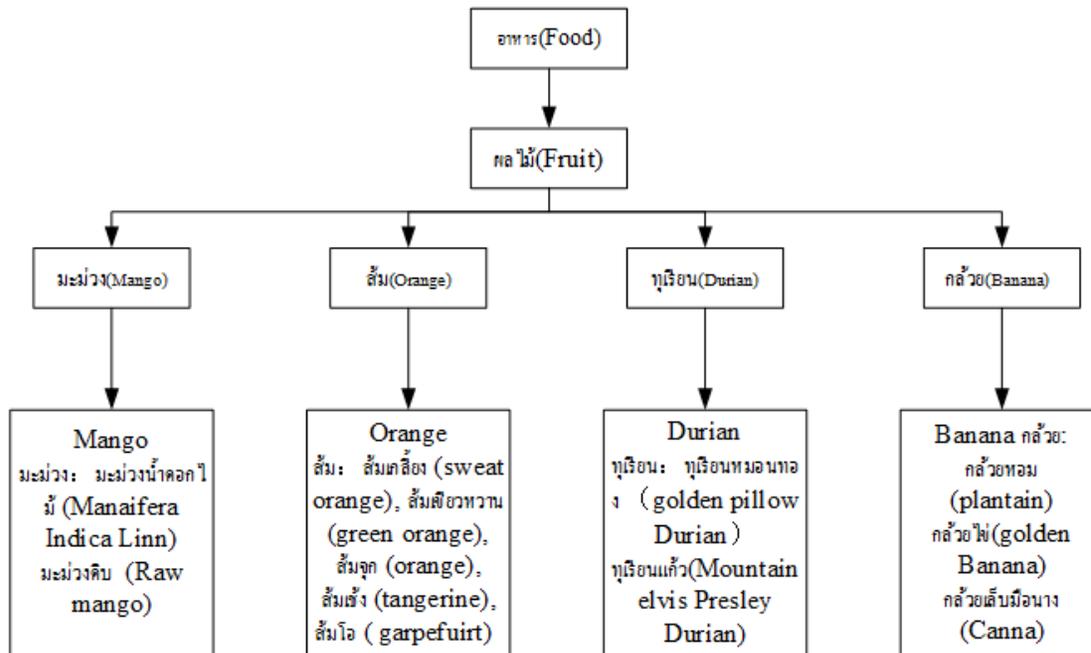
Superordinate level	Basic level	Subordinate level
Cooking utensil	Spoon	wood spoon, ceramic spoon, slotted spoon, dessert spoon, coffee spoon
	Pot	curry pot, rice pot, steaming pot, Thai hot pot
	Fork	wooden fork, salad fork, big fork, stainless steel fork

The above figures show that these cooking utensils at the subordinate level have clearly identifiable and detailed features, which vary in materials, size and function. They also show that there are more subordinate level categories listed by Thailand subjects than those listed by Chinese, which indicate different types of food eaten by Chinese and Thailand subjects. Meanwhile, the subordinate level categories Chinese subjects list are more based on the function or application of the utensils, while Thailand subjects tend to list these category members by standards of materials and size of category members. We can conclude here that the vocabulary of the basic level category in the cooking utensil category listed by Chinese and Thai people are of some variances and these differences are caused by different eating styles and cultures within different languages. The utensil category members that have high frequency of being listed by the subjects are the ones are common to be used in their daily life and are closely related to their living environment.

III. Implication of the Research

3.1 Implications for Vocabulary Teaching

Vocabulary teaching is of great importance in the teaching of a second language. Therefore, efforts should be made to explore effective teaching method in order to help students memorize words as fast as they can. The data collected above provides us with some insights on how to teach Chinese college students to learn Thai vocabulary well, that is, the method of focusing on the teaching of vocabulary at the basic level category and then move to learn the vocabulary at the superordinate level and subordinate level, which is more effective for the students who are at the preliminary stage of their second language acquisition. The reasons lie in that vocabulary at the basic level is not only the easiest to recognize and memorize, but also used with the highest frequency in daily lives. In the real classroom teaching, teachers should bear in mind that vocabularies of the basic level category between China and Thailand are almost the same, but some members are more typical than others. Thus, teachers should try to let students know what the prototypes at the basic level category are in Chinese and Thailand language respectively, which will make the learning of vocabulary more effective. In addition, the diagram used by Rosch can be employed in the teaching of vocabulary.



As is shown in the diagram, the words “food fruit orange sweet orange” in line represent four category levels, which can show the attributes of the items and the words “mango, orange, durian, banana” in row belong to the category of “fruit” and “sweat orange, green orange, tangerine” belong to the category of “orange”, which can show different categories. In this way, the words are related with each other instead of being separated. With this diagram in mind, students will learn words in an organized way. According to the rules of word-formation in Thai language, most words derive from the vocabulary of basic-level category. In other words, the vocabulary of basic-level category has the strong power of forming a new vocabulary. The more vocabulary of the basic level category students know, the more possible for them to master more new words. For example, if a student knows the word เรือ, there will be a great possibility for him to learn the words เรือ, เรือกลไฟ, เรือคาน้ำ well. In the cognitive sense, the word เรือ at the basic level category can be regarded as a prototype. The author also finds that the way of asking students to list the basic level category and its subordinate level provides students a chance to sort out the vocabulary they have learned and form a framework in their mind. It will be more effective when it is used to review what has been taught.

3.1 Implications for Cross-cultural Communication

Chinese government put forward Belt the Road Initiative, which stresses the regional cooperation between countries along the ancient Silk Road trade route. Under this initiative, China and Thailand will carry out more communications in the fields of education, tourism, energy and business, etc. With more contacts, some problems of communication between people will be unavoidable due to the cultural differences. And language is the carrier of culture and vocabulary is the basic unit of language. Moreover, vocabulary at the basic level category is at the maximum number, so it is important to know the cultural differences behind the vocabulary at the basic level category in order to avoid misunderstanding.

From the tables above we know that Chinese subjects have cognitions different from Thailand subjects in a certain category. Take the animal category as an example. Cattle are listed by both sides at the basic-level category. In other words, when it comes to animals both Chinese subjects and Thailand subjects will think of cattle. However, according to the personal interview, we know the images of cattle are different in their minds. For cattle, a Chinese subject thinks of a large bull kept on farms to do some farm work, such as plowing, while a Thailand subject has water buffalo in their mind. In Thai language, the buffalo is a symbol of stupidity and a person is seen as stupid and stubborn if he is called a buffalo. In contrast, cattle in China have long been viewed as a farmers' best friend since it provides a sustainable source of farm labor, which is often used to describe a person who is hard-working and diligent in China. In the teaching of the word cattle (ควาย), teachers need to remind students that even though cattle is listed at the basic-level category both by Chinese and Thai people, that is, cattle is one of the prototypes in animal category, the word has different cultural connotations in two countries. The reason for this is that different subjects living in different environment and speaking different languages are exposed to different animals, and what they are familiar with is they see in their daily lives. With these differences in mind, students will avoid misunderstanding when they are communicating with people who speak different languages. In summary, different cultural connotation behind prototypes or the vocabularies of the basic level should be taken into consideration in order to avoid misunderstandings in cross-cultural communication.

Conclusion

Based on the theoretical framework of prototype theory, this paper has made a contrastive study of vocabulary at the basic level category between Chinese and Thai language. The findings will be summarized as follows. Firstly, vocabularies that the subjects list at the basic level have close relation with people's daily life and living environment. For example, Thailand subjects from Chiang Mai think of mango, coconut and pineapple as the prototypical members, which are more common to see in tropical places, while Chinese subjects from Chengdu list apple, orange and pear, which have close connection with their daily life. Second, even though the basic level categories of each category vary little between the two languages, differences indeed exist with some distinctive category member being listed with a higher frequency in a certain category. Of the three categories, fruit category and cooking utensil see a marked contrast between the two languages, and the animal category sees little variances. Last, differences of the subordinate level categories that the subjects write down reflect that different subjects have different criteria of categorizing subordinate level categories. These findings have implications both in vocabulary teaching and cross-cultural communication. As the vocabulary at the basic level category is closely linked to people's daily lives even though different language have its variants, so great attention should be paid to the teaching vocabulary of basic-level category in teaching Thai language to Chinese students. In addition, teachers should help students know the different cultural connotation behind prototypes or the vocabularies of the basic level in order to avoid misunderstandings in cross-cultural communication.

References

- Berlin, B and Kay, P. (1969). *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution* [M]. Berkeley: University California Press.
- Labov, W. (1973). *The Boundaries of Words and Their Meanings* [A]. In C.J. Baily & R. Shuy (eds.). *New Ways of Analysing Variation in English* [C]. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Lakoff, G. (1989). *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind* [M]. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987. Taylor, J. Linguistic Categorization[M]. Oxford University Press.
- Rosch, E. (1978). *Principles of Categorization*. In Rosch, E and Lloyd, Barbara B. (eds.), *Cognition and Categorization*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 27-48.
- Ungerer, F. and Schmid, H. J. (2001). *An Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics*. Beijing: Foreign language and Teaching and Research Press Print.
- 杨吉春.2011.对外汉语词汇教学应以常用基本层次范畴词汇教学为中心.[J].民族教育研究,(3):39-44.
- 梁彩琳,石文博.2010.语义范畴原型理论研究:回顾与展望.[J].外语学刊,(5):44-46.
- 蒋向勇,邵娟萍.2002.语义范畴的原型理论诠释 [J].江西社会科学,(6):216-219.
- 吴世雄,陈维振.1996.论语义范畴的家族相似性 [J].外语教学与研究,(4):14-19.
- 杨忠,张绍杰.1998.认知语言学中的类典型论 [J].东北师范大学学报,(2):1-8.
- 俞建梁,黄和斌.2008.原型理论的缺陷与不足 [J].外语学刊,(2):36-39.
- 赵艳芳,周红.2000.语义范畴与词义演变的认知机制 [J].郑州工业大学学报,(4):54-56.
- 邹智勇.2000.语义范畴的认知语言学诠释 [J].外语学刊,(3):41-46.
- 王子春.2006.原型理论在英语词汇习得中的应用[J].天津外国语学院学报,(3):12-16.

Smiles and Tears of Returnees- Chinese Students and Teachers in Thailand

Zhang, Lan
Chengdu University
China

Abstract

The paper is set in the context of the internationalization of education in Thailand. In this context, more Chinese students now choose to study in Thailand. After they finish school, their lives have undergone great changes in an earth shattering way, or they have been struggling with a new life full of frustrations. The aims of the paper, based on interviews with 6 returnees from Chengdu University who once studied in Thailand, are to explore (1) how those returnees' experience in Thai higher education has contributed to their after-school life; (2) new opportunities and challenges returnees face after they leave school. Qualitative method by using in-depth interviews is used in this paper to find out the significance of studying abroad in Thailand.

Keywords: returnee; internationalization; experience; opportunities; challenges

1. Introduction

Under the background of globalization, more people further their study abroad. With the establishment of the "the Belt and Road", more emphasis is put on the cooperation between China and the countries along the Silk Road and around China. Thailand is one of the countries that are of great strategic importance both economically and academically. According to a piece of news from the Internet, approximately 40,000 students go to Thailand for further study every year, among whom Chinese students account for 75%. Nowadays, more and more Chinese choose to study in Thailand due to different reasons. This influx of Chinese students does have positive impact on Thailand, economically, culturally and academically. The previous study is mainly focused on Chinese students' study in Thailand. It seems that when the students finish their study in Thailand, everything is done. Once Alberts & Hazen reported in their article, "Upon completing their study abroad programs or degrees, most international students feel torn between the U.S. and their home country, yet the majority report intentions to return home within a few years" (Albert & Hazen, 2005; Hazen & Albert, 2006). It's true of the Chinese students studying in Thailand. There is no specific figure to show how many Chinese students from Thailand have returned, or have gone anywhere else, but statistics show that the number is on as steady rise. (Liu Zewei) Chinese students are often the least adjusted group among all international students, due to their high levels of stress, neuroticism, and perceived cultural distance (Galchenko& van de Vijver, 2007;

Hazen & Alberts, 2006). Based on a piece of news from news.xinhuanet.com, around 75% overseas students choose to return China after their graduation. Students in Thailand also choose to leave or go to other countries to work or further their study after their graduation. Therefore, the life of the returnees should not be ignored.

Going abroad to study is becoming more and more popular in Chengdu too. Take Chengdu University as an example, the joint cooperation between Chiangmai University and Chengdu University has been established for about a decade. More and more students choose to further their study in Thailand after their graduation. Even some teachers choose to study for their PhDs in Thailand too.

Therefore, in this study, the author interviews a group of four people who have returned after their study in Thailand (some are my colleagues and some are my students). Then the paper discusses their motivation to return, their self-identities and their adaptation back in China from social and economic perspectives. This study seeks to look for answers to the following questions:

1. What are the opportunities and challenges facing Chinese returnees from Thailand?
2. How do Chinese returnees' perceptions of their education in Thailand affect their future work and study in China?
3. What are these returnees' reasons to return to China after their graduation from Thailand?
4. Do returnees think that it's worthwhile to go to Thailand to study? And why?

2. Theoretical Background

2.1 The Motivations for Chinese to Study in Thailand

Going abroad to study has been a trend in China. According to an article titled Growing number of Chinese students study in Thailand from People.cn in China, low fees, cultural similarities and the variety of interesting courses on offer contribute to the growing trend for people to further their study in Thailand. Also, according to one of the interviewee's opinion, Chiangmai University is abundant in academic resources, promotes international communication, advocates the use of English in most of their courses and pays attention to staff's development. According to my own observation, it's easier to get admitted to Chiangmai University as a post graduate than it is in China. The competition to pass the entrance examination of different universities to further their study as a postgraduate nowadays is becoming fiercer; therefore many students who cannot pass the examination here in China choose to study in Thailand.

Chengdu University has established the academic cooperation with Chiangmai Universities for a long time. Both teacher and students benefited a lot of from all kinds of joint programs. Some students choose to further their study through these joint programs. Like the students and teachers I know from the Foreign Languages and Culture School, they changed their majors when they furthered their study in Thailand. Their advantage is that their English is good but it might be difficult for them to study a new major. Some of the students know more about studying in Thailand from their alumni who once studied in Thailand. Due to the reasons mentioned above, these students also finally decided to study in Thailand but they applied for different universities in different cities in Thailand. Most of them chose to study in Bangkok, the capital city of Thailand instead of Chiangmai.

2.2 The Adaptation of Teachers and Students in Thailand

(1) Interpersonal relationship

This is a problem related to interpersonal networks. Living and studying in a totally different and unfamiliar environment where most of the people speak in Thai, it is not easy to quickly get integrated into the new environment, especially at the very beginning. For some of the returnees, they tend to mix only with other Chinese students or immigrants there. Even in school, some of them only interact with their classmates (some of their classmates are Chinese too). Fewer of them like to make friends with locals and people from other countries. Eric Forbush (2016) noted that for international students studying abroad, social support received from their social networks may play an especially important role in alleviating a number of the aforementioned acculturative stressors, which, in turn, may lead to more positive adaptation. In my understanding, social media, like Wechat, Instagram and Facebook are really important in all these interviewees' life in Thailand. It greatly helps them to have a better self-adaptation. However, on the other hand, too much use of social media may also hinder them from making friends and having more interaction with locals there in Thailand. For the ones who make friends easier, they have a better adaptation in Thailand. Who are the ones who can easily make friends? Here comes the second aspect: personality.

(2) Personality

The interviewees fall into two categories according to their personalities, the extravert and the introvert. For the extravert, it's easier for them to establish interpersonal relationships, particularly in Thai universities where Chinese enrolments are low. For the extrovert, over time, their friends circles expands, and they become acquainted with people from other countries. They take active parts in sports, recreations and all kinds of activities both on campus and off campus. For returnees with introverted personalities, they have unhappy experiences of encounters. They spend most of their time staying at home with themselves, so it's harder for them to get integrated into a new environment.

(3) Physical Environment

Thailand is actually a pretty special country due to its hot weather all year around. Some interviewees did complain about the weather there. Hot weather also serves as an obstacle for students and teachers there. Luckily, universities are equipped with AC. Some of the interviewees thought that eating in Thailand was also a problem for them. They do not like Thai food. It's harder for teachers and students from Sichuan to get used to the food in Thailand. At the very beginning, they all have a novelty towards almost everything in Thailand. Yet, when novelty is worn out, they will calm down and face all the problems and think about all these problems to see whether they can overcome them and stay or not.

(4) Language Ability

All the interviewees are English majors. Even though most of them couldn't speak any Thai, they could use English to communicate with their teachers and students. They don't face language problems on campus, but off campus, they do have some problems in communication with locals, because not all the Thai people can speak English, especially in Chiangmai. Some of them learn some simple Thai during their communication with Thai locals. For the ones who have better commanding of oral English can have a better adaptation in Thailand at the very beginning. However, for the ones who are comparatively

shy and whose oral English is not that good, they need more time to get used to the life there. Nevertheless, all of them will finally get integrated into the life in Thailand.

2.3 The Significance of Studying Returnees

In contrast to expatriate research, repatriate issues received less attention (Chiang et al., 2015; Suutari and Brewster, 2003; Hyder and Lovblad, 2007). The reason for the under researched repatriate topic is, that repatriates are assumed to know and understand the culture and habits of their home countries as well as common work practices in the business field. However, recent studies suggest that repatriation might be at least as problematic as expatriation, as many repatriates have to deal with the so called “reverse culture shock” (Kraimer, et al., 2012; Hyder & Loveblad, 2007; Bossard Peterson, 2005; Morgan et al. 2004).

The better understanding of the difficulties of these returnees will encourage further academic exchanges between China and Thailand and help all the returnees to have a better adaptation too. From the perspective of economy, Chinese companies aim to employ more foreigners to achieve internationalization. However, nowadays, some changes might take place. *Haigui* (the Chinese version of returnees) have been popular for many years. Local companies, universities, institutions, organization and societies can also send their staff to get trained in the foreign countries to become more international. The working environment is becoming more international too. The returnees may have better opportunities to be hired since they have been living in other countries and gaining much more living experiences. Obviously, returnees have attracted much attention from the whole society. Generations of foreign-educated Chinese returnees, as promoters of international integration, advocates of advanced cultures and technologies, social and cultural transformers, and the driving force of the new economy, have played a critical role in shaping modern Chinese history, Chinese politics and international relations (Wang *et al.*, 2011). An increasing number of returnees, as members of think tanks for different levels of the Chinese governments, state-run or private companies and enterprises are “shaping the public discourse” (Li, 2009, p.1). Some have become key players in China’s high-tech industries, education, economics, sociology, political science, and international studies (Wang, 2005; Yang & Tan, 2007). Some returnees act as models for others to emulate and inspire more people to go abroad and then come back home.

In terms of psychological and social adaptation, for these returnees, they will meet the so called “reverse culture shock”. Fujiwara et al.’s (1985) study revealed three types of returnees. The first group tried hard to adjust to Japan and was conscious of the differences between Japan and their host country. Although they were not necessarily completely satisfied with their current situation, they tried hard to fit in. The second group consisted of children who adjusted back to life in Japan without any particular effort. The third group consisted of those who experienced adjustment problems. They felt like strangers in their own land and were very conscious that they were returnees. For some returnees, this discrepancy has led to a conflict between their internal and external self. Thus, many studies have reported identity issues as being central to the returnee experience (Kanno, 2000; Onoda, 1988).

It is of great significance to study these returnees because they play a more important role in many fields and bring much advanced or maybe novel and unfamiliar experience, technology and knowledge consciously or subconsciously.

3. Reasons for Returning China

(1) Employment-related Reasons

As I have mentioned above, it is easier for the returnees to get hired by big companies because of their living and working experience in Thailand. Compared with Chengdu University, Chiangmai University is more internationalized. As one of the interviewees, Fujing said:

“The textbooks used in Chiangmai University can be the ones from foreign countries. International curriculum is set up in Chiangmai University and most of the classes are taught in English. Students and teachers can participate in all manner of exchange programs which open their eyes. Academic exchanges with top universities in the west are frequent. Take library for example, students and teachers can get access to all the resources in the whole world. Each school has its own library too.”

Students going to study there will learn in a completely new academic environment. Everything in Thai Universities like Chiangmai University is very westernized. They will meet famous scholars and professors from all over the world. They have access to more new stuff. There are forced to use English to communicate with teachers and staff in Thailand. Their language competency will get dramatically enhanced. People with bilingual abilities are greatly needed in China. Therefore, they will become more competitive when they are back to China. It's easier for them to find a job in a foreign company.

In addition, there are cases showing that some returnees choose to go back to China because of some irresistible reasons. An earlier study by Hsiao et al. (1994) noted that return migration is due to global economic recession, and the continuing rapid economic growth of East Asia which offers many job opportunities that have attracted high-tech personnel to return to the sending countries. China is now one of the biggest economies in the world, so China market is abundant with job opportunities compared with Thailand market. Also, some entrepreneurs who encountered a 'glass ceiling' that hindered their upward mobility in Thailand big companies. The lack of employment opportunities and relative difficulty of being promoted in Thailand was a factor mentioned by one of the interviewees. One of the interviewees, Liu Dongmei mentioned:

“Thailand is a country for tourism and agriculture. There are not many big companies there, especially in Chiangmai. People there easily get satisfied with some jobs that I am not interested in, such as working for a hostel, serving food for people at restaurants or working as a tourist guide. So I choose to go back to China.”

Even though China and Thailand are both Asian countries, they share similar cultures but also have different cultures. As for cooperation culture, Yuanquan (2016) noted in his paper that there existed conflicts in cooperative managements and cooperative values. One of the interviewees said:

“It's not that difficult for us to adapt to the life in Thailand, but we are still aware of the cultural differences between these two countries where I once worked as a part time staff. There is still a huge gap.

For example, they will talk with each other sometimes in Thai, and I cannot understand what they are talking about. I will feel pretty embarrassed and marginalized.”

(2) Physical and Environmental Reasons

Bock's (1977) noted that there are at least three levels in people's adaptation to a new situation: (1) physical/environmental adaptation, (2) social adaptation (human relationships), and (3) internal (self) adaptation.

As one of the interviewee, Peng Yankun said: “I come back because of my physical problems.” Besides that, another interviewee, Xie Siyu said: “I don't like the weather here. It's just so hot all the year round.” For tourists, Thailand is an appealing country with beautiful beaches and blue sky. However, for oversea students, they spend years studying there. It's hard for them to adjust to the weather in Thailand completely, even though AC is available in Thailand. When people get sick when they are in foreign countries, they miss their home very much due to the loneliness they have at that time. The lonely feeling definitely pushes them to go back after their graduation. Peng mentioned that she gave up her study in Thailand because of her health. She is the only interviewees who did not finish her study. Even though she likes the slow living pace in Thailand, and feels that Thai people are patient and slow which is what she really likes, she still has to come back.

(3) Relationship with Families and Work

Two of the interviewees are my colleagues. Fujing, one of my colleagues, really likes almost everything in Thailand, like the clean air, good food and the slow and relaxing life style. However, she still mentioned in my interview the following:

“I have my family and my job in Chengdu. China is my country where I belong to, so I still want to come back after my graduation.”

Peng Yankun said: “it is because of my health, I have to come back to China.” During her stay in Thailand, we sometimes talked through Wechat. She actually likes Thailand, but she is apt to all kinds of illnesses. She has to come back to China to have a better rest.

For both of them, they work in Chengdu University in China. In China, jobs like teachers, government officials are called “iron bowls” which means that they are stable. Therefore, it's not easy for people to resign. Even some colleagues who went to Europe or the U.S., they still chose to come back to continue their teaching here. One of the former students, Xie Siyu mentioned:

“My major is not Thai. I can't speak any Thai. Therefore, I never think about finding a job in Thailand even though I am now studying in Chiangmai University. I just want to go back home and find a job in Chengdu.”

In the parts discussed above, I focus on employment, identities and relationship with one's family and work. Overtime, students gradually adapted to life in Thailand, but they still returned due to different reasons. When they are back to China, for some of them, everything might look like familiar as it was before, but for some of them, everything may sound different. A return to one's hometown means new opportunities but also new challenges to face.

4. Research Methodology

The method used in this paper is a combination of literature review and interview. Literature research mainly refers to do the research by collecting identifying and reorganizing exiting literature, and then come up with a scientific cognition of the research topic. The value of Literature is embodied in two aspects. One is that researchers can obtain new arguments, perspectives and ideas during the research. The other is that researchers can obtain some revealing and disclosing of some form of truth or knowledge from the previous study. In our study, we use literature research method to collect the precious study results and analyze these results, then come up with the idea that adaptation of the returnees is of great significance to study which will further influence these returnees' life back in China and at the same time influence the people who want to further their study in Thailand.

In this study, I also interviewed four returnees who are my colleagues and former students coming back from Thailand. The focus is on self-assessment of their social and academic integration and identity in Thailand, hoping to provide some valuable references for further cooperation and academic exchanges between Chengdu University and Chiangmai University. Due to limited time, I sent all the questions to these six interviewees through email and they sent me back their answers to each question.

5. Adaptation of the returnees

(1) Reverse culture shock

Back to China means back to a different environment. They find it difficult to get integrated into the "new" environments. Their major problems are contained in the following statements:

"The air quality is bad in Chengdu, especially in winter. Just miss the blue sky in Thailand, even though a little bit hot."

"So many people here in Chengdu and feel pretty noisy, especially in public areas."

"Spitting is almost everywhere."

"More resources for my study in Thailand, but here, when I am back to Chengdu University, it is pretty difficult to access academic resources abroad."

"Drivers will stop when I cross the street, but here the drivers won't let the passengers go first. Everybody seems in a hurry every minute."

"The pace is slow in Thailand but very fast here in Chengdu."

"People are polite in Thailand always having a smile on their faces. People in Chengdu look very serious."

"Sometimes I feel I become a little bit like a Thai person in China. But when I was in Thailand, I felt I was a Chinese."

From a social and cultural point of view, sociocultural adjustment is closely related to psychological adjustment. Everyone back from Thailand meet certain degree of reverse culture shock because the social and cultural environment has changed. They will unconsciously make a comparison between the things in China and the things in Thailand. Especially for the ones who have had a very good adaptation in Thailand, their degree of reverse culture shock will be higher. They feel more intense, depressed,

angry, and confused particularly at the very beginning of their return. According to one of the studies done (Tomoko Yoshida et al., 2002), factors, including self-reflection/expressiveness, adjustment difficulties, self-affirmation and negativity were especially interesting in that they not only showed that returnees differed in their assessment of their experience (positive or negative), but that the relative impact of the experience also varied from individual to individual. For some it did not induce self-reflection nor did it have significant impact on their lives. However, reverse culture shock happens on every returnee, but its influence varies from person to person.

(2) Identity as a Chinese

Social identity theory in its meaning claims that every human being is defined by social relationships (Oho, et al., 2014; Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Van Knippenberg et al., 2007). The theory implies that an individual sees and defines him/herself to a certain extent or even completely as a part of a structured society, through group membership, or by subscribing to the values and meanings of a group, a society or an organization (Stets & Burke, 2000). Cultural Openness refers to the degree to which an individual is open to different cultures. It is based on an individual's degree of an open mind and includes a person's degree to respect and/or adapt to other cultures and situations in general. This open mindedness includes customs, beliefs and values against that of people from different countries (Bebenroth & Ismail, 2014).

Some young returnees who identify themselves with Chinese culture return to their home country. For this group of people, their degree of Cultural Openness is comparatively lower. They already get used to everything in China and do not want any changes. They might also be pretty sensitive to even some minor things that are different from those in China. One of the interviewees, Peng Yankun mentioned:

“Thai people like to go to pubs after work, but I am a person who do not like hanging out with people to these noisy places and drinking. At that time, I always feel I am pretty Chinese.”

For her, she is pretty happy to be back. She has her family and friends here. It does not take her a very long time to live a normal the same as the one was before she left for Thailand.

Also, China is a big country with a long history. Nowadays, China is one of the biggest economies in the world. Returnees have much more confidence in our country and they feel more proud as a Chinese. In the past, some Chinese worshipped and had blind faith in foreign things and some of them even forfeited national dignity. With the development of China's economy and civilization, more returnees understand to learn from foreign countries is entirely different from worshipping everything foreign.

On the other hand, some interviewees seem quite used to the life in Thailand and still miss the days in Chiangmai. Fu who adapted pretty well to the life in Thailand, she said:

“Chiangmai University is pretty international. I do not only communicate with Thai people. I met people from all over the world. There is an unofficial international code of conduct that everyone will abide by.”

Therefore, she still feels that she is pretty Chinese among all her colleagues and classmates in Chiangmai University.

(3) Opportunities and Challenges Returnees Face

In this part, the interviewees fall into two different categories. One group is students who have never had any working experience and did not have a job when they were back. The other group consists of teachers who are my colleagues and they had a job. For student returnees, they faced more challenges than opportunities; the biggest challenge is that they had to look for a job at the very beginning. However, for teachers, they were faced with more opportunities when they came back to Chengdu University.

One of the participants in Mingsheng Li's study mentioned:

There have been many media reports about the negative stories concerning returnees. Of course, there are some true elements in them. Many children of rich people go to study overseas. When these people return to China, they do not have anything valuable to contribute, nor do they have any desirable character, professional knowledge, and interpersonal communication skills. They belong to the *liuxuelajie* category. They have changed the public perception of returnees formed in the past when only a very small number of elite could study overseas and they returned to become the pillars of the society.

It's easy to find that not all the returnees have a good commanding of both language and skills needed for their future jobs. For these returnees, they face more challenges. Yet, returnees belonging to the *liuxuelajie* category really account for a small percentage. Generally speaking, all the returnees will be back at least having a comparatively better commanding of languages.

Compared with students who have never been abroad, the returnees from Thailand have an obvious advantage that is their language ability. However, compared with the returnees who have been to European countries and the U.S., the English communication skills of these returnees from Thailand improved during their stay in Thailand. However, their language ability is not as good as that of the ones from European countries and the U.S. Meanwhile, due to globalization, students who stay in China can also practice their English with foreigners through the Internet or by making friends with foreigners in China. Xie Siyu mentioned in the interview that he thought that it's easier for Chinese students who major in Thai or who can speak Thai to find a job in Thailand. Students like him who cannot speak any Thai; it is not easy for them to find a job in Thailand. Therefore, most of them will choose to go back to China. For students like Xie Siyu, even in Thailand, they face huge challenges. Foreign credentials are no longer a guarantee to better employment and higher income. Therefore, the biggest challenge for these returnees is that they have to find a job.

On the other hand, for the returnees with a job, they face more opportunities than challenges. Peng said that during her study in Thailand, she knew how to utilize Internet well to obtain all kinds of information that she needed for her academic study. Fu mentioned that she always felt very proud when she participated in joint programs with other countries. China is a big country, and universities are equipped with advanced technologies and facilities, which is our advantage. Her experience in studying in Thailand

helps her to start cooperation with other universities in other countries.

(4) The Significance of Studying in Thailand

The interviewees, no matter they have happy memories or sad ones, all agree that they gain more than they have expected from their study in Chiangmai University. It is worthwhile going to Thailand to study. Fu, who is now our vice dean in our School of Foreign Languages and Culture mentioned in the interview:

“It is definitely worth going to study in Thailand. However, it depends on what kind of university you study and your own personality.”

Fu’s statements indicate that there are prerequisites for going abroad. Besides what kind of university students choose to study, and their personality, there are still other factors that should be considered before they go, such as whether their family can afford the tuition fee, whether they can stand loneliness, whether they can acquire knowledge and gain experience that they need, etc. nevertheless, due to the internationalization of Thai universities, like Chiangmai University, the free academic atmosphere and some other factors, it is worthwhile to go to Thai universities to study.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, the author does a research on the adaptation of the returnees from Thailand through a combination of literature study and interview of the returnees from Chiangmai University. Returnees, without exception, do meet reverse culture shock of different levels. However, all of the interviewees think that it is worth going to study in Thailand to further their study.

Education is the priority for many students. They do not want to go to work immediately after their graduation in China. They also want to get rid of the stereotype teaching in China. With a desire to learn something new and different and due to some other factors mentioned before, some graduates choose to study in Thailand. As the study suggests, they come back not because of their bad adaptation to the life in Thailand, or have totally “failed” in Thailand, but because of better employment opportunities in China and their identity as a Chinese. Similar findings are obtained by Ip (2006) regarding Chinese migrants who moved back from New Zealand to China.

Portes (1997: 812) noted that "often bilingual, move easily between different cultures, frequently maintain homes in two countries, and pursue economic, political and cultural interests that require their presence in both." For all the returnees, they strive to utilize well of both resources in China and Thailand also they try to make full use of their backgrounds in such a globalized world. They had difficulties in Thailand, especially at the very beginning. They are having reverse culture shocks when they are back. They need to adapt to their home culture which sounds ridiculous for people who have never been abroad. Nevertheless, they all survived in Thailand. When they are back, they all cherish the happy memories and keep the sad experiences deep in their heart. It is worth going to Thailand to study there. All the interviewees agree that they benefit a lot during their study there. They learn more than they have expected. Even though the diploma obtained in Thailand cannot guarantee a bright future, they do not regret going to Thailand. Some of returnees’ successes also encourage more graduates from Chengdu University to go to Thailand.

The author here does not claim that the interviewees represent all the returnees. No generalization is done in this paper. The author wants to raise people's awareness of the returnees' life which is usually forgotten and ignored by researchers. At the same time, the author hopes that this study will provide references for the future study on returnees.

References

- Ashforth, B., & Mael, F. (1989). *Social Identity Theory and The Organization*. The Academy of Management Review, 14(1), 20-39
- Bebenroth, R., & Ismail, M. (2014). *Cultural Openness, Interpersonal Justice, and Job Satisfaction among Millennials and Seniors: Evidence from Japanese Target Employees following M & A*. Kokumin Keizai Zashi, 210(6), 29-47.
- Bock, P. K. (1977). *Modern cultural anthropology: An introduction*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Chiang, F.T., Esch, E.V., Birtch, T.A., & Shaffer, M. (n.d.). *The Consequences of Expectations: A look at Possible Directions for Repatriation Research*. Academy of Management.
- Forbush, E. (2016). *Social Media Use and Adaptation among Chinese Students Beginning to Study in the United States*. International Journal of Intercultural Relations.
- Fujiwara, K., Matsushita, M., Saito, J., Yamaki, T., Inoue, K., Koizumi, M., Mitsuhashi, M., Deguchi, Y., Kiuchi, K., Nagata, S., Ishige, H., Kasuya, I., Hirose, T., Nakamura, K., & Koizumi, M. (1985). *Psychological analysis of adjustment processes of the high school returnees from overseas*. Bulletin of Tokyo Gakugei University Section I, 36, 871-881.
- Hsiao, H. H., Smith, C, Jou, S. C. and Tseng, Y. F. (1994). *Adjustment Process and Reverse Migration of Taiwanese in Los Angeles and New York*. Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, R.O.C. (In Chinese).
- Hyder, A. S., & Loveblad, M. (2007). *The repatriation process – a realistic approach*. Career Development International, 12(3), 264-281.
- Ip, M. (2006). *Returnees and Transnationals: Evolving Identities of Chinese (PRC) Immigrants in New Zealand*. Journal of Population Studies 33: 61-102.
- Kanno, Y. (2000). Kikokushijo as bicultural. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 24, 261-382.
- Knippenberg, V.D., & Schippers, M.C. (2007). *Work Group Diversity*. Annual Review of Psychology, 58, 515-541
- Kraimer, M.L., Shaffer, M.A., Harrison, D.A., & Ren, H. (2012). *No place like Home? An Identity Strain Perspective on Repatriate Turnover*. Academy of Management Journal, 55(2), 399-420.
- Li, M. & Campbell, J. A. (2009). *Assessing employment: challenges faced by non-native English-speaking professional migrants*. Asian & Pacific Migration Journal, 18(3), 371-95.
- Li, M. & Yang, Y. (2013). *Foreign Credentials No Longer A Guarantee to Better Employment and Higher Income: Job-Seeking Experiences of Chinese Returnees from Australian and New Zealand Universities*. Business and Information 2013 (Bali, July 7-9)
- Portes, A. (1997). *Immigration Theory for a New Century: Some Problems and Opportunities*. International Migration Review 31(4): 799-825.
- Suutari, V., & Brewster, C. (2003). *Repatriation: empirical evidence from a longitudinal study of careers and expectations among Finish expatriates*. The International Journal of Human Resource Management, 14(7), 1132-51.
- Yoshidaa, T., Matsumotob, D., Akiyamac, T., Moriyoshid, N., Furuiyee,A., Ishiif, C., & Franklinb, B. (2002). *The Japanese returnee experience: factors that affect reentry*. International Journal of Intercultural Relations 26 (2002) 429-445
- Wang, H., Zhang, W., & Alon, I. (2011). *Introduction: Chinese returnees, a globalisation force in shaping modern China*. In Zhang, W., Wang, H., & Alon, I. (Eds.). *Entrepreneurial & business elites of China: The Chinese returnees who have shaped modern China (pp.xxviii-xxxviii)*. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing.
- Wang, H. (2005). *The returning times*. Beijing: The Central Editing & Translation Press.
- Yang, M. & Tan, S. H. (2007). *Haigui in China's modernization*. In Wang, G., & Wong, J. (Eds.). *Interpreting China's development*. London: World Scientific.

ความเหมือนและความแตกต่างของเรือนพื้นถิ่นไทเขิน: เชียงใหม่ เชียงตุง

**(Similarity and Difference of the Tai-Kern Vernacular Houses:
Chiang Mai and Keng Tung)**

ปานินทร์, อรศิริ

คณะสถาปัตยกรรมศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยเกษตรศาสตร์

จิระทัศนกุล, สมคิด

คณะสถาปัตยกรรมศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร

สิริเกียรติกุล, พินัย

คณะสถาปัตยกรรมศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร

ช่อภักดิ์, ดวงเงิน

คณะวิทยาการจัดการ มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร

Abstract

This research article emphasized on the similarity and difference of the Tai-Kern Vernacular houses between Chiang Mai, Thailand, and Kengtung, Myanmar, which stressed on the way of lives and the environment. The sites for Comparative studies were selected in Sansai, Doisaket and Sanpatong District in Chiang Mai together with Yanglaw and Kardfah District in Kengtung. Triangulating data from documentary researches, fields surveyed and in-depth interviews were adapted for the analysis and synthesis of the conclusions. It was found that the Tai-Kern in both places applied their traditional irrigation system on sloping terrain to their agricultural way of living which reflected on the village physical plan, and also clearly influenced the spatial organization of the public and private space in the community. Grouping of houses defined their kinship system. Water way still be the priority of settlement of Tai-Kern Kengtung, while Tai-Kern Chiang Mai preferred road. The houses form of both places are different but almost similar on the spatial organization of houses plan. The usage of local materials are still existed in both places. Sustainable qualities of their houses are mostly occurred in Kengtung than in Chiang Mai because they still have the traditional way of living which highly respected and protected their natural environment.

Keywords: Similarity, Difference, Tai-Kern, Vernacular houses, Chiang Mai, Kengtung

บทคัดย่อ

บทความวิจัยนี้เน้นการศึกษาและวิเคราะห์ในเชิงเปรียบเทียบความเหมือนและความต่างของเรือนพื้นถิ่นไทเงินในเชียงใหม่ประเทศไทยและเชียงตุงประเทศเมียนมาร์ โดยพุ่งเป้าในประเด็นของความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างชีวิตและสภาพแวดล้อม การคัดเลือกกรณีศึกษาประกอบด้วย เรือนในพื้นที่อำเภอสันทราย อำเภอดอยสะเก็ด และอำเภอสันป่าตองในจังหวัดเชียงใหม่ เปรียบเทียบกับเรือนในอำเภอปางงิ้ว และอำเภอภาคฟ้าในเชียงตุง การดำเนินการวิจัยใช้ข้อมูลในการศึกษาแบบสามเส้า โดยการศึกษาข้อมูลเอกสาร ผนวกกับการสำรวจภาคสนาม และการสัมภาษณ์เชิงลึก เพื่อใช้ในการวิเคราะห์และสังเคราะห์ ผลการวิจัยพบว่าทั้งสองพื้นที่มีลักษณะร่วมทางภูมิศาสตร์ต่างก็ใช้ระบบการจัดการน้ำแบบเหมืองฝายเพื่อการเกษตรและการดำรงชีวิตประจำวันซึ่งมีอิทธิพลต่อการจัดวางผังของหมู่บ้านกลุ่มเรือนแสดงออกถึงระบบสังคมแบบเครือญาติอย่างชัดเจนในหมู่บ้านเก่าของไทเงินเชียงตุงรวมทั้งแสดงความสำคัญต่อลำน้ำและลำเหมืองในการเลือกตั้งถิ่นฐานสำหรับหมู่บ้านใหม่ในเชียงตุงและหมู่บ้านไทเงินในเชียงใหม่มีลักษณะผังหมู่บ้านใกล้เคียงกันคือการเน้นความสำคัญของถนนเข้าหมู่บ้านรูปทรงของเรือนมีความต่างแต่มีความเหมือนในระบบการจัดผังพื้นเรือน องค์ประกอบต่างๆ ในผังพื้นเรือนมีลักษณะเดียวกัน ทั้งสองพื้นที่ยังใช้ไม้เป็นวัสดุหลักในการก่อสร้างเช่นเดียวกัน ลักษณะสถาปัตยกรรมที่ยั่งยืนปรากฏให้เห็นชัดเจนในเรือนของทั้งสองแหล่งที่ตั้งทั้งไทเงินเชียงใหม่และเชียงตุง ทั้งสองแหล่งยังมีความเคารพต่อสภาพแวดล้อมธรรมชาติและต่างก็ปกป้องรักษาทรัพยากรธรรมชาติเพื่อความสมดุลของการดำรงชีวิต

คำสำคัญ ความเหมือน ความต่าง ไทเงิน เรือนพื้นถิ่น เชียงใหม่ เชียงตุง

บทความวิจัยนี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของโครงการวิจัย “ภูมิปัญญา พัฒนาการและความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างกันของเรือนพื้นถิ่นไทเงินเชียงใหม่ – เชียงตุง” ซึ่งเป็นโครงการย่อยในชุดโครงการ “ภูมิปัญญา พัฒนาการและความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างกันของเรือนพื้นถิ่นไทย-ไท: คุณลักษณะของสถาปัตยกรรมสิ่งแวดล้อมในเรือนพื้นถิ่น” ซึ่งได้รับทุนอุดหนุนวิจัยเมธีอาวุโส จากสำนักงานกองทุนสนับสนุนการวิจัย (สกว.)

ความนำ

คนไทยในประเทศไทยตั้งแต่เหนือจรดใต้ ต่างผสมผสานด้วยกันเป็นหลายกลุ่ม หลายชาติพันธุ์ ทั้งไทย จีน ลาว รามัญ และอื่นๆ และในกลุ่มชนที่เรียกกันโดยรวมว่ากลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ไทยนั้นก็ยิ่งผสมผสานไปด้วยกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ไทหลายกลุ่มด้วย อาทิเช่น ไทลื้อ ไทยวน ไทเงิน ไทคำ ไทพวน ไทยอง ไทใหญ่ ผู้ไท ไทมุสลิมและกลุ่มอื่นๆ อีกมากมายกระจายตัวอยู่ตามภูมิภาคต่างๆของประเทศไทยประเทศเพื่อนบ้านในอุษาคเนย์ เช่น ลาว เมียนมาร์ เวียดนาม รวมทั้งแถบจีนตอนใต้ และอินเดีย ต่างก็มีพื้นที่ซึ่งเป็นแหล่งของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ไทในประเทศไทย อาทิเช่น ไทลื้อในสิบสองปันนา มณฑลยูนนานของจีน ไทลื้อในพงสาตี สปป.ลาว ไทใหญ่ในรัฐฉานของเมียนมาร์ ในรัฐอัสสัมของอินเดีย และ ในแคว้นใต้คองในยูนนานของจีน ไทเงินในเชียงตุง รัฐฉานของเมียนมาร์ ไทคำในเดียนเบียนฟู และเซินลาของเวียดนาม พวนในสปป.ลาว และ ไทมุสลิมในรัฐต่างๆ ทางตอนเหนือของมาเลเซีย นอกจากนี้ยังมีกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ไทหลายกลุ่มนอกประเทศไทยที่เมื่อฟังแต่ชื่อจะไม่สามารถทราบได้ว่าเป็นคนไท เช่น จ้วง ไทพ่าเก ไทคำตี้ คำสุข ตัง และอื่นๆ อีกมากมาย (อรศิริ ปาณินท์ 2541:5) ซึ่งล้วนเป็นกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ไทที่ใช้ภาษาไทย ซึ่งกระจายตัวอยู่ในรัฐอัสสัมของอินเดียและหลายมณฑลในจีน เช่น ยูนนาน กวางสี กวางตุ้ง กุ้ยโจว หุนหนาน และไหหลำ (อรศิริ ปาณินท์ 2541:9)

ไทเงิน

ไทเงินคือกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ไทกลุ่มหนึ่งซึ่งมีถิ่นฐานที่ตั้งดั้งเดิมอยู่ในแคว้น “เชียงตุง” ของเมียนมาร์ ซึ่งมีเมืองหลวงอยู่ที่เมืองเชียงตุง และยังมีถิ่นฐานกระจายตัวอยู่ในหมู่บ้านหลายแห่งในจังหวัดต่าง ๆ ในภาคเหนือ โดยเฉพาะในจังหวัดเชียงใหม่ของประเทศไทย (ทวิ สว่างปัญญากร, 2547:9) เช่น บ้านลวงเหนือ บ้านลวงใต้ บ้านสันอู๋ม บ้านเชิงคอย บ้านร้องจี้เหล็ก บ้านน้อย บ้านมอญ บ้านสันกลางในอำเภอสันกำแพง บ้านต้นแห่น บ้านไร่ในอำเภอสันป่าตอง บ้านสันป่าสัก บ้านช่อแลในอำเภอแม่แตง วัตถุประสงค์ของการวิจัย

- ศึกษาและวิเคราะห์ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างระบบนิเวศ วิถีชีวิต และการวางผังหมู่บ้าน
- ศึกษาและวิเคราะห์สภาพทางกายภาพของหมู่บ้านและเรือน
- ศึกษาและวิเคราะห์ความเชื่อที่ส่งผลต่อการวางผังหมู่บ้าน ผังบริเวณและตัวเรือน
- ศึกษาความแปรเปลี่ยน และวิเคราะห์ปัจจัยที่ส่งผลต่อความแปรเปลี่ยนของผังหมู่บ้านและเรือน

- ศึกษาเปรียบเทียบความเหมือนและความต่างของทั้งสองแหล่งที่ตั้งและปัจจัยที่ส่งผลต่อความเหมือนและความต่าง

ขอบเขตของการศึกษา

ขอบเขตด้านเนื้อหา

- ศึกษาเอกสารที่เกี่ยวข้องทั้งเมืองเชียงใหม่ และเชียงใหม่ ทั้งในเนื้อหาของประวัติศาสตร์ประวัติศาสตร์การตั้งถิ่นฐาน ภูมิลักษณะ ระบบนิเวศ การดำรงชีวิต เศรษฐกิจ การเมืองการปกครอง เมืองชุมชน และสถาปัตยกรรม
- สำรวจทางกายภาพหมู่บ้านที่เลือกเป็นกรณีศึกษาในเชียงใหม่ และเชียงใหม่ให้ครอบคลุมระบบนิเวศ ภูมิลักษณะของบริบท รูปลักษณะของหมู่บ้าน เรือนและองค์ประกอบของเรือนและผังบริเวณ
- สัมภาษณ์และสังเกตการณ์แบบมีส่วนร่วมเพื่อให้ได้คำตอบเกี่ยวกับประวัติศาสตร์การตั้งถิ่นฐาน ความเชื่อ ประเพณี การดำรงชีวิต และวิถีชีวิต และความแปรเปลี่ยน รวมทั้งปัจจัยที่ส่งผลต่อความแปรเปลี่ยน

ขอบเขตด้านพื้นที่

สำรวจหมู่บ้าน และสภาพแวดล้อม

จังหวัดเชียงใหม่ ประเทศไทย ประกอบด้วย บ้านป่าเหมือด บ้านป่าไผ่ บ้านหนองแห้งในอำเภอสันทราย บ้านสันอุ้ม บ้านเชิงดอย บ้านหลวงเหนือในอำเภอดอยสะเก็ด บ้านสันกำแพง อำเภอสันกำแพง

จังหวัดเชียงใหม่ รัฐฉาน ประเทศเมียนมาร์ ประกอบด้วย บ้านหนองอ้อ อำเภอเชียงตุง บ้านหม้า บ้านยางล่อ อำเภอยางล่อ บ้านเด่นช้าง บ้านถั่ว บ้านเลี้ยว อำเภอกาดฟ้า

คำถามในการวิจัย

คำถามที่ต้องการคำตอบของการวิจัยสัมพันธ์กับวัตถุประสงค์ประกอบด้วย

- ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างระบบนิเวศ ภูมิลักษณะและผังหมู่บ้านมีมากน้อยเพียงไร? มีความแปรเปลี่ยนหรือไม่? ปัจจัยในการแปรเปลี่ยนคืออะไร? เพราะเหตุใด?
- รูปลักษณะของเรือนมีความสัมพันธ์กับผังบริเวณและผังหมู่บ้านอย่างไร?
- ความเชื่อที่มีผลต่อผังพื้นและรูปแบบของเรือนผังหลงเหลืออยู่หรือไม่? อย่างไร?
- การใช้ภูมิปัญญาเพื่อให้วิถีชีวิตและสภาพแวดล้อมมีคุณภาพมีอะไรบ้าง? มีโอกาสนำมาขยายผลหรือไม่?
- อะไรคือคำตอบของสถาปัตยกรรมสิ่งแวดล้อมของเรือนพื้นถิ่นไทเงิน เชียงใหม่ – เชียงตุง?

กรอบความคิดและวิธีการศึกษา

จากการประมวลความสัมพันธ์ระหว่าง วัตถุประสงค์และขอบเขตของการวิจัยทั้งด้านเนื้อหา และพื้นที่ซึ่งส่งผลให้เกิดคำถามวิจัยที่ต้องการคำตอบ 5 ข้อดังข้างต้น จะพบได้ว่า คำถามที่ต้องการคำตอบจากงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้จึงควรวีกว้างตั้งแต่บริบทซึ่งเป็นรูปธรรม จนถึงภูมิปัญญาซึ่งเป็นนามธรรม ดังนั้นกรอบความคิดและทฤษฎีในการศึกษา จำเป็นต้องกำหนดหลายแนวทางเพื่อให้ได้คำตอบที่ต้องการอย่างชัดเจนอันประกอบด้วย

- แนวทางการศึกษาบริบททั้งระบบนิเวศและภูมิลักษณะ ซึ่งสัมพันธ์กับวัฒนธรรม
- การศึกษาเฉพาะกรณีตามเกณฑ์และแนวคิด
- การศึกษาเปรียบเทียบทั้งสองแหล่งที่ตั้งเพื่อให้ได้คำตอบถึงความสัมพันธ์ซึ่งกันและกัน
- การศึกษาคุณลักษณะของสภาพแวดล้อม และสถาปัตยกรรมสิ่งแวดล้อม หรือสถาปัตยกรรมที่ยั่งยืน

ผลของการวิจัย

การศึกษา “ความเหมือนและความต่างของเรือนพื้นถิ่นไทเงิน เชียงใหม่ – เชียงตุง”

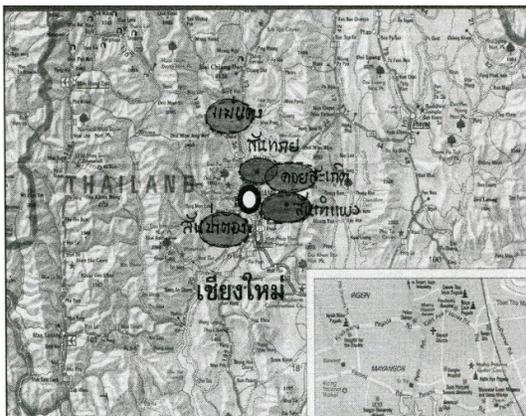
ตามกระบวนการศึกษาซึ่งเริ่มต้นตั้งแต่การศึกษาเอกสารที่เกี่ยวข้องกับไทเงินทั้งสองแหล่งที่ตั้ง ภูมิลักษณะ โลกทัศน์ บริบทของชุมชน หมู่บ้าน เรือน คติการปลูกเรือน รายละเอียดทางสถาปัตยกรรมและการใช้สอย พัฒนาการและแนวโน้มของเรือนตลอดจน ถึงความผูกพันระหว่างสภาพแวดล้อมธรรมชาติ ชีวิต และเรือน ได้พบเนื้อหาต่างๆ ซึ่งเกี่ยวเนื่องระหว่างสภาพแวดล้อมธรรมชาติ

ชีวิตและเรือนของไทเงินทั้งสองแหล่งที่ตั้งที่น่าสนใจมาก เพราะมีทั้งเนื้อหาที่เป็นรูปธรรมที่จับต้องได้ เช่น บริบท ผังหมู่บ้าน เรือน

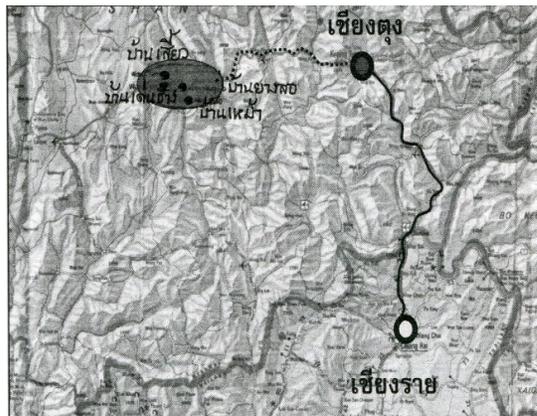
และเนื้อหาที่เป็นนามธรรม อาทิเช่น การเชื่อมต่อระหว่างจิตวิญญาณ คนและระบบนิเวศ

อันเป็นอุบายแบบยลที่ทำให้คนและระบบนิเวศเกิดดุลยภาพและสันติสุข

ซึ่งเป็นรากฐานทางวัฒนธรรมที่เป็นแก่นของชีวิตชาวไทเงิน



รูป 1 แสดงแหล่งที่ตั้งในจังหวัดเชียงใหม่ประเทศไทย
ที่มา: คัดแปลงจากแผนที่ภูมิประเทศ: 2545



รูป 2 แสดงแหล่งที่ตั้งในจังหวัดเชียงตุง ประเทศเมียนมาร์
ที่มา: คัดแปลงจากแผนที่ภูมิประเทศ: 2545

บริบทและหมู่บ้าน

บริบทของไทยเงินทั้งเชียงใหม่และเชียงตุงมีลักษณะร่วมของภูมิลักษณะเป็นพื้นที่สูงเป็นป่าเขาและพื้นที่ต่างระดับ มีที่ราบลุ่มค่อนข้างน้อยที่ใช้สำหรับทำเกษตรกรรม ในจังหวัดเชียงใหม่มีลำน้ำสายหลักไหลผ่านมากกว่า มีทั้งแม่น้ำปิง แม่น้ำกว๊าง และแม่น้ำขาน ส่วนในเมืองเชียงตุง ลำน้ำสำคัญคือ น้ำเงินและน้ำหลา ลักษณะภูมิลักษณะดังกล่าวทำให้ต้องพึ่งพาระบบการจัดการน้ำในระบบเหมืองฝายเช่นเดียวกัน ระบบเหมืองฝายเป็นระบบการจัดการน้ำในการเกษตรที่ได้รับการถ่ายทอดมาตั้งแต่ครั้งบรรพบุรุษ ซึ่งเป็นภูมิปัญญาที่ทำให้เกิดดุลยภาพระหว่างคนกับธรรมชาติ สามารถทำให้ทุกพื้นที่ที่มีภูมิลักษณะต่างกันสามารถแบ่งปันใช้น้ำกันได้อย่างยุติธรรม ซึ่งนอกจากจะเป็นการจัดการน้ำตามเทคโนโลยีพื้นบ้านแล้ว ยังแฝงไว้ด้วยวัฒนธรรมการอยู่ร่วมกันอย่างเอื้ออาทรของชาวไทเงิน เพราะต้องอาศัยการร่วมแรงร่วมใจกันและการแบ่งปัน ซึ่งรับรู้ร่วมกันสำหรับเจ้าของนาทุกแปลงที่อยู่ในระบบเหมืองฝาย ตั้งแต่เหมืองใหญ่ เหมืองย่อย และน้ำเหมืองบ้าน รวมทั้งการแบ่งเหมืองน้ำดี “เหมืองกิน” และเหมืองน้ำเสีย “เหมืองล่อง” ที่ระบายน้ำจากไร่นาที่เพาะปลูกแล้วสู่ลำน้ำธรรมชาติ (พรพิไล เลิศวิชา 2546:48)

ในความเหมือนของการพึ่งพาระบบเหมืองฝายเช่นเดียวกันของเชียงใหม่และเชียงตุงนี้ ก็ยังมีความต่างในการพัฒนาระบบและเทคโนโลยี เนื่องจากระบบเหมืองฝายของเชียงตุงเป็นระบบแบบนุพกาล ค่อยๆ กระจายน้ำไปตามความต่างระดับของพื้นดิน กระจายไปสู่ไร่นาผนวกกับระบบของการขุดบ่อ หนอง บึงเชื่อมโยงกับหนองบึงตามธรรมชาติ แต่ระบบเหมืองฝายของเชียงใหม่มีการพัฒนาผสมผสานระหว่างระบบเหมืองฝายแบบนุพกาลผนวกกับเทคโนโลยีใหม่หลายรูปแบบ เช่น มีการเพิ่มรางริน และเหมืองคอนกรีตเพื่อกระจายน้ำจากเหมืองใหญ่ไปยังมีต่างระดับพร้อมๆ กัน โดยไม่ต้องคอยถ้ำระดับไปเรื่อยๆ แบบโบราณ และยังมีระบบการจ่ายน้ำจากเขื่อนเข้าสู่ลำเหมืองธรรมชาติ แต่การจ่ายน้ำลักษณะนี้ ทางภาครัฐเป็นผู้จัดการ และจ่ายน้ำเป็นช่วงเวลา ซึ่งบางเวลาก็ขัดกับความต้องการของการเกษตรในพื้นที่ (พรพิไล เลิศวิชา 2546:282)

สภาพทางกายภาพของหมู่บ้าน

ลักษณะร่วมทางกายภาพของหมู่บ้านไทเงินเชียงใหม่และเชียงตุงคือการมีองค์ประกอบหลักทางกายภาพเช่นเดียวกัน ในหมู่บ้านซึ่งทั้งไทเงินเชียงใหม่และเชียงตุงเรียกว่า “บ้าน” ประกอบด้วยวัดในหมู่บ้าน ศาลประจำหมู่บ้านที่ไทเงินเชียงใหม่เรียกว่า “เสื่อบ้าน” ไทเงินเชียงตุงเรียกว่า “เทวดาบ้าน” ลานประจำหมู่บ้านและวัดซึ่งเรียกเหมือนกันคือ “ช่วงบ้าน” และ “ช่วงวัด” ศาลสี่ประจำวัด ไทเงินเชียงใหม่เรียกว่า “เสื่อวัด” ไทเงินเชียงตุงเรียกว่า “เทวดาวัด” ความต่างของผังกายภาพของหมู่บ้านอยู่ที่การจัดกลุ่มเรือนซึ่งเป็นปัจจัยที่ส่งผลมายังระบบถนนในหมู่บ้าน

หมู่บ้านไทจีนเชียงใหม่ กรณีศึกษา บ้านสันอุ้ม บ้านลวงเหนือ และบ้านร้องขี้เหล็กในอำเภอดอยสะเก็ด รวมทั้งหมู่บ้านอื่นๆ ที่เข้าสำรวจทางกายภาพพบว่าหมู่บ้านมีการจัดองค์ประกอบที่คล้ายคลึงกัน ถนนหลักในหมู่บ้านแยกเป็น



รูป 3 บ้านสันอุ้มและบ้านลวงเหนืออำเภอดอยสะเก็ด
ที่มา: กรมแผนที่ทหาร: 2545



รูป 4 บ้านร้องขี้เหล็ก อำเภอดอยสะเก็ด
ที่มา: กรมแผนที่ทหาร: 2545

สายประธานและสายรอง มีการเกาะกลุ่มเรือนเป็นสองระบบ คือระบบเรือนเดี่ยวล้อมรั้วเฉพาะกับเรือนกลุ่มในระบบเครือญาติไม่ล้อมรั้ว เฉพาะหลังแต่เป็นการล้อมรั้วเป็นกลุ่มๆ ถนนหลักถนนรอง และถนนซอยเริ่มเข้าในระบบตารางเป็นส่วนใหญ่ วัดในหมู่บ้านมี 2 ลักษณะ คือวัดอยู่ในศูนย์กลางหมู่บ้าน และวัดริมหมู่บ้าน ส่วนไร่นาอยู่ในระดับเดียวกับทั้งหมดคืออยู่โอบล้อมกลุ่มเรือนทั้งหมู่บ้าน มีการจัดการน้ำในไร่นาเป็นระบบเหมืองฝายในลักษณะเข้าถึงทุกพื้นที่ ริมขอบหมู่บ้านมักปลูกต้นไม้ใหญ่หนาแน่นเป็นที่สังเกตได้ชัดเจน สำหรับหมู่บ้านไทจีนเชียงตุงนั้นลักษณะทางกายภาพของผังหมู่บ้านแปรไปตามอายุการสร้างหมู่บ้าน สำหรับหมู่บ้านที่อายุการสร้างเกินกว่า 100 ปี เช่นฝ่งบ้านเหม้า อำเภอยางลอบ จะสังเกตระบบผังและระบบถนนได้ชัดเจน คือกลุ่มเรือนจะมาก่อนระบบถนน การรวมกลุ่มเรือนสะท้อนให้เห็นวิถีชีวิตระบบเครือญาติที่ชัดเจน คือเรือนจะเกาะกลุ่มกันเป็นกลุ่มๆ ตามระบบเครือญาติ มีช่วงเรือนขนาดใหญ่ เล็กไปตามขนาดของกลุ่มเรือน กั้นรั้วตามกลุ่มเรือนและถนนจะมีระบบลาดเลี้ยวไปตามกลุ่มเรือน มีการขุดลำเหมืองเข้าสู่หมู่บ้านเพิ่มเติมจากลำน้ำสายหลัก เพื่อให้ลำเหมืองได้ผ่านกลุ่มเรือนมากที่สุด ในหมู่บ้านมีองค์ประกอบสำคัญเช่นเดียวกับไทจีนเชียงใหม่ คือ มีวัดประจำหมู่บ้าน มีเทวดาบ้าน เทวดาวัด และมีต้นไม้ใหญ่ซึ่งเป็นต้นไม้ใหญ่ที่เคารพบูชาของชาวบ้าน

ส่วนผังหมู่บ้านที่อายุการสร้างน้อยเช่นผังหมู่บ้านหนองอ้อ อำเภอเชียงตุง ซึ่งเป็นหมู่บ้านที่อายุการสร้างประมาณ 30 ปี เป็นหมู่บ้านใหม่ที่ย้ายมาจากหมู่บ้านเดิมที่น้ำท่วมถึง องค์ประกอบของหมู่บ้านลักษณะเดียวกันกับบ้านหม้า คือมีวัดหนองอ้อ มีเทวดาบ้าน เทวดาวัด แต่เนื่องจากภาครัฐจัดสาธารณูปโภคคือถนนแบบตารางไว้ทำให้เรือนเรียงกันเป็นแถวแยกเป็นหลังๆ มีรั้วกันแยกทุกหลัง ทำให้เห็นได้ชัดว่าระบบการอยู่แบบเครือญาติที่สะท้อนมายังผังหมู่บ้าน ได้เลือนหายไป ช่างบ้านขนาดใหญ่หายไป เหลือแต่ช่างเรือนเฉพาะหลัง นอกจากนี้เนื่องจากบ้านหนองอ้อไม่มีแหล่งน้ำธรรมชาติ ไม่มีลำเหมืองขุดเช่นเดียวกับบ้านหม้า ทำให้เรือนทุกหลังต้องขุดบ่อน้ำใช้เฉพาะส่วนตัว



รูป 5 แผนผังหมู่บ้านหม้าอำเภอขงล่อ



รูป 6 แผนผังหมู่บ้านหนองอ้อ อำเภอเชียงตุง

รูปลักษณะของผังบริเวณเรือนที่สัมพันธ์กับผังหมู่บ้าน

เป็นที่น่าสังเกตและน่าสนใจในความสัมพันธ์ของการดำรงชีวิตระหว่างไทเงินเชียงใหม่และเชียงตุงที่สื่อความหมายด้วยผังบริเวณเรือนทั้งสองกลุ่ม

เพราะในบรรดาเรือนที่สำรวจในรายละเอียดทั้งกลุ่มไทเงินเชียงใหม่และเชียงตุงรวม 30 หลัง

ได้พบลักษณะร่วมขององค์ประกอบผังบริเวณที่เหมือนกันเป็นอย่างมาก

ทั้งองค์ประกอบในผังบริเวณซึ่งประกอบด้วย ตัวเรือน เขี้ยว โรงเก็บอุปกรณ์การเกษตร โรงเลี้ยงสัตว์ บ่อน้ำ

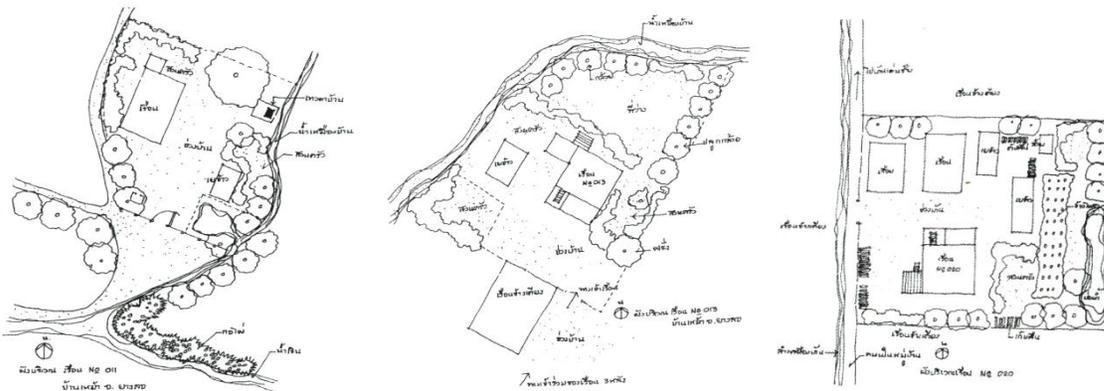
สวนครัวและตอมน้ำ ทั้ง 2 แหล่งเหมือนกันทุกประการ แม้แต่ลักษณะการวางทิศทางของเรือน

วางเขี้ยวขนานกับเรือนและวางในลักษณะตามตะวันมีระยะห่างพอที่เงาจะไม่ทับกัน พร้อมกับมีข่วงเรือนเล็กๆ

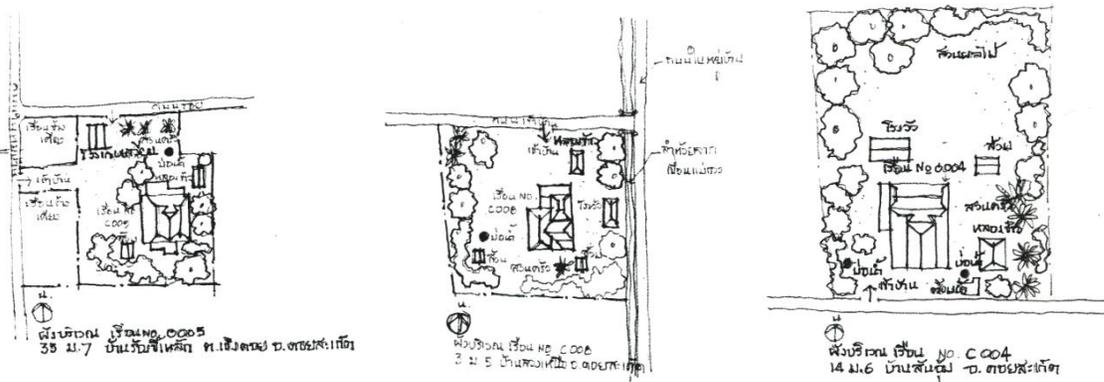
ด้านหน้าเรือนเช่นเดียวกัน ความต่างของผังบริเวณระหว่างไทเงินเชียงใหม่และเชียงตุงเท่าที่ปรากฏ

คือการใช้ประโยชน์จากลำเหมืองมีลักษณะต่างกัน เนื่องจากหมู่บ้านไทเงินเชียงใหม่มีความเจริญทางวัตถุสูงกว่า มีระบบสาธารณูปโภคที่พัฒนากว่า การอาศัยลำเหมืองธรรมชาติและเหมืองขุดไม่ป็นสิ่งจำเป็น

แต่สำหรับไทเงินเชียงตุงลำเหมืองที่ผ่านเรือนเป็นหัวใจของการเกษตรและสวนครัวของครัวเรือน
 ดังนั้นหากเลือกที่ตั้งเรือนได้ บริเวณติดลำเหมืองจะถูกเลือกก่อนเป็นอันดับแรก
 ทำให้เห็นสวนครัวเรียงเป็นแนวยาวติดลำเหมือง สำหรับเรือนไทเงินเชียงใหม่
 การเลือกที่ตั้งติดถนนเป็นสิ่งจำเป็นอันดับแรก แต่ถ้าอยู่ติดลำเหมืองก็จะใช้ประโยชน์จากลำเหมือง
 แต่ถ้าไม่มีก็จะขุดบ่อของตนเองและใช้น้ำจากบ่อขุดเพื่อใช้กับสวนครัวและตอมน้ำ บางเรือนมีบ่อขุดถึง 3 บ่อ
 บ่อแรกอยู่หน้าบ้าน บ่อที่สองอยู่ติดสวนครัว และบ่อที่สามอยู่ติดครัว



รูป 7 ผังบริเวณเรือนเลขที่ 15 บ้านหม้าเชียงตุง รูป 8 ผังบริเวณเรือน เลขที่ 25 บ้านหม้าเชียงตุงรูป 9 ผังบริเวณเรือนดาหนานปุง ไม่มีบ้าน
 อยู่ติดลำเหมือง อยู่กลางหมู่บ้าน เลขที่ บ้านเสี้ยวเชียงตุง อยู่ติดถนน



รูป 10 ผังบริเวณเรือนเลขที่ 33 หมู่ 7 รูป 11 ผังบริเวณเรือนเลขที่ 3 หมู่ 5 รูป 12 ผังบริเวณเรือนเลขที่ 14 หมู่ 6
 บ้านร่องขี้เหล็ก อำเภอคอยสะเก็ด เชียงใหม่ บ้านลวงเหนือ อำเภอคอยสะเก็ด เชียงใหม่บ้านสันอู๋ อำเภอคอยสะเก็ด; เชียงใหม่

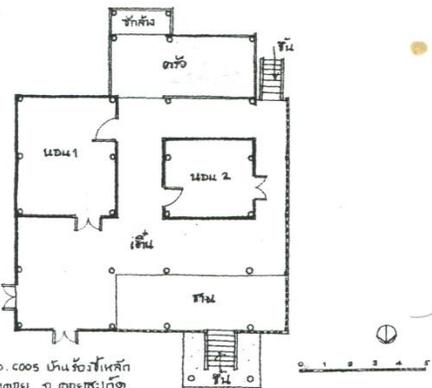
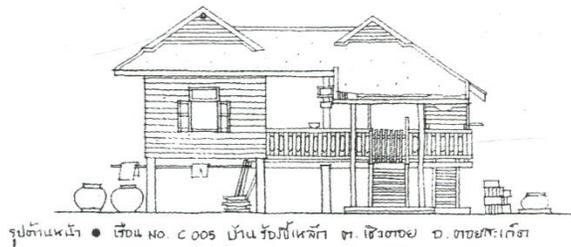
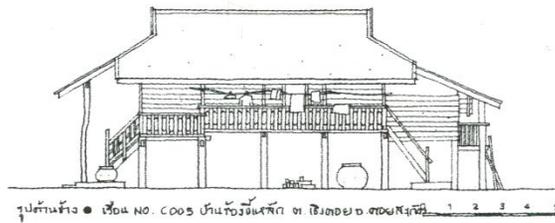
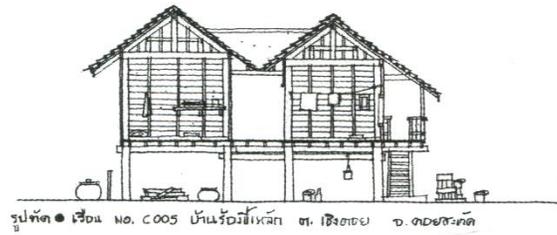
รูปลักษณะของเรือน การใช้สอย และความเชื่อที่ส่งผลมายังรูปแบบ และรูปทรงของเรือน โครงสร้าง และวัสดุก่อสร้าง

การศึกษารูปลักษณะของเรือน และการใช้สอยในเรือนซึ่งส่งผลมายังรูปแบบของผังพื้นเรือน ได้พบว่าการใช้สอยในเรือนซึ่งเป็นตัวกำหนดประเภทของพื้นที่บนเรือนของไทเงินเชียงใหม่และเชียงตุงมีรูปแบบเหมือนกันอย่างมาก อันประกอบด้วยบันไดเรือนใต้หลังคาคลุมต่อมายังชานนอกใต้หลังคาคลุม และต่อเนื่องกับเต็นซึ่งเป็นพื้นที่โล่งภายในเรือนซึ่งเรียกชื่อว่า “เต็น” เหมือนกัน

ตัวชานก่อนเข้าถึงเต็นทางเชียงใหม่เรียก “ชาน” หรือ “จาน” ทางเชียงตุงเรียกว่า “นอกเต็น” องค์ประกอบในเรือนที่เหลือคือครัวและห้องนอน ครัวของไทเงินเชียงตุงมีสองลักษณะคือครัวรวมอยู่ในเรือน เรียกว่า “ฮ้องไฟ” ส่วนครัวแยกต่างหาก เรียกว่า “เฮินไฟ” แต่ของไทเงินเชียงใหม่พบแต่ครัวแยกอยู่ท้ายเรือน สำหรับส่วนนอนซึ่งเป็นพื้นที่ที่มีความเป็นส่วนตัวที่สุดของไทเงินเชียงใหม่ มักจะวางต่อจากเต็น โดยแยกเป็น 2 ห้องมีทางเดินกลางซึ่งต่อเนื่องไปยังครัวซึ่งอยู่ท้ายสุดของเรือนต่อเนื่องไปยังชานซักล้าง

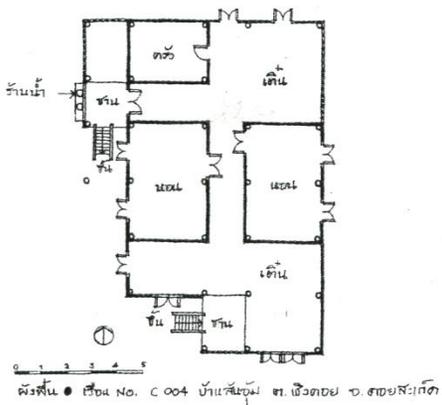
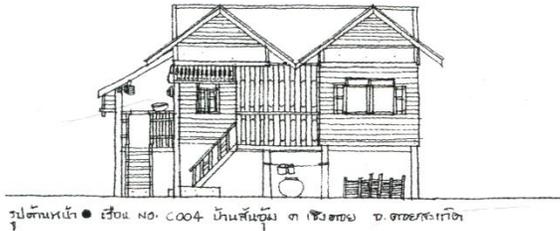
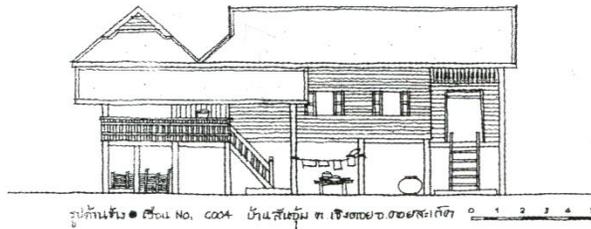
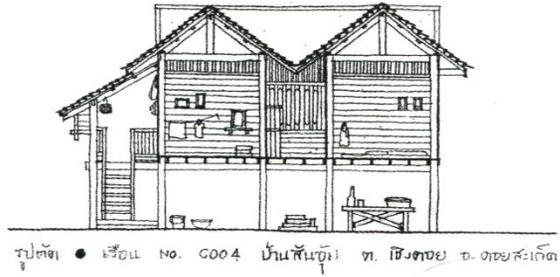
ลักษณะการวางห้องนอนสองข้างทางเดินกลางเสมือนจะเป็นสูตรการวางผังพื้นของไทเงินเชียงใหม่ ส่วนของไทเงินเชียงตุงก็มีสูตรเฉพาะของตนเองเช่นเดียวกัน คือ ห้องนอน (ฮ้องนอน) จะอยู่ปลายสุดของเต็นเหมือนกันทุกหลังคู่กับ “แม่เตาไฟ” ซึ่งมักจะมีตำแหน่งอยู่ปลายสุดของเรือน ซึ่งต่อเนื่องกับชานซักล้างภายนอกลดระดับจากตัวเรือนซึ่งเรียกว่า “จานนอก”

13TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THAI STUDIES
 GLOBALIZED THAILAND? CONNECTIVITY, CONFLICT AND CONUNDRUMS OF THAI STUDIES
 15-18 JULY 2017, CHIANG MAI, THAILAND



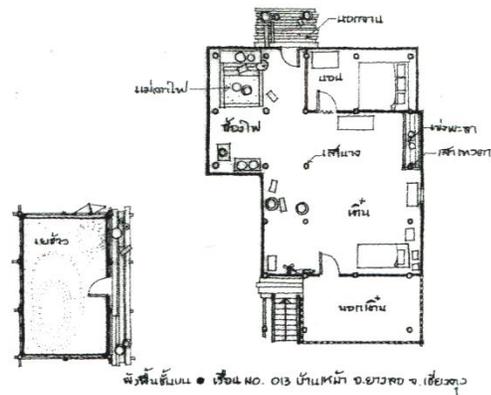
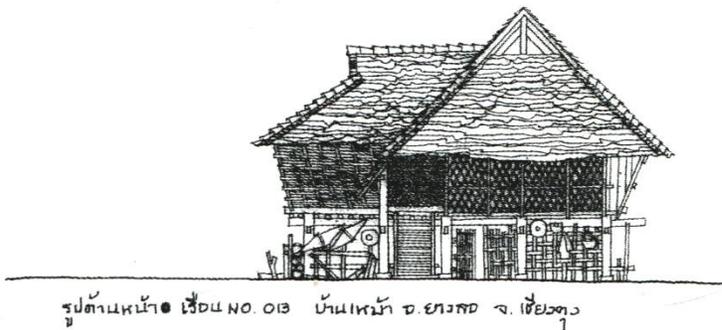
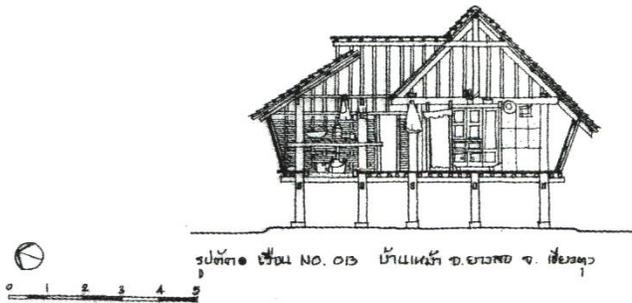
รูป 13 แสดงผังพื้นรูปด้านรูปตัด และทัศนียภาพของเรือนนายฮิ้น สายกา บ้านเลขที่ 33 หมู่ 7 บ้านร่องขี้เหล็ก ตำบลเจริญชัย อำเภอดอยสะเก็ด จังหวัดเชียงใหม่

13TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THAI STUDIES
 GLOBALIZED THAILAND? CONNECTIVITY, CONFLICT AND CONUNDRUMS OF THAI STUDIES
 15-18 JULY 2017, CHIANG MAI, THAILAND



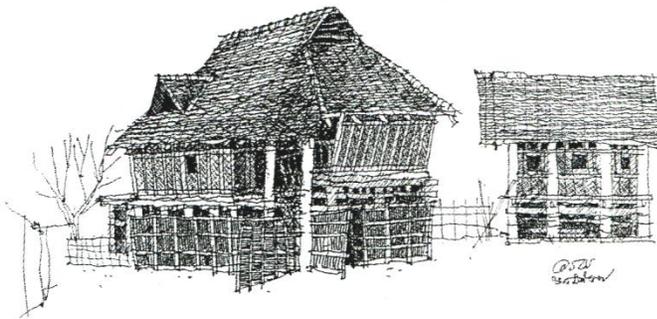
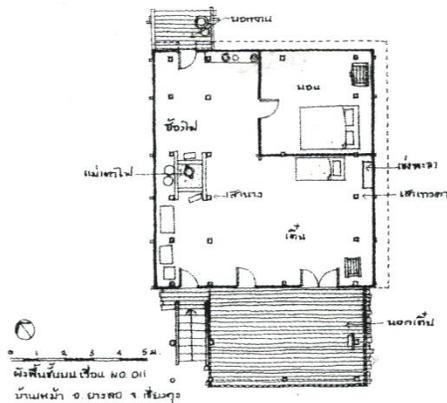
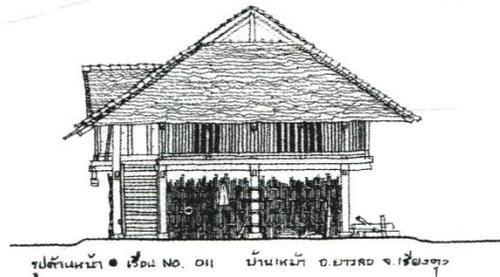
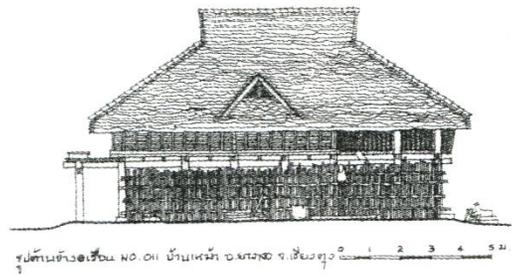
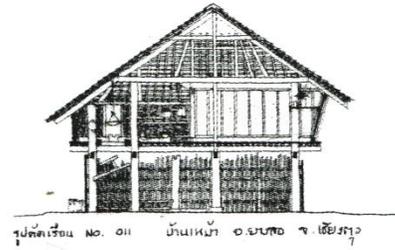
รูป 14 แสดงผังพื้น รูปด้าน รูปตัด และทัศนียภาพของเรือนนายมนต์ ศรีคำมา
 เลขที่ 14 หมู่ 6 บ้านสันอุ้ม ตำบลเชียงตอย อำเภอดอยสะเก็ด จังหวัดเชียงใหม่

13TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THAI STUDIES
 GLOBALIZED THAILAND? CONNECTIVITY, CONFLICT AND CONUNDRUMS OF THAI STUDIES
 15-18 JULY 2017, CHIANG MAI, THAILAND



รูป 15 แสดงผังพื้น รูปด้าน รูปตัด ของเรือน นายหนานยี* และนางเปง*
 เลขที่ 25 บ้านหม้า อำเภอขางล่อ จังหวัดเชียงตุง
 * คนไทเงินเชียงตุง ไม่มีนามสกุล

13TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THAI STUDIES
 GLOBALIZED THAILAND? CONNECTIVITY, CONFLICT AND CONUNDRUMS OF THAI STUDIES
 15-18 JULY 2017, CHIANG MAI, THAILAND



รูป 16 แสดงผังพื้น รูปด้าน รูปตัดและทัศนียภาพของเรือน นางแดง*
 เลขที่ 15 บ้านหม้า อำเภอขยงล่อ จังหวัดเชียงตุง
 * คนไทเงินเชียงตุง ไม่มีนามสกุล

การใช้สอยและความเชื่อที่ส่งผลมายังตัวเรือน

ความเชื่อของไทยเงินทั้งเชียงใหม่และเชียงตุงถือว่าบรรพบุรุษเป็นผู้ที่ปกป้องรักษาและคุ้มครองลูกหลาน ดังนั้นทั้งสองแหล่งจึงปรากฏ “เสานาง” และ “เสาทวดา” ในเรือนไทยเงินเชียงตุง และปรากฏ “เสาแฮก” และ “เสาขวัญ” ในเรือนไทยเงินเชียงใหม่พร้อมๆ กับ “แข่งพะลา” ในเชียงตุงและ “หิ้งบรรพบุรุษ” และ “หิ้งพร” ในเชียงใหม่ ทั้งยังปรากฏ “ตาแหลว” สัญลักษณ์แห่งการปกป้องคุ้มครองจากภัยอันตรายทั้งปวง ที่เหนือวงกบประตูเข้าเรือนเช่นเดียวกันทุกประการ

สิ่งเหล่านี้คือปรากฏการณ์ที่เป็นสื่อในการกำหนดพื้นที่ใช้สอยในเรือน โดยเฉพาะในถิ่นของชาวไทยเงินทั้งสองแหล่งที่ตั้งความต่างเล็กน้อยในบรรดาความเชื่อเหล่านี้มีเพียงแต่ “แข่งพะลา” หรือหิ้งพระของไทยเงินเชียงตุง ไม่ปรากฏว่าประดิษฐานพระพุทธรูป เพราะชาวไทยเงินเชียงตุงมีความเชื่อว่า “พระสถิตอยู่ในใจของทุกคน ส่วนพระพุทธรูปซึ่งเขาเรียกว่า “พระเจ้า” นั้นสถิตอยู่ที่วัด ความเชื่อเหล่านี้ทำให้มีการไปทำบุญที่วัดกันอย่างมาก เพราะหากจะอยู่ใกล้พระเจ้า คือพระพุทธรูปเจ้าของพวกเขาจำเป็นต้องไปวัด กิจกรรมทำบุญต่างๆ ที่วัดจึงมีอยู่ตลอดปีความเชื่อเกี่ยวกับเลขมงคล 7 หรือ 9 ปรากฏอยู่ที่จำนวนชั้นบันไดเรือน ความสูงของเรือนไทยเงินเชียงใหม่และเชียงตุงกลายเป็นสัดส่วนบังคับในตัวทำให้เรือนแต่ละหลังมีสัดส่วนและรูปทรงที่คล้ายคลึงกัน เมื่อพิจารณากลุ่มเรือนในหมู่บ้านจะพบความมีเอกภาพทั้งสภาพแวดล้อม รูปทรง และความสูงของเรือน รวมทั้งวัสดุโดยรวมของเรือนด้วย

สรุปผลการวิจัย

จากการทบทวนคำถามของงานวิจัย ซึ่งเน้นความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างสภาพแวดล้อมธรรมชาติและวิถีชีวิตของชาวไทยเงินที่เชียงใหม่ และเชียงตุงได้พบข้อสังเกตว่าชีวิตซึ่งเกี่ยวข้องกับระบบสังคมเศรษฐกิจโดยรวมของไทยเงินเชียงใหม่เริ่มเปลี่ยนแปลงจากระบบพึ่งพาตนเองเป็นพึ่งพาเทคโนโลยีในบางส่วน ระบบพอเพียงเริ่มเปลี่ยนเป็นระบบขายสินค้า แต่ระบบสังคมและเศรษฐกิจของไทยเงินเชียงตุงยังเป็นแบบบุพกาล ระบบสังคมโดยรวมยังเป็นสังคมเครือญาติทั้งที่เป็นเครือญาติจริง และเครือญาติสมมุติที่มีความเอื้ออาทรและพึ่งพาอาศัยกันได้ตลอดเวลา

ยังมีความเชื่อทั้งในการดำรงชีวิตเฉพาะครอบครัวและความเชื่อทางศาสนาและประเพณีที่ยังเข้มแข็ง การเกิดการบวช การตายยังเป็นกิจกรรมร่วมของทั้งหมู่บ้าน

สำหรับชีวิตที่สัมพันธ์กับสภาพแวดล้อมธรรมชาติ ทั้งไทยเงินเชียงใหม่และเชียงตุงมีลักษณะเดียวกันคืออยู่กับธรรมชาติด้วยความอบอุ่นถ่อมตน

เข้าใจและสร้างสมภูมิปัญญาในการดำรงชีพให้เกิดดุลยภาพของชีวิต และสภาพแวดล้อม

ข้อสังเกตดังกล่าวนำไปสู่คำตอบของคำถามในการวิจัย

1. ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างระบบนิเวศ ภูมิลักษณะและผังหมู่บ้านมีมากน้อยเพียงไร? มีความแปรเปลี่ยนหรือไม่? ปัจจัยในการแปรเปลี่ยนคืออะไร? ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างระบบนิเวศ

- ภูมิลักษณะและผังหมู่บ้านในระดับบริบทที่มีความสัมพันธ์ที่แน่นแฟ้นเป็นอันหนึ่งอันเดียวกัน โดยมีระบบชลประทานแบบเหมืองฝายเป็นตัวเชื่อมโยงความสัมพันธ์ให้สภาพแวดล้อมธรรมชาติและหมู่บ้านอยู่ในสภาพสมดุลแต่ในระดับองค์ประกอบของร่างกายของหมู่บ้านมีความแปรเปลี่ยนไปตามช่วงเวลาของการก่อตั้งหมู่บ้านและแปรเปลี่ยนไปตามการพัฒนาระบบสาธารณูปโภคโดยเฉพาะระบบถนนสำหรับหมู่บ้านเก่าแก่ในเชิงตุงที่ยังเป็นสังคมแบบบุพกาลที่เข้มข้น สภาพแวดล้อมระบบนิเวศและระบบสังคมเครือญาติเป็นตัวกำหนดรูปแบบทางกายภาพของหมู่บ้าน ตัวเรือน กลุ่มเรือน และลำเหมืองมีมาก่อนระบบถนน ทำให้ยังปรากฏช่วงบ้าน ช่วงเรือน และช่วงวัดชัดเจนในผังหมู่บ้าน แต่ในหมู่บ้านที่เกิดขึ้นใหม่ ระบบถนนและสาธารณูปโภคเกิดก่อนสร้างเรือน ระบบถนนเป็นตาตาราง ทำให้ช่วงบ้านและช่วงเรือนเลือนหายไปเหลือเฉพาะช่วงวัด ลักษณะดังกล่าวเกิดขึ้นในเชียงใหม่และเชิงตุงซึ่งเป็นหมู่บ้านใหม่ แต่ในขณะที่เชียงใหม่มีการพัฒนาระบบถนนใหม่มากมาย ระบบถนนในหมู่บ้านที่คดเคี้ยวกลายเป็นระบบตาตารางไปเกือบทั้งหมด สังคมที่เป็นระบบเครือญาติซึ่งถ่ายทอดให้เห็นจากผังหมู่บ้านเลือนน้อยลงทุกที
2. รูปลักษณะของเรือนมีความสัมพันธ์กับผังบริเวณและผังหมู่บ้านอย่างไร?
จากการศึกษาได้พบว่าองค์ประกอบของผังบริเวณเรือนของเรือนไทเงินเชียงใหม่และเชิงตุงเหมือนกันทุกประการประกอบด้วย เรือนหลัก เขี้ยว โรงเก็บอุปกรณ์การเกษตร โรงเลี้ยงสัตว์ บ่อน้ำและสวนครัว แม้แต่การวางทิศทางของเรือนและเขี้ยวที่ขนานกัน วางห่างกันพอที่จะจะไม่ทับกัน และวางทิศทางเรือนตามตะวัน ความต่างของเรือนไทเงินทั้งสองแหล่งอยู่ที่ความสัมพันธ์ของเรือนกับสาธารณูปโภคหลัก โดยไทเงินเชิงตุงเน้นลำเหมืองซึ่งเป็นหัวใจของการเกษตรและการทำสวนครัวในผังบริเวณสำหรับหมู่บ้านเก่าที่มีแหล่งน้ำ แต่สำหรับหมู่บ้านใหม่จะหันเข้าหาสาธารณูปโภคที่เป็นถนนเช่นเดียวกับหมู่บ้านไทเงินเชียงใหม่ และขุดบ่อน้ำในผังบริเวณเรือนทดแทนการใช้ลำเหมืองธรรมชาติ
3. ความเชื่อมีผลต่อผังพื้นและรูปแบบของเรือนยังหลงเหลืออยู่หรือไม่? อย่างไร?
ความเชื่อที่ยังหลงเหลืออยู่เหมือนกันคือ ความเชื่อที่มีรากฐานมาจากบรรพบุรุษซึ่งถือว่าเป็นผู้ปกป้องรักษาและคุ้มครองลูกหลาน ดังนั้นจึงปรากฏสัญลักษณ์ความเชื่อต่างๆ เช่น เสานาง เสาเทวดา แข่งพะลา ในเดินของเรือนไทเงินเชิงตุง และปรากฏ “เสาแฮก” “เสาขวัญ” “หิ้งพระ” “หิ้งบรรพบุรุษ” อยู่ในเดินเช่นกันเดียวกันของไทเงินเชียงใหม่ ปรากฏ “ตาแหลว” ซึ่งเป็นสัญลักษณ์การจัดสิ่งอับมงคลอยู่นอวงกบประตูในเดินของทั้งสองแหล่ง และปรากฏจำนวนบันได 7 และ 9 ชั้นอยู่ในทั้งสองแหล่งที่ตั้ง เห็นได้ชัดว่าความเชื่อในพื้นฐานเดียวกัน ยังคงปรากฏในเรือนซึ่งเป็นสื่อในการทำให้รูปลักษณะของเรือนมีเอกภาพ

- ทั้งในรูปลักษณะภายในความสูง และความเชื่อมโยงของการใช้สอย
4. การใช้ภูมิปัญญาเพื่อให้วิถีชีวิตและสภาพแวดล้อมมีคุณภาพมีอะไรบ้าง? มีโอกาสนำมาขยายผลหรือไม่?
- การจัดการน้ำเพื่อการเกษตรเป็นภูมิปัญญาหลักในการดำรงชีวิตของไทยในทั้งเชียงใหม่และเชียงตุง
ระบบการจัดการน้ำของชาวไทในเชียงใหม่และเชียงตุงมิใช่เป็นเพียงภูมิปัญญาสร้างดุลยภาพระหว่างชีวิตและสภาพแวดล้อมเท่านั้น
แต่เป็นภูมิปัญญาที่แฝงด้วยอุปนิสัยของการอยู่ร่วมกันในสังคมที่เอื้ออาทรซึ่งกันและกันในการจัดการน้ำในระบบเหมืองฝายได้ขยายผลไปถึงระบบสังคมชุมชน
การแบ่งปันร่วมแรงร่วมใจในการดำรงชีวิต
ซึ่งเป็นระบบที่ทำให้คนในสังคมและวัฒนธรรมนั้นๆ อยู่ร่วมกันอย่างมีความสุข
 - “แม่เตาไฟ” และอุปกรณ์เกี่ยวเนื่องที่อยู่รายรอบ ตั้งแต่เครื่องมือเครื่องใช้ต่างๆ การกันหนูกันปลวก มด มอด การภูมิปัญญาดั้งเดิมที่ยังใช้ได้ในปัจจุบัน
 - “เขี้ยว” เป็นองค์ประกอบในการดำรงชีวิตที่สำคัญของไทยในทั้งสองแหล่ง
ภูมิปัญญาในการเก็บรักษาข้าว การกันหนูกันปลวกมอดด้วยอุปกรณ์ต่างๆ
ที่ติดตั้งกับเสาของเขี้ยว การมีครกกระเดื่องไว้ได้ถุน
 - ช่องเปิดเพื่อระบายอากาศในเรือนในตำแหน่งต่างๆ
ซึ่งเกี่ยวข้องกับปรับให้เรือนพบสภาวะสบาย เช่น ฝาไหล ฝาโปรง
การซ่อนหลังคาเล็กเพื่อระบายอากาศในครัว
สิ่งเหล่านี้สามารถขยายผลในการออกแบบเรือนยุคใหม่เพื่อความยั่งยืนได้เป็นอย่างดี
5. อะไรคือคำตอบของสถาปัตยกรรมสิ่งแวดล้อมของเรือนพื้นถิ่นไทในเชียงใหม่เชียงตุง?
คุณสมบัติของสถาปัตยกรรมสิ่งแวดล้อมของเรือนพื้นถิ่นไทในเชียงใหม่เชียงตุง คือ
การตระหนักในข้อจำกัดของบริบทแวดล้อมทั้งที่เป็นธรรมชาติและมนุษย์สร้าง
และการปรับตัวให้สถาปัตยกรรมพื้นถิ่นดำรงอยู่ในสิ่งแวดล้อมนั้นๆ ด้วยความสมดุลกับวิถีชีวิต

บรรณานุกรม

- ฉัตรทิพย์ นาถสุภา. (2533). เศรษฐกิจหมู่บ้านไทยในอดีต. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
- ทวี สว่างปัญญางกูร. (2527). ตำนานเมืองเชียงตุง. เชียงใหม่: แผนกอนุรักษณ์และเผยแพร่วรรณกรรม ด้านนาธรรมสถาน มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่.
- ทวี สว่างปัญญางกูร. (2535). เชียงตุง. วารสารศิลปวัฒนธรรม. 4(1), 184-142.
- พรพิไล เลิศวิชาและอรุณรัตน์ วิเชียรเขียว. (2546). ชุมชนหมู่บ้านคู่ม่าน้ำขาน. นนทบุรี: ธารปัญญาเอดูเคชั่น.
- วิวัฒน์ เดมียพันธ์. (2536). อาคารพักอาศัยคานา: คติความเชื่อและประเพณีบางประการเกี่ยวกับการตั้งถิ่นฐาน การปลูก สร้างและการวางผัง. กรุงเทพฯ: โรงพิมพ์จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย.
- วิชุดา นิลม่วง. (2541). การศึกษารูปแบบและการใช้สอยเรือนไม้พื้นดินในจังหวัดเชียงใหม่. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโท สาขาวิชาประวัติศาสตร์สถาปัตยกรรม. บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร.
- สุพิน ฤทธิ์เพ็ญ. (2541). เขมรฐานนครเชียงตุง. เชียงใหม่: ดาวคอมพิวเตอร์กราฟฟิก.
- อนุวิทย์ เจริญศุกกุล และวิวัฒน์ เดมียพันธ์. (2521). เรือนคานาไทยและประเพณีการปลูกเรือน. กรุงเทพฯ: โรงพิมพ์ มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์.
- อนาโกล โรเจอร์ เป็ลดิเยร์. (2537). คำวกลอนขอเชียงตุง. เชียงใหม่: โรงพิมพ์มิ่งเมือง.
- อรศิริ ปาณินท์. (2538). บ้านและหมู่บ้านพื้นดิน. กรุงเทพฯ: โรงพิมพ์มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์.

คำขอขอบคุณ

ขอขอบคุณสำนักงานกองทุนสนับสนุนการวิจัย (สกว.) ผู้มอบทุนอุดหนุนวิจัยเมธีวิจัยอาวุโส ผู้ช่วยศาสตราจารย์ ดร. โชติมา จตุรวงศ์ ดร. สิทธิชา ปัญญาแก้ว อาจารย์ก่อไผ่ ปาณินท์ อาจารย์นิลุบล รุ่งเรืองผล อาจารย์ไพโรจน์สำราญ ผศ.ดร. จตุรงค์ โภคะรัตน์ศิริ ผศ. ตะวัน วีระกุล คุณถิ่นวัตร ธาระพงษ์รามกุล และคุณประพันธ์พงษ์ มนต์แก้ว ผู้ช่วยวิจัยภาคสนาม และการพิมพ์ผลงานวิจัย

การแสดงออกของการผสมผสานทางวัฒนธรรมในบ้านเรือนลาวเวียง
ในภาคกลางของประเทศไทย

(Expression of Cultural Assimilation in Lao Viang Houses in Central Thailand)

พินิจวรสิน, วันดี

คณะสถาปัตยกรรมศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยเกษตรศาสตร์

ปาณินท์, อรศิริ

คณะสถาปัตยกรรมศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยเกษตรศาสตร์

Abstract

Lao Viang is one of ethnics who migrated from Vientiane in Laos to live Thailand, especially in Central region for more than 200 years ago. To live in different contexts, they have had to adjust themselves in order to survive and to continue their ways of dwelling. However, within the stream of Thailand development over the past sixty years, many scholars asserted that Lao Viang communities have revealed significant changes in their dwellings and their ways of life in comparison with other ethnic groups. This raises a question whether socio-cultural significance of Lao Viang people from the culture of their origin was appeared in their dwellings? Or has still remained? Materials for discussion were derived from the research project entitled "Ontological study on the adaptation of Tai-Lao ethnicity within different wider contexts in the river basins of central Thailand" conducted in 2009-2012. Because of remaining vernacular houses and their environment, the houses of Lao Viang in Tambon Ban Lueak of Ratchaburi province were selected, and examined by comparing with existing vernacular houses in Vientiane of Laos, and other related literatures. The study revealed that the houses and the ways of life of Lao Viang in Tambon Ban Lueak have always changed. Their houses and various architectural components reflected their ways of transmitting and assimilating their cultural essence from Vientiane to blend with central Thai culture since in the past. This pattern has been practiced and transformed by keeping some socio-cultural essences in the later generations. However, this will potentially be eliminated in the future.

Keywords: Lao Viang, Vernacular house, Cultural transmission, Assimilation, Adaptation

บทคัดย่อ

ลาวเวียงเป็นกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ที่มีการโยกย้ายถิ่นฐานจากเวียงจันทน์ สาธารณรัฐประชาธิปไตยประชาชนลาวเข้ามาอยู่อาศัยในประเทศไทย โดยเฉพาะในพื้นที่ภาคกลางมานานมากกว่า 200 ปี การโยกย้ายถิ่นฐานทำให้พวกเขาต้องมีการปรับตัวเพื่อการอยู่รอดและการคงวิถีของกลุ่มชนอย่างไรก็ตามท่ามกลางกระแสการพัฒนาของประเทศไทย โดยเฉพาะในช่วง 60 ปีที่ผ่านมา นักวิชาการหลายท่านกล่าวว่าชุมชนลาวเวียงมีการเปลี่ยนแปลงทั้งในด้านสภาพแวดล้อมที่อยู่อาศัยและวิถีชีวิตไปมากเมื่อเทียบกับที่ปรากฏในกลุ่มชนอื่นๆ ซึ่งทำให้เกิดคำถามต่อการสืบทอดแบบแผนของบ้านเรือนที่สัมพันธ์กับความสำคัญทางสังคมวัฒนธรรมของชาวลาวเวียงจากแหล่งวัฒนธรรมดั้งเดิมมีหรือไม่ หรือยังคงมีหรือไม่ และอย่างไร ข้อมูลที่ใช้ในบทความนี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของโครงการวิจัยเรื่อง “การศึกษาแบบองค์รวมของการปรับตัวในบริบทใหม่ที่แตกต่างของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ไท-ลาว ในพื้นที่ลุ่มน้ำภาคกลางของประเทศไทย” (พ.ศ. 2552-2555) บ้านเรือนของชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลื่อม จังหวัดราชบุรี ได้ถูกเลือกเป็นพื้นที่ศึกษา เนื่องจากมีการคงอยู่ของบ้านเรือนและสภาพแวดล้อมที่มีลักษณะพื้นถิ่น โดยมีศึกษาเปรียบเทียบกับบ้านเรือนพื้นถิ่นในเมืองเวียงจันทน์ สาธารณรัฐประชาธิปไตยประชาชนลาว และมีการศึกษารวบรวมที่เกี่ยวข้องเนื่องร่วมด้วยจากการศึกษาพบว่าบ้านเรือนและวิถีชีวิตของชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลื่อมมีการเปลี่ยนแปลงอย่างต่อเนื่องเนื่องจากลักษณะบ้านเรือนและหลายองค์ประกอบทางสถาปัตยกรรมในอดีตสะท้อนให้เห็นวิถีในการสืบทอดและการผสมผสานความสำคัญทางวัฒนธรรมจากเวียงจันทน์เข้ากับวัฒนธรรมการอยู่อาศัยของไทยภาคกลางแบบแผนแห่งการผสมผสานนี้ได้ถูกนำมาใช้และถูกแปรเปลี่ยนในบ้านเรือนพื้นถิ่นในรุ่นต่อมา โดยยังคงความสำคัญทางวัฒนธรรมบางประการที่มีแนวโน้มจะถูกกลืนหายไป

คำสำคัญ: ลาวเวียง, บ้านพื้นถิ่น, การสืบทอดทางวัฒนธรรม, การผสมผสาน, การปรับตัว

บทนำ

ประเทศไทยนับเป็นประเทศที่มีความหลากหลายทางชาติพันธุ์ และกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์เหล่านี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งที่สรรค์สร้างและส่งเสริมความเป็นสังคมและวัฒนธรรมไทย “ลาวเวียง” หรือบางครั้งถูกเรียกว่า ไทยเวียง หรือลาวดี เป็นกลุ่มชนหนึ่งในกลุ่มชนชาติพันธุ์ไท-ลาว ที่มีถิ่นฐานมาจากเมืองเวียงจันทน์ สาธารณรัฐประชาธิปไตยประชาชนลาว (สิลา วีระวงส์, 2535; เดิม วิภาคย์พจนกิจ, 2540; บังอร ปิยะพันธุ์, 2541) และมีการย้ายถิ่นฐานเข้ามาอยู่อาศัยในดินแดนสยาม พร้อมกับชาวลาวกลุ่มอื่นๆ ตั้งแต่สมัยกรุงธนบุรีและสมัยกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ ต่อนต้นการย้ายถิ่นฐานของกลุ่มชนนี้ ป็นผลเนื่องมาจากการล่มสลายของอาณาจักรล้านช้างซึ่งมีสาเหตุมาจากความขัดแย้งทางการเมืองภายในอาณาจักรฯ และความขัดแย้ง โดยเฉพาะกับสยามและพม่า (ชนิดา ตั้งถาวรสิริกุล, 2541) การย้ายถิ่นของชาวลาวเวียงมายังดินแดนสยาม ประกอบด้วย กลุ่มที่อพยพเข้ามาเอง ซึ่งโดยมากมักตั้งถิ่นฐานอยู่ในบริเวณภาคตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือ และกลุ่มที่ถูกกวาดต้อนเข้ามา

ในฐานะเชลยศึกพร้อมกับชาวลาวอื่นๆ โดยมักถูกส่งให้เข้ามาอยู่ในบริเวณภาคกลางของประเทศ ซึ่งในอดีตคือบริเวณหัวเมืองชั้นในต่างๆ (ศรีศักร วัลลิโภคม, 2546) ชาวลาวเวียงในกลุ่มหลังนี้ในอดีตมักถูกกำหนดให้มีการตั้งถิ่นฐานอยู่ในบริเวณที่มีลักษณะภูมิประเทศใกล้เคียงกับถิ่นที่อยู่อาศัยดั้งเดิม และให้อยู่รวมกันเป็นกลุ่มเฉพาะของเชื้อชาติลาวเวียง โดยให้อยู่สลับไปกับหมู่บ้านของคนไทยการตั้งถิ่นฐานของกลุ่มชนลาวเวียงมักถูกกำหนดมิให้มีการย้าย แหล่งที่อยู่อาศัยเนื่องมาจากเหตุผลความสำคัญด้านเศรษฐกิจและด้านการปกครอง ดังนั้นเมื่อมีจำนวนประชากรมากขึ้น ชาวลาวเวียงจึงมักขยายชุมชนออกไปในละแวกพื้นที่ใกล้เคียง อย่างไรก็ตามจากการยกเลิกระบบไพร่ใน ปี พ.ศ. 2417

ในสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว เป็นต้นมา ชาวลาวเวียงและชาวลาวอื่นๆ จึงได้มีอิสรภาพในการย้ายถิ่นฐานการตั้งบ้านเรือนและการทำมาหากินกระจายตัวออกไปในหลายท้องที่ ในปัจจุบันจะพบแหล่งในการตั้งถิ่นฐานของชาวลาวเวียงในหลายพื้นที่ของ ประเทศ (สุวิไล เปรมศรีรัตน์ และคณะ, 2547) บ้านเรือนของกลุ่มชนต่างๆ

มิได้เป็นเพียงแบบแผนที่ปรากฏให้เห็นทางกายภาพที่มีความสอดคล้องไปกับสภาพแวดล้อมของท้องถิ่นเท่านั้น แต่ยังเป็นแบบแผนที่มีความสัมพันธ์กับประสบการณ์การอยู่อาศัยที่เชื่อมโยงกับลักษณะสังคมวัฒนธรรมและความเชื่อของกลุ่มชนอีกด้วย Dovey (1985) กล่าวว่า โดยทั่วไปเมื่อมีการโยกย้ายถิ่นฐานที่อยู่อาศัย และมีการปลูกสร้างบ้านเรือน หรือการจัดที่อยู่อาศัยในที่แห่งใหม่

ไม่มากนักน้อยหรือหากสามารถที่จะกระทำได้อีกก็มักมีการนำเอาประสบการณ์การอยู่อาศัยแบบเดิม ผ่านการนำแบบแผนทางสถาปัตยกรรมหรือแบบแผนการจัดการที่ว่าง/สถานที่/สิ่งของที่สัมพันธ์กับแบบแผนทางสังคมวัฒนธรรมและความเชื่อดั้งเดิมมาใช้ ทั้งนี้เพื่อให้สถานที่อยู่แห่งใหม่สามารถสร้างความรู้สึกถึงความเป็นบ้าน (sense of home)

กลับคืนมาอันจะทำให้เกิดความอบอุ่นในการอยู่อาศัยในที่ตั้งแห่งใหม่นั้นๆ ชาวลาวเวียงที่ย้ายถิ่นฐานเข้ามาอยู่ในสยามประเทศในช่วงแรกๆ ก็อาจมีการนำแบบแผนบ้านเรือนของตนมาสร้าง ณ ถิ่นที่อยู่แห่งใหม่ และอาจมีการผสมผสานกับแบบแผนทางสถาปัตยกรรมของท้องถิ่นร่วมด้วยอย่างไรก็ตามเนื่องจากการโยกย้ายถิ่นฐานเกิดขึ้นมาเป็นเวลานานมากกว่า 200 ปี และโดยเฉพาะในช่วงหกสิบปีที่ผ่านมานี้ ประเทศไทยมีการพัฒนาระบบสาธารณูปโภค สาธารณูปการต่างๆ

และมีการขยายการพัฒนาความสะดวกสบายในรูปแบบเมืองออกสู่สังคมในชนบทอย่างกว้างขวางการแปรเปลี่ยนเหล่านี้ย่อมส่งผลกระทบต่อลักษณะบ้านเรือนและชุมชนของชาวลาวเวียงในท้องถิ่นต่างๆตามไปด้วย ศรีศักร วัลลิโภคม (2553) กล่าวว่า ลักษณะบ้านเรือนและวิถีชีวิตของชาวลาวเวียงมีการเปลี่ยนแปลงไปมาก หากเปรียบเทียบกับกลุ่มชนลาวเชื้อสายอื่นๆ

โดยเฉพาะในพื้นที่ภาคกลางนอกจากนี้การศึกษาที่เกี่ยวข้องกับกลุ่มชนลาวเวียงก็ยังมีปรากฏไม่มากนัก และเรื่องราวของกลุ่มชนลาวเวียงมักเป็นเพียงส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาในภาพรวมยกเว้นการศึกษาเรื่อง “สื่อสัญลักษณ์ ผ้าลาวเวียง” โดย ชนิตา ตั้งถาวรสิริกุล (2541) ซึ่งมุ่งเน้นเรื่องผ้าทอของชาวลาวเวียงบ้านทุ่งนา จังหวัดอุทัยธานี ที่สัมพันธ์กับความหมายทางสังคม

และความเชื่อที่เชื่อมโยงระหว่างมนุษย์ธรรมชาติและจักรวาลการศึกษาที่เกี่ยวข้องกับบ้านเรือนและชุมชนของกลุ่มชนลาวเวียงยังไม่มีปรากฏดังนั้น บ้านเรือนของชาวลาวเวียง

โดยเฉพาะกลุ่มที่ถูกกวาดต้อนมาบริเวณภาคกลางของประเทศเป็นอย่างไรมีการคงอยู่การแปรเปลี่ยนหรือการสืบทอดแบบแผนของบ้านเรือนที่สัมพันธ์กับลักษณะสังคมวัฒนธรรมจากเมืองเวียงจันทน์หรือไม่และอย่างไรข้อมูลที่ใช้นับบทความเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของโครงการวิจัย ทนศาสตราจารย์วิจัยดีเด่น ศาสตราจารย์ อรรถิรี ปาณินท์ เรื่อง “การศึกษาแบบองค์รวมของการปรับตัวในบริบทใหม่ที่แตกต่างของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ไท-ลาวในพื้นที่ลุ่มน้ำภาคกลางของประเทศไทย” (พ.ศ.2552-2555) ซึ่งประกอบด้วยหลายกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ไท-ลาว (วันดี พิณจิตรสิน, 2555) การศึกษานี้มีการเก็บข้อมูลภาคสนามโดยการสังเกตและการสัมภาษณ์ชาวบ้านและผู้รู้ของชุมชน ซึ่งมีทั้งการสัมภาษณ์เดี่ยวและการสนทนากลุ่มในพื้นที่ศึกษาของชุมชนลาวเวียงทั้งในบริเวณลุ่มน้ำภาคกลางของประเทศไทยและในเมืองเวียงจันทน์ สาธารณรัฐประชาธิปไตยประชาชนลาว ในช่วง ปี พ.ศ. 2553-2554 และมีการศึกษาวรรณกรรมที่เกี่ยวข้องร่วมด้วย การศึกษานี้ใช้การวิเคราะห์ด้วยวิธีการวิเคราะห์ข้ามกรณีศึกษา (Cross case analysis) การจัดกลุ่มข้อมูล (Classification) และการวิเคราะห์เชิงเนื้อหา (Content analysis)

พื้นที่ศึกษาของชุมชนลาวเวียง

เพื่อให้เข้าใจการแปรเปลี่ยนของบ้านเรือนที่สัมพันธ์กับสังคมวัฒนธรรมของชาวลาวเวียงในพื้นที่ลุ่มน้ำภาคกลางของประเทศไทย จึงต้องมีการศึกษาเปรียบเทียบกับบ้านเรือนในวัฒนธรรมดั้งเดิม ดังนั้นพื้นที่ศึกษาจึงกล่าวได้เป็น 2 ส่วน

ส่วนแรกเป็นพื้นที่ศึกษาในเมืองเวียงจันทน์

ซึ่งเป็นเมืองหลวงของสาธารณรัฐประชาธิปไตยประชาชนลาวมากกว่าศตวรรษ และนับเป็นพื้นที่ที่มีการเปลี่ยนแปลงและพัฒนาสู่ความเป็นเมืองอย่างมาก

โดยเฉพาะหลังการประกาศใช้นโยบายจินตนาการใหม่ (New thinking) นับจากปี ค.ศ. 1986 เป็นต้นมา (ภูมิวิไล สิริพลเดช, 2550) รูปแบบบ้านเรือนมีการเปลี่ยนแปลงไปตามกิจกรรมและวิถีชีวิตที่แปรเปลี่ยน (วิระณี แสงจันทร์, 2542)

ซึ่งมีผลต่อการดำรงอยู่ของเรือนพื้นถิ่นในนครหลวงเวียงจันทน์อย่างมากด้วยเช่นกันจากการสำรวจเรือนพื้นถิ่นในนครหลวงเวียงจันทน์พบว่ามียานวนลดลงอย่างมาก ดังนั้นข้อมูลที่ใช้ในการศึกษาและทำความเข้าใจเกี่ยวกับลักษณะของเรือนพื้นถิ่นในเมืองเวียงจันทน์จึงมาจาก 2 ส่วนข้อมูลส่วนแรกมาจากหนังสือ “เรือนลาว: ในเขตเวียงจันทน์และหลวงพระบาง”⁶² ซึ่งเป็นการศึกษาของ Sophie Clement-Charpenter and Pierre Clement (1990/มปป.) ข้อมูลส่วนที่สองมาจากการสำรวจภาคสนามบ้านและเรือนพื้นถิ่นของทีมวิจัยในการเลือกพื้นที่ศึกษาและกรณีศึกษาในครั้งนี้เลือกโดยอิงข้อมูลบางส่วนจากหนังสือเรือนลาวฯ ดังกล่าว

และจากการแนะนำโดยผู้เชี่ยวชาญจากมหาวิทยาลัยแห่งชาติลาว

ในนครหลวงเวียงจันทน์ทั้งนี้มีการศึกษาสำรวจบ้านเรือนใน 3 พื้นที่ ประกอบด้วย บ้านดอนนูน เมืองไซธานี

⁶² หนังสือ “เรือนลาว ในเขตเวียงจันทน์และหลวงพระบาง” เป็นหนังสือที่เกิดจากการศึกษาของ Sophie Clement-Charpenter and Pierre Clement ซึ่งน่าจะเป็นช่วงราวปี พ.ศ. 2511 และถูกตีพิมพ์ครั้งแรกเป็นภาษาฝรั่งเศสตีพิมพ์ในปี พ.ศ. 2533 จากนั้นได้ถูกแปลมาเป็นภาษาลาวในปี พ.ศ. 2546 ดร.เกรียงไกร เกิดศิริ ได้ถอดความและอธิบายศัพท์จากภาษาลาวเป็นภาษาไทยอีกทีหนึ่งในช่วงหลังปี พ.ศ. 2548 แต่อย่างไรก็ตามฉบับที่ถูกถอดความเป็นภาษาไทยนี้ไม่ปรากฏปี พ.ศ. ที่ตีพิมพ์

บ้านหัวห้า เมืองหาดชายฟอง และบ้านห้องคำ เมืองจันทะบุลี

ส่วนที่สองเป็นพื้นที่ศึกษาในบริเวณลุ่มน้ำภาคกลาง

ซึ่งเป็นแหล่งที่มีความหนาแน่นของการอยู่อาศัยของกลุ่มชนลาวเวียง และพบมากในบริเวณลุ่มน้ำท่าจีน ลุ่มน้ำแม่กลอง และลุ่มน้ำเพชรบุรี โดยที่พบการกระจายตัวอยู่ในจังหวัดสุพรรณบุรี นครปฐม เพชรบุรี และราชบุรี (สุวิไล เปรมศรีรัตน์ และคณะฯ, 2547)

จากการสำรวจพื้นที่ชุมชนลาวเวียงต่างๆ ในเบื้องต้นและการศึกษาประวัติศาสตร์การตั้งถิ่นฐานของชุมชนจะพบว่าชาวลาวเวียงในท้องถิ่นต่างยังคงมีการรักษาและสืบสานประเพณีบางอย่างที่เป็นเอกลักษณ์ทางวัฒนธรรมของกลุ่มชน แต่สภาพแวดล้อมชุมชนและบ้านเรือนที่อยู่อาศัยส่วนใหญ่ถูกปรับเปลี่ยน

ให้มีรูปแบบที่พบเห็นได้ในสังคม เมืองทั่วไปโดยไม่สื่อให้เห็นอัตลักษณ์ดั้งเดิมของชุมชนบ้านเรือนที่ยังคงลักษณะพื้นถิ่นมีเหลืออยู่เพียงจำนวนน้อยและมักตั้งอยู่อย่างกระจายตัวการศึกษาจึงได้เลือกชุมชนลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลือก อำเภอโพธาราม จังหวัดราชบุรีเป็นพื้นที่ศึกษาเนื่องจากชุมชนตำบลบ้านเลือกเป็นบริเวณพื้นที่ดั้งเดิมแห่งหนึ่ง ในการตั้งถิ่นฐานของชาวลาวเวียงที่ถูกกวาดต้อน เมื่อกว่า 200 ปีมาแล้ว

และมีวัดบ้านเลือก (สร้างเมื่อปี พ.ศ. 2334) ซึ่งอยู่ในพื้นที่หมู่ 3 ของตำบล

เป็นวัดที่มีอายุเก่าแก่มากที่สุดเมื่อเปรียบเทียบกับวัดอื่นๆ ในละแวกใกล้เคียง (สุภาภรณ์ จินตมาณี โรจน์, 2547: 136) ในปัจจุบันตำบลบ้านเลือกเป็นพื้นที่หนึ่งที่มีจำนวนหมู่บ้าน ของชาวลาวเวียงอยู่มาก และได้รับ

เลือกเป็นตัวแทนของชาวลาวเวียงในการแสดงออกทางวัฒนธรรมร่วมกับกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์อื่นๆ ของจังหวัดราชบุรี นอกจากนี้จากการสำรวจในหลายพื้นที่ในละแวกอำเภอโพธารามจะพบการรวมกลุ่มของบ้านพื้นถิ่นของชาวลาวเวียงที่ยังคงแสดงให้เห็นถึงลักษณะทางสถาปัตยกรรมเฉพาะของท้องถิ่นอยู่เป็นจำนวนมาก

โดยเฉพาะในบริเวณพื้นที่หมู่ 1 ของตำบล ซึ่งเป็นสิ่งที่สำคัญมากสำหรับการศึกษา

อย่างไรก็ตามลักษณะบ้านเรือนพื้นถิ่นที่ยังคงหลงเหลือของชาวลาวเวียงในแหล่งอื่นๆ ที่การศึกษานี้ได้ทำ

การสำรวจนอกเหนือจากในตำบลบ้านเลือกจะถูกนำมาอภิปรายร่วมด้วยในบางส่วนเพื่อให้เกิดความเข้าใจถึงการนำสัมภาระทางวัฒนธรรมผ่านสถาปัตยกรรมมาอยู่อาศัยในบริบทภาคกลางของประเทศไทยได้มากขึ้นอีกด้วย

บริบทสภาพแวดล้อม วิธีการทำกิน และบ้านเรือนในเมืองเวียงจันทน์

เมืองเวียงจันทน์ตั้งอยู่บริเวณริมฝั่งของแม่น้ำโขง

ตรงกันข้ามกับบริเวณจังหวัดหนองคายเมืองนี้ได้รับการสถาปนาเป็นราชธานีของอาณาจักรล้านช้างต่อจากหลวงพระบาง ในสมัยสมเด็จพระเจ้าไชยเชษฐาธิราช เมื่อปี พ.ศ. 2102 (บุญช่วย ศรีสวัสดิ์, 2547)

และแม้ว่าจะมีเหตุการณ์เกิดขึ้นหลายครั้ง เมืองเวียงจันทน์ก็ยังคงถูกตั้งให้เป็นเมืองหลวงของลาวมาอย่างต่อเนื่อง (สุวิทย์ ชีรสวัสดิ์, 2543; บุญช่วย ศรีสวัสดิ์, 2547; ศูนย์อินโดจีนศึกษา วิทยาลัยการบริหารรัฐกิจ

มหาวิทยาลัยบูรพา, มปป.) ในปัจจุบันเมืองเวียงจันทน์ครอบคลุมพื้นที่ทั้งหมด 23,820 ตารางกิโลเมตร

โดยมีการแบ่งเขตการปกครองออกเป็น 2 ส่วน คือ

นครหลวงเวียงจันทน์และแขวงเวียงจันทน์สภาพภูมิประเทศเป็นพื้นที่ลุ่ม ส่วนใหญ่เป็นที่ราบในการทำนา

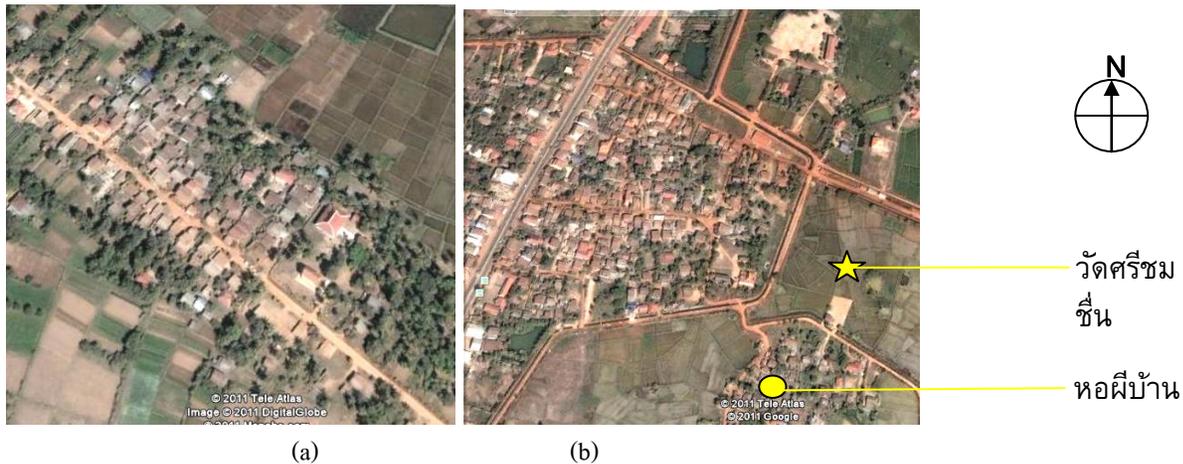
มีภูเขาอยู่บางส่วนของทิศตะวันตก และมีแม่น้ำสายสำคัญ คือ แม่น้ำโขง แม่น้ำลิก

และแม่น้ำงึมเนื่องจากการศึกสงครามในอดีตจึงทำให้มีผู้คนจากต่างวัฒนธรรมไหลเวียนเข้ามาตั้งถิ่นฐานอยู่อาศัย

เช่น ชาวพวน ชาวไทดำ และชาวต่างชาติ โดยเฉพาะชาวตะวันตกที่เข้ามาแสวงหาอำนาจ เป็นต้น และส่งผลต่อบริบทสภาพแวดล้อมเพื่อการอยู่อาศัยของคนในแถบนี้ตามไปด้วย

อุ่ทอง ประศาสน์วิจิตร (2551: 223) กล่าวว่า คติโบราณในการเลือกทำเลที่ตั้งบ้านของชาวลาว จะต้องประกอบไปด้วย น้ำ นานาและ โนน โดย โนนเป็นที่ดอนที่น้ำท่วมไม่ถึงและเป็นพื้นที่ในการสร้างที่อยู่อาศัยการตั้งถิ่นฐานจึงมีลักษณะเป็นกลุ่มบ้านเรือนอยู่บนที่ดอนและล้อมรอบด้วยพื้นที่นาการอยู่อาศัยโดยมากมักมีการอยู่รวมกันเป็นกลุ่มบ้านหรือ ชุมชนในอดีตเมื่อที่อยู่อาศัยในบ้านหรือชุมชนเริ่มแออัดและที่นาหรือที่ทำกินเริ่มใกล้จนไปมาลำบากมากขึ้น ก็อาจมีการชักชวนเพื่อนบ้านไปตั้งบ้านกันใหม่ แต่มักอยู่ใกล้บริเวณชุมชนที่เคยอาศัย หรือใกล้กับที่นาของตนจากการสัมภาษณ์ชาวบ้านกล่าวว่า ในอดีตทุกบ้านประกอบอาชีพทำนา โดยเป็นนาปีและเป็นนาข้าวที่ปลูกส่วนใหญ่เป็นข้าวเหนียว และมีข้าวเจ้าบางส่วนการปลูกข้าวส่วนใหญ่จะเอาไว้กิน ที่เหลือจึงขายข้าวจะถูกเก็บไว้ในยุ้ง และเมื่อจะใช้จึงนำออกมาตำโดยใช้ครกกระเดื่องอย่างไรก็ตามลักษณะการทำนาและการค้าข้าวของชาวบ้าน มีการเปลี่ยนแปลงไป ตั้งแต่ประมาณ ปี ค.ศ. 1998 เนื่องจากการพัฒนาระบบชลประทานบริเวณชุมชน รวมถึงการมีโรงสีข้าวในบริเวณชุมชน ตั้งแต่เมื่อราว 10 กว่าปีที่ผ่านมามีตัวอย่างเช่น ที่บ้านดอนนูน เมืองไชธานี ลักษณะการทำนาปีได้ถูกเปลี่ยนเป็นแบบนาปรัง (หรือนาแซง) ซึ่งทำปีละ 2 ครั้งในปัจจุบันผลผลิตข้าวที่ได้ยังคงถูกเก็บไว้ใช้กินและที่เหลือจึงขาย แต่ชาวบ้านจะเอาข้าวไปสีที่โรงสี โดยไม่ตำข้าวกินเองอีกต่อไปนอกจากนี้เนื่องจากการพัฒนาสู่ความเป็นเมืองและการเจริญเติบโตทางเศรษฐกิจของเวียงจันทน์ ทำให้ชาวบ้านจำเป็นต้องมีการปรับตัวและหารายได้เพิ่มมากขึ้น โดยต้องประกอบอาชีพที่หลากหลายมากขึ้น เช่น การเย็บผ้าเช็ดเท้า การเข้าไปทำงานในเมือง หรือไปทำงานในต่างประเทศ โดยเฉพาะประเทศไทย ซึ่งทำให้ต้องทิ้งบ้านและการทำงานของตนเองไปด้วย เป็นต้น Sophie Clement-Charpenter and Pierre Clement (1990/มปป.: 219-222) อธิบายว่า ในแต่ละกลุ่มบ้านนอกจากจะประกอบด้วยเรือนพักอาศัยที่รายล้อมด้วยที่นาทำกินแล้ว (รูปที่ 1) ยังต้องมีองค์ประกอบหลัก คือ วัดและหอผีบ้าน โดยที่ทั้งสองส่วนนี้มีเป้าหมายในการสร้างและตำแหน่งในพื้นที่ชุมชนที่แตกต่างกัน วัดมักถูกสร้างขึ้นเพื่อให้เป็นที่พึ่งพาทางจิตใจเป็นศูนย์รวมในการทำกิจกรรมของชาวบ้านที่สะท้อนให้เห็นถึงเอกลักษณ์และความเชื่อและเป็นที่ที่จะทำให้เกิดการซึมซับคุณค่าทางวัฒนธรรมที่ดั้งเดิมของชุมชนนั้นๆ ไปด้วยวัดจะสร้างอยู่ในเขตบ้านและถูกสร้างจากความภูมิใจชาวบ้านจะอุทิศตนและเงินทองเพื่อให้วัดของตนเกิดความงดงาม ในขณะที่หอผีบ้านถูกสร้างขึ้นเพื่อเป็นที่รวมดวงวิญญาณของผู้ตาย ผีเจ้าถิ่น หรือเทวดารักษ์ต่างๆ และทำหน้าที่เพื่อตอบสนองความต้องการทางวัตถุในเรื่อง อาหาร สุขภาพ และการป้องกันหอผีบ้านจึงมักมีหน้าที่ดูแลบ้าน เขตแดน ไร่นาและป่าดงนั้นตำแหน่งที่ตั้งของหอผีบ้านมักอยู่นอกเขตพื้นที่อยู่อาศัย เช่น ในบ้านดอนนูน เมืองไชธานีหอผีบ้านนั้นตั้งอยู่ในป่าละเมาะ บริเวณชายทุ่งนาค้านทิศตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ของบ้าน(รูปที่1-ขวา)ซึ่งชาวบ้านเองก็มักจะไม่เข้าไปในบริเวณพื้นที่ของหอผีบ้านจะมีเพียงหมอเจ้าผีบ้านหรือเจ้าผีบ้านเป็นผู้ดูแลหอผีและเส้นไหมอย่างสม่ำเสมอ ส่วนการตั้งบ้านเรือนมักอยู่รวมกันเป็นกลุ่มของเครือญาติโดยที่แต่ละเรือนจะถูกปลูกสร้างที่ให้ความเคารพซึ่งกันและกัน ในลักษณะให้หลังคาวางขนานกันในทุกหลัง หรือเรียงตัวไปในแนวเดียวกัน

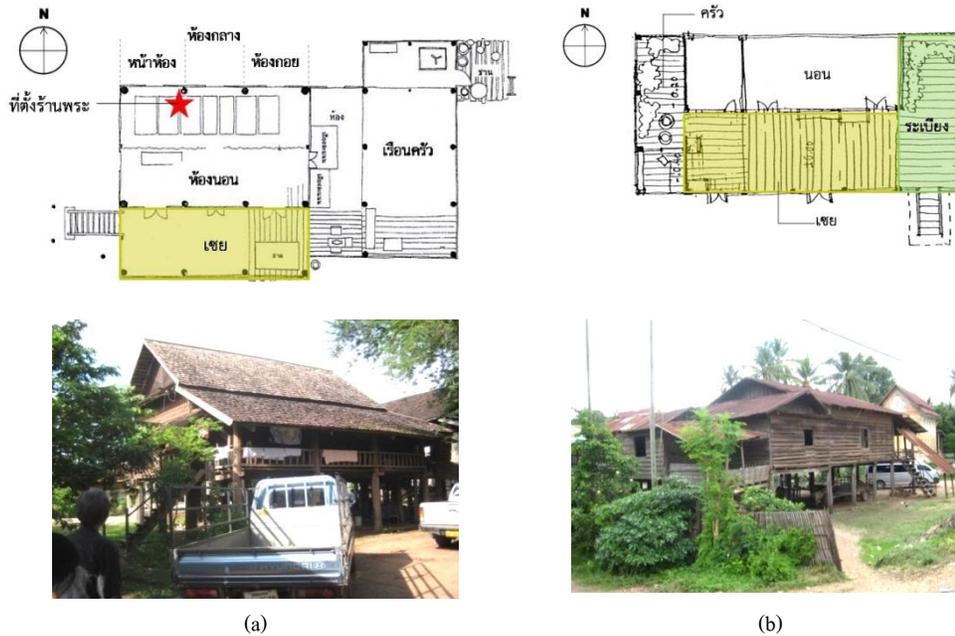
และเรือนที่อยู่ตรงกันข้ามมักหันในลักษณะด้านหัวชนด้านหัว หรือด้านเท้าชนด้านเท้า (Chapenter & Clement, 1990/มปป, 227) การตั้งกลุ่มบ้านเรือนในลักษณะนี้ยังปรากฏชัดเจนในผังหมู่บ้านของบ้านหัวห้า เมืองหาดทรายฟอง (รูปที่ 1-ซ้าย) ในกลุ่มบ้านที่เป็นเครือญาติมักมีบ่อน้ำบาดาลเพื่อใช้ร่วมกัน และในบริเวณบ้านหลังหนึ่งๆ มักมีขุ่ยข้าวและมีห้องน้ำรวมอยู่ด้วย แต่จะถูกจัดวางห่างจากตัวเรือนพักอาศัยเรือนพื้นดินในเขตนครหลวงเวียงจันทน์ที่ทำการศึกษาล้วนใหญ่มีอายุในช่วงประมาณ 40-60 ปีทั้งหมดมีลักษณะเป็นเรือนไม้ยกเสาสูง ใต้ถุนบ้านเปิดโล่งในแต่ละเรือนมักประกอบด้วยห้องนอน เซย เรือนครัว และชานห้องนอน (ส้วมนอน) หรือ เรือนใหญ่ มักมีขนาดตามยาว 3 ช่วงเสาและมักวางตามยาวไปทางทิศตะวันออก-ตะวันตกปิดล้อมด้วยผนังไม้ตีตามนอนตั้งแต่พื้นจรด โครงสร้างหลังคาภายในห้องนอนจะแบ่งพื้นที่ออกเป็น 3 ส่วน คือ ห้องกอย (พื้นที่ของลูกสาว) ห้องกลาง (พื้นที่นอนของพ่อ-แม่) และหน้าห้อง ซึ่งเป็นพื้นที่ที่เอาไวใช้รับแขกที่สำคัญ เช่น พระสงฆ์และแขกผู้มีบรรดาศักดิ์หน้าห้องจะเป็นห้องที่มีร้านพระบูชา (ดูรูป 2-a บน) ซึ่งเป็นส่วนที่สำคัญที่สุดและหันหน้าออกสู่ประตูจากห้องนอนจะมีประตูเข้า-ออก 2 บานเชื่อมต่อกับพื้นที่เซยเซยมักใช้เป็นที่ต้อนรับแขกโดยมีระดับพื้นต่ำกว่าห้องนอนบริเวณเซยพบการปิดล้อมโดยใช้ราวระเบียงกันตก (รูป 2-a ล่าง) หรือผนังที่มีหน้าต่าง 1-3 บาน (รูป 2-b ล่าง)



รูป 1 ลักษณะของชุมชนที่ล้อมรอบด้วยพื้นที่ในการทำนา

(ซ้าย) บ้านหัวห้า เมืองหาดทรายฟอง ในปี พ.ศ. 2551 - ชุมชนมีลักษณะกระจุกตัว และเรียงไปตามเส้นทางของถนน โดยมีที่นาล้อมรอบ

(ขวา) บ้านคอนนูน เมืองไชธานี ในปี พ.ศ. 2553 - ชุมชนมีลักษณะกระจุกตัวของบ้านเรือนและมีถนนสายหลักล้อมรอบ โดยมีที่นาอยู่ถัดออกไป ที่มา <http://www.earth.google.com>



รูป 2 ลักษณะผังเรือนและองค์ประกอบการใช้สอย

- (a) เรือนที่บ้านดอนนูน เมืองไชยธานี ซึ่งผังเรือน (ก-บน) ประกอบด้วย ห้องนอน เชย และครัวในเรือนนี้ยังคงมีร้านพระอยู่ในบริเวณหน้าห้องด้วย;
 (b) เรือนที่บ้านหัวห้า เมืองหาดทรายพอง ซึ่งผังเรือน (บ-บน) ประกอบด้วย ห้องนอน เชย ครัว และระเบียง
 ที่มา (บ-บน) คัดแปลงจาก Sophie Clement-Charpenter and Pierre Clement (1990/มปท.: 65)

เรือนครัวจะตั้งอยู่ทางด้านหลัง

โดยเชื่อมต่อเนื่องมาจากเชยเรือนครัวมีทั้งที่เป็นพื้นที่ทำครัวรวมอยู่ภายใต้หลังคาเดียวกับห้องนอนและเชย และที่เป็นเรือนครัวแยก (รูป 3-c) บริเวณครัวมักมีชานเปิดโล่ง โดยมีระดับพื้นที่ต่ำกว่าพื้นครัว และจากชานจะมีบันไดลงสู่ชั้นล่างระหว่างเรือนใหญ่และเรือนครัวมักมีพื้นที่กั้นอยู่ระหว่างกลางในบางหลังพื้นที่นี้จะมีลักษณะเป็นห้องโล่งที่เปิดเชื่อมต่อกับครัวและมักใช้เป็นที่สำหรับการอยู่ไฟหลังจากการคลอดบุตร แต่ในบางหลังจะมีการกั้นเป็นห้อง โดยมีประตูเข้าออกได้ทั้งจากครัวและเชย นอกจากนี้ในบางเรือนจะมีองค์ประกอบเพิ่มเติม เช่น ระเบียง และบันไดที่มีหลังคาคลุมบันได เป็นต้น ระเบียงจะมีการคลุมด้วยหลังคาลาดเอียง (หรือเทิบ) มักมีตำแหน่งในการจัดวางอยู่ทางด้านสกัดของเรือน และเป็นบริเวณด้านหน้าของเรือนที่ต่อเนื่องกับเส้นทางสัญจรของกลุ่มบ้านหรือชุมชน

Sophie Clement-Charpenter and Pierre Clement (1990/มปป.) กล่าวว่า

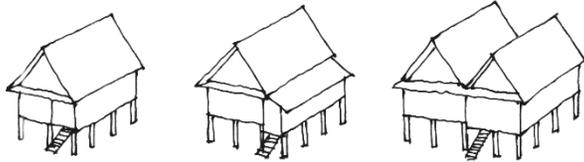
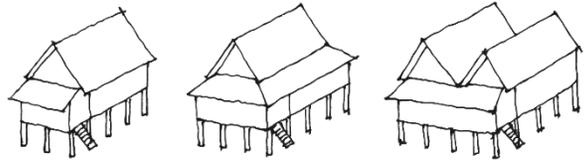
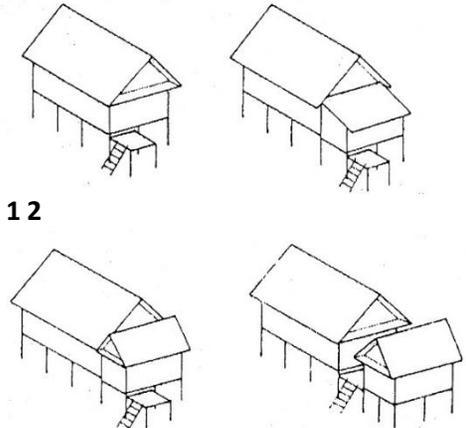
- การคลุมหลังคาบริเวณห้องนอนและเชยมีผลต่อลักษณะรูปร่างของเรือน โดยแบ่งเป็น 3 ลักษณะ (รูป 3-a) คือ 1) เรือนที่รวมเอาพื้นที่เชยอยู่ในหลังคาเดียวกันกับห้องนอน, 2) เรือนที่เชยมีหลังคาลาดเอียงปกคลุมแยกออกจากห้องนอน หรือเรือนใหญ่, และ 3)

เรือนแฝดที่มีทั้งเรือนใหญ่และเรือนน้อย

โดยบริเวณเซชจะถูกสร้างให้เป็นเรือนน้อยลักษณะ โครงสร้างของเรือน โดยเฉพาะในเรือนหลังคาแฝด เป็นเรือน 2 หลัง 9 เสา โดยโครงสร้างต่างๆมักฝากไว้กับเสากลางเรือน

และมีการเน้นความสูง-ต่ำของหลังคาระหว่างห้องนอนและเซชซึ่งนับเป็นอัตลักษณ์เฉพาะของเรือนในเขตนครหลวงเวียงจันทน์นอกจากนี้หากเรือนที่มีองค์ประกอบระเบียงและคลุมหลังคาลาดเอียง (หรือเทิบ)

เพิ่มเติมก็จะมีผลต่อรูปร่างเรือนให้มีลักษณะแตกต่างกัน (รูป 3 b)

 <p>2 3</p>	<p>เรือนที่รวมเอาพื้นที่เซยอยู่ในหลังคาเดียวกันกับห้องนอน เรือนที่เซยมีหลังคาลาดเอียงปกคลุมแยกออกจากเรือนนอน หรือเรือนใหญ่ เรือนแฝดที่มีทั้งเรือนใหญ่และเรือนน้อย โดยบริเวณเซยจะถูกสร้างให้เป็นเรือนน้อย</p>
<p>(a) ลักษณะการคลุมหลังคาของเรือนแบบไม่มีระเบียง</p>  <p>2 3</p>	<p>เรือนที่มีระเบียงโดยเซยและห้องนอนอยู่ในหลังคาเดียวกัน เรือนที่มีระเบียงโดยเซยมีหลังคาเอียงแยกออกจากเรือนใหญ่ เรือนที่มีระเบียงหน้าเรือนใหญ่และเรือนน้อย</p>
<p>(b) ลักษณะการคลุมหลังคาของเรือนแบบมีระเบียง (หรือเทียบ)</p>  <p>1 2</p> <p>3 4</p>	<p>พื้นที่ทำครัวถูกรวมอยู่ภายใต้หลังคาเดียวกันกับพื้นที่ห้องนอน พื้นที่ครัวคลุมด้วยหลังคาลาดเอียงแยกออกจากตัวเรือนใหญ่ เรือนครัวคลุมด้วยหลังคาหน้าจั่วแยกออกจากตัวเรือนใหญ่ เรือนครัวคลุมด้วยหลังคาหน้าจั่วแยกออกจากตัวเรือนใหญ่โดยมีนอกชานคั่นกลาง</p>
<p>(c) ลักษณะการคลุมหลังคาของพื้นที่ครัว</p>	

รูป 3 ลักษณะการคลุมหลังคาของห้องนอน เซย และพื้นที่ครัว
 ที่มา Sophie Clement-Charpenter and Pierre Clement (1990/มปป.: 130-132)

อย่างไรก็ตามจากการสำรวจจะพบว่าเรือนพื้นถิ่นในเขตพระนครหลวงเวียงจันทน์ในปัจจุบันมีการเปลี่ยนแปลงไป
 อาทิการเปลี่ยนจากผนังไม้ตีตามนอนเพียงอย่างเดียวมาเป็นการผสมผนังไม้ตีตามนอนและตามตั้ง
 การปรับเปลี่ยนการใช้สอยภายในเรือน การเปลี่ยนแปลงการใช้วัสดุโดยเฉพาะบริเวณหลังคา
 และการก่อผนังฉาบปูนปิดล้อมบริเวณใต้ถุนบ้านเพื่อเพิ่มพื้นที่ใช้สอย
 นอกจากนี้ยังพบว่าในบางเรือนมีการปรับลดโครงสร้างเรือนครัว
 ปรับเปลี่ยนและต่อเติมบริเวณพื้นที่ใต้ถุนบ้านจนทำให้เกือบไม่เหลือเค้าโครงของบ้านเดิม (รูป 4)



รูป 4 การปรับเปลี่ยนลักษณะเรือนที่บ้านห้อยคำ เมืองจันทะบูลี

บริบทสภาพแวดล้อม และความเป็นมาของชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลือก อำเภอโพธาราม จังหวัดราชบุรี

ราชบุรี เป็นหนึ่งในหัวเมืองชั้นในที่มีความสำคัญในฐานะเมืองหน้าด่านในการรับศึกสงครามพม่ากับไทย และเป็นแหล่งหนึ่งที่ชาวลาวเวียงได้ถูกกวาดต้อนให้เข้ามาตั้งถิ่นฐานร่วมกับกลุ่มชาวลาวและกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ อื่นๆ ตั้งแต่สมัยกรุงธนบุรีถึงสมัยรัตนโกสินทร์ตอนต้น (บังอร ปิยะพันธุ์, 2541; ศิริศักดิ์ คุ้มรักษา, 2541; สุวัฒนา เลี่ยมประวัตติ, 2545)

ซึ่งหลังจากนั้น ไม่ปรากฏหลักฐานว่ามีการย้ายถิ่นเข้ามาอีกชาวลาวเวียงในราชบุรีมีหน้าที่เป็นไพร่หลวงคงเมือง เพื่อทำหน้าที่ส่งส่วยและน่าจะจะมีจำนวนประชากรเป็นกลุ่มใหญ่แหล่งหนึ่งจนปรากฏเป็นหน่วยงานในการปกครอง “นายกอง ปลัดกองลาว เมืองราชบุรี” ซึ่งมีการแต่งตั้งในสมัยรัชกาลที่ 4 (สุภาภรณ์ จินตามณี โรจน์, 2554) จากหลักฐานบันทึก ชาวลาวเวียงในราชบุรีในสมัยแรกๆมีการตั้งถิ่นฐานอยู่บริเวณริมแม่น้ำแม่กลอง จากบริเวณอำเภอบ้านโป่งไปจนถึงอำเภอโพธาราม ซึ่งเดิมเรียกว่าอำเภอเจ็ดเสมียน (ฉลอง สุนทราวณิชย์, 2550)ต่อมาในสมัยรัชกาลที่ 1 (ไม่ทราบปี พ.ศ.) ได้ทรงมีพระบรมราชานุญาตให้มีการอพยพชาวมอญ 7 เมือง เข้ามาตั้งถิ่นฐานบริเวณริมแม่น้ำแม่กลองซึ่งเป็นบริเวณที่ชาวลาวเวียงอาศัยอยู่ชาวลาวเวียงจึงได้อพยพและถอยร่นเข้าสู่ตอนในของแผ่นดิน ประมาณ 2 กิโลเมตร โดยเฉพาะทางทิศตะวันออกของแม่น้ำแม่กลอง (หรือราชบุรีฝั่งซ้าย) ซึ่งเป็นที่ดอนและเป็นภูมิประเทศที่ชาวลาวเวียงมีความคุ้นเคยมากกว่า (ศิริศักดิ์ คุ้มรักษา, 2541; พิพิธภัณฑสถานแห่งชาติ ราชบุรี, 2544; สุภาภรณ์ จินตามณี โรจน์, 2547;

สภาองค์กรชุมชนตำบลบ้านเลือก, 2552) ตำบลบ้านเลือกเป็นพื้นที่หนึ่งที่ชาวลาวเวียงมาตั้งถิ่นฐานตั้งแตในอดีต โดยได้รับการสถาปนาเป็นตำบลตั้งแต่ปี พ.ศ. 2400 และมีชื่อว่า “บ้านเลือก” ตั้งแต่สมัยรัชกาลที่ 5

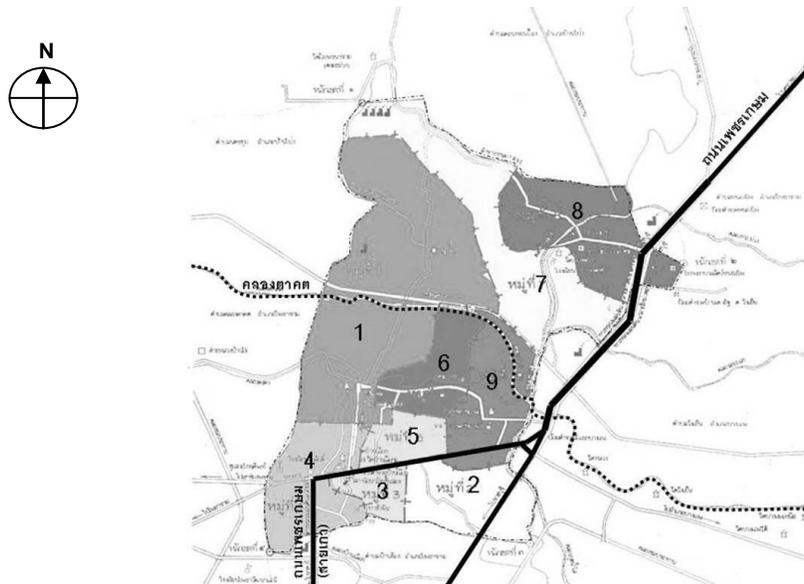
เนื่องจากเดิมชุมชนแห่งนี้เป็นที่คัดเลือกมาที่สำคัญเพื่อเข้าไปใช้ในราชการในปัจจุบันตำบลมีพื้นที่ครอบคลุมประมาณ 12 ตารางกิโลเมตร และมีลักษณะเป็นที่ราบลุ่มกว้าง

โดยมีบ้านเรือนตั้งอยู่บนที่ดอนและถูกโอบล้อมด้วยท้องทุ่งสำหรับการทำนาแต่ละท้องทุ่งจะมีชื่อเรียกแตกต่างกัน เช่น ทุ่งหนองเดียว ทุ่งหนองแซ้ ทุ่งลาด

เป็นต้นในทุ่งเหล่านี้จะมีหนองน้ำที่สำคัญอยู่หลายหนองที่ชาวบ้านใช้เป็นแหล่งในการจับปลาและเป็นแหล่งน้ำให้กับวัวควายอีกด้วยบริเวณตำบลมีถนนเพชรเกษมสายเก่าและสายใหม่ตัดผ่าน

และมีคลองวัดโพเป็นสายน้ำสำคัญที่ไหลผ่านพื้นที่ที่เป็นที่ตั้งบ้านเรือนส่วนใหญ่ของตำบลนอกจากนี้ในบริเวณ

พื้นที่ตำบลยังมียังมีขงชู้ยของคณจิ้นตั้งอยู่ทงคตนได้และโรงงนอตุศนทกรมท้งขนคเล็กและขนคใหญ่อยู่ป
ระปรย ซ้งส่วนใหญ่ตั้งอยู่บริเวณริมถนนเพชรเกษมท้งสยเก้และสยใหม่
ตำบลนี้มีการปกครองโดยเทศบาลตำบลบ้านเลือก ประกอบด้วยหมู่บ้านทั้งหมด 9 หมู่บ้าน (รูป 5)
และมีประชากรจำนวนทั้งสิ้น 10,162 คน 3,728 ครัวเรือน⁶³
ประชากรที่มีเชื้อสายเป็นชาวลาวเวียงส่วนใหญ่อยู่ในหมู่ 1-6 และหมู่ 8 โดยที่หมู่ 6
จะมีชาวจีนรวมอยู่ด้วยส่วนหมู่ 7 เป็นหมู่บ้านชาวมอญและชาวจีน และหมู่ 9
เป็นหมู่บ้านไทยภายในพื้นที่ของตำบลประกอบด้วยวัด 5 วัด โดยมี 3 วัด เป็นวัดของชาวลาวเวียง ได้แก่ วัดโบสถ์
(ในพื้นที่หมู่ 1) วัดบ้านเลือก (ในพื้นที่หมู่ 3) และวัดหนองรี (ในพื้นที่หมู่ 8) ส่วนอีก 2 วัด คือ วัดหุบมะก่า
(ในพื้นที่หมู่ 7) เป็นวัดของชาวมอญ และวัดพระศรีอารย์ (ในพื้นที่หมู่ 9) เป็นวัดของคนไทย

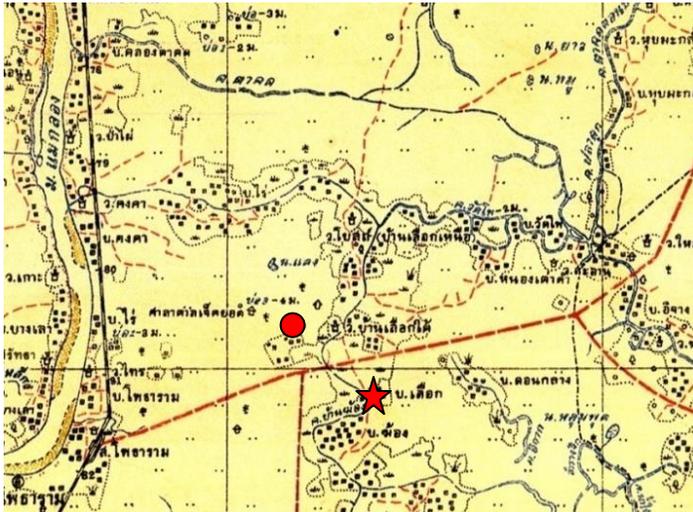


รูป 5 การแบ่งเขตของหมู่บ้านในตำบลบ้านเลือก (หมายเลขแสดง ชื่อหมู่บ้าน)
ที่มา ปรับปรุงจากแผนที่ตำบลของเทศบาลตำบลบ้านเลือก

ความเป็นมาของการตั้งถิ่นฐานของชาวลาวเวียงทั้ง 7
หมู่บ้านในตำบลบ้านเลือนั้นไม่ปรากฏหลักฐานที่ชัดเจนแต่ในบริเวณตำบลจะพบศาลปู่ตาอยู่ 2 แห่ง (รูป
6) แห่งแรก คือ “ศาลปู่ตา” หรือ “ศาลปู่ตาเจ้านาย” สร้างขึ้นเมื่อปี พ.ศ.2322 ซึ่งตั้งอยู่ทางทิศใต้ของชุมชนหมู่
3 ศาลปู่ตานี้ถูกตั้งขึ้นเพื่อเป็นสถานที่สิงสถิตของดวงวิญญาณของบรรพบุรุษและเจ้านายที่เป็นที่เคารพที่ตก
ค้างอยู่เมืองเวียงจันทน์และเพื่อเป็นที่ยึดเหนี่ยวทางจิตใจและปกป้องคุ้มครองลูกหลานให้อยู่อย่างร่มเย็นเป็นสุข
(สภาองค์กรชุมชนตำบลบ้านเลือก, 2552)

⁶³ ข้อมูลเดือนกุมภาพันธ์ 2554 ที่มา เทศบาลตำบลบ้านเลือก อำเภอโพธาราม จังหวัดราชบุรี. เข้าถึงข้อมูลเมษายน 2560.

<http://www.banluak.go.th/>.



● ศาลปู่โห่ง ในพื้นที่หมู่ 4



★ ศาลปู่ตา ในพื้นที่หมู่ 3

รูป 6 กลุ่มบ้านในบริเวณตำบลบ้านเลือก ในปี พ.ศ. 2455 และตำแหน่งที่ตั้งของศาลปู่ตาและศาลปู่โห่ง
 หมายเหตุ เอกสารต้นฉบับแผนที่แสดงเขตการปกครองและเขตติดต่อ อ.เมือง อ.โพธาราม จ.ราชบุรี สืบจากโดยกรมแผนที่ทหารเมื่อ พ.ศ. 2455
 ที่มา หอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ

ส่วนแห่งที่สอง คือ “ศาลปู่โห่ง” หรือ “ศาลปู่ทุง” ตั้งอยู่บริเวณชายทุ่งหนองแ้ง ทางทิศตะวันตกของบ้านเลือก (หมู่ 4) ล้อมรอบด้วยกลุ่มต้นไม้ใหญ่

และอยู่ห่างไกลจากบ้านเรือนของชาวบ้านศาลปู่ทุงนี้ถูกสร้างขึ้นเพื่อปกป้องคุ้มครองไร่ นา และการทำมาหากินของลูกหลานให้พ้นภัยพิบัติจากธรรมชาติ เช่นเดียวกับหอผีบ้านที่พบในบ้านคอนนูน เมืองไชยานี ในเขตนครหลวงเวียงจันทน์จากการปรากฏของศาลปู่ตาและศาลปู่ทุงนี้ทำให้สันนิษฐานได้ว่า บริเวณชุมชนบ้านขุน (หมู่ 3) และบ้านเลือก (หมู่ 4)

น่าจะเป็นพื้นที่ในการตั้งถิ่นฐานของชาวลาวเวียงในบริเวณตำบลบ้านเลือกในช่วงแรกๆ ซึ่งมาพร้อมกับชาวลาวเวียงอื่นๆ ในอำเภอโพธาราม (สะท้าน เสลาหลัก, มปป.)

และน่าจะมีการขยายตัวของชุมชนออกจากบริเวณนี้ด้วยการขยายชุมชนในบริเวณตำบลบ้านเลือกยังพบการขยายตัวของชุมชนมาจากพื้นที่ใกล้เคียง โดยเฉพาะหมู่ 2 (บ้านคอนกลาง) ซึ่งก่อตั้งเป็นหมู่บ้านขึ้นเมื่อปี พ.ศ. 2457 ซึ่งเดิมพื้นที่หมู่ 2 นี้เป็นในการทำนาของชาวบ้านในตำบลบ้านห้องเมื่อที่ดินในการขยับขยายบ้านเรือนในบริเวณบ้านห้องเริ่มมีความหนาแน่น จึงได้ทำการสร้างบ้านเรือนอยู่ ณ สถานที่แห่งนี้

วัฒนธรรมความเป็นอยู่และการเปลี่ยนแปลงของชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลือก

วัฒนธรรมความเป็นอยู่ของชาวลาวเวียงที่ตำบลบ้านเลือกในอดีตมีความสัมพันธ์ไปกับการทำการเกษตร ซึ่งส่วนใหญ่มีอาชีพหลัก คือ การทำนา ทำสวน ไร่ ไร่นา และเลี้ยงสัตว์ (ณรงค์ ชำรงโชติ, 2502)

เดิมชาวบ้านส่วนใหญ่ทำนา ซึ่งเป็นนาปี และมีการผลิตโดยเน้นการใช้แรงงานภายในครัวเรือนและใช้วัว (พอพันธ์ อุทยานนท์, 2546) โดยรอบการผลิตตามประเพณีจะเริ่มได้เมื่อมีการทำบุญเบิกบ้าน

และทำบุญกลางบ้านเมื่อถึงราวันพระ สิ้นเดือนหก (ประมาณเดือนพฤษภาคม)ไปแล้วจากนั้นจึงเริ่มต้นทำนา ตั้งแต่เดือนพฤษภาคมและมีถุนายน เมื่อข้าวเริ่มออกรวงจะมีพิธีไหว้พระแม่โพสพ และมีพิธีแก้ห่อข้าวเจ้าปู่ทุ่งทุกวัน เพื่อขอให้ผลผลิตมีความอุดมสมบูรณ์ฤดูกาลเก็บเกี่ยวข้าวจะอยู่ในช่วงเดือนพฤศจิกายน-ธันวาคม หลังจากนั้นพ่อนข้าวจากการเก็บเกี่ยวจะถูกลำมากองไว้ที่ลานบริเวณบ้าน และทำการนวดข้าวที่ลานบ้านของตนเองในอดีตการนวดข้าวของชุมชนมี 2 ลักษณะตามปริมาณข้าว กล่าวคือ ในกรณีมีปริมาณข้าวน้อยจะใช้วิธีการย่ำด้วยเท้า และในกรณีมีปริมาณข้าวมากจะใช้วัวช่วยในการย่ำโดยใช้เสาหลักเกียรติในช่วงฤดูกาลทำนาก็มีการลงแขกหรือเอาแรงระหว่างครัวเรือนในหมู่บ้านเดียวกัน เพื่อช่วยกัน ในกิจกรรมต่างๆ เช่น ดำนา หว่านนา ไถนา เก็บเกี่ยว และการนวดข้าวชาวบ้านเล่าว่า ในอดีตผลผลิตข้าวทั้งหมดจะถูกเก็บเข้ายุ้งข้าว และต้องมีการทำพิธีสู่ขวัญข้าวก่อนการนำข้าวเข้ายุ้ง หรือการเปิดยุ้งเพื่อนำข้าวออกมาด้วยในช่วงของพักการทำนา ชาวบ้านมักมีการปลูกพืชชนิดอื่นๆ เช่น ถั่วฝักยาว พริก และพืชผักอื่นๆ เป็นต้นการปลูกพืชผักโดยมากเอาไว้บริโภคกันเอง ส่วนที่เหลือจึงนำไปจำหน่ายมีการดักลอบ หรือปักก่า เพื่อจับปลาตามแหล่งน้ำของชุมชนปลาที่จับได้ หากเหลือจากการบริโภคและขายแล้ว จะนำมาทำปลาร้านอกจากนี้ยังมีการตำหูก หรือการทอผ้าไหม หรือผ้าฝ้าย เนื่องจากดั้งเดิมทุกครัวเรือนจะมีก็สำหรับการทอผ้าและมีการปลูกหม่อนเลี้ยงไหมในบริเวณบ้านด้วยการทอผ้าก็เพื่อนำมาตัดเย็บเสื้อผ้าไว้ใช้กันเองในครัวเรือนและบางครั้งก็ใช้เป็นของฝากอีกด้วยชาวบ้านส่วนใหญ่มุ่งเน้นฝ้าย เรียกว่า ผ้าก่วย⁴ และหากใครมีเงินมากก็จะนุ่งผ้าไหมนอกจากนี้ชาวบ้านเล่าว่าวิถีชีวิต ในอดีตไม่จำเป็นต้องเดินทางออกนอก ชุมชน เนื่องจากจะมีระบบแลกเปลี่ยนสินค้าเข้ามาในหมู่บ้าน โดยจะมีคนนำของหรือสิ่งที่ชุมชนไม่สามารถผลิตได้มาแลกกับข้าวสารของชาวบ้านส่วนงานประเพณีต่างๆ มักไปร่วมกันทำบุญที่วัด และมีการละเล่นภายในชุมชนตามช่วงเวลาต่างๆหากไปเที่ยวนอกชุมชน ก็มักไปตลาดโพธาราม โดยอาศัยการเดินทางวัฒนธรรมความเป็นอยู่ของชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลือก มีการเปลี่ยนแปลงอย่างต่อเนื่อง ซึ่งส่วนหนึ่งเป็นผลมาจากการดำเนินนโยบายของภาครัฐชาวบ้านกล่าวว่า ชุมชนมีการเปลี่ยนแปลงอย่างมาก เกิดขึ้นครั้งแรกในสมัยจอมพล ป.พิบูลสงคราม เป็นนายกรัฐมนตรี (พ.ศ.2481 – 2487) ซึ่งมีนโยบายชาตินิยมและมุ่งจัดระเบียบการดำเนินชีวิตของคนไทยให้เป็นแบบอารยประเทศ จึงทำให้เกิดการยกเลิกวัฒนธรรมท้องถิ่นต่างๆ ทั้งการแต่งกาย การร้องรำ และการใช้ภาษาของท้องถิ่นทั้งนี้ นโยบายในการพัฒนาประเทศของภาครัฐในช่วงต่อมา โดยเฉพาะการจัดการศึกษาที่ละเลยความเป็นไปของท้องถิ่น ส่งผลทำให้วัฒนธรรมท้องถิ่นอ่อนแอลงหลากหลายขนบประเพณีที่เคยปฏิบัติและวัฒนธรรมความเชื่อได้ถูกยกเลิกและภาษาของชาวลาวเวียงขาดการสืบทอดซึ่งในปัจจุบันมีเพียงกลุ่มผู้สูงอายุและคนรุ่นวัยกลางคนที่ยังพอพูดภาษาสำเนียงลาวเวียงกันได้เท่านั้นการยกเลิกสิ่งเหล่านี้มีผลต่อการเปลี่ยนแปลงบริบทและลักษณะที่อยู่อาศัยของชาวลาวเวียงตามไปด้วยในส่วนของอาชีพของชาวบ้าน โดยเฉพาะการทำนา มีการเปลี่ยนแปลงอย่างมากในช่วงประมาณปี พ.ศ. 2532-2533 (ในสมัยรัฐบาลพลเอกชาติชาย ชุณหะวัณ เป็นนายกรัฐมนตรี)การดำเนินนโยบายของรัฐในช่วงนี้ทำให้ที่ดินในท้องถิ่นต่างๆมีราคาสูงมากโดยเฉพาะในบริ

⁴ ชาวบ้านอธิบายว่า “ก่วย” หมายถึง การมาสานกัน หรือมาทากัน ลวดลายของผ้าก่วยเป็นลายเทพนคร ซึ่งไม่ใช่ลายผ้าแบบลาว

วนอำเภอโพธารามซึ่งมีถนนเพชรเกษมตัดผ่านที่นาจำนวนมากถูกขายให้กับนายทุนทั้งนี้เนื่องจากเหตุผลเรื่องผล
ตอบแทนที่สูงแล้วยังเป็นเหตุผลมาจากการขาดผู้สืบสานอาชีพ จึงทำให้ชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลือก
ส่วนใหญ่เทขายที่นาให้กับนายทุนในปัจจุบันมีชาวบ้านเพียงส่วนน้อยที่ยังคงถือครองที่นาเอาไว้ในกลุ่มนี้มีชาวล
าวเวียงเป็นส่วนน้อยที่ยังคงทำนาเอง โดยมากเป็นผู้สูงอายุ และมักเป็นการทำนาปีที่เก็บเกี่ยวด้วยมือ
ส่วนอีกกลุ่มของชาวลาวเวียงที่ยังคงมีที่นา มักไม่ได้ทำนาเอง แต่เป็นการให้เช่าที่ดินทำนา
ซึ่งโดยมากผู้เช่าจะเป็นคนจากต่างพื้นที่ผู้ที่ทำนาในกลุ่มนี้มักทำนาปรัง
และบางส่วนสร้างปัญหาในเรื่องการผันน้ำต่อชาวบ้านที่ยังคงทำนาปีถึงแม้ว่าในปัจจุบันยังมีชาวลาวเวียงบางส่ว
นทำนาแต่ประเพณีและพิธีกรรมที่เกี่ยวข้องเนื่องต่างๆที่เคยปฏิบัติในอดีตนั้น ได้ถูกยกเลิกไปในปัจจุบันชาวลาวเวียงใน
ตำบลบ้านเลือกประกอบอาชีพที่หลากหลาย
ส่วนใหญ่ประกอบอาชีพรับจ้างทั่วไปและทำตุ๊กตาบางส่วนมีอาชีพรับราชการ เป็นลูกจ้างตามโรงงาน ค้าขาย
ประกอบธุรกิจของตนเอง ทำเกษตรกรรมประเภทอื่นๆ และการเลี้ยงปศุสัตว์
อย่างไรก็ตามชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลือกยังคงมีการไปมาหาสู่กัน มีความเป็นอยู่เหมือนพี่น้อง
และยังคงมีกิจกรรมการทำบุญตามประเพณีมาร่วมกันที่วัดอย่างสม่ำเสมอ งานประเพณีที่สำคัญของชุมชน ได้แก่
งานบุญข้าวจีหรือบุญข้าวหลาม งานวันสงกรานต์ งานบุญกลางบ้านและงานบุญเบิกบ้าน งานวันสารทลาว
(การทำบุญแก้ห่อข้าว) และวันออกพรรษา เป็นต้นนอกจากนี้ยังมีประเพณีการบายศรีสู่ขวัญแต่ผู้มาเยือน
ซึ่งเป็นกิจกรรมที่สำคัญที่ยังคงมีปฏิบัติเฉพาะในตำบลบ้านเลือก และจะจัดขึ้นเฉพาะในช่วงเวลา
ที่แขกสำคัญๆมาเยือนตำบลเท่านั้นในวันต่างๆเหล่านี้ชาวบ้านส่วนใหญ่จะร่วมกันแต่งกายในแบบเฉพาะของชาว
ลาวเวียงราชบุรี (รูป 7) ส่วนในวันอื่นๆชาวบ้านก็จะแต่งตัวตามสมัย



รูป 7 การแต่งกายของชาวลาวเวียงในช่วงเทศกาลและงานบุญประเพณี ในตำบลบ้านเลือก
(ซ้าย) งานบายศรีสู่ขวัญใน วันที่ 14 เมษายน 2555 (ขวา) งานกฐิน วัดโบสถ์ หมู่ 1 ในปีพ.ศ. 2553

บ้านและเรือนในอดีตในตำบลบ้านเลือก

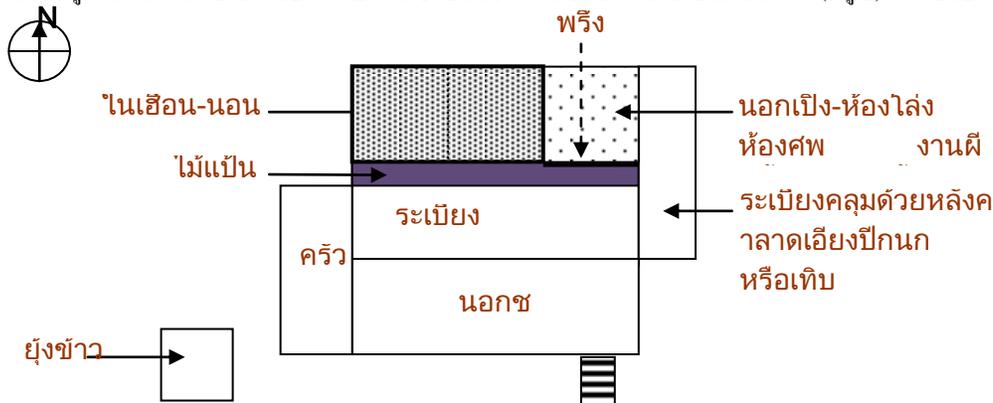
ในอดีตการปลูกสร้างบ้านเรือนในตำบลบ้านเลือกมักอยู่รวมเป็นกลุ่มของเครือญาติเส้นทางการเข้าถึงที่เชื่อมกัน
ระหว่างบ้านและกลุ่มบ้านเป็นทางดินที่มักมีขนาดความกว้างเพียงพอให้วัวเทียมเกวียนผ่านได้แต่ละบ้านจะไม่ม
ีรั้วล้อมรั้วนอกจากนี้เนื่องจากพื้นที่ที่ปลูกสร้างบ้านเป็นที่ดอน
ภายในละแวกของกลุ่มบ้านก็มักมีบ่อน้ำใช้ร่วมกันเป็นจุดๆ กระจายตัวอยู่ในพื้นที่ชุมชนส่วนการปลูกสร้าง
บ้านเรือนในแต่ละกลุ่มเครือญาติ มักจะมีการปลูกเรือนให้ตรงกันและวางไปในทิศทางเดียวกัน

โดยจะไม่เอามุมบ้านเข้าหากัน ซึ่งเป็นความเชื่อว่าหากปลูกเรือนโดยไม่เคารพแนวอาคารกัน ก็จะทำให้เกิดความขัดแย้งระหว่างญาติพี่น้อง ชาวบ้านกล่าวว่า เรือนเพื่อการอยู่อาศัยในอดีตของชุมชนทั้งหมดเป็นเรือนยกพื้นสูงใต้ถุนเรือนเป็นพื้นที่โล่งเอาไว้เป็นที่อยู่ของวัว และเก็บอุปกรณ์ในการทำนาเรือนในอดีตของชุมชนมีทั้งที่เป็นเรือนไม้จริงและเรือนเครื่องผูกทำด้วยไม้ไผ่ (รูป 8) เรือนไม้จริงมักเป็นเรือนของผู้ที่มีฐานะในชุมชนในขณะที่เรือนเครื่องผูกมักเป็นเรือนของผู้ที่มีรายได้ไม่มากนัก และเมื่อมีงบประมาณมากเพียงพอก็จะมีการเปลี่ยนแปลงเป็นเรือนไม้จริง แต่ก็มักสร้างจากลักษณะของผังเรือนเดิมที่เป็นเรือนเครื่องผูกเรือนของชาวลาวเวียงที่เก่าแก่ที่สุดในตำบลบ้านเลื่อมมีอายุมากกว่า 100 ปี ซึ่งส่วนใหญ่เป็นเรือนไม้จริงเหลืออยู่เป็นจำนวนน้อยมาก และอยู่อย่างกระจายตัวในตำบลอย่างไรก็ตามเรือนเหล่านี้ได้ถูกทำการปรับเปลี่ยนไปอย่างมาก และบางหลังไม่เหลือสภาพดั้งเดิมให้เห็นแล้ว จะเห็นแต่เพียงโครงสร้างบางส่วน ของเรือนเก่าที่ถูกเก็บไว้เท่านั้นดังนั้นจึงมีการประมวลลักษณะเรือนในอดีตจากการสัมภาษณ์ปราชญ์ของชุมชน และจากการสนทนากลุ่มของผู้สูงอายุของชุมชน ประกอบกับการสำรวจบ้านเรือนต่างๆ ที่ยังคงมีองค์ประกอบทางสถาปัตยกรรมดั้งเดิมเอาไว้ ซึ่งทำให้เห็นว่าลักษณะเรือนที่เป็นเรือนไม้จริงของชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลื่อมเมื่อ 100 กว่าปีมาแล้ว มีทั้งที่เป็นเรือนจั่วเดี่ยว และเรือนหลังคาแฝด โดยมีองค์ประกอบหลักของเรือนคือ เรือนนอน ไม้แป้นท่อน ระเบียบ นอกชาน เรือนครัว และยุงข้าว (รูป 9)



รูป 8 เรือนเครื่องผูกผสม ไม้จริงบางส่วน

เรือนนี้ถูกสร้างขึ้นตั้งแต่ประมาณปี พ.ศ. 2468 ซึ่งเป็นเรือนในลักษณะดั้งเดิม ณ บ้านดอนกลาง (หมู่ 2) ในตำบลบ้านเลื่อม



รูป 9 การจำลองลักษณะผังเรือนในอดีตของชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลื่อม

เรือนนอนซึ่งเป็นเรือนหลักมีขนาด 3 ช่วงเสา

และวางตามยาวของอาคาร ไปทางทิศตะวันออก-ตะวันตกภายในเรือนนอนจะมีการแบ่งพื้นที่ออกเป็น 2 ส่วน คือ ในเรือนและนอกเปิงในเรือนเป็นห้องที่ถูกปิดล้อมมิดชิด มีขนาด 2 ช่วงเสา ใช้เป็นห้องนอนของลูกสาว มีประตูเข้าออกจากรอกเปิงนอกเปิงเป็นที่วางหน้าห้องในเรือนนอกเปิงนี้บางครั้งถูกเรียกว่า ห้องศพ หรือห้องผีด้วยทั้งนี้เนื่องจากในบางบ้านนอกจากจะเป็นพื้นที่ที่ตั้งวางหิ้งพระแล้ว ยังมีหิ้งคุณพระ⁶⁵ หรือหิ้งผี (รูป 10) ตั้งอยู่ด้วยหิ้งคุณพระนี้จะถูกหันออกสู่หน้าบ้านนอกเปิงจะเป็นพื้นที่นอนของผู้เฒ่าผู้แก่ ซึ่งบุคคลภายนอกห้ามเข้าพื้นที่นี้ก่อนได้รับอนุญาต

หากล่วงละเมิดก็จะถือว่าผิดผีและจะต้องทำพิธีขอขมาออกจากรอกเปิงยังถูกใช้เป็นสถานที่ในการตั้งศพ ผู้ที่เสียชีวิตอีกด้วย

โดยในช่วงที่มีการจัดงานพิธีก็มักมีการขยับฝาหรือผนังที่กั้นพื้นที่ระหว่างในเรือนและนอกเปิง ใ้ให้นอกเปิงมีพื้นที่มากขึ้นเรือนนอนมักมีการปิดล้อมตามลักษณะของเรือนไทยภาคกลาง ซึ่งมีฝาประกม มีหลังคาจั่วทรงสูง และมีปั้นลมตัวหงา หรือปั้นลมหางปลา



รูป 10 หิ้งคุณพระที่ยังคงหลงเหลือในเรือนของชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านฆ้อง อำเภอโพธาราม จังหวัดราชบุรี
หมายเหตุ: หิ้งคุณพระนี้จะพบมีเครื่องไหว้ความวัฒนธรรมจีนร่วมด้วย เนื่องจากพ่อบ้านเป็นชาวจีน

จากเรือนนอนจะเป็นพื้นที่ไม้แป้นทอซึ่งเป็นไม้กระดานขนาดใหญ่กว้างประมาณ 60 เซนติเมตร และมีระดับสูงจากพื้นระเบียงประมาณ 45 เซนติเมตร โดยวางขนานไปกับพื้นเรือนนอนในระดับเดียวกัน โดยมีพริ้งกั้น (รูป 11) ไม้แป้นทอนี้ใช้เป็นที่นั่งของพระสงฆ์ หรือผู้หลักผู้ใหญ่ที่มาเยือนบ้านเป็นพื้นที่ที่ห้ามไม่ให้ลูกผู้หญิงและลูกเขยนั่งหรือนอนบนไม้แป้นทอนี้ เนื่องจากเชื่อกันว่าการนั่งบริเวณ ไม้แป้นทอนี้จะทำให้เป็นคนเกียจคร้านและไม่รู้จักที่ต่ำที่สูงแต่สามารถนั่งบนพื้นระเบียงและใช้พื้นที่ไม้แป้นทอเป็นเสมือนโต๊ะ เนื่องจากส่วนต่างระดับนี้เป็นช่องว่างเปิดโล่ง โดยสามารถนั่งห้อยขาจากพื้นระเบียงลงไปได้ส่วนระเบียงซึ่งอยู่ในระดับที่ต่ำลงมา จะใช้เป็นที่นอนสำหรับพ่อแม่ในตอนกลางคืนระเบียงมีการคลุมหลังคาใน 2 ลักษณะ คือ การคลุมหลังคาจั่วและการคลุมหลังคาลาดเอียงที่คลุมด้วยหลังคาจั่วมักมีขนาดที่เล็กกว่าและมียอดจั่วที่ต่ำกว่าหลังคาเรือนนอน

⁶⁵ คุณพระเป็นเสมือนตัวแทนของญาติผู้ใหญ่ที่ชาวบ้านยึดถือและเป็นเสมือนเทวดาอารักษ์ที่คอยดูแลรักษาเรือนด้วย

หิ้งคุณพระส่วนใหญ่จัดตั้งขึ้นเฉพาะในบ้านของผู้ใหญ่บ้านดั้งเดิม และลูกหลานก็จะสืบสานคุณพระต่อๆมา หากใครมีเรื่องเดือดร้อน ทำคิดสิ่งใดๆ หรือมีเรื่องใดๆก็ต้องมาบอกกล่าวที่หิ้งที่บ้านนั้นๆตามสายที่นับถือ ในอดีตจะมีการเลี้ยงผีกลางเดือน 6

ซึ่งทำให้เกิดเป็นลักษณะเรือนหลังคาแฝดในขณะทีเรือนทีระเบียงคลุมด้วยหลังคาลาดเอียงมีภาพรวมของรูปทรงทีมีลักษณะเช่นเดียวกับเรือนไทยภาคกลาง

จากระเบียงจึงลดระดับลงเป็นพื้นนอกชานทีเปิดโล่ง ซึ่งมักอยู่ทางทิศใต้จากนอกชานจะมีบันไดลงไปพื้นชั้นล่างโดยบันไดบ้านในอดีตสามารถยกขึ้นเก็บบนเรือนได้ไม่ทำการติดตั้งถาวรชาวบ้านกล่าวว่าบ้านเรือนส่วนใหญ่ในอดีตมักมีพื้นที่ระเบียงอีกส่วนหนึ่งวางทางด้านสกัดของเรือนนอนและระเบียงด้านหน้าบ้านระเบียงส่วนนี้จะคลุมหลังคาลาดเอียงแบบปีกนก(หรือเทิบ)โดยจะมีการกั้นผนังในส่วนนี้เรือนครัวจะอยู่ทางด้านหลังของบ้านในด้านทิศตะวันตก ต่อกจากนอกชานและระเบียงเรือนครัวมักมีการปิดล้อมโดยใช้ฝาไม้ไผ่ขัดตะและมียหลังคาคลุมแยก โดยวางขวางกับตัวเรือนหลักใกล้เรือนครัวมักเป็นที่ตั้งของขี้ข้าวซึ่งสามารถถูกปรับเปลี่ยนตำแหน่งที่ตั้งได้ตามลักษณะของที่ดิน



รูป 11 ไม้แป้นทอง และการถ่ายระดับของเรือนนอนและระเบียง

การปรับตัวของหมู่บ้านและเรือนของชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลือก

ชาวบ้านกล่าวว่าในอดีตมีการตั้งบ้านเรือนตามแหล่งต่างๆทีปรากฏในชุมชนกันมานานแล้วการแบ่งเป็นหมู่บ้านเริ่มมีขึ้นตามการปกครองในระบบเทศบาล (ปี พ.ศ.2457) และการแบ่งหมู่บ้านต่างุั้นมาจากผู้นำชุมชนในสมัยนั้น (กำนัน) เป็นผู้กำหนดเดิมตำบลบ้านเลือกมีทั้งหมด 8 หมู่บ้าน โดยทีหมู่ 6 และหมู่ 9 เคยอยู่ด้วยกันและมีการแบ่งเขตหมู่บ้านออกจากกันในภายหลังการขยายจำนวนบ้านเรือนและกระจายออกสู่พื้นที่ต่างๆในชุมชนมีมากขึ้น โดยเฉพาะภายหลังจากการมีถนนเพชรเกษม (สายเก่า) ซึ่งตัดผ่านพื้นที่ตำบลตั้งแต่ก่อนช่วงสงครามโลกครั้งที่ 2 และการมีถนนย่อยๆทีตัดเข้าสู่ชุมชนตั้งแต่ช่วงปี พ.ศ. 2502 เป็นต้นมาการจำแนกเป็นหมู่บ้านและการขยายตัวของชุมชนมีผลต่อการมีองค์ประกอบของศูนย์รวมทางความเชื่อและประเพณีทีเปลี่ยนแปลงไปด้วยชาวบ้านเล่าว่าในอดีตชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลือกจะมีประเพณีในการทำงานบุญเบิกบานและทำงานบุญกลางบ้านร่วมกันงานบุญเบิกบ้านจะเริ่มมีขึ้นก่อนวันงานทำบุญกลางบ้าน ซึ่งจะทำขึ้น ณ ศาลปู่โห่ง (รูป 12) ในขณะทีงานบุญกลางบ้านจะทำทีศาลปู่ตา แต่ภายหลังเมื่อมีการแยกเป็นหมู่บ้านต่างๆ แล้วในแต่ละหมู่บ้านก็จะแยกไปทำงานบุญกลางบ้านของตนบางหมู่บ้านก็ใช้ทีว่างส่วนกลางของชุมชนในการประกอบพิธีกรรม และในบางหมู่บ้านก็จะมีการสร้างตำนานเล่าขานของตนขึ้นพร้อมกับการสร้างศาลหรือสิ่งศักดิ์สิทธิ์ขึ้นเพื่อเป็นที่สักการะเคารพยึดเหนี่ยวของคนในหมู่บ้านขึ้น เช่น ในบ้านหนองเต่าดำ (หมู่ 6) ซึ่งมีการตั้งศาล “เจ้าพ่อสายบัว” ขึ้น

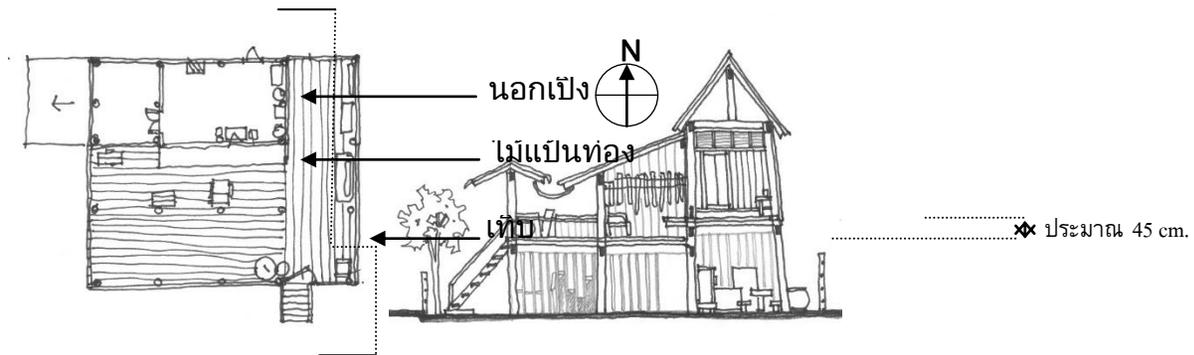
ในปัจจุบันชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลือกยังคงมีประเพณีการทำบุญเบิกบ้านร่วมกันในหมู่ 4 แต่เฉพาะกลุ่มคนที่ยังเคารพและเชื่อถือ ซึ่งส่วนใหญ่เป็นผู้เฒ่าผู้แก่และเด็กเล็กส่วนงานบุญกลางบ้านจะมีการกระจายกันไปทำตามแต่ละหมู่บ้าน



รูป 12 งานบุญเบิกบ้าน ณ ศาลปู่โห่ง ในหมู่ 4 ของตำบลบ้านเลือก

ส่วนลักษณะบ้านและเรือนของชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลือกมีการเปลี่ยนแปลงอย่างต่อเนื่องเรือนที่ยังคงลักษณะพื้นถิ่นในบริเวณตำบลหลงเหลืออยู่น้อยและอยู่อย่างกระจัดกระจายกันออกไป แต่ยังคงสามารถพบเรือนที่มีลักษณะพื้นถิ่นซึ่งเป็นเรือนไม้จริงและอยู่รวมกันเป็นกลุ่มชุมชนของเครือญาติ ในบริเวณหมู่ 1 เรือนพื้นถิ่นที่ถูกศึกษาสามารถจำแนกออกได้เป็น 2 กลุ่ม คือ กลุ่มเรือนดั้งเดิมที่มีอายุมากกว่า 100 ปี ซึ่งมีการเปลี่ยนแปลงไปมากตามที่กล่าวไปแล้ว และกลุ่มเรือนที่มีอายุประมาณ 40-60 ปี ซึ่งสามารถพบได้เป็นจำนวนมากโดยเฉพาะในบริเวณหมู่ 1 และบางส่วนของที่กระจายตัวอยู่ภายในตำบล เรือนในกลุ่มที่มีอายุ 40-60 ปี มักมีที่มาที่แตกต่างกัน โดยสามารถจำแนกได้เป็น 2 กลุ่ม กลุ่มแรกเป็นเรือนที่มาจากเรือนดั้งเดิม และมีการย้ายตำแหน่งที่ปลูกสร้างเรือนในกลุ่มนี้ยังสามารถแบ่งออกเป็น 2 ลักษณะ คือ 1) เรือนที่ยังคงลักษณะส่วนใหญ่ของเรือนดั้งเดิมตามแบบแผนในอดีต (รูป 13 และรูป 11) ซึ่งพบเพียงหลังเดียวในหมู่ 1 และ 2) เรือนที่นำเอาองค์ประกอบบางส่วนมาประกอบขึ้นเป็นบ้านใหม่ โดยมีการปรับปรุงลักษณะรูปทรงของเรือนใหม่ โดยมากใช้หลังคาลาดชันต่ำ หรือหลังคาทรงบังกะโล ซึ่งพบเพียงหลังเดียวในหมู่ 3

กลุ่มที่สองเป็นเรือนที่เกิดจากการรื้อถอนเรือนเครื่องผูกเดิม และปลูกสร้างเรือนไม้จริงยกพื้นสูงขึ้นมาใหม่ทดแทน ซึ่งพบเป็นส่วนใหญ่



รูป 13 เรือนที่ยังคงมีองค์ประกอบบางส่วนของเรือนดั้งเดิม
 (บนซ้าย) ฝั่งเรือนชั้นบน (บนขวา) รูปตัดเรือน
 (ล่างซ้าย) บ้านจั่วเดี่ยวและมีหลังคาปีกนกด้านหน้า (เทิบ)(ล่างขวา) บริเวณนอกชานเดิม

เรือนที่มีอายุประมาณ 40-60 ปี เหล่านี้มีรูปแบบที่หลากหลาย
 แต่มักมีองค์ประกอบของฝั่งเรือนในพื้นที่สองที่คล้ายคลึงกัน โดยมักประกอบด้วย เรือนนอน โถง
 และระเบียงเรือนนอนมี 3 ช่วงเสา วางตามยาวในทิศตะวันออก-ตะวันตก
 และประกอบด้วยห้องในเรือนขนาดหนึ่งห้องเสา และมีนอกเปิงขนาดสองห้องเสาจากเรือนนอนเป็นโถงเปิดโล่ง
 ขนานไปกับเรือนนอน โดยมีระดับพื้นต่ำกว่าพื้นเรือนนอนลักษณะการคลุมหลังคาของพื้นที่เรือนนอน
 และโถงนี้มี 2 ลักษณะ คือ หลังคาจั่วแฝดและหลังคาพื้นเดี่ยว (รูป 14) เรือนที่มีหลังคาจั่วแฝด
 ซึ่งพบเป็นจำนวนน้อย เกิดจากการคลุมหลังคาแยกกันระหว่างส่วนเรือนนอน และโถง
 โดยหลังคาบริเวณ โถงจะมีขนาดเล็กกว่าและมีความสูงต่ำกว่าหลังคาเรือนนอน และมีโครงสร้างเป็น 2 หลัง 9
 เสา ส่วนเรือนที่มีหลังคาพื้นเดี่ยว ส่วนใหญ่เป็นหลังคาบังกะโล โดยครอบคลุมทั้งพื้นที่ของเรือนนอนและโถง



รูป 14 ลักษณะหลังคาในกลุ่มเรือนที่มีอายุในช่วง 40-60 ปี
 (บน) ลักษณะเรือนที่มีหลังคาจั่วแฝด, (ล่าง) ลักษณะเรือนที่มีหลังคาจั่วเดี่ยว ซึ่งส่วนใหญ่เป็นหลังคาบังกะโถ

ในเรือนที่ทำการศึกษาส่วนใหญ่จะมีพื้นที่ว่างเปิดโล่งต่อเนื่องจากพื้นที่โถงในบางเรือนพื้นที่เปิดโล่งต่อเนื่องนี้จะถูกลดระดับต่ำกว่าระดับพื้น โถงด้วยการจัดวางพื้นที่เปิดโล่งต่อเนื่องเหล่านี้มักมีลักษณะที่แตกต่างกัน ซึ่งทำให้ลักษณะของผังชั้นบนในแต่ละเรือนมีความแตกต่างกันไปด้วยพื้นที่เปิดโล่งต่อเนื่องเหล่านี้โดยมากจะถูกล้อมด้วยหลังคาปีกนกลาดชันต่ำและมีการปิดล้อมด้วยผนังที่ทำให้ลักษณะของที่ว่างภายในเรือนมีความโปร่งโล่ง (รูป 15)



รูป 15 ลักษณะการปิดล้อมบริเวณโถง

จากโถงและที่ว่างเปิดโล่งต่อเนื่องจะเป็นพื้นที่ระเบียงที่มีระดับต่ำกว่าพื้นภายในระเบียงมักถูกล้อมด้วยหลังคาลาดเอียง และถูกปิดล้อมด้วยราวระเบียงกันตกและในบางหลังจะมีผนังโปร่งปิดล้อมร่วมด้วย จากระเบียงต่อเนื่องเป็นบันไดลงสู่ชั้นล่างนอกจากนี้ในพื้นที่ชั้นบนในบ้านหลายหลังยังพบพื้นที่ที่มีลักษณะ

ระเบียบอยู่ด้านสกัดของเรือนนอนและ โถงและอยู่ทางด้านหน้าบ้านที่ติดกับทางสัญจรพื้นที่ที่ส่วนนี้จะถูกปิดล้อมด้วยผนังที่มีหน้าต่าง และคลุมด้วยหลังคาลาดเอียง (หรือเทิบ)อย่างไรก็ตามเนื่องจากในบ้านส่วนใหญ่ด้านสกัดของเรือนนอนและ โถงที่ติดกับระเบียบหลังคาเทิบนี้มักไม่มีผนังปิดกั้น ทำให้พื้นที่ทั้งสามส่วนนี้เชื่อมโยงหากัน จึงทำให้ลักษณะของที่ว่างภายในเรือนยังมีความโปร่งโล่งมากขึ้น

ในบางเรือนยังพบ โครงสร้างของเรือนครัวและยุงข้าวเดิมอยู่ด้านหลังบ้าน แต่ถูกปรับเปลี่ยนเป็นห้องนอน ส่วนแต่งตัว หรือห้องเก็บของมีเพียงบางหลังเท่านั้นที่มีห้องน้ำอยู่บนพื้นที่ชั้นสองนี้ด้วย บริเวณพื้นที่ใต้ถุนบ้านของเรือนที่ทำการศึกษาล้วนใหญ่มีการกั้นพื้นที่บริเวณใต้ถุนบ้าน ส่วนใหญ่เพื่อใช้เป็นสวนนอนหรือห้องนอนของสมาชิกในครอบครัวการปิดล้อมพื้นที่บริเวณนี้มีทั้งการปิดล้อมแบบบางเบา ด้วยการ ใช้ระแนงไม้ตีตามดั่งแบบโปร่ง และการปิดล้อมแบบทึบด้วยการสร้างผนังก่ออิฐถือปูนส่วนใหญ่การสร้างห้องมักอยู่ทางด้านหลังบ้านและมีการเว้นพื้นที่ว่างบางส่วนบริเวณหน้าบ้าน เพื่อเป็นที่นั่งพักผ่อนในช่วงกลางวัน และเพื่อทำครัว

บางเรือนจะพบลักษณะการยื่นของหลังคาปีกนกออกมาจากหลังคาที่คลุมพื้นที่ชั้นบนเพื่อคลุมพื้นที่บริเวณหน้าเรือนทำให้เกิดเป็นที่ว่าง โปร่งสูงอยู่หน้าเรือนชาวบ้านกล่าวว่าพื้นที่บริเวณหน้าเรือนส่วนนี้เดิมเคยเป็นพื้นที่นอกชานเดิม และมีการต่อเติมหลังคาคลุมในช่วงต่อมาแต่ในภายหลังมีการตัดพื้นเรือนบริเวณนี้ออก (ดูรูป 15-ขวา)ผลของการปรับปรุง โครงสร้างบริเวณนี้ทำให้ภาพรวมของเรือนมีการไล่ลำดับของที่ว่างจากภายนอกสู่ภายใน หรือเกิดที่ว่างแห่งความต่อเนื่อง (Transitional space) ที่สร้างให้เกิดความร่มรื่นทั้งนี้เป็นข้อสันนิษฐานว่าการปรับปรุงของการตัดพื้นเรือนในลักษณะนี้ทำให้เกิดเป็นลักษณะต้นแบบของการสร้างบ้านที่ขยับขยายออกไปปลูกสร้างนอกบริเวณชุมชนอีกด้วย

นอกจากนี้ในบริเวณหมู่ 1 ยังพบการต่อเติมหลังคาจากใต้ขอบหน้าต่างของผนังชั้นบนลงมาคลุมพื้นที่บริเวณหน้าเรือนที่อยู่ติดกับถนน (รูป 16) ในบ้านหลายหลังซึ่งทำให้บ้านโดยภาพรวมมีลักษณะขององค์ประกอบทางสถาปัตยกรรมที่ทำให้เกิดการหลดหลั่นหรือการไล่ระดับของหลังคาและสร้างให้เกิดสุนทรียภาพ ความสัมพันธ์ของภูมิทัศน์ชุมชนในกลุ่มนี้ในบริเวณบ้านชั้นล่างของบ้านทุกหลังพบห้องน้ำ โดยจะถูกสร้างเป็นอาคารแยกออกจากตัวเรือนและโดยมากจะตั้งอยู่ด้านหลังบ้านที่ใกล้กับลำคลองนอกจากนี้ยังพบศาลพระภูมิในบริเวณบ้านเป็นส่วนใหญ่ ซึ่งทำให้เห็นถึงความเชื่อที่เปลี่ยนแปลงไป และบ้านเกือบทุกหลังจะมีการล้อมรั้ว โดยเฉพาะบริเวณที่ติดต่อกับถนน

เนื่องจากความต้องการความเป็นส่วนตัวและความปลอดภัยแต่การล้อมรั้วของบริเวณบ้าน โดยเฉพาะในชุมชนหมู่ 1 ส่วนใหญ่เป็นการใช้ไม้ และรั้วลวดหนามผสมการปลูกต้นไม้ ซึ่งทำให้เกิดบรรยากาศของกลุ่มชุมชนโดยรวมที่ไม่ตัดขาดระหว่างกัน

นอกจากนี้เนื่องจากปัจจุบันบริเวณบ้านของแต่ละหลังมักมีการล้อมรั้ว บ่อน้ำที่เคยถูกใช้ร่วมกัน จึงถูกรวมอยู่ในอาณาเขตของบ้านหลังใดหลังหนึ่งและตกเป็นของครัวเรือนนั้นๆอีกทั้งสืบเนื่องมาจากการพัฒนาระบบน้ำบาดาลและประปาชุมชนการพึ่งพาใช้น้ำจากบ่อน้ำของชุมชนจึงถูกลดความสำคัญลงไป แม้ว่าบางบ้านยังมีการใช้งานร่วมกับการใช้น้ำประปาอยู่บ้าง แต่ส่วนใหญ่จะถูกทิ้งร้างไปแล้ว

จากการศึกษาทั้งเรือนพื้นดินทั้งหมดในตำบลบ้านเล็ก

ส่วนใหญ่จะไม่ปรากฏหิ้งผี/หิ้งคุณพระและโครงสร้างไม้เป็นท้องหลงเหลืออยู่สำหรับหิ้งคุณพระ ชาวบ้านระบุว่ามีการยกเลิกมาเป็นเวลามากกว่า 50 ปีมาแล้ว ทั้งนี้เนื่องจากการเปลี่ยนแปลงความเชื่อของชาวลาวเวียงและการขาดผู้สืบสานงานพิธีกรรมในตำบลบ้านเลือก ส่วนการหายไปของโครงสร้างไม้เป็นท้อง แม้ว่าจะไม่สามารถระบุสาเหตุได้ชัดเจน แต่ส่วนหนึ่งก็น่าจะมีสาเหตุมาจากการเปลี่ยนแปลงค่านิยมของวิถีชีวิตและความต้องการด้านความสะดวกของการใช้สอยภายในเรือน รวมถึงการรับอิทธิพลการก่อสร้างและรูปแบบทางสถาปัตยกรรมจากแหล่งอื่นๆ มาด้วย



รูป 16 การต่อเติมหลังคาบริเวณหน้าบ้านในบริเวณหมู่ 1

บทสรุป: การสืบทอดและการผสมผสานทางวัฒนธรรมในบ้านเรือนของชาวลาวเวียง ตำบลบ้านเลือก

บทความนี้มุ่งเน้นการทำเข้าใจการปรับตัวและตรวจสอบการนำเอาสัมภาระทางวัฒนธรรม โดยเฉพาะแบบแผนทางสถาปัตยกรรมของบ้านเรือนของกลุ่มชนชาวลาวเวียงที่มีการโยกย้ายถิ่นฐานจากเมืองเวียงจันทน์เข้ามาอยู่อาศัยในบริเวณลุ่มน้ำภาคกลางของประเทศไทย โดยมีพื้นที่ศึกษาในตำบลบ้านเลือก อำเภอโพธาราม จังหวัดราชบุรี ซึ่งเป็นกลุ่มที่มีการตั้งถิ่นฐานและปลูกสร้างบ้านเรือนอยู่ในพื้นที่เป็นเวลานานมากกว่าสองศตวรรษจากการศึกษาพบว่าชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลือกมีการปรับตัวในการอยู่อาศัยในพื้นที่มาอย่างต่อเนื่อง และทำให้เห็นภูมิปัญญาในการปรับตัวที่มีทั้งการสืบทอดแบบแผนทางวัฒนธรรมจากเวียงจันทน์ การยอมรับวัฒนธรรมของท้องถิ่นที่ตั้งและการสร้างความหมายใหม่ของบ้านเรือนที่อยู่อาศัยทั้งนี้สามารถกล่าวได้เป็น 2 ส่วน คือ ลักษณะหมู่บ้านและลักษณะเรือน

ลักษณะหมู่บ้าน:

หากพิจารณาจากองค์ประกอบของหมู่บ้านดั้งเดิมจะพบว่าหมู่บ้านของชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลือก มีองค์ประกอบหลักคล้ายกับหมู่บ้านในเวียงจันทน์ กล่าวคือ นอกจากบ้านเรือนแล้ว ยังมีวัดและหอผีบ้าน (หรือศาลปู่โท้ง ในตำบลบ้านเลือก)ซึ่งทั้งสององค์ประกอบนี้ทำหน้าที่ตอบสนองความต้องการทางด้านจิตใจของชุมชนที่เหมือนกับในเวียงจันทน์อย่างไรก็ตามในตำบลบ้านเลือกจะพบองค์ประกอบเพิ่มเติม คือ ศาลปู่ตาเจ้านาย ในบริเวณหมู่ 3

ซึ่งเป็นสัญลักษณ์ที่ถูกสร้างขึ้นเพื่อสร้างความอบอุ่นใจและการอยู่อย่างร่มเย็นเป็นสุขในบริบทสภาพแวดล้อมของท้องถิ่นแห่งนี้

ส่วนความต่อเนื่องของลักษณะผังหมู่บ้านในตำบลบ้านเลือกเมื่อเปรียบเทียบกับในเวียงจันทน์นั้นไม่ค่อยชัดเจนนักแต่ในตำบลบ้านเลือกจะพบว่ายังมีความเชื่อของการปลูกสร้างเรือน โดยเฉพาะในกลุ่มของเครือญาติที่ควรเรียงแถวตามกัน โดยไม่เอามุมบ้านเข้าหากัน มิฉะนั้นจะเกิดการทิ่มแทงกันระหว่างพี่น้อง ซึ่งน่าจะมีความคล้ายคลึงกับหมู่บ้านในเวียงจันทน์

ลักษณะเรือน:

ในส่วนของการปลูกสร้างเรือน

หลายส่วนที่ทำให้เห็นถึงการสืบทอดแบบแผนทางสังคมวัฒนธรรมดั้งเดิมจากเวียงจันทน์

และในขณะเดียวกันมีการยอมรับทางวัฒนธรรมใหม่ร่วมไปด้วยในอดีตการปลูกเรือนของชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลือกในช่วงเริ่มต้นมักเป็นเรือนเครื่องผูก เมื่อมีฐานะดีขึ้นจึงเปลี่ยนเป็นเรือนไม้จริง

และกล่าวได้ว่าลักษณะเรือนไม้จริงในอดีตดั้งเดิม (ซึ่งปัจจุบันมีอายุมากกว่าร้อยปี)

แสดงออกให้เห็นถึงการผสมผสานระหว่างวัฒนธรรมดั้งเดิมของตนเองและของท้องถิ่นที่ตั้ง

ในส่วนที่แสดงให้เห็นถึงการรับอิทธิพลวัฒนธรรมท้องถิ่นเห็นได้ชัดจากการใช้แบบแผนของเรือนไทยภาคกลาง อันได้แก่ลักษณะของผังเรือนที่มีเรือนนอนระเบียงและนอกชานและเรือนนอนที่มีการปิดล้อม

ด้วยการใช้ฝาปะกน และหลังคาจั่วทรงสูงแบบมีตัวหาง

รวมถึงการมีห้องในเรือนอีกด้วยการรับแบบแผนของเรือนไทยภาคกลางน่าจะมาจากการปรับตัวในเรื่องความสอดคล้องกับสภาพภูมิอากาศในภาคกลางของประเทศไทย

และยังน่าจะเป็นเหตุผลมาจากการแสดงสถานภาพทางสังคมของเจ้าของเรือน

และการแสดงความเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของสังคมในท้องถิ่น โดยไม่แสดงความแปลกแยกให้เด่นชัด

ส่วนที่แสดงถึงแบบแผนที่น่าจะเป็นการสืบทอดมาจากเรือนในเวียงจันทน์

ปรากฏในองค์ประกอบสถาปัตยกรรมบางส่วน รวมถึงภาษาที่ใช้เรียกองค์ประกอบอาคารในบางส่วนด้วย ซึ่งมีดังนี้

- เรือนไม้จริงส่วนใหญ่มิได้เป็นเรือนเดี่ยว (ที่มีเรือนนอนและระเบียง) ล้อมรอบนอกชานแบบเรือนไทยภาคกลาง แต่มักเป็นเรือนหลังคาจั่วแฝด ที่มีโครงสร้าง 2 หลัง เสา 9 ต้น และมีการลดหลั่นของโครงสร้างระหว่างเรือนนอนและระเบียง โดยหลังคาเรือนนอนจะมีขนาดจั่วที่กว้างกว่าและมียอดจั่วที่สูงกว่าหลังคาระเบียง โครงสร้างเรือนและหลังคาทำให้เกิดลักษณะของเรือนใหญ่และเรือนน้อยตามแบบแผนที่ปรากฏในเรือนเวียงจันทน์
- การยึดถือทิศทางการวางเรือนในแนวตะวันออก-ตะวันตก อย่างเคร่งครัดรวมถึงการปลูกสร้างเรือนในหมู่เครือญาติที่ต้องมีแนวอาคารที่ตรงกัน ไม่ให้เหลื่อมกัน เนื่องจากความเชื่อของการเคารพซึ่งกันและกัน

- พื้นที่ระเบียงด้านหน้าบ้านที่เชื่อมกับทางสัญจรหลักของชุมชน ซึ่งคลุมด้วยหลังคาลาดเอียงหรือเทียบแบบแผนของการปลูกสร้างเรือนดั้งเดิมในตำบลบ้านเลือกเหล่านี้ยังมีความคล้ายคลึงกับบ้านเรือนพื้นถิ่นของชาวลาวเวียงที่พบในแหล่งอื่นๆ นอกเหนือจากในจังหวัดราชบุรี เช่น ในบ้านจรัลเก่า ตำบลบ้านโฆ้ง อำเภออุ้มทอง จังหวัดสุพรรณบุรี เป็นต้น (รูป 17)



รูป 17 เรือนพื้นถิ่นของชาวลาวเวียง ในบ้านจรัลเก่า ตำบลบ้านโฆ้ง อำเภออุ้มทอง จังหวัดสุพรรณบุรี

นอกจากนี้แม้ว่าเรือนดั้งเดิมของชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลือกจะมีลักษณะลำดับของที่ว่างตามแบบเรือนไทยภาคกลาง ซึ่งมีเรือนนอน (ประกอบด้วย ในเรือน และนอกเปิง) ระเบียง และนอกชานแต่การใช้สอยที่ว่างในเรือน และการมีหิ้งคุณพระหรือหิ้งผีในพื้นที่นอกเปิงแสดงให้เห็นถึงการสืบทอดแบบแผนวิถีชีวิตและความเชื่อของชาวลาวจากเวียงจันทน์ ส่วนการมีโครงสร้างไม้เป็นท่อนั้นยังเป็นข้อสงสัยว่าบ้านเรือนในอดีตในแถบละแวกจังหวัดราชบุรี (ซึ่งการศึกษาพบโครงสร้างลักษณะนี้ในเรือนของชาวลาวเวียง ในจังหวัดเพชรบุรีด้วย) จะมีลักษณะ โครงสร้างไม้เป็นท่อนด้วยหรือไม่ เนื่องจากสังคมในอดีตเป็นระบบศักดินา อีกทั้งในอดีตไม่มีการใช้เฟอร์นิเจอร์

สถาปัตยกรรมจึงทำหน้าที่รองรับการใช้สอยที่มากับความเชื่อและระบบสังคมนั้นๆ ด้วย อย่างไรก็ตามเนื่องจากมีการตั้งถิ่นฐานมาเป็นระยะเวลาอันยาวนานมากกว่าสองร้อยปี และมีการแปรเปลี่ยนของเงื่อนไขทางสังคมวัฒนธรรม เศรษฐกิจ และสภาพแวดล้อมของท้องที่มีมาอย่างต่อเนื่อง บ้านและเรือนของชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลือกจึงมีการเปลี่ยนแปลงไปอย่างหลีกเลี่ยงไม่ได้ โดยสามารถกล่าวแยกได้เป็น 2 กลุ่ม คือ กลุ่มบ้านดั้งเดิมที่มีอายุมากกว่าร้อยปี และกลุ่มบ้านที่ถูกสร้างขึ้นในช่วง 40-60 ปี

กลุ่มเรือนดั้งเดิมที่มีอายุมากกว่าร้อยปี ซึ่งโดยมากเป็นเรือนหลังคาแฝด มีการเปลี่ยนแปลงในสองส่วน คือ การยังคงรูปแบบของโครงสร้างดั้งเดิมในบางส่วน และการตัดแปลงและต่อเติมเพิ่มองค์ประกอบเข้าไปผลของการปรับเรือนทำให้เกิดการเปลี่ยนแปลงลักษณะของที่ว่างภายในเรือนของพื้นที่ชั้นบนและลักษณะ โครงสร้างเรือนที่ส่งผลต่อรูปทรง โดยรวมของเรือนที่แตกต่างจากแบบแผนในอดีตค่อนข้างมากกลุ่มของเรือนที่มีอายุประมาณ 40-60 ปี จะพบความหลากหลายของลักษณะการปิดล้อมและรูปทรงอาคารเรือนในกลุ่มนี้สามารถจำแนกออกได้เป็น 2

ลักษณะ คือ เรือนที่รูปทรงภายนอกยังคงแบบแผนของบ้านเรือนในอดีต โดยเฉพาะเรือนที่มีหลังคาจั่วแฝด และเรือนที่มีรูปทรงที่เรียบง่ายมากขึ้น

โดยเฉพาะเรือนที่มีบริเวณเรือนนอนและโถงถูกลมด้วยหลังคาที่มีความลาดชันต่ำพื้นเดียวเรือนทั้ง 2 ลักษณะนี้ส่วนใหญ่ทำให้ถึงการสืบทอดลักษณะทางสถาปัตยกรรมจากเรือนดั้งเดิมที่มีอายุมากกว่าร้อยปีของท้องถิ่น ได้แก่ ลักษณะของการวางทิศทางของเรือน และองค์ประกอบหลักของผังเรือนในพื้นที่ชั้นบน

ซึ่งประกอบด้วย ห้องในเรือน นอกเปิง โถง นอกชานที่ถูกเปลี่ยนเป็นระเบียง

เป็นต้นนอกจากนี้ในบางเรือนยังมีระเบียงที่ถูกคลุมด้วยหลังคาลาดเอียง หรือเทิบ

ด้านหน้าบ้านที่ติดกับทางสัญจรอีกด้วยในภาพรวมของการเปลี่ยนแปลงของเรือนในกลุ่มนี้จะพบการหายไปของโครงสร้างไม้แป้นทองและหิ้งคุณพระในพื้นที่นอกเปิงในบางเรือนยังมีการคงอยู่ของโครงสร้างเรือนครัวและยังข้าวแต่มีการตัดแปลงการใช้สอยการเปลี่ยนแปลงของเรือนส่วนใหญ่มีแนวโน้มในการสร้างและต่อเติมองค์ประกอบอื่นๆเข้าไป เช่น ห้องน้ำครัวและการกั้นห้องในบริเวณใต้ถุนบ้านส่วนในบริเวณบ้านของแต่ละบ้าน

ก็จะพบศาลพระภูมิที่ทำให้เห็นถึงการ เปลี่ยนแปลงความเชื่อของชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลือก

และการต่อเติมหลังคาต่อเนื่องลงมาจากรั้วสองเพื่อปกคลุมพื้นที่ชั้นล่าง ทำให้เกิดที่ว่างที่ต่อเนื่อง (Transitional space) ระหว่างภายในและภายนอกและลักษณะของเรือนในภาพรวมเกิดสุนทรียภาพของการลดหลั่น

กับสภาพแวดล้อม สร้างอัตลักษณ์เฉพาะให้กับชุมชนเรือนพื้นถิ่นของชาวลาวเวียงในตำบลบ้านเลือกที่ถูกสร้างในช่วงหลังเหล่านี้ ยังคงมีรายละเอียดทางสถาปัตยกรรมบางประการที่แสดงถึงอัตลักษณ์ของชาวลาวเวียง

โดยเฉพาะในเรือนหลังคาจั่วแฝดและการมีพื้นที่ที่คล้ายระเบียงถูกลมด้วยหลังคาลาดเอียงหน้าเรือนในขณะเดียวกัน

เนื่องจากการแปรเปลี่ยน ภาพลักษณ์ของเรือนที่มีการผสมผสานกับลักษณะของเรือนไทยภาคกลางตั้งแต่ต้น

จึงทำให้เรือนเหล่านี้มีความแตกต่างจากเรือนพื้นถิ่นของเวียงจันทน์อยู่หลายประการในภาพรวมของการปรับตัว

กว่าสองศตวรรษของเรือนพื้นถิ่นในตำบลบ้านเลือกจะพบว่า มีลักษณะของที่ว่างภายในที่โปร่งโล่งมากกว่า

และมีลำดับของที่ว่างระหว่างภายในและภายนอกอาคาร หรือมีที่ว่างแห่งความต่อเนื่อง (Transitional space)

ที่มากกว่า

ที่ปรากฏในเรือนพื้นถิ่นของเวียงจันทน์อย่างไรก็ตามแม้ว่าบ้านเรือนพื้นถิ่นของชาวลาวเวียงในบ้านเลือกจะ

เปิดเผยให้เห็นถึงพัฒนาการทางภูมิปัญญาของการผสมผสานทางวัฒนธรรมในที่อยู่อาศัย

แต่บ้านเรือนพื้นถิ่นเหล่านี้ก็มีแนวโน้มที่จะลบล้างหายไปตามกระแสการพัฒนาของประเทศเช่นกัน

แม้ว่าบทความนี้เป็นการนำเสนอเรื่องราวการแปรเปลี่ยนของบ้านเรือนพื้นถิ่นเฉพาะกลุ่มชนลาวเวียง

ในตำบลบ้านเลือก ซึ่งถูกเลือกเป็นตัวแทนการศึกษาในบริเวณลุ่มน้ำภาคกลาง

ผ่านการศึกษาเปรียบเทียบข้ามวัฒนธรรมที่เป็นวัฒนธรรมดั้งเดิม

การศึกษานี้น่าจะเป็นส่วนหนึ่งที่ทำให้เกิดความเข้าใจความซับซ้อนของสิ่งแวดล้อมสรรค์สร้างภายใต้บริบท

ของการเปลี่ยนแปลงทางวัฒนธรรมของประเทศไทยและความเชื่อมโยงกับประเทศอื่นๆในอาเซียน

โดยเฉพาะกับสาธารณรัฐประชาธิปไตยประชาชนลาว

บรรณานุกรม

- ถลอง สุนทรวานิชย์. (บรรณาธิการ). (2550). *สมุดราชบุรี พ.ศ. 2468*. กรุงเทพฯ: สมาคมมิตรภาพไทย-ญี่ปุ่น.
- ชนิดา ตั้งถาวรสิริกุล. (2541). *สื่อสัญลักษณ์ผ้าลาวเวียง*. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักงานกองทุนสนับสนุนการวิจัย.
- ณรงค์ ช่างโชติ. (2502). *การสำรวจสถานภาพการเกษตรเพื่อทำการส่งเสริมในท้องที่ตำบลบ้านเลือก ตำบลบ้านฆ้อง ตำบลคลองคาคค อำเภอโพธาราม จังหวัดราชบุรี*. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทบริหารธุรกิจและศึกษาศาสตร์, มหาวิทยาลัยเกษตรศาสตร์.
- เต็ม วิชาลัยพจนกิจ. (2540). *ประวัติศาสตร์ลาว. (พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 2)*. กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิโครงการตำราสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์.
- บงอร ปิยะพันธุ์. (2541). *ลาวในกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์*. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักงานกองทุนสนับสนุนงานวิจัย.
- บุญช่วย ศรีสวัสดิ์. (2547). *ราชอาณาจักรลาว*. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์สยาม.
- ประพันธ์ อุบลธรรม. (2549). *ไทยลาวเวียง มรดกทางวัฒนธรรมของจังหวัดราชบุรี*. ธันวาคม 2552.
สถาบันพัฒนาการศึกษาอกระบบและการศึกษาตามอัธยาศัยภาคกลาง. http://central.nfe.go.th/crnfe_php/acenter/lao_vie ng.html.
- พอพันธ์ อูยานนท์. (2546). *เศรษฐกิจชุมชนหมู่บ้านภาคกลาง*. กรุงเทพฯ: สถาบันวิถีทรรศน์.
- พิพิธภัณฑสถานแห่งชาติ ราชบุรี. (2544). *พิพิธภัณฑสถานแห่งชาติ ราชบุรี และจังหวัดราชบุรี*. กรุงเทพฯ: บริษัท สำนักพิมพ์สมาพันธ์ จำกัด.
- ภูมิวิไล ศิริพลเดช. (2550). บทที่ 2 การพัฒนาในลาว. *เพศภาวะและการพัฒนาในสังคมชนบทลาว: กรณีศึกษาโครงการพัฒนาฝายน้ำคาน*. (น. 85-124). เชียงใหม่: ศูนย์สตรีศึกษา คณะสังคมศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่.
- วิระณี แสงจันทร์. (2542). *การเปลี่ยนแปลงการใช้ที่ดินในเขตเทศบาล นครหลวงเวียงจันทน์ ปี พ.ศ. 2526 และ ปี พ.ศ. 2534*. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาวิทยาศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต (ภูมิศาสตร์การวางแผนการตั้งถิ่นฐานมนุษย์), บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย มหาวิทยาลัยเกษตรศาสตร์.
- วิระพงษ์ มีสถาน. (2550). *คนราชบุรี*. ราชบุรี: สำนักงานวัฒนธรรมจังหวัดราชบุรี.
- วันดี พิณีจวรสิน. (2555). *ลาวเวียง. รายงานสรุปผลการวิจัย ตั้งแต่ พ.ศ. 2552 - 2555 โครงการวิจัย "การศึกษาแบบองค์รวมของการปรับตัวในบริบทใหม่ที่แตกต่างของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ไท-ลาว ในพื้นที่ลุ่มน้ำภาคกลางของประเทศไทย"*. (น. 095-0135). กรุงเทพฯ: หจก. มาสเตอร์เพรส.
- ศรีศักร วัลลิโภดม. (2546). *แอ่งอารยธรรมอีสาน: แผลหลักฐานโบราณคดี พลิกโฉมหน้าประวัติศาสตร์ไทย (พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 4)*. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์มติชน.
- ศรีศักร วัลลิโภดม. (2553). *เรือนไทย บ้านไทย (พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 3)*. กรุงเทพฯ: เมืองโบราณ.
- ศิริศักดิ์ คุ้มรักษา. (2541). *คนราชบุรี. ใน ราชบุรี*. กรุงเทพฯ: สารคดี.
- ศูนย์อินโดจีนศึกษา วิทยาลัยการบริหารรัฐกิจ มหาวิทยาลัยบูรพา. (ม.ป.ป.). *ข้อมูลพื้นฐานสาธารณรัฐประชาธิปไตยประชาชนลาว*. ชลบุรี: ศูนย์อินโดจีนศึกษา วิทยาลัยการบริหารรัฐกิจ มหาวิทยาลัยบูรพา.
- สภาองค์กรชุมชนตำบลบ้านเลือก. (2552). *เอกสารโครงการหอวัฒนธรรมลาวเวียง ตำบลบ้านเลือก – วัดโบสถ์ ตำบลบ้านเลือก อำเภอโพธาราม จังหวัดราชบุรี*.
- สะท้าน เสลาหลัก. (ม.ป.ป.). *เอกสารชุมชนบ้านขนุน หมู่ 3 ต.บ้านเลือก อ.โพธาราม จ.ราชบุรี*.
- สิลา วีระวงส์. (2535). *ศิลปวัฒนธรรม ฉบับพิเศษ-ประวัติศาสตร์ลาว*. สมหมาย เปรมจิตต์, ผู้แปล. พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 2. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์มติชน.
- สุภาภรณ์ จินดาณิโรจน์. (2547). *ประวัติศาสตร์ท้องถิ่นลุ่มน้ำแม่กลอง บ้านโป่ง – เจ็ดเสมียน. ใน ลุ่มน้ำแม่กลอง: ประวัติศาสตร์ชาติพันธุ์ "เครือญาติ" มอญ. สุจิตต์ วงษ์เทศ, บรรณาธิการ. (น. 109-242)*. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์มติชน.
- สุภาภรณ์ จินดาณิโรจน์. (2554). *ประวัติศาสตร์ท้องถิ่นลุ่มน้ำแม่กลอง ความหลากหลายของผู้คน ชุมชน และวัฒนธรรม บ้านโป่ง-บ้านเจ็ดเสมียน*. ราชบุรี: พิพิธภัณฑสถานบ้านวัดม่วง.
- สุวิทย์ ชีรสาคัด. (2543). *ประวัติศาสตร์ลาว 1779-1975*. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์สร้างสรรค์.
- สุวิไล เปรมศรีรัตน์ สุจิตต์ลักษณ์ ศีผดุง อภิญา บัวสว่าง โสภนา ศรีจำปา อมร ทวีศักดิ์ เอกพงศ์ สุวรรณเกษร์ และคนอื่นๆ. 2547. *แผนที่ภาษาของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ต่างๆในประเทศไทย*. กรุงเทพฯ: โรงพิมพ์สุภาภรณ์.
- อุทอง ประศาสน์วินิจฉัย. (2551). *ซ่อนไว้ในลิ้ม ก-อ ในชีวิตอีสาน*. อ.เอื้อน. (น. 223-231). กรุงเทพฯ: บริษัท โฟกัสอิมเมจ ฟร้นด์ซิงก์ จำกัด.

13TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THAI STUDIES
GLOBALIZED THAILAND? CONNECTIVITY, CONFLICT AND CONUNDRUMS OF THAI STUDIES
15-18 JULY 2017, CHIANG MAI, THAILAND

- Charpenter, S.C. and Clement, P. (ม.ป.ป). *เรือนลาว ในเขตเวียงจันทน์และหลวงพระบาง*. [Elements Comparatifs Sur Les Habitations Des Ethnies De Langues Thai] (เกรียงไกร เกิดศิริ, ผู้แปล). โครงการศึกษาศิลปวัฒนธรรมในภูมิภาคอุษาคเนย์ หมายเลข 2. (ต้นฉบับตีพิมพ์ปี ค.ศ. 1990).
- Dovey, K. (1985). *Home environments*. In I. Altman & C. M. Werner (Eds.). *Home and homelessness*. (pp. 33–64). New York: Plenum Press.

จดหมายเหตุบัญชีน้ำฝน: องค์ความรู้ด้านอุทกศาสตร์สมัยรัชกาลที่ ๔ - ๕

พิศภูมิวิถิ, ปรีดี

คณะศิลปศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยมหิดล

Abstract

Rainfall record archive was composed by the Supreme Patriarch Krom Pra Pavares Variyalongkong, abbot of Wat Bowornnivet Viharn, also, the 8th Supreme Patriarch of Thailand between 1809 – 1892. He was one of the students of King Rama IV during His Majesty’s ordination, as a result, that assisted him to enlarge his vision further than the related period and became more scientific. His rainfall record archive: Hydrographical knowledge from the reign of King Rama IV – V recorded about the level of rainfalls in each month for the length of 45 years from 1855 to 1890, recognized as Thailand’s longest rainfall and considered as a standard level as it was in metric system. Additionally, “unusual hard rainfalls” and other natural phenomenons were also recorded, for example, red muddy water, eclipses including epidemic diseases in the past. Therefore, this archive is considered one significant historical record containing changes in weather and the Thai society in the reign of King Rama IV – V.

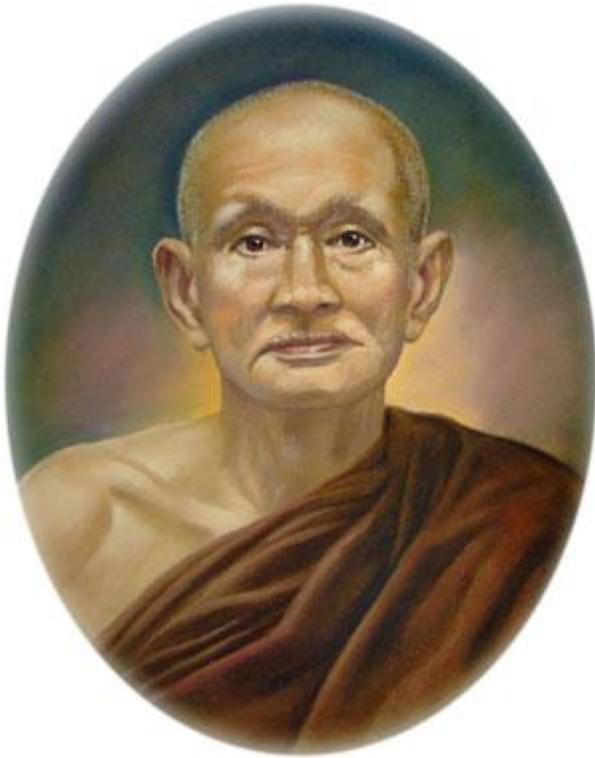
Keywords: Rainfall record archive: Hydrographical knowledge from the reign of King Rama IV – V

บทคัดย่อ

จดหมายเหตุบัญชีน้ำฝนเป็นพระนิพนธ์ของสมเด็จพระมหาสมณเจ้า กรมพระยาปวเรศวริยาลงกรณ์ (พ.ศ. ๒๓๕๒ – ๒๔๓๕) สมเด็จพระสังฆราชเจ้าพระองค์ที่ ๔ แห่งกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ ทรงครองวัดบวรนิเวศวิหารระหว่างพุทธศักราช ๒๓๕๔ – ๒๔๓๕ ด้วยเหตุที่ทรงเป็นศิษย์ของพระวชิรญาณภิกขุ (ต่อมาคือพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว รัชกาลที่ ๔) ทำให้ทรงมีแนวคิดกว้างไกล นำยุคสมัยและเป็นวิทยาศาสตร์มากขึ้น พระนิพนธ์เรื่องจดหมายเหตุบัญชีน้ำฝนเป็นบันทึกประจำวันที่ทรงจดจำนวนปริมาณน้ำฝนในช่วงเดือนต่างๆ เป็นระยะเวลานานถึง ๔๕ ปี ตั้งแต่พุทธศักราช ๒๓๕๘ – ๒๔๓๓ นับว่าเป็นการเก็บสถิติน้ำฝนในประเทศไทยเป็นครั้งแรกที่ยาวนานที่สุดและเป็นการวัดระดับน้ำที่เข้าสู่การเป็นสากล คือใช้มาตรวัดแบบเซนติเมตร นอกจากนี้ในจดหมายเหตุบัญชีน้ำฝนยังทรงอธิบายเรื่องปริมาณ “ห่าฝน” และทรงบันทึกเหตุการณ์ทางประวัติศาสตร์และปรากฏการณ์ทางธรรมชาติเช่นน้ำเหนือไหลบ่า การเกิดน้ำขุ่นแดงเป็นตะกอน การเกิดคราส และการเกิดพายุพิภพในสถานที่ต่างๆ รวมทั้งเหตุการณ์สำคัญที่เกิดขึ้นในสยาม เช่นการรับช้างเผือก การเกิดโรคระบาด เป็นต้น นับได้ว่าจดหมายเหตุบัญชีน้ำฝนเล่มนี้เป็นบันทึกความเปลี่ยนแปลงทางสภาพอากาศ และสภาพสังคมไทยในสมัยรัชกาลที่ ๔ – รัชกาลที่ ๕ ได้เป็นอย่างดี

ประวัติสังเขปผู้ทรงนิพนธ์

สมเด็จพระมหาสมณเจ้า กรมพระยาปวเรศวริยาลงกรณ์ มีพระนามเดิมว่า พระเจ้าวรวงศ์เธอ พระองค์เจ้าฤกษ์ เป็นราชโอรสในสมเด็จพระบรมราชเจ้า กรมพระราชวังบวรมหาเสนาบดี และเจ้าจอมมารดาน้อยเล็ก ประสูติเมื่อวันจันทร์ที่ ๑๔ กันยายน พ.ศ. ๒๓๕๒ ซึ่งเป็นวันเริ่มสวดมนต์ตั้งพระราชพิธีบรมราชาภิเษกพระบาทสมเด็จพระพุทธเลิศหล้านภาลัย รัชกาลที่ ๒ จึงได้พระราชทานนามตามศุภนิมิตว่าพระองค์เจ้าฤกษ์ ให้ดำรงยศอย่างพระองค์เจ้าในพระราชวังบวรสถานมงคล



พ.ศ. ๒๓๖๕ เมื่อพระชนมายุได้ ๑๓ พรรษา
ทรงผนวชเป็นสามเณร โดยมีสมเด็จพระสังฆราช (มี)
เป็นพระอุปัชฌาย์ เสด็จอยู่วัดมหาธาตุยุวราชรังสฤษฎิ์

ทรงศึกษามูลกัจจายน์อยู่ในสำนักพระญาณสมโพธิ (รอด)
ชานีชานาญได้ไล่สูตรมูลในที่ประชุมอาจารย์ที่พระราชวังเดิมในพระบาทสมเด็จพระนั่งเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว
แต่ครั้งยังดำรงพระอิสริยยศเป็นสมเด็จพระเจ้าลูกยาเธอกรมหมื่นเจษฎาบดินทร์ เมื่อทรงผนวชเป็นสามเณรได้ ๔
พรรษา ทรงประชวรด้วยไข้ทรพิษ จึงทรงลาผนวชออกไปรักษาพระองค์ชั่วคราวครั้นหายประชวรแล้ว
กรมพระราชวังบวรมหาดคีพลเสพ ทรงจัดการให้ทรงผนวชเป็นสามเณรอีกครั้งหนึ่ง
ทรงผนวชเป็นสามเณรอยู่จนพระชนมายุครบอุปสมบท
พ.ศ. ๒๓๗๒ เมื่อพระชนมายุ ๒๐ พรรษา ครบอุปสมบท พระบาทสมเด็จพระนั่งเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว
โปรดให้ลาผนวชออกไปสมโภชตามราชประเพณี แล้วแห่พร้อมด้วยสมเด็จพระบรมวงศ์เธอ ชั้น ๒
เจ้าฟ้าอาภรณ์ที่จะทรงผนวชเป็นสามเณรในเวลานั้น ในการทรงผนวชเป็นพระภิกษุนั้น สมเด็จพระสังฆราช
(ค่อน) เป็นพระอุปัชฌาย์ และสมเด็จพระมหาสมณเจ้า กรมพระปรมานุชิตชิโนรส
ขณะทรงดำรงพระอิสริยยศเป็นกรมหมื่นนุชิตชิโนรส กับพระวินัยรักจิต วัดมหาธาตุยุวราชรังสฤษฎิ์
เป็นพระกรรมวาจาจารย์ เมื่อวันศุกร์ขึ้น ๑๐ ค่ำ เดือน ๘ ปี ฉลู เอกศก จุลศักราช ๑๘๕๑ พุทธศักราช ๒๓๗๒
ได้รับฉายาว่า "ปญฺญาคุ โค" เมื่อทรงผนวชเป็นพระภิกษุแล้ว
ได้ทรงศึกษาพระธรรมวินัยในสำนักของพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว (พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าฯ
ทรงพระเจริญพระชนมายุกว่า ๕ พรรษา) ซึ่งทรงผนวชอยู่ ณ วัดมหาธาตุยุวราชรังสฤษฎิ์นั้นเช่นกัน

สมเด็จพระมหาสมณเจ้า กรมพระยาปวเรศวริยาลงกรณ์ ทรงศึกษาพระปริยัติธรรมจนทรงแตกฉานในภาษาบาลี แต่ไม่ทรงเข้าสอบเพื่อเป็นเปรียญ พระบาทสมเด็จพระนั่งเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวได้พระราชทานพัดยศสำหรับเปรียญเอก ที่เคยพระราชทานแก่พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าฯ

เมื่อครั้งยังมีได้ทรงเป็นพระราชอาคันตุกะให้ทรงถือเป็นเกียรติยศสืบมา

พระนิพนธ์อันเป็นเครื่องแสดงถึงพระปรีชาสามารถในภาษาบาลีของพระองค์ก็คือ พระนิพนธ์เรื่อง สุกตวิทตติวิธานซึ่งทรงนิพนธ์เป็นภาษาบาลีว่าด้วยเรื่องการวิเคราะห์กัณฑ์พระสุคตอันเป็นมาตราวัดที่มีกล่าวถึงใน ทางพระวินัย นอกจากนี้ก็ได้ทรงนิพนธ์เรื่องเบ็ดเตล็ดอื่นๆ เป็น ภาษาบาลีไว้อีกหลายเรื่อง นับว่าทรงเป็นปราชญ์ทาง ภาษาบาลีที่สำคัญพระองค์หนึ่งในยุครัตนโกสินทร์

เมื่อทรงผนวชเป็นพระภิกษุแล้วทรงศึกษาพระปริยัติธรรมในสำนักพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว ซึ่งทรงผนวชเป็นพระภิกษุอยู่ ณ วัดมหาธาตุขึ้น เช่นกัน ในเวลานั้น (พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าฯ ทรงพระเจริญพระชนมายุกว่า ๕ พรรษา)

เป็นเหตุให้ทรงเลื่อมใสในลัทธิธรรมวินัยตามอย่างพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าฯ ภายหลังจึงได้ทรงอุปสมบทซ้ำอีกครั้งหนึ่งในนทีสีมา โดยพระสุเมธจารย์ (พุทธวังสะ) เป็นพระอุปัชฌาย์ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าฯ เป็นพระกรรมวาจาจารย์

พุทธศักราช ๒๓๘๔ หลังจากที่พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว ทรงลาผนวชเสด็จเถลิงถวัลยราชสมบัติ เป็นรัชกาลที่ ๔ แล้ว ได้ทรงพระกรุณาโปรดสถาปนาพระเจ้าวรวงศ์เธอ พระองค์เจ้าฤกษ์ เป็น กรมหมื่นบวรรั้งยีสุริยพันธุ์ ทรงอภิศรัยศเป็นปธานาธิบดีใน ธรรมยุติกนิกายสังฆมณฑลบรมนิเวศาทิศณะ ทรงดำรงสมณฐานันดรเป็นรองจากสมเด็จพระมหาสมณเจ้า กรมพระปรมานุชิตชิโนรส ซึ่งดำรงตำแหน่งสมเด็จพระสังฆราชอยู่ในขณะนั้น ทรงสมณศักดิ์เสมอสมเด็จพระราชาคณะเจ้าคณะใหญ่ เมื่อสมเด็จพระมหาสมณเจ้า กรมพระปรมานุชิตชิโนรส สิ้นพระชนม์เมื่อปี พ.ศ. ๒๓๘๖

พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว

มิได้ทรงสถาปนาพระเถระรูปใดขึ้นเป็นสมเด็จพระสังฆราชอีกตลอดรัชกาลรวมเป็นระยะเวลา ๑๕ ปี

ในระหว่างนั้น พระองค์ทรงดำรงสมณฐานันดรเป็นที่สอง รองจากสมเด็จพระมหาสมณเจ้า

กรมพระปรมานุชิตชิโนรส ซึ่งทรงดำรงตำแหน่งมหาสังฆปริณายก

เมื่อปี พ.ศ. ๒๔๑๖ พระองค์เป็นพระราชอุปัชฌาย์ของพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว

หลังจากลาผนวช ทรงตั้งพระทัยจะถวายมหาสมณุตตมาภิเษก แต่กรมหมื่นบวรรั้งยีสุริยพันธุ์ไม่ทรงรับ

เพราะถ่อมพระองค์ว่าทรงเป็นเจ้าวังหน้า

ไม่ควรข้ามชั้นเจ้านายวังหลวงหลายพระองค์ที่มีพระชันษาสูงกว่าพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวจึงไป รดเกล้าฯ เลื่อนพระอิสริยยศขึ้นเป็น พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระปวเรศวริยาลงกรณ์ บวรรั้งยีสุริยพันธุ์

ปิยพรหมจรรย์ธรรมวรยุต ปฏิบัติสุทธะคณะนายก พุทธศาสนดิลกบวรวิยะบรรพชิต สรรพธรรมิกกิจโกศล

สุวิมลปรีชา ปัญญาอรคอนาคาปริยัตโนดม พุทธะวาราคม โหรกกลากุสโลภาศ ปรมินทรมหาราชหิโตปชฌาจารย์

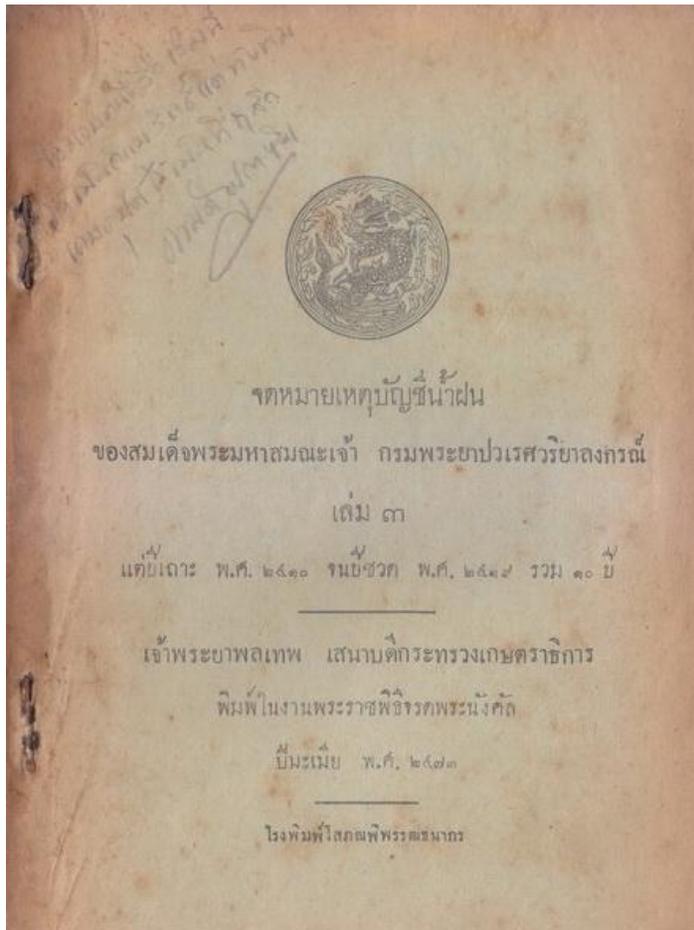
มโหฬารเมตตยาภิธยาไพศรย พุทธาทิศรีรัตนไตรคุณารักษ์ อุกฤษฐศักดิ์สกลสังฆปาโมกข์ ประธานาธิบดีนทร

มหาสมณคณะนทรวิโรดม บรมบพิตร ได้รับนิตยภัตเดือนละ ๑๐ ตำลึง เบี้ยหวัดปีละ ๓๐ ชั่ง

การที่เลื่อนพระอิสริยยศครั้งนี้ แม้ว่าพระองค์จะไม่ทรงรับถวายมหาสมณุตมาภิเษกในที่สมเด็จพระสังฆราช แต่พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวก็ถวายพระเกียรติยศในทางสมณศักดิ์สูงสุด เท่ากับทรงเป็นสมเด็จพระสังฆราช และมีได้ทรงสถาปนาพระเถระรูปอื่นใดเป็นสมเด็จพระสังฆราชเป็นระยะเวลาถึง ๒๓ ปี ในปี พ.ศ. ๒๔๓๔ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวมีพระราชดำริว่า พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระปวเรศวริยาลงกรณ์ทรงเจริญพระชนมายุไม่มีพระบรมวงศานุวงศ์พระองค์ใดในพระบรมราชตระกูลอัน นี้ ที่ล่วงลับไปแล้วก็ดี ยังดำรงอยู่ก็ดี ที่จะมิพระชนมายุเทียบถึง ทั้งยังเป็นที่น่าถือของคนทั่วไปทั้งฝ่ายคฤหัสถ์และฝ่ายบรรพชิต พระองค์จึงทรงพระกรุณาโปรดเกล้าฯ ให้ตั้งพระราชพิธีมหาสมณุตมาภิเษก เลื่อนพระอิสริยยศเป็นกรมสมเด็จพระ พระราชทานเบญจปฎลเศวตฉัตร ตาลปัตรแฉกพื้นดาด รัชนีศกต์เดือนละ ๑๒ คำถึง เบี้ยหวัดปีละ ๓๕ ชั่ง ตั้งฐานานุกรมได้เพิ่มอีก ๔ รูป มีพระนามตามจารึกในพระสุพรรณบัฏว่า

“พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมสมเด็จพระปวเรศวริยาลงกรณ์ บวรรั้งยี่สุริยพันธุ์ ปิยพรหมจรรย์ธรรมมายุค ปฏิบัติสุทธิคณนายก ธรรมนิติสาธกปวริยบรรพชิต สรรพธรรมิกกิจ โทศล สุวิมลปรีชา ปัญญาอรรถมหาสมณคม บรมพงษาธิบดี จักรกิริบรมนารถ มหาเสนาณรงค์อุนราชาวราญกร ปรมินทร์บดินทร์สุริย์หิโตปชาจารย์ มโหฬารเมตยาภิทยาไศรย์ ไตรปิฎกโทรกลาโทศล เบญจปดลเศวตฉัตร ศิริรัตโนปลักษณมหาสมณุตมาภิเสกาภิลิต ปรมุกฤษฐสมณศักดิ์ธารง มหาสงฆปรินายก พุทธศาสนคิลกโลกุตมมhabัณชาติย์ สุนทรวิจิตรปฏิภาณ ไวยัตติยญาณมหากระวี พุทธาทิศิริรัตนไตรคุณารักษ์ เอกอรรถมหอนาการิยรัตน สยามาธิโลกยปฏิพัทธ พุทธบริสัชยเนตร สมณคณินทราริเบศร์ สกลพุทธจักโรปการกิจ สฤษคิศุภการ มหาปาโมกษประธานวโรคม บรมนารถบพิตร”

ภายหลังพระบาทสมเด็จพระมงกุฎเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวมีพระราชดำริว่า การเรียกพระนามพระบรมราชวงศ์ซึ่งดำรงสมณศักดิ์เป็นพระประมุขแห่งสังฆมณฑลแต่เดิมนั้นเรียกตามพระอิสริยยศแห่งพระบรมราชวงศ์ ไม่ได้เรียกตามสมณศักดิ์ของพระประมุขแห่งสังฆมณฑล คือ "สมเด็จพระอริยวงศาคตญาณ" หรือที่เรียกอย่างย่อว่า "สมเด็จพระสังฆราช" พระองค์จึงเปลี่ยนค่านำพระนามของพระบรมวงศานุวงศ์ซึ่งดำรงสมณศักดิ์เป็นพระประมุขแห่งสังฆมณฑลว่า "สมเด็จพระมหาสมณเจ้า" เพื่อให้ปรากฏพระนามในส่วนสมณศักดิ์ด้วย ดังนั้น จึงเปลี่ยนค่านำพระนามเป็น "สมเด็จพระมหาสมณเจ้า กรมพระยาปวเรศวริยาลงกรณ์" สมเด็จพระมหาสมณเจ้า กรมพระยาปวเรศวริยาลงกรณ์ สิ้นพระชนม์เมื่อวันที่ ๒๘ กันยายน พ.ศ. ๒๔๓๕ เวลา ๒๓.๐๓ น. พระชันษาได้ ๘๓ ปี ๑๓ วัน ผนวชเป็นพระภิกษุได้ ๖๔ พรรษา พระราชทานเพลิงพระศพ ณ พระเมรุท้องสนามหลวง เมื่อวันที่ ๑๖ มกราคม พ.ศ. ๒๔๔๑



จดหมายเหตุบัญญัติน้ำฝน ได้รับการพิมพ์แยกเล่มอีกครั้งหนึ่ง นับเป็นการพิมพ์ครั้งที่ ๒ คือพิมพ์ในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ พลตรี พระอุดมโยธาธิยุต (สด รัตนาวดี) เมื่อ พ.ศ. ๒๕๐๓ และสำนักพิมพ์ต้นฉบับได้นำมาพิมพ์รวมกันเป็นครั้งแรกในปี พ.ศ. ๒๕๕๑ ในชื่อประชุมจดหมายเหตุโทร รวม ๓ ฉบับ ซึ่งเป็นฉบับที่ใช้ในการศึกษาครั้งนี้

เนื้อหา

จดหมายเหตุบัญญัติน้ำฝนทั้ง ๓ เล่ม ไม่ใช่เพียงการบันทึกระดับน้ำฝนที่ตกในแต่ละเดือน หรือในวันสำคัญทางศาสนาเท่านั้น แต่ผู้บันทึกจะทรงบันทึกเหตุการณ์สำคัญอื่นที่เกิดขึ้นในทำนอง “ปุม” ไว้ด้วย บัญชีน้ำฝนในปีแรกที่ทรงบันทึกนั้นเริ่มในปี พ.ศ. ๒๓๘๕ ในรัชกาลพระบาทสมเด็จพระนั่งเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว รัชกาลที่ ๓ (พ.ศ. ๒๓๖๗ – ๒๓๙๔) ทรงเริ่มบันทึกว่า “เดือน ๖ ฝนตก ๑๐๕ เซ็นต์ ขึ้นค่ำ ๑ ฝนตกมาก อสนีบาต ตกที่พระที่นั่งดุสิตมหาปราสาท” จากนั้นในแต่ละเดือนจะทรงบันทึกระดับน้ำฝนไว้ เช่น “เดือน ๗ ข้างขึ้นฝนตก ๒๒๑ เซ็นต์” ลักษณะเช่นนี้ไปเรื่อย จะทรงเน้นการบันทึกระดับน้ำฝนในเดือน ๖ – ๑๒ หรือในช่วงฤดูฝน และฤดูหนาว

และเมื่อหมดปี จะทรงสรุปรวมระดับน้ำไว้ เช่น “ในปีมะเมียอุทก ฝนตก ๖๑๕๖ เซ็นต์ น้ำมากกว่าปีก่อน ๑ สอก” เมื่อศึกษาจดหมายเหตุบัญชีน้ำฝนทั้ง ๓ เล่ม จะพบว่าสามารถจำแนกเนื้อหาได้อย่างกว้างๆ ๔ กลุ่ม คือ

๑. เนื้อหาที่ทรงบันทึกระดับน้ำฝน และพระวินิจฉัยเรื่องฝนตก
๒. เนื้อหาที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการสถาปนาวัด
๓. เนื้อหาที่เกี่ยวข้องกับสุขอนามัยของประชากร
๔. เนื้อหาที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการสิ้นพระชนม์ของพระราชวงศ์ การเสียชีวิตของขุนนาง
๕. เนื้อหาที่เกี่ยวข้องกับเหตุการณ์พิเศษ เช่นการตั้งกรมพระราชวงศ์ การรับช้างเผือก

๑. เนื้อหาที่ทรงบันทึกระดับน้ำฝน และพระวินิจฉัยเรื่องฝนตก

พระวินิจฉัยหลักที่เกี่ยวกับระดับน้ำฝนคือการที่ทรงอธิบายคำว่า “ท่าฝน” ให้คนทั่วไปเข้าใจในทางวิทยาศาสตร์ เพราะในอดีตนั้น เมื่อคนทั่วไปกล่าวว่าฝนตกท่าหนึ่ง เป็นการบอกปริมาณน้ำฝนที่ตกลงมาในบาตรพระ หรือหอยโข่งที่ตั้งไว้กลางแจ้งนั้น ผู้ทรงนิพนธ์ไม่ทรงเห็นด้วย เพราะขนาดของบาตรย่อมไม่คงที่นัก ทรงทดสอบดูว่าบาตรพระนั้นหากน้ำเต็มจะจุถึง ๒๘๘ นิ้ว ทรงทดลองนำบาตร หอยโข่งขนาดเล็ก ขนาดใหญ่มาตั้งรองน้ำกลางแจ้งแล้วทรงพิสูจน์ว่า บาตรหนึ่งนั้นเท่ากับฝนตก ๕๐ นิ้ว (๓๕๐ เซ็นต์) ที่สำคัญอีกประการหนึ่งคือทรงวินิจฉัยต่อไปว่าคำว่า “ฝนตกท่าหนึ่ง” นั้นเป็นคำที่น่าจะมีที่มาที่ไป ทรงวินิจฉัยว่าในภาษาบาลี จะสร้างคำประสมโดยนำคำว่า “ท่า” วางไว้ข้างหน้า เช่น ท่าฝนศาสตราวุธ ท่าฝนโบทกพรพัตร์ ถ้าเป็นภาษาไทยจะนำคำว่าท่าวางไว้หลัง เช่น ไรลท่า ตายท่า ฝนท่า ฝึท่า เป็นต้น ท่านี้อาจหมายถึงคำว่าใหญ่หรือมาก ซึ่งทรงสันนิษฐานว่า “ท่า” มาจากคำว่า “มหา” ที่แปลว่ามากหรือใหญ่เช่นในอินเดียพวกโยคีที่เห็นคนเจ็บป่วยมากก็จะพูดว่า โรคมากหา หรือ โรคมหา คือแปลว่าเป็นโรคมก เจ็บป่วยมาก คนไทยที่ได้ยินก็เข้าใจไปว่าเป็นคำว่าโรคท่า ดังนี้เป็นต้น เมื่อทรงบันทึกเรื่องระดับฝนที่ตกลงมาในแต่ละเดือนนั้น จะทรงบันทึกข้างขึ้น ๑ ครั้ง และข้างแรม ๑ ครั้ง แต่ในบางเดือนมีเหตุการณ์ทางธรรมชาติก็จะทรงอธิบายทั้งในเชิงโหราศาสตร์ไว้ด้วย ดังตัวอย่างเช่น

ปีชวดจัตวาศก จุลศักราช ๑๒๑๔ เดือน ๕ ฝนตก ๑๒๕ เซ็นต์ แรม ๗ คำ ฟ้าร้องมาก ฝ่ำริมหอกลอง (น.๑๔๒)

ปีฉลูเบญจศก จุลศักราช ๑๒๑๕ ปีนี้ น้ำมากฝนมาก ฝนปีนี้ตักผัดสังเกตเป็นสองตอน ก่อนสารทนั้นแล้ง หลังสารทนั้นชุก ตกก็ใหญ่ๆ ผิดกว่าทุกปี ราคาเข้าถอยลง เกวียนละ ๕ ตำลึง (น.๑๔๘)

ปีขานฉศก จุลศักราช ๑๒๑๖ ฝนปีนี้ดีนักตกเสมอ ไม่น้ำมากไม่น้อย ไร่นางามบริบูรณ์ไม่มีปีใดเสมอ เปนอัศจรรย์ เดือน ๔ ข้างเผือกชื่อพระวิสุตร์รัตนกิริณีมาถึงกรุงเทพฯ (น.๑๕๐)

ปีมะโรงอัฐศก จุลศักราช ๑๒๑๘ เดือน ๕ ฝนตก ๖๕๑ เซ็นต์ ปีนี้มีฝนต้นมือชุก

เพราะมฤตยูลอคใส่ราหูอยู่ต้นรายีเมศ (น.๑๕๓)

เดือน ๑๐ ข้างแรมฝนตก ๗๘๕ เซ็นต์ แรม ๗ คำ เข้าขึ้นหมอกลง ไปจนถึงโมงครึ่งแล้วฝนตกลงมาได้ น้ำ ๑๔๘

เซ็นต์ เห็นจะสิ้นฤดูฝนเพียงเท่านี้ แต่ไปเห็นจะเป็นฝนพระเคราะห์ใหญ่ รวมฝนตกเดือน ๑๐ นี้ ๑๓๗๓ เซ็นต์ (น.๑๕๕)

๒. เนื้อหาที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการสถาปนาวัด

โดยเหตุที่ผู้นิพนธ์ทรงดำรงตำแหน่งที่สังฆราช และทรงดูแลวัดต่างๆ ทั้งในและนอกพระนคร ทั้งช่วงเวลานั้น พระมหากษัตริย์ได้ทรงเอาพระราชธุระในการสร้างวัดใหม่ขึ้นมา มาก จดหมายเหตุบัญชีน้ำฝนจึงบันทึกเรื่องการสถาปนาวัดไว้ด้วย ดังเช่น

ปีมะแมนพศก จุลศักราช ๑๒๐๕ เดือน ๑๑ ข้างขึ้นฝนตก ๘๒๓ เซ็นต์ ขึ้น ๑๑ ค่ำฝนตกใหญ่ถึง ๓๕๒ เซ็นต์ เป็นวันผูกโบสถ์วัดบวรนิเวศกับวัดบรมนิวาส (น.๑๓๑)

ปีระกาตรีศก จุลศักราช ๑๒๒๓ เดือน ๘ ข้างแรมฝนตก ๔๕๑ เซ็นต์ แรม ๔ ค่ำผูกโบสถ์วัดบูรณศิริมาตยาราม (น.๑๓๓)

ปีกุนส์ปตศก จุลศักราช ๑๒๓๗ เดือน ๖ ข้างขึ้นฝนตก ๖๘๕ เซ็นต์ ขึ้น ๓ ค่ำ ๓ โมงเช้า สมมติสิมาวัดจันทโมสร (น.๒๖๕)

๓. เนื้อหาที่เกี่ยวข้องกับสุขอนามัยของประชากร

ในช่วงต้นรัตนโกสินทร์ สุขอนามัยของชาวสยามยังไม่ดีมากนัก การรักษาพยาบาลยังไม่มี ความเจริญในแบบตะวันตก เมื่อเกิดโรคระบาดขึ้น จึงเป็นเหตุให้ผู้คนล้มตายเป็นจำนวนมาก ในจดหมายเหตุบัญชีน้ำฝน มีตัวอย่างบันทึกว่า

ปีระกาเอกศก จุลศักราช ๑๒๑๑ เกิดไข้หวัดใหญ่คล้ายปีมะโรง (น.๑๓๔)

ปีวอกจัตวาศก จุลศักราช ๑๒๓๔ หัดออกแดงทั่วทั้ง กายสกล ร้ายกาจทำฝูงชน มอดม้วย ตายมากกว่าพันคน เขาเล่า กันนา ชุมนักมั่งคั่งด้วย ไม่ช้าชีพสูญ (น.๒๔๕) หรืออีกแห่งว่า เดือนเจ็ดแรมแปดขึ้น โรคหนาลงรากปวงมีมา ทั่วด้าน วันหนึ่งครั้งพันกว่า สองฟาก เมืองแสร รายทั่วทุกบางบ้าน แต่น้อยกว่าหลังระกาความไข้คนตายนับได้ เกือบใกล้สี่พัน เบน้อยกว่าเก่า หกเท่าลดกัน มะโรงก่อนนั้น แสนหนึ่งบัญชี เขาจดหมายไว้ในสมุดปูมมี มากกว่าครั้งนี้ หกเท่าเป็นไป (น.๒๔๗)

๔. เนื้อหาที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการสิ้นพระชนม์ของพระราชวงศ์ การมรณภาพของพระสงฆ์ และการเสียชีวิตของขุนนาง

ข้อมูลสำคัญในจดหมายเหตุบัญชีน้ำฝนคือการที่ทรงบันทึกการสิ้นพระชนม์ของพระราชวงศ์ การมรณภาพของพระสงฆ์ และการเสียชีวิตของขุนนาง ที่สำคัญคือเมื่อพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว รัชกาลที่ ๔ สวรรคตก็มีข้อมูลในจดหมายเหตุนี้ด้วยเช่นกัน

ปีฉลูเบญจศก จุลศักราช ๑๒๑๕ เดือน ๑ ฝนตก ๓๗๘ เซ็นต์ ขึ้น ๕ ค่ำ สมเด็จพระปรมาธิบดีสิ้นพระชนม์ (น.๑๔๗)

ปีระกาตรีศก จุลศักราช ๑๒๒๓ เดือน ๘ ข้างขึ้น ฝนตก ๒๖๕ เซ็นต์ ขึ้น ๓ ค่ำ กรมหลวงมหิศ วรินทร์สิ้นพระชนม์
ขึ้น ๗ ค่ำ เจ้าพระยาธรรมธการมลินชีพตักขัย ขึ้น ๑๑ ค่ำ พระองค์เจ้ามณฑาใหญ่สิ้นพระชนม์เดือน ๘ ข้างขึ้น ฝนตก
๑๐๔ เซ็นต์ ขึ้น ๖ ค่ำ พระองค์เจ้ามงคลเลิศสิ้นพระชนม์ (น.๑๗๓) เดือน ๑๐ ขึ้น ๕
ค่ำกลางวันพระนางรำเพยภมราภิรมณ์สิ้นพระชนม์ เดือน ๑๑ แรม ๑๐ ค่ำ เจ้าฟ้าอิศราพงศ์สิ้นพระชนม์ (น.๑๗๔)

ปีวอกจัตวาศก จุลศักราช ๑๒๓๔ เดือน ๘ ข้างแรม ฝนตก ๒๕๒ เซ็นต์ แรม ๒ ค่ำ ๒ ยามวันเสาร์
สมเด็จพระพุทธอาจารย์สิ้นชีพตักขัย (น.๒๓๕)

ปีมะโรงสัมฤทธิศก จุลศักราช ๑๒๓๐ เดือน ๑๑ ขึ้น ๑๕ ค่ำ วันเพ็ญท่วมเศษหมอกลงมาก เวลายามเศษสวรรคต
(น.๒๐๘)

๕. เนื้อหาที่เกี่ยวข้องกับเหตุการณ์พิเศษ เช่นการตั้งกรมพระราชวงศ์ การรับข้างเผือก

เหตุการณ์พิเศษที่เกิดขึ้นไม่บ่อยครั้งนักในช่วงแผ่นดินรัชกาลที่ ๓ – ๔ คือการตั้งกรมหรือเลื่อนกรมพระราชวงศ์
หรือการรับข้างเผือกเข้ามาในพระนครซึ่งถือว่าเป็นเครื่องแสดงพระบรมเดชานุภาพของพระมหากษัตริย์
หรือการสมโภชพระพุทธรูปสำคัญของแผ่นดิน หรืออาจบันทึกเหตุการณ์อื่นๆ ที่สำคัญ ดังตัวอย่างเช่น

ปีกัญตรีศก จุลศักราช ๑๒๑๓ เดือน ๑๐ ข้างแรม ฝนตก ๑๐๔๒ เซ็นต์ แรม ๑๒ ค่ำ ฝนตกใหญ่ถึง ๖๓๕ เซ็นต์
วันตั้งกรมสมเด็จพระศรีสุริเยนทราธิบดี ตกมากไม่มีผู้ (น. ๑๔๑)

ปีฉลูเบญจศก จุลศักราช ๑๒๑๕ เดือน ๘ ต้นข้างแรม ฝนตก แรม ๒ ค่ำ ฝนตกใหญ่ถึง ๕๖๕ เซ็นต์
พระพิมลรัตนมาถึง (น.๑๔๕)

ปีมะเส็งนพศก จุลศักราช ๑๒๑๕ เดือน ๑ ข้างแรม ฝนตก ๑๑๒ เซ็นต์ แรม ๒ ค่ำ สมโภชพระไถย (น.๑๖๑)

ปีมะเมียสัมฤทธิศก จุลศักราช ๑๒๒๐ เดือน ๖ ข้างขึ้น ฝนตก ๕๓๒ เซ็นต์ ขึ้น ๔ ค่ำ เสด็จไปพระปฐมเจดีย์
(น.๑๖๒)

ปีชวดฉศก จุลศักราช ๑๒๒๖ เดือน ๕ ฝนตก ๑๔ เซ็นต์ แรม ๑๒ ค่ำ สมโภชพระแก้ว (น.๑๘๒)

ข้อมูลในจดหมายเหตุบัญชีน้ำฝนของสมเด็จพระมหาสมณเจ้าฯ ที่สามารถจำแนกเนื้อหาได้อย่างกว้างๆ
เช่นนี้แสดงให้เห็นว่าผู้บันทึกได้ทรงตั้งใจเพียงการบันทึกระดับน้ำฝนเท่านั้น
แต่เหตุการณ์พิเศษในแต่ละวันก็ได้รับการบันทึกไว้ด้วยเช่นกัน
ถือว่าการบันทึกข้อมูลที่สำคัญและเป็นประโยชน์อีกด้านหนึ่ง แต่อย่างไรก็ดี
อาจสังเกตได้ว่าความรู้ที่ได้รับการบันทึกนี้กำลังเริ่มทำหายชุดความรู้ดั้งเดิมของชาวสยามบ้าง
เพราะมีการวิเคราะห์และอธิบายตามอย่างตะวันตกซึ่งแสดงความเป็นสากลมากขึ้น

ความเป็นสากล ในจดหมายเหตุบัญญัติน้ำฝนฯ

๑. แนวคิดการรับรู้เรื่องวิทยาศาสตร์

ประเด็นสำคัญที่พบในหนังสือจดหมายเหตุบัญญัติน้ำฝนฯ

คือผู้ทรงนิพนธ์ทรงให้ความสำคัญการกระบวนการทางวิทยาศาสตร์ในการศึกษาหาความรู้

มิได้ทรงเชื่อเรื่องใดเรื่องหนึ่งโดยง่าย หรือเชื่อเพราะเป็นคำสอนของคนโบราณ

ดังที่ทรงวินิจฉัยเรื่องท่าฝนไว้ตั้งแต่ต้นจดหมายเหตุฯ ทั้งนี้ต้องเข้าใจว่าสังคมไทยในช่วงรัชกาลที่ ๓ – ๔

เป็นยุคสมัยที่ความรู้ในสยามกำลังถูกทำลายจากความรู้ที่เข้ามาจากตะวันตก ชาวสยามที่มีความรู้

การศึกษาและมีปฏิสัมพันธ์กับชาวต่างชาติอาจได้รับข้อมูลชุดใหม่ และพยายามหาคำอธิบาย

ในช่วงเวลาเดียวกันนั้นมีหนังสือแสดงกิจจานุกิจ พิมพ์เผยแพร่ขึ้นในปี พ.ศ. ๒๔๑๐

หนังสือเล่มนี้เขียนโดยเจ้าพระยาทิพากรวงษ์มหาโกษาธิบดี

ในลักษณะของหนังสือที่ให้ความรู้ด้านวิทยาศาสตร์แบบใหม่

คือตั้งคำถามและแสวงหาคำตอบโดยไม่ใช้การเดาหรือเชื่อตามความเชื่อเดิม

ลักษณะการหาข้อมูลดังกล่าวสอดคล้องกับจดหมายเหตุบัญญัติน้ำฝนฯ ที่ใช้ศึกษาในครั้งนี้

ข้อพิจารณาประการหนึ่งคือสมเด็จพระมหาสมณเจ้าฯ ทรงศึกษาหาความรู้แบบตะวันตกนี้จากผู้ใด

ก็อาจสันนิษฐานได้ว่าทรงศึกษาและมีพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว รัชกาลที่ ๔

เป็นแบบอย่างในการศึกษา เพราะในสมัยนั้นมีเพียงพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว

พระบาทสมเด็จพระปิ่นเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว

และขุนนางสำคัญอีกเพียงไม่กี่ท่านเท่านั้นที่สามารถอ่านเขียนภาษาอังกฤษได้

ดังที่ปรากฏในพระราชหัตถเลขาภาษาอังกฤษจำนวนมากของพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว

ที่พิมพ์เผยแพร่ไว้

การรับรู้เรื่องวิทยาศาสตร์แบบใหม่ ที่ความรู้จะเกิดจากการทดลอง การลองผิดถูก และไม่ได้ยึดในความรู้นั้น

เป็นประโยชน์และทำลายสังคมไทยเป็นอย่างมาก แต่ด้วยเหตุที่ผู้นำทางอาณาจักรและพุทธจักร

มีอำนาจในการต่อรอง ก็ทำให้สังคมมีการเปลี่ยนแปลงไป

ในช่วงเวลาดังกล่าวนั้นมีการพิมพ์หนังสือพิมพ์เกิดขึ้นคือบางกอกกรีตอร์คเตอร์ ของหมอบรัดเลย์

ซึ่งได้ลงพิมพ์เรื่องราวต่างๆ ทางวิทยาศาสตร์ ทำให้คนสนใจมากขึ้น

อันจะเป็นผลให้ต่อมาพระราชโอรสในพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวทรงได้รับการศึกษา

๒. มาตรฐานสากลในการชั่งตวงวัด

ระบบการชั่งตวงวัดของไทยแต่โบราณนั้น ใช้การกะเกณฑ์บ้าง การคาดคะเนบ้าง

ดังเช่นข้อมูลระบบการชั่งตวงวัด ดังนี้

วัดความยาว (ระยะ) ๑๒ นิ้ว = ๑ คืบ, ๒ คืบ = ๑ ศอก, ๔ ศอก = ๑ วา, ๒๐ วา = ๑ เส้น, ๔๐๐ เส้น = ๑ โยชน์

วัดมวล (น้ำหนัก) ๔ สลึง = ๑ บาท, ๔ บาท = ๑ ตำลึง, ๒๐ ตำลึง = ๑ ชั่ง

วัดปริมาตร ๒๐ ลิตร = ๑ ถัง, ๕๐ ถัง = ๑ บัน, ๒ บัน = ๑ เกวียน

จะเห็นได้ว่าลักษณะการวัดนี้จะไม่เสมอกันเป็นระบบ ขึ้นอยู่กับอวัยวะหรือเครื่องชั่งที่แตกต่างกัน ในสมัยอยุธยา ลาลูแบร์ ผู้แทนพิเศษของพระเจ้าหลุยส์ที่ ๑๔ แห่งฝรั่งเศส อธิบายเรื่องมาตราวัดของคนอยุธยา ไว้เช่นว่า

“มาตราวัดของสยามประกอบเป็นดังนี้ แปกเม็ดข้าวเปลือก คือเม็ดข้าวเต็มๆ
หมายความว่ายังมีได้สี่เอาเปลือกชั้นนอกออก มีความยาวเท่ากับ ๑ นิ้ว ในภาษาสยามว่านิ้ว สิบสองนิ้วเป็น ๑ กีบ
คือ ๑ โปม มีระยะห่างระหว่างนิ้วหัวแม่มือกับนิ้วกลาง สองกีบเป็น ๑ สอก คือระยะจากข้อศอกถึงปลายนิ้วมือ
สองสอกเป็น ๑ แขน คือ ๑ กุศ ระยะจากปลายนิ้วถึงกลางทรวงอก...”
(ลาลูแบร์ ศรีปัญญา, หน้า ๔๖๕)

ในสมัยรัตนโกสินทร์ตอนต้น ก็ยังสืบทอดระบบมาตราชั่งตวงวัดเช่นนี้อยู่
จนกระทั่งในช่วงปลายรัชกาลพระบาทสมเด็จพระนั่งเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว และพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว
ที่มีชาวตะวันตกเดินทางเข้ามา การค้าพาณิชย์ก็เป็นระบบมากขึ้น
แนวคิดเรื่องการชั่งตวงวัดในช่วงระยะเวลาดังกล่าวก็เปลี่ยนแปลงไป ดังเช่นที่สมเด็จพระมหาสมณเจ้า
ทรงใช้มาตราเซนติเมตร ในการวัดระดับน้ำฝน

๓. การอธิบายเหตุการณ์โดยใช้พื้นฐานเหตุผลเช่นการเกิดคราส

การเกิดปรากฏการณ์ทางดาราศาสตร์ในอดีตจะได้รับการอธิบายในลักษณะของความเชื่อในเรื่องเหนือธรรมชาติ
เช่นราหูอมจันทร์ สุริยุคราส ซึ่งต้องมีพิธีกรรมในการขับไล่หรือเช่นสรวงบูชา ในจดหมายเหตุบัญชีน้ำฝนฯ
ระบุเหตุการณ์การเกิดคราสไว้ด้วย เช่นว่า “มะโรงศูนย์หก เมื่อกลางเดือนหก ฝนตกกว่าพัน ขึ้นค่ำเดือนสิบ
มณฑลพระจันทร์ บังดวงสุริยัน มืดหมดสิ้นดวง เป็นสุริยุคราส ประหลาดใหญ่หลวง ผุ่งชนทั้งปวง
ไม่เคยเห็นฟัง...” หมายความว่าเกิดสุริยุคราสครั้งใหญ่ในพระนครในปีมะโรง พุทธศักราช ๒๔๐๖
แต่การเกิดเหตุประหลาดครั้งนี้ ทรงนิพนธ์ว่าไม่ใช่เหตุการณ์อันน่ากลัวแต่อย่างไร “ถ้าชนโง่เขลา ไม่รู้เรื่องราว
ทางฟ้าอากาศ อุดนิจคราสคราว แพนที่ซีกลาว ตรงเยื้องอย่างไร ในเมืองเดียวกัน ก็เห็นต่างได้ ตามห่างตามใกล้
เห็นไม่เหมือนกัน ต้องไปเที่ยวหา ประเทศบางอัน ถูกตรงคราสนั้น จึงเห็นหมดดวง เป็นสุริยุคราส
สำคัญใหญ่หลวง ผุ่งชนทั้งปวง ยากจักเล่าเรียน ไม่ใช่การหยาบ ต้องมากความเพียร ฉลาดคิดขีดเขียน
คุณหารการทำ บังเวียนเขียนวัด ขีดกะจดจำ ต่อปัญญาล้ำ เลิศล้ำคณา จึงรู้จักแจ้งในเรื่องวิชา
ทายเหมือนด้วยตา เห็นแต่อย่างไร” (หน้า ๑๕๘ – ๒๐๐)

พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว

ก็พระราชทานพระบรมราชาธิบายเมื่อเวลาเกิดคราสไว้ให้คนทั่วไปได้ทราบว่าเป็นเหตุการณ์ที่คำนวณล่วงหน้าได้ ไม่ใช่เรื่องเหนือธรรมชาติ ดังเช่นประกาศรัชกาลที่ ๔ ฉบับหนึ่งว่า

ประกาศสุริยุปราคาหกดวง

ณ วันพฤหัสบดี เดือน ๕ แรม ๓ ค่ำ ปีมะโรง สัมฤทธิศก

มีพระบรมราชโองการมารพระบัณฑูรสุรสิงหนาท ให้ประกาศแก่ข้าราชการผู้ใหญ่ผู้น้อย
แลพระสงฆ์สามเณร แลทวยราษฎร์ทั้งปวงในกรุงเทพฯ แลหัวเมืองให้ทราบทั่วกันว่า
สุริยุปราคาครั้งนี้จะมีในวันอังคาร เดือน ๑๐ ขึ้นค่ำ ๑ ปีมะโรง สัมฤทธิศก จะจับในเวลาเช้า ๔
โมงเศษ ไปจนเวลาบ่าย ๓ โมงเศษ จึงจะโมกษบริสุทธี ก็สุริยุปราคาครั้งนี้ในกรุงเทพฯ
นี้จะไม่ได้เห็นจับหกดวง จะเห็นดวงพระอาทิตย์เหลืออยู่น้อยข้างเหนือ แรกจับจะจับทิศพายัพซ็อนอุดร
ในเวลาเช้า ๔ โมงกับบาทหนึ่ง แล้วหันคราษ ไปข้างใต้จนถึงเวลา ๕ โมง ๗ บาท จะสิ้นดวงข้างทิศอาคเน
ครั้นเวลา ๕ โมง ๘ บาทแล้วพระอาทิตย์จะออกจากที่บังข้างทิศพายัพ ครั้นบ่าย ๓ โมงกับ ๖
บาทจะ โมกษบริสุทธี หลุดข้างทิศอาคเน คำทำนายนี้ว่าที่ตำบลหัววาน

แต่ในกรุงเทพฯ นี้ จะจับเวลาเช้า ๔ โมงกับบาทหนึ่ง ซ็อนๆ จับทิศพายัพเหมือนกัน
แล้วจะหันเร่ไปข้างทิศปจิมแลหริตแลทักษิณ จะจับมากที่สุดสัก ๕ ส่วนฤ ๖ ส่วนเหลือส่วนหนึ่ง
เมื่อเวลา ๕ โมง ๘ บาทจะเหลืออยู่ข้างทิศอีสานแลอุดร
แล้วก็จะเร่ไปคายนแลหลุดข้างทิศอาคเนเหมือนกัน
ต่อในทเลลง ไปในทิศใต้โดยอย่างใกล้ทีเดียวถึงประมาณ ๖๐๐๐ เส้นเศษจึงจะ เห็นจับสิ้นดวง
พระอาทิตย์มีค้อมีอยู่นานถึงบาทหนึ่งของนาฬิกา คือ ๖ นาทีนาฬิกาแล แต่ในที่ต่างๆ เวลาจับนั้น
บาทแลนาทีก็คงไม่ต้องกัน สุริยุปราคาหกดวงเช่นนี้
ในพระราชอาณาจักรแผ่นดินสยามล่วงกาลนานถึง ๕๖๐ ปีเศษ จึงจะได้เป็นจะได้เห็นคราวหนึ่ง
เป็นการแปลกปลาตอยู่

แลการคำนวณสุริยุปราคาที่ว่าจะเป็นเช่นนี้ ได้ทรงด้วยพระองค์ทราบเป็นแน่มานาน
ก่อนความเล่าลือกันอ้ออิ่งในคนต่างประเทศจะทราบ เพราะคนต่างประเทศอ้ออิ่งในเร็วๆ นี้ก็หาไม่
ได้ทรงกำหนดไว้ว่าจะเสด็จพระราชดำเนินลงไปทอดพระเนตร
บัดนี้กำหนดนั้นแล้วจึงจะเสด็จพระราชดำเนินออกไปเมืองประจวบคีรีขันธ์
พร้อมด้วยพระราชวงศานุวงศ์บางพระองค์แลเสนาบดีบางท่าน
ทอดพระเนตรสุริยุปราคาในที่อำเภอแหล่ช็อนอ่าวแม่รำพึงแขวงเมืองประจวบคีรีขันธ์

ในกรุงเทพฯ นี้ พระเจ้าน้องยาเธอกรมหลวงเทเวศร์วัชรินทร์ กรมหลวงวงศาธิราชสนิท
กรมหมื่นวรศักราชพิศาล กรมหมื่นภูบาลบริรักษ์ พระเจ้าราชวรวงศ์เธอ กรมหมื่นภูมินทรภักดี
พระเจ้าวรวงศ์เธอ กรมหมื่นอนันตการฤทธิ พระเจ้าวรวงศ์เธอ กรมหมื่นสิทธิสุขุมการ
แลเจ้าพระยาทิพากรวงศ์มหาโกษาธิบดี เจ้าพระยายมราช เจ้าพระยาธรรมาธิกรณ์ เจ้าพระยาพลเทพ
เจ้าพระยามุขมนตรี พระยาสิงหราชฤทธิไกร พระยาอมรินทร์บาล จะได้อยู่รักษาพระนคร

สุริยุปราคาครั้งนี้ไม่มีใครมายุงดอกอย่าให้ราษฎรเล่าลือไป
ว่าในหลวงถูกหลอกถูกลวงไม่รู้เท่ารู้ทันคนยุคนงอะไรๆ

ประกาศมา ณ วันพฤหัสบดี เดือน ๕ แรม ๓ ค่ำ จุลศักราช ๑๒๓๐ ปีมะโรงสัมฤทธิศก

เมื่อกล่าวโดยสรุปแล้วจะเห็นได้ว่าจดหมายเหตุบัญชีน้ำฝนของสมเด็จพระมหาสมณเจ้า
กรมพระยาปวเรศวริยาลงกรณ์ เป็นจดหมายเหตุด้านการอุทกศาสตร์แรกในประวัติศาสตร์ไทย
ที่มีการบันทึกอย่างเป็นระบบในลักษณะสากล
ทั้งที่ในช่วงระยะเวลานั้นการรับรู้ในสังคมไทยยังคงเป็นแบบจารีต แต่การเปิดโลกทัศน์ใหม่ในเอกสารนี้
ก็เป็นเครื่องช่วยให้สยามมีความเป็นอารยะทางวิชาการมากขึ้นกว่าก่อน

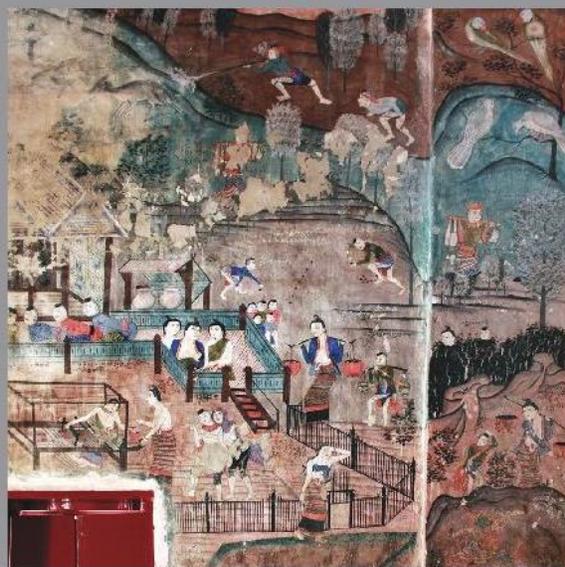
บรรณานุกรม

- ประชุมจดหมายเหตุโทร รวม ๓ ฉบับ (๒๕๕๑), กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์ต้นฉบับ
กรมศิลปากร, *ประชุมประกาศรัชกาลที่ ๔ พ.ศ. ๒๓๕๔ – ๒๔๐๔*, กรุงเทพฯ: กรมศิลปากร,
คณะสงฆ์วัดคองงารามพิมพ์ในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพพระมหาโพธิวงศาจารย์ อินทโชตเถระ ณ เมรุหน้าพลับพลาอิสริยาภรณ์
วัดเทพศิรินทราวาส ๕ พฤศจิกายน ๒๕๑๑.
- กรมศิลปากร, *ประชุมประกาศรัชกาลที่ ๔ พ.ศ. ๒๔๐๕ – ๒๔๑๑*, กรุงเทพฯ: กรมศิลปากร, พลเอกประภาส จารุเสถียร
พิมพ์ถวายในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพพระมหาโพธิวงศาจารย์ อินทโชตเถระ ณ เมรุหน้าพลับพลาอิสริยาภรณ์ วัดเทพศิรินทราวาส ๕
พฤศจิกายน ๒๕๑๑.
- กรมศิลปากร, *พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ รัชกาลที่ ๔ ฉบับเจ้าพระยาทิพากรวงศ์*, พระนคร: โรงพิมพ์พระจันทร์, ๒๔๗๗
ชูเกียรติ สัจจาเพื่อกิจการ (บรรณาธิการ), *สมุดภาพพระประวัติสมเด็จพระมหาสมณเจ้า กรมพระยาปวเรศวริยาลงกรณ์*,
วัดบวรนิเวศวิหารจัดพิมพ์เป็นที่ระลึกในวาระครบ ๒๐๐ ปีวันประสูติ ๑๔ กันยายน ๒๕๕๒, กรุงเทพฯ: อุดมศึกษา, ๒๕๕๒
- สำนักราชเลขาธิการ, *หนังสือจดหมายเหตุ The Bangkok Recorder*, กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักราชเลขาธิการ,
ทรงพระกรุณาโปรดเกล้าโปรดกระหม่อมให้พิมพ์พระราชทานในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ นายสมหมาย สุนทรระกูล ณ
เมรุหลวงหน้าพลับพลาอิสริยาภรณ์ วัดเทพศิรินทราวาส ๒๕ ธันวาคม ๒๕๖๖



13th INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON
THAI STUDIES
GLOBALIZED THAILAND? CONNECTIVITY, CONFLICT,
AND CONUNDRUMS OF THAI STUDIES

15-18 JULY 2017 CHIANG MAI, THAILAND



PROCEEDINGS
Volume 5



Konrad
Adenauer
Stiftung



The Asia
Foundation

