CHAPTER VI

FAMILY, MARRIAGE AND COMMUNITY LIFE

The following / presentation on the slum family is based on the findings from my empirical study undertaken in the Klong Toey Slum Lok No. 9 and my own observations and interpretation of the same.

This chapter broadly will deal with the family, marriage, family planning and community life.

The purpose in dealing with the composition and structure of the family is to give description of the familial life of the slum-dwellers under study. With this in view, this chapter will deal with the definitions of the family, the family types and size, age and educational achievements of the heads of the families, intergenerational educational mobility, status position of the individual in the family, the division of labour in the family and household possessions.

The section on marriage will deal with the marriage system in Thailand in that it will deal with male selection, criteria used for male selection, age at marriage and the stability of Thai marriage. This discussion may help us to understand the marriage system prevailing in the slum under study.
The section on family planning will deal with the adoption of family planning, family planning methods practiced, reasons for not adopting family planning measures and sources of family planning knowledge. This is to understand how far the respondents are conscious about the size of their families.

The last section on community life will deal with the social network (social relations) and social organizations. This to understand how far the community life is organized through social network and social organizations.

"It is through the fabric of social institutions that one can understand the social structure of the slums in the city. The social structure of a community includes types of social groups which the people constitute, and the institutions in which they participate. Family marriage, religion, occupations, etc., are some of the important components which are interdependent and which act upon one another." ¹ Talcott Parsons applies 'the term social structure to a particular arrangement of interrelated institutions, agencies and social patterns...' Among the social institutions, family and marriage are the most universal.

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¹ Talcott Parsons applies 'the term social structure to a particular arrangement of interrelated institutions, agencies and social patterns...' Among the social institutions, family and marriage are the most universal.

(I) Family:

"One cannot visualise any stage in the history of human society, when the institution of family was not there."\(^2\) "Schools generally agree that the family is the oldest and the most fundamental of human institutions. This consensus is based on the fact that in almost every society the family is the most important primary group for the individual. The intimacy which is provided within the family circle makes possible the fulfilment of certain basic needs for each person in what generally the most satisfactory way possible."\(^3\) The importance of family makes it logical to consider it first in a discussion of the institutions basic to the society. The families remain the firm foundations of every society.

It has been observed that the institution of family is not in the same form in different parts of the world. It differs from time to time and situation to situation. According to MacIver "It has no original form in the sense of a specific primal type of which all the others are later varieties. Rather a complex of human desires and conscious needs, finding different expressions in different environment, everywhere gave birth to some form of family system."\(^4\)

(2) Op cit., p.78., Thakur and Dhadave, 1987


There are basically two types of families, viz.,
Matriarchal and Patriarchal.

Patriarchal family type is the common form of family
prevailing in most societies. This type of family takes
a number of forms. The main forms are (1) the joint family
or the extended family, and (2) the nuclear family. The
slum under study has the patriarchal form of family.

Number of scholars have defined the term 'family'.
"The family may be defined as a socially sanctioned grouping
of persons united by kinship, marriage, or adoption ties,
who generally share a common habitat and interact according
to well-defined social roles created by a common culture."\(^5\)
Kolb and Brunner have defined the term family "as a genetic
group bound by kinship and marital ties. It is a group of
father, mother and children living together under one
roof".\(^6\) Olsen writes that "In its most universal conception,
a family is a social group that is further characterised by
ties of kinship among all its members. In other words, a
family is united by either biological or marital bonds among
its members as well as interpersonal identification."\(^7\)

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(5) Bertrand, Alvin L. (Editor): Rural Sociology - An
Analysis of Contemporary Rural Life, McGraw Hill
(6) Kolb, John H., and Brunner: A Study of Rural Society,
Greenwood Press Publishers, Westport Connecticut,
1971, p. 139.
(7) Olsen, Marvin E.: The Process of Social Organization,
Harold E. Smith in his article on 'The Thai Rural Family' has defined the term family designated the kin group members who live together in a single dwelling or in an adjacent dwelling, who share a single hearth and who act as a unit in economic, familial and in other affairs. From the definition of Smith the rural family members do not exclusively live under a single roof. The only condition is that they share a common or single hearth or kitchen. This is the rural Thai family norm of residence. According to this norm if the families of two offsprings of the same household live in the same house under a single roof, it is considered unlucky for the family members.

Bertrand has listed the salient features of the family as unit as follows:

(A) The family is a mating relationship within the bonds of societal approval.

(b) The family is composed of persons united by ties of marriage, blood, and adoption in accordance with prevailing custom.


(C) The family members typically live together under a single roof, although they may not have exclusive use of premises.

(D) The family is a unit of interacting persons, each enacting a role defined by a greater society and strengthened by experiences. Much of the interaction is associated with the fulfilment of economic needs, especially those associated with child bearing and rearing.

(E) Family members are identified through a system of nomenclature related to the mode of reckoning kinship and descent.

For the purpose of the present study the family has been defined as 'the group of members united by ties of blood, marriage or adoption and having common residence and/or adjacent residence, common purse, common property and common hearth or kitchen'.

The size of the family is discussed under four categories, viz., (1) small family consisting of 2-3 members, (2) medium size family consisting of 4-6 members, (3) large size family consisting of 7-9 members, and (4) very large family consisting of 10 and more members.

The family composition has been classified under three
categories, viz., (1) Nuclear family, (2) Extended family, and (3) Residual category.

(1) **Nuclear Family**: Husband, wife and offsprings compose this type of family. However, variations are possible and include the married couple only or either parent and unmarried children only. Occasionally, relatives either of the husband or wife may also be present.

(2) **Extended Family**: The extended family type refers to situations where two or more married siblings are part of single family household either by themselves or with parents or other relatives. This pattern also typically reflects two or more residences in an area that are adjacent so that food preparation can be at a single hearth.

(3) **Residual Category**: This category needed to include family households which do not fit the previous delineated types, such as one person households or a situation in which a man or a woman is living with his or her relative. This type of family is called as Broken family.

Before we discuss family types and size, it may be noted that the Thai rural family norm or rule of residence is not followed in the slum under study and elsewhere in Bangkok city. This shows that this traditional practice of family residence has no place in the city. The families
of the two offsprings of the same household live in the same house under a single roof. This seems to be a significant change in the sense that the slum families are moving away from practicing the traditional norm of family residence. This is because of the acute housing conditions in the slum.

**Average Number of Members Per Family:**

Table No. 6.1 shows the distribution of number of members per family and average family size. To begin with the size of the family it appears that the average number of members per sample family in the slum under study comes to 5.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Families</th>
<th>Total Number of Persons</th>
<th>Average Family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>1066</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Family Size:**

The distribution of families into different sizes is shown in Table No. 6.2.
### Table No. 6.2

**Distribution of families according to different sizes.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Number of families</th>
<th>Small size family</th>
<th>Medium size family</th>
<th>Large size family</th>
<th>Very large size family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2-3 members</td>
<td>4-6 members</td>
<td>7-9 members</td>
<td>10 and more members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage to the total number of families.

It is observed from the Table No. 6.2 that the number of families having 4-6 members were predominant in the slum. Of the total 200 families, 111 or 55.5 per cent families belonged to this size. The large and very large size families together constituted 25.5 per cent. There were only 19.0 per cent small size families. Thus the medium size families are seen to have been more in the slum.

**Family Types and Size:**

As for the family types are concerned, the nuclear family type predominates in the slum.
It is instructive to note the distribution of family types according to family size. Table No. 6.3 gives distribution of family types according to family size. This may help in understanding the size of the families, particularly of the joint families. From this table it appears that the small families consisting of 2-3 members to a large extent were of nuclear in nature. Besides, of the ten broken families five belonged to this size. Likewise, of the 111 medium size families, 81 or 72.1 per cent families were nuclear in nature and 25 or 22.5 per cent were joint in nature. Five or 4.5 per cent broken families belonged to this size. Of the 41 large families, the extent of joint families belonging to large size was high. 25 families out of 41 belong to this size.

In respect of very large families consisting of 10 and more members per family, most of the families of this size (8 out of 10 families) were joint in nature, and two were nuclear in nature. Thus it is seen that the nuclear families were mostly of medium size and of the total number of joint families most of them belonged to large and very large family size.

Age Composition:

The Table No. 6.4 shows the age characteristics of our respondents.
TABLE No. 6.3

Table showing the Distribution of Family Types
According to Family Size.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. Family No. Types</th>
<th>Family Size</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Small family</td>
<td>Medium family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2-3 members</td>
<td>4-6 members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Nuclear family</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Joint family</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Broken family</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table No. 6.4

**Age Composition of Respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Below 30 years</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>31 - 40 years</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>41 - 50 years</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>51 and above</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>200</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18.5 per cent of our respondents are in the age group of 51 years and above. 29.5 per cent in the age group of 41 to 50 years, 31.5 per cent in the age group of 31 to 40 years and 20.5 per cent are in the age group of below 30 years. It is seen that many of our respondents are in the age group of 31 to 50 years. Fifty two per cent of our respondents are in the younger age group upto 40 years.

**Education:**

The Thai government has given more emphasis on education. The government invests substantial public funds in education and formulates long range plans for educational
reforms. Because of these efforts, the level of education of the population has risen considerably. Education is given by the Thai government through a centrally controlled school system. Education is planned according to preprimary, primary, secondary and higher levels.

Prior to establishment of a modern school system, formal education was provided mainly by the Buddhist monks, for whom teaching was a regular and important part of their lives. They gave instructions for many youths who, in accordance with the Buddhist tradition, served for a short time in the temple as novices or as temple boys. Other children, with the exception of the sons of wealthy or well-to-do families, who were privately tutored, had little or no formal training. 10

The Thai government took initiative in building and strengthening up a system of school run by the State and assumed some kind of control over the schools run by the Wats during the early 20th century. With the foundation of University in Bangkok in 1917 facilities for higher education was made available.

King Vajiravudh (1910–25) in 1921 made education compulsory for the children between the ages of seven and

fourteen. Greater emphasis was placed on widespread primary education. The compulsory education law was enforced more consistently. The government took the responsibility of providing primary education through its own schools and teachers. Because of this, the monks no longer have any role as teachers. The temple school began to give only religious education to the monks and novices. The primary school act of 1921 was gradually modified and in 1935 the primary school education was made compulsory. 11

The System of Education:

The new system of education that has been introduced in Thailand is as follows:

The Scheme of education is divided into four years.

(1) The pre-primary level varies from one to three years.

(2) The primary level education is compulsory and is of six years duration.

(3) The secondary level of education consists of two grades, viz., (1) lower level (3 years) and upper level (3 years). The secondary school graduates can pursue their higher education by taking entrance examination. General college

courses take four years to complete.

Pre-primary education is commonly known as kindergarten. The students are taught the rudiment of reading and writing. The preprimary schools are important in the educational system. This is because a number of primary schools accept only students who have acquired some reading and writing ability.

The facilities for higher education and vocational education are also available.

Each cycle of primary and secondary education programme ends in a competitive examination for admission to next cycle. This procedure for admission tends to decrease enrolment at successive levels. It has been noticed that at the end of primary level of education most of the students dropout themselves from the school. This number of dropouts continues to increase after the third year of secondary level of education and at the end of primary course. The competitive examination procedure reflects an effort to single out the students best qualified to continue to higher level of education.

Now we will deal with the educational achievements or the level of education of the respondents.

A look at the educational attainment of the respondents surveyed here is revealing (Table No. 6.5).
Table No. 6.5
The level of educational attainment of the Respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Level of Educational attainment</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Primary level</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Secondary level</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>University level</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table No. 6.5 it is seen that quite a large number of respondents have taken education up to primary level (75.0 per cent). Only 8.0 and 2.0 per cent of the respondents could reach up to the Secondary or University level of education respectively. Only 15.0 per cent of the respondents were illiterate. The literacy is high. This may be because the primary education is made compulsory in Thailand.

Educational Background:
Intergenerational Educational Attainments:

The accomplishments of high and low levels of education may not be regarded solely as a function of intrinsic
individual qualities. It is also dependent upon the family background. There may exist a relationship between the educational achievements of one generation and the next and so on. In view of this, the educational attainments of the respondents' fathers is of interest because of the relationship it has with the respondents' own education. Therefore, it is felt necessary to examine the data pertaining to the education of the respondents' fathers.

Table No. 6.6 gives the levels of education of the respondents in relation to their fathers.

It is noticed (table No. 6.6) that of the respondents born of illiterate fathers, as many as 26 or 30.2 per cent remained illiterate while 60 or 69.8 per cent attained various levels of educational improvement. Of those born of just literate fathers 4 or 12.9 per cent remained at the same level while 27 or 87.1 per cent improved upon this level. There is no case of decline in educational level among them. Of those born of fathers studied upto primary level, nobody stayed at this level. All of them (74 respondents) made various levels of educational improvement. Of those born of fathers studied upto secondary level of education, 5 remained at this level or at an equivalent level while 2 or 28.6 per cent registered educational improvement and reached a stage of University level education.
Table No. 6.6

Respondents' Educational level in relation to their fathers education level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Respondents Educational level</th>
<th>Fathers Educational Level</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Illiterate rate</td>
<td>Literate rate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Literate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Primary level</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Secondary level</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>University level</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the whole, a trend of intergenerational educational upgrading is seen. It is clear that intergenerational educational upgrading is a process in which the pre-existing educational level of the family plays an important role. A relationship exists between the educational attainments of the respondents and their fathers.

Though the respondents seemed to have been improved their level of educational attainments compared to their fathers, but the levels of the educational attainments are low. This is because most of the respondents have not studied beyond the primary level of education.

The most of the fathers of the respondents were wage earning labourers with meagre income. Therefore, their low educational levels coincide with their humble occupational and socio-economic backgrounds.

It is assumed that the process of betterment is dependent on the given familiam advantage. The parental low educational attainments and their low socio-economic status might not have allowed them to improve their educational attainments considerably.

Status Position of the Individuals In the Family:

The status position of an individual in the family is governed by age and sex in Thailand in general. The
children in the family are taught to give respect to the elders in the family. The names given to the individuals are rarely used in conversation or in calling a person. The older family members are exception to this. They can use the names of the younger individuals of the family. Respect relationships are formalized orally by the use of the term Phi (old sibling) and none (younger sibling) both within the family, among brothers and sisters and cousins, etc. The younagers use the word Phi (elder) before uncle, aunt, grand-mother and grand-parents. The above norms of the status position of individuals in the families are generally followed in the families of the slum under study.

Division of Labour in the Family:

An attempt is made here to understand the nature of the division of labour in the family and thereby the position of womenfolk in the family. The heads of the family were asked to state as to who looks after the household work, viz., cooking, serving, cleaning, washing and rearing of children and other types of work of the family. This understanding may help us to know whether the division of labour is based on age and sex, and thereby the position of women in the family.

It has been reported by our respondents, i.e., the heads of the families in the slum under study that generally
the housewife and other women of the family prepare and serve meals to the family members. The cleaning and washing utensils is also looked after by women in the family. The rearing and bringing up children is largely the responsibility of the mothers. The Thai husband has a ritual superiority mostly derived from Theravada Buddhism. The wife shows respect to her husband and generally shows no superiority of her own. The girls of the family are trained to cook rice with the a view that they may help their mother in the preparation of meals. The girls assist their mother if their help is necessary. The cooking is not regarded as the task of men. But sometimes the male members if required look after the cooking work. Thus the division of labour in between sexes is generally not strictly rigid. Some task can be performed by either men or women. The women help their husbands in their occupations, likewise, the men their wives in their household work. Thus, to some extent, husband-wife relationship reflect a division of labour of convenience. The heavy physical work is typically done by men and lighter work is assigned to women.

The small children help their mother in looking after the younger siblings and perform lighter tasks suiting to their ages. The older persons in their family also look after the younger children and perform lighter tasks if their services are required.
Thus the division of labour in the family is generally based on age and sex of the family members. But sometimes husbands and wives help each other in their tasks. To some extent, husband-wife relationship reflect a division of labour of convenience.

**Household Possessions:**

A question was asked to each respondent whether selected items were part of the household possessions. The responses to this question are shown in Table No. 6.7.

**Table No. 6.7**

**Household Possessions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Percentage Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Television (black and white)</td>
<td>53.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Television (Colour)</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Rice Cooker</td>
<td>65.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Electric fan</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Clock or watch</td>
<td>81.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Electric iron</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Bicycle</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Sewing Machines</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Refrigerator</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Gas Stove</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>67.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Motor cycle</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Taxi car</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In general the majority of the households owned television sets, radios, rice cookers and clocks or watches. The pervasiveness of television, black and white or colour, was truly impressive and underscores its potential as a medium for the diffusion of information to the slum-dwellers under study. Radio seems to be the most popular instrument of the recreation followed by television in the slum. These instruments also utilized by the government for educating the people. The use of wrist watch/clock is seen common in the slum households.

The possession of the articles like television, radio, refrigerator, motor-cycle are thought by the slum families as prestige items.

(II) Marriage:

Marriages are almost monogamous in Thai society. Polygyny which was practiced in ancient times is now practiced by well-to-do males. The extent of polygyny is small because a movement was launched during the present century to oppose polygyny. In 1935, a new family law was enacted which required that the marriages must be registered and only registered marriages will be legal marriages. The purpose of the enactment of this law was to ban polygyny.

The Thai youth of marriageable age is free to seek a bride from among the women that he knows. There are
many opportunities in the city for heterosexual contacts resulting from association among young persons in school, ceremonies, at work places, etc. Though young men are free in establishing their social contacts, the young ladies are kept under surveillance by their presents and guardiance. The marriageable youth generally seeks the approval of the his parents before marriage takes place. Those parents who are tradition-bound seek proper social contacts for young men and women at the time of their marriage.

All the respondents surveyed reported that the marriage that took place in their families are monogamous and hence no incidence of polygyny was found in their families. Further all the marriages that took place in the sample families are arranged marriages in the sense that the parents or senior male members took initiative to find out the life-partners for young men or women of marriageable age.

The respondents were asked to state the criteria used by the families while selecting their spouses or the spouses of their sons or any other persons in the families. The responses of the respondents are given in Table No. 6.8.
Table No. 6.8

Criteria used for mate selection.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Criteria used for selection of Spouses</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Financial status</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Family reputation</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Nature of employment</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Physique</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Bride price</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From table No. 6.8, it is seen that while selecting the spouses, more emphasis seemed to have been given on the financial status of the families of the spouses. Of the total of 200 respondents, 149 or 74.5 per cent respondents reported that the financial status of the families of the spouses was given due the consideration while selecting spouses. In order of rank, the second important criterion used for selection of the spouses was the family reputation of the spouses. 116 or 58.0 per cent respondents reported that the reputation of the families of the spouses was considered while making selection. The third criterion used was the 'bride price'. 118 or 59.0 per cent respondents reported that the amount of bride
price to be given to the parents of the brides was considered. It is customary in Thailand to pay a bride price. The physique and the education of the spouses were also considered respectively by 62. or 31.0 per cent and 41 or 20.5 per cent respondents while selecting the spouses. Thus the financial status, family reputation and bride price received respectively first, second and third priority.

The marriage ceremony is brahminic in origin and consists of pouring lustral water over the joined hands of the bride and bridegroom. The parents of the bride and bridegroom, their relatives and friends generally remain present on the occasion of the marriage.

The monks invited for the performance of the marriage chant the hymns. The bride and bridegroom offer their worship to the idol of Buddha placed on the altar. They also offer clothes, food and sweets to the monks present at the time of marriage ceremony. The wedding event is treated to be the symbol of agreement arrived at between the families of both the bride and bridegroom. Marriage rites in the city are generally compressed into a shorter time frame although in other respects they resemble the traditional rural marriage.

Age at Marriage:

John. E. DeYoung writes that in Thailand, "A girl is
considered marriageable at sixteen, and a man at twenty, but most girl marry between the ages of 18 and 20, or sometimes not until their later twenties if their families are poor and need them at home and boys between the ages of twenty to twenty four. The spinster or bachelor is rare, and is likely to be physical and mental misfit.\textsuperscript{12}

A question was asked to the respondents to state age at which they married. Their responses are shown in Table No. 6.9.

\textbf{Table No. 6.9}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\hline
Sr. No. & Age at Marriage & Number of Respondents & Percentage \\
\hline
1. & Under 20 years & 32 & 16.0 \\
2. & 20 - 24 years & 146 & 73.0 \\
3. & 25 - 29 years & 19 & 9.5 \\
4. & 30 - 34 years & 03 & 1.5 \\
5. & 34 + years & -- & -- \\
\hline
Total & 200 & 100.0 & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

From Table No. 6.9 it is seen that marriages of the most of the respondents have taken place between 20 and

\textsuperscript{(12)} John, deYoung E.: Village Life in Modern Thailand, pp. 60-67.
24 years of age. There are instances of both the early and late marriages. The extent of marriages at an early age is more than late marriages. Sixteen per cent of the respondents married when they were below 20 years of age, and 22 or 11.0 per cent respondents between 25 and 34 years of age. Late marriages beyond 25 years seen to have taken place in cases of some of the respondents. The reasons reported by them were no regular employment, ill health, and poor income of the family. Whatever may be the reasons of late marriages in case of these respondents seen to have been raised beyond the customary age at marriage. This is a welcome thing because it helps in arresting the growth of population. On the whole, the norm of the customary age at marriage is followed to a large extent.

The Stability of the Marriage:

All the respondents reported that there is no incidence of divorce in their families.

(III) Family Planning:

"Thailand is among a growing number of developing countries that have moved in recent years from an early stage of demographic transition characterized by falling mortality in the presence of high, relatively stable fertility to a later stage in which fertility has also started to decline. In Thailand this progression has been both recent and rapid. Between the late 1960s and the early
1980s, survey evidence indicates that the fertility fell by almost 40 per cent.\textsuperscript{13}

The fertility has declined rapidly in Thailand. This is because the use of contraception has increased considerably. "For the country as a whole, the percentage of married women aged 15-44 years who reported currently practicing some method rose from less than 15 per cent in 1969-70 to close to 60 per cent in 1981. The contraceptive prevalence for urban areas in 1981 was 64 per cent for currently married women aged 15-44 years.\textsuperscript{14}

In Thailand as a whole, the use of contraception has considerably increased. This is because the Family Planning Programme was actively developed on the National level. Nibhon and others write that "Although the programme was officially established in 1970, Personnel had been trained in almost all provinces and the programme was operating to some extent in most rural areas by or shortly after that time. Moreover, family planning was available through Government hospitals in urban areas even earlier.\textsuperscript{15}

Now, it may be interesting to study the extent of the use of contraceptions by the families in the slum under study.


\textsuperscript{(14)} Ibid., pp.41-42.

\textsuperscript{(15)} Ibid., pp.42 and 46.
All the respondents i.e., the heads of the families reported that their religion (Buddhism) do not prohibit the acceptance of the family planning methods.

Some question were asked to the respondents regarding the family planning. The first question was "Are you or any other married member of your family adopting family planning methods to limit the size of the family?"

Table No. 6.10
Adoption of Family Planning Methods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>40.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>59.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>200</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 6.10 shows that out of 200 respondents, 81 or 40.5 per cent answered 'Yes', i.e., the family planning methods are adopted in their families. The number of the respondents not adopting family planning methods is high which is 59.5 per cent. Why these respondents have not adopted family planning methods will be discussed later.
The next question asked to them was "If yes, what method do you or your family members adopt?"

**Table No.6.11**

*Family Planning Methods Practiced*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr.</th>
<th>Specific Family Planning Method Practiced</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Oral Pill</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>IUD</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Surgical Operation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male - 8 (9.9 %)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>49.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female - 32 (39.5 %)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Injection</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Condom</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>81</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The responses of the respondents to this question made it clear that the majority of them (49.4 per cent) who practiced family planning had undergone surgical operations. From the Table it is seen that female sterilization is the most popular technique. Of the 40 persons who underwent surgical operations, 32 were females. The other family planning methods practiced were oral pills (30.9 per cent), IUD (11.1 per cent), injection (3.7 per cent) and condoms (4.9 per cent). Popular family planning
techniques among the slum-dwellers in order of rank are female sterilization, oral pill and IUD.

A question was asked to those respondents who practice family planning to state the source of family planning knowledge. The replies to this question are given in Table No. 6.12.

Table No. 6.12
Source of Family Planning Knowledge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Neighbours/friends</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mass Media</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Television</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Radio</td>
<td>04</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) Newspaper</td>
<td>03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Health Services and Hospitals</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Voluntary Organizations</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>81</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.9</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table No. 6.12, it is seen that the hospital and health services of the government and BMA were reported to be the major sources of family planning knowledge.
for 33 or 40.7 per cent respondents. The second source, in order of rank, reported by 21 or 25.9 per cent respondents was mass media (television, radio and newspapers). Among the instrument of mass media, television seems to be truely more impressive as a medium for the diffusion of information about family planning to these respondents. The third source in order of rank, was the voluntary organizations. 18 or 22.2 per cent respondents reported that their source of family planning knowledge was the voluntary organizations. 9 or 11.1 per cent respondents reported that their neighbours and friends gave them the information about family planning methods. Thus the health services and hospitals of the government and the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration and the mass media particularly television were found to be the popular sources of family planning knowledge among the respondents. Nibhon and others write that the use of television and radio is widespread in Bangkok slums and many households had their own sets and city residents are most often exposed to the information released by the mass media.16

Further proble was made regarding the reasons for not adopting family planning methods.

Table No. 6.13
Reasons for not adopting Family Planning Measures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Just married and/or one child.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>More number of children fetch more income or more hands to work.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sufficiently old</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ignorance</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Time is yet to come for adoption of family planning.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Not applicable (Broken families)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Reason not reported.</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>119</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen from the Table that the respondents and/or their married family members did not adopt family planning for number of reasons. Table shows that the family members who are now old enough, and 10 of them (8.4 per cent) said that they do not follow family planning as there is no married couple in their families because these are broken type families. As much as 23 or 19.3 per cent respondents reported their unwillingness to reveal the reasons of non-adoptions of family planning. 13 or 10.9 per
cent of the respondents reported that family planning measures are not adopted because of ignorance about the full knowledge of the family planning techniques and their good or bad effects. 12 or 17.6 per cent respondents reported regarding non-adoption of family planning as they think that more number of children fetch more income. In their opinion, it seems that the children are an asset to the families. 12 or 10.1 per cent and 22 or 18.5 per cent of the respondents respectively reported that they have just married and/or having one child only and the time of adoption of family planning is yet to come as their family size is limited. These respondents further reported that they know the importance of the family planning through the television.

Those respondents who said that they are just married and/or having a single child and who said that the time is yet to come for adoption of family planning may be taken as the potential users of the family planning in future. Those respondents who are old and those who belong to broken families, in their case the question of the adoption of family planning does not arise.

Those who held the view that more number of children means more hands to earn, and those who are ignorant about the good or bad effects of adoption of the family planning may be taken as the target group for convincing them about
the importance of the family planning for them and for the
nation. Barring these respondents, the idea of family
planning seems to have been accepted by the slum families
under study. The slum families have adopted different methods
of family planning. The female sterilization and oral pill
are the most popular methods of family planning among slum
families.

(IV) Community Life:

(A) Social Network: Social Relations:

A slum area under study is not a collection of indi-
viduals or households living side by side in isolation. The
individuals and households are integrated to a different
degree in a social network which is not the social network
of the slum. According to Rudiger Korff "for the household,
the social network has a double importance. On one hand,
in the context of relations of production for the improvement
of access to work, and on the other, in the context of
relations of reproduction as basic principles for co-operation.
Not only the importance of the network is related to rela-
tions of production and relations of reproduction, but the
sense the network has and its basics are in themselves
determined by the relations of production."\textsuperscript{17} In other

\textsuperscript{17} Rudiger, Kroff: Socio-Economic Structure of Under
Development in Cities - Urban Subsistence Productive
RELATION BETWEEN THE SLUM UNDER STUDY AND THE BANGKOK CITY

Monetary Income

Slum as spatial unit for the labour power

Labour Power

Urban Labour Market, labourer, employee, self-employed

Small commodity production in the slum.

Shops and stalls inside the slum

Consumer goods

Urban goods market
words, the social organization of the slum area under study has to be seen in a broader context, at least in the context of socio-economic network of Bangkok city. So far as the economic relations between slums and city are concerned, it can be said that it is based on the use of labour power of the slum-dwellers in the urban labour market. The respondents, those who work as labourers in the city or at the harbour sale their labour in the urban market for their livelihood— their labour power integrates them to the city’s economy. Again the slum is an integral part of economy of the city of Bangkok through its purchase and sale of consumer goods in the slum, in its vicinity and the city. The trade in this slum has to be seen as an extension of consumer goods market into the slum and small commodity production as an extension of the consumer goods market into the city. Thus the slum and the city of Bangkok are found together by the economic network.

So far as the social network is concerned, it has been observed that the social organization in the slum area is not solely based on patron-client relations. Now the individuals and households are today primarily integrated into networks or groups of persons in similar occupations. Such an organizational pattern most properly adopts to the changing access to work and the relations of reproduction. For gaining employment it is important for a person to know many fellow workers in the city who will invite to work.
For reproduction it is important to find help in case of need. This help is best supplied through persons of equal status where no one is superior or inferior and based on general reciprocity instead of reciprocity from one person to the other as general friendship.

Again the need for organizing on the basis of equality in groups is strengthened by the way how political demands have to be expressed. Take the example of eviction issue of this slum under study. Previously, the leaders were asked to provide protection, and the responsible public agencies would only contact the leaders. But today, a public hearing has to be held in which the issues are discussed. The strength with which the Port Authority tries to get rid of the slum-dwellers on the other hand showed the slum-dwellers that they have to come together to avoid being evicted and to find a compromise. In this context, the slum area under study is organized. The slum under study is connected in different ways with the urban economy. This has been discussed elsewhere in this study. This is an individual connection with the urban economy indicated by the different forms of employment. The social relations to fellow workers are necessary for access to work. In other words, access to work or access to an income source is based on specific social relations.
The social relations among workers during their working hours are not restricted to working time only but has importance outside the work. Closeness of social relations in the slum is, therefore, based on source in the urban environment. The emergence of social relations in the slum is a way to gain security. A person with many friends can easily find job and have an income.

The historical and spatial variables discussed in this study indicate a close relationship exists between developments within the slum and the city. In this respect the slum is part of the city or a specific area in the city.

The taxi drivers of this slum have their patrons in the upper class. They take taxi from them on fixed rate of rent. They take taxi on daily basis. This provides them the chance to meet and interact with the owners of taxis who live in non-slum areas. Sometimes, the taxi drivers seek help from them in solving their difficulties.
(B) **Social Organization:**

The importance of informal social organizations in slums is often cited. According to Mangin, William, whole communities in many Latin American countries are able to secretly organize and move to a new location, squat, and defend their removal by civilian authorities. Therefore, it is often assumed that slum social organization is an important ingredient of these areas. This does not seem to be the case of slum community under study in particular and slum communities in Bangkok in general. For reasons related to land – and eviction, little organization exists to stop eviction in Bangkok. Some of the slums in Bangkok including slum under study have no legal rights to stay over land and in their case they face the threat of eviction.

The number and types of associations and organizations in Klong Toey Slum Lock No. 9 were found by asking respondents to specify associations to which they or their family members belonged. Approximately one-half of the respondents listed the names of the associations. Only two organizations listed are associated with the slum community under study. The funeral and the religious associations mainly

---


consisted of slum residents. The other associations/organizations are not exclusively made up of residents of the slum under study.

Table No. 6.14

The names of the Associations/Organizations listed by the Respondents under study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Associations/Organizations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Religious Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Funeral Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Labour Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Voluntary Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Short-term Co-operative Association</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

None of the above Associations/Organizations are specifically concerned with the protection of the slum community under study from eviction.

The majority associations listed by the respondents are Labour Association, Voluntary organization and the Short-term Co-operative Association. The activities of these associations are, however, more diffuse and more dispersed and diluted in the metropolitan Bangkok and hence less associated with a particular community or geographical area. These associations are not exclusively made up of
the residents of the slum under study. The slum community under study is typical in terms of the types of association/organizations to which the slum-dwellers belonged and reflects a general lack of informal organizations in Thai society.

Religious Association:

The Buddhist religion is an individualistic religion and provides three roles in communities. Buddhists are supposed to support the monks when they make their begging rounds early each morning. Secondly, the local Wat is supported through community organizations. Thirdly, abbots and monks are leaders and problem solvers and hence they have important status in the communities. These activities are, however, more diffuse and dispersed and diluted in metropolitan Bangkok. The Wats in Bangkok are less associated with a particular community or geographical area and individuals may support one or more Wats in the metropolis.

The most of the respondents reported that the Wat in their area is supported through the Religious Association of their slum.

The occasional events are held in the families. These are house warming, funeral, ordination, betrothal, marriage, top-knot (first hair cutting of the children). These
events have an important religious character and are festivals for the family or families involved. The respondents reported that these events are celebrated by seeking help or assistance from the religious association.

The Funeral Association:

If a death occurs in a poor family, the funeral association helps the family by providing the financial and other assistance.

The Labour Association:

The labour association is not located in the slum under study. It is located in Bangkok city. The labourers of this slum those who are temporarily unemployed and are 'between jobs', seek the help of the labour association in gaining employment. The others become members of this association to have access to work and to gain security in employment. The Labour Association came into existence to protect the interest of the labour class in the city.

Voluntary Organizations:

The poor are the target group of the voluntary organizations. They work without seeking profits or interests. They shoulder the responsibility of slum development. Some among them focus on certain aspects such as child care, family planning, education, culture, clothing for the poor.
They also assist in case of fire. They assist the poor class to develop their potential capabilities so that they can stand on their own.

The respondents reported that the voluntary organizations could not do much for their slum community excepting to motivate people for adoption of family planning and for taking education. This is because these organizations suffer from financial crisis.

**Short-term Co-operative Association:**

The Short-term Co-operative Association is formed for limited purpose on the basis of mutual assistance in the slum under study. This Association works for removal of garbage and cleaning the areas surrounding the houses and draining low lying areas. This association removes the garbage and cleans the surrounding areas of the houses only when the garbage remains undisposed off for a longer time. The association mostly remains dormant and awakes only when the sanitation becomes unbearable from the point of view of health and hygiene. Thus this association does not work effectively for its community. This is because this association fails in seeking mutual assistance from the slum-dwellers.

The main conclusions of this Chapter are summarized as follows:
The institution of family is not in the same form in different parts of the world and it differs from time to time and situation to situation. Taking this into consideration, for the present study, the family has been defined as 'the group of members united by ties of blood, marriage or adoption and having common and/or adjacent residence, common purse, common property and common hearth or kitchen.' This definition is appropriate for the study as it depicts the feature of Thai family.

The rural Thai family norm or rule of residence is not seen to have been followed by the slum families under study. This is because the families of the offsprints live in a house under a single roof and no family live in an adjacent dwelling close to the stem family. This seems to be a significant change brought in the institution of family of the slum residents.

The average family size in the slum comes to 5.3 members per family. It is observed that the medium size families having 4-6 members predominate in the slum.

As far as family composition or type is concerned in the slum under study three family forms are found. These are - (1) nuclear family, (2) joint family, and (3) broken family (residual category). Among these, the nuclear family form predominates in the slum.
If the family size and type are considered together, and if the normal size of family is taken as of 4-6 members, the nuclear family mostly conforms to this size, and joint family mostly conforms above this size (7 and more members per family).

As for age composition of the respondents are concerned, it has been observed that approximately half of the respondents belonged to the younger age-group below 40 years and the other half of the respondents above this age-group.

The literacy rate among the respondents is high. Most of the respondents have studied upto primary level of education and a few of them have studied beyond primary level.

The respondents educational background, i.e., the educational attainments of the respondents' fathers is studied to see whether there is any relationship it has with the respondents' own education. The inter-generational educational upgrading is a process in which the pre-existing educational level of the family plays an important role. This study highlights that the relationship exists between the educational attainments of the respondents and their fathers. This is because most of the fathers of the respondents are literate and studied upto primary and secondary levels. On the whole, a trend of inter-
generational educational mobility is observed. It may also be noted that the respondents improved their level of educational attainments compared to their fathers level of educational attainments. But the achievement levels are low.

The Thai norms of status position of individuals based on age and sex in the family are generally followed in the slum. In this respect the slum families are tradition-bound.

So far as the division of labour in the family is concerned, it has been observed that the same is largely based on age and sex of the family members. But on occasions, the husband and wife in the family share in each others work. To this extent, husband-wife relationship reflect a division of labour of convenience. The older persons and children in the family perform tasks suiting to their ages. They generally perform lighter tasks. The girls of the family are trained for the performance of the feminine role. This show that the same pattern of the divisions labour may continue in the next generation.

The majority of the households possessed televisions, radios, rice cookers and clocks/watches. The pervasiveness of television and radio is truely impressive. These are the instruments of information and recreation.
The monogamous system of marriage is followed by the slum families and all the marriages are arranged marriages. The financial and reputation of the family and the bride price are criteria used by slum families while selecting spouses at the time of marriages of their unmarried family members. The customary practice of bride price largely prevails in the slum families. The marriage ceremony is brahminic in origin. The wedding event is treated as the symbol of agreement arrived between the families of both the bride and bridegroom. The marriage in the slum family resembles the traditional rural marriage. This may be because most of the respondents have rural background. The norm of the customary age at marriage is followed by most of the slum families. The late marriages beyond the customary age at marriage have also taken place in the slum families. But their extent is small. The marriages that have taken place in the slum families are reported to have been stable.

A number of respondents have reported that the family planning methods are practiced in their families. The popular methods among them are female sterilization, oral pills and IUD. The health services and hospitals of the government and Bangkok Metropolitan Administration and the mass media are the popular sources of providing knowledge of family planning programme. The family planning programmes are actively developed at the national level.
by the Thai government. It can be said that those who practice family planning might have understood the norm of small family.

For different reasons, some of the slum families did not adopt family planning measures. Among the reasons reported, the reasons which need attention are the ignorance about family planning programmes and the outlook of the families that more number of children will fetch more income or more the hands, more the income. These families may be taken as the target group for convincing them the importance of family planning. Barring and others, the idea of family planning seems to have been accepted by the slum families.

The individuals and the households in the slum are primarily integrated into networks or groups of persons in similar occupations. Such an organizational pattern is helpful for seeking access to work in case of unemployment. This is because the help is best supplied through persons of equal status.

The slum and the city is connected through the labour power of the slum-dwellers. This is an individual connection with the urban economy. The slum is an integral part of the city of Bangkok through its labour power and through purchases and sale of consumer goods by the slum-dwellers.
The taxi drivers who rent cars from the owners of taxis keep relations as patron-client in between them.

Of the informal social organizations listed by some of the respondents, only two such organizations (funeral and religious) are there which mainly consisted of slum residents under study. The other organizations/associations are not exclusively made up of the slum residents. These organizations are Labour Association, Voluntary Organisation and the Short-term Co-operative Association. The work of these organizations is more diffused, more dispersed and diluted in the Bangkok metropolis.