CHAPTER VII
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Summary

The continuous drive for industrialization in the past four decades has transformed Thailand's social and economic structure substantially. The share of agriculture in gross domestic product declined over time, while the reverse holds true with trade and industries and other services. There are wide spread differences in rural urban areas in development. Bangkok is the capital city of Thailand, which faced various social problems due to industrialization, urbanization and modernization. Bangkok city's expansion is a natural expansion and not by planning process. When a nation is in the process of development the surrounding villages are merged into the city. The results of expansion of cities has brought about by the conversion of agricultural land into housing construction, commerce, business, industry and public utility. The life styles of farmers has undergone change when they became urban community.

To understand a society we must study it at individual or institutional level. The most important institutions, the sociologists are interested are family and marriage. The traditional patriarchal family structure of rural villages had extended families with predominant agricultural occupation. The urban families changed into conjugal nuclear families with non agricultural occupations. Traditional Thai life styles which remained intact in up-country villages had undergone extensive reshaping under the pressure of urban demands.
Modernization has greatly extended the range of employment opportunities open to people migrating to the city. Thai Buddhism is a socializing and acculturing force. It gave coherence to the society and presented theology from which individual existence acquired a meaning that was entirely consistent with the structure of society. The importance of monarchy and nationalism and constitution were given as a back drop to the study.

The rural urban differences, urbanization and the growth of metropolitan city are enumerated at a theoretical level. Urbanism as a factor of social change by creating employment opportunities, growth of trade and commerce has been of great significance in the changes occurring in the urban occupational structure were enumerated. The different aspects of family structure extended. Joint family and nuclear family characteristics are given for the analysis of family structures in Bangkok.

The changes occurring to the process of modernization are the growth of universalistic legal super structure, expansion of education, industrialization and urbanization, increased network of communication and growth of nationalism, politicization and westernization. Constitutional monarchy and the development of democratic governance of people are due to modernization. Religion and monarchy which have traditional influences controlled the modernization process. We adopted the methodology of studying the structural changes of family and marriage in urban areas which was neglected by Sociologists of Thai society. The study emphasised in the role of religion which influenced the people in maintaining tradition. While on the other hand the forces of urban modernization and industrialization forced people to change.
In the study we compared the family structure in urban and suburban areas by considering Bangkok Noi and Talingchan districts as urban and suburban areas respectively. The four hypothesis are that (1) the family structure in Bangkok Noi and Talingchan Districts are different (2) The change in family structure due to urbanization and industrialization (3) the impact of urbanization on the institution of marriage and dowry (4) The decision making in the family.

The study used secondary sources of information along with the primary data collected by survey research. The heads of 300 households from Bangkok Noi and Talingchan were collected by using purposive sampling and Random sampling methods. Simple statistics are used for making frequency tables and percentages only.

Three areas of literature survey are chosen for understanding the research work done. These are (1) urbanization (2) Family and (3) Thai village studies. These gave us the perspective to the study. The literature survey provides the factors of change and also the social scientists emphasize on areas of urbanization and modernization.

It was felt that a descriptive analysis of demographic factors of Thailand and Bangkok are necessary for the general understanding of the society. The geographical features of Thailand and its regions are first enumerated with the climatic factors and population size of both Thailand and Bangkok. Bangkok city has 1/10th the population of Thailand. Urbanization and population growth of Thailand and Bangkok are given. Thailand has only 96 persons per sq. km. while Bangkok has 3199 persons per sq. km. This shows the rapid urbanization of Bangkok city. There is tremendous exponential growth of population in Bangkok with similar growth of communications, rail, road and naval transport systems. Majority of the population are Buddhists but the minority religious population of
Muslims, Christians and Hindus get religious tolerance from the monarchy and mutual co-existence is practised in Bangkok metropolis.

The growth of economy and industry is phenomenal in Bangkok city, while the entire Thailand shows preponderance of agriculture. 50 per cent of all educational institutions are located in Bangkok still there is pressing need for more universities to be established as many students go to India and other developed countries for higher education.

Bangkok city shows a mutual co-existence of tradition and modernity without internal inconsistency and conflict of values and ideologies.

It was felt that by studying urbanized Bangkok Noi and suburban Talingchan we can, to and extent give generalizations for the Bangkok metropolis.

The life style of the respondents is assessed by the socio-economic background of the family. Several changes in the family structure occurred in the urban Bangkok families. Majority of male respondents were the heads of household. However, 49 respondents who were women claimed that they are the heads of the family. This included widowed, divorced and separated women. In patriarchal Thai society, where men are supposed to be heads of household, women respondents claiming headship of the family is a structural change. The age grade distribution of Bangkok Noi and Talingchan shows not much differences and the distribution of age grades in the sample corresponds with the census figures of Bangkok city. Age grades of spouses are less than men as Thai men normally married younger spouses. Majority of respondents were married, 13 per cent widowed, divorced and separated women. Majority of the respondents from
Talingchan had only primary education. On the whole scholastic achievements of Talingchan respondents are inferior to Bangkok Noi respondents. In Bangkok city nearly 25 per cent are graduates and above. Majority of the respondents married when they were majors, however, one male and 4 female respondents married when they were less than 20 years old.

Business and Trade seems to be the occupation of 30 per cent of the total respondents, while agricultural occupation is followed by 44 per cent from Talingchan. Nearly 24 per cent of the respondents were in government and private sector jobs. While only 4.5 per cent of the respondents are in the administration cadre with the income ranging from 12,000 to 25,000 Bahts. When we looked at the assets we found nearly 50 per cent in Bangkok city had cars, Air Conditioners, Washing Machines, which showed their high class background. While 30 per cent, 6 per cent and 12 per cent are from Talingchan own car, Air Conditioners and Washing Machines respectively.

We found in Bangkok city 41 per cent respondents owned motor cycles, 84 per cent Refrigerators 66 per cent Telephones, 50 per cent Stereos, which are normally considered as the status symbols and possessed by middle class families, while in Talingchan, 46 per cent own motor cycles, 73 per cent Refrigerators, 20 per cent telephones and 24.7 per cent Stereos are in possession by our respondents.

Many respondents irrespective of their higher and middle class background possessed luxury items because of the prevalence of hire purchase system of schemes. Also both husband and wife were working, so they could afford to go for these luxury items.

In Bangkok Noi and Talingchan majority of the respondents preferred to work in the proximity of their houses, while 10 per cent
of the respondents worked in other wards of Bangkok. Only 4 per cent of the respondents worked outside the province.

The socio-economic background mirrored the status position of the respondents. We found more number of middle class respondents and less number of rich and poor respondents.

We studied the Thai social structure and values based on the unit - the family. we noticed a major change in the structure of family. There is a preponderance of nuclear families in our sample. This is because of urbanization, industrialization and modernization of Bangkok City. Education and modernization changed the society which resulted in preference of love marriages among most of the respondents. Even though the Thai's urban areas select their spouses, we noticed that the choice is based mostly on choosing spouses within the religion, social class, matched educational background, race and from the neighbourhood. Love at first sight is also one of the reasons of a small number of respondents as the criteria for mate selection.

Thai urban society we found that early marriages are prevalent. Even though the selection of partners is by self choice other negotiations of marriage are done by the parents along with the boys. The parents in majority of cases never objected the selection of mates by boys and girls. Considerable amount of bride price is noticed even in the case of self choice marriages. Sometimes the girls' parents gave money to the girl for meeting marriage expenses and establishment of family.

We still noticed the matriarchal system prevalence in the case of residence after marriage by couple. Even though majority stayed in nuclear family after marriage, a few days were spent with the girls'
parents after marriage because of matriarchal tradition. Some couples stayed for sometimes with boys' parents.

In modern urban nuclear families of Bangkok joint decision making is increasing because of women's employment. We noticed majority of couples jointly decided on issues like number of children they want, and the sex of the children, selection of school for their children and solving children's problems and permission for going on trips by children.

While in the case of residence after marriage nearly half the respondents jointly decided but a considerable number of husbands and wives made the decision which was agreed by the spouses.

In the case of purchase of costly appliances and selection of place to go for holidays and family finance management was done jointly by majority, while 1/4th of the families, wives were the decision makers. We can say that Thai urban family decision making is in the process of transition, where autonomic decision making by men is changing to syncratic joint decision making by majority.

In Thai urban families we find men are helping their wives in household activities and looking after the children etc. In Thai society the concept of dowry is different. The boy is supposed to give some money to girls' parents and also bear responsibility of the wedding feast.

Small family norm is noticed in Thai urban society. Surprisingly majority of respondents opposed divorce and did not oppose remarriage but felt it as an individual attitude and decision making.

In urban cities there are many migrants and prostitution is prevalent. The response towards the registration of prostitutes showed variance and their responses are also revealing.
We noticed that metropolitan city respondents in majority for nuclear family, equality between partners, however, vestiges of traditional patterns are still noticed. We can summarise that Thai urban society is in a state of transition.

We have made comparative analysis of Bangkok Noi and Talingchan districts on the basis of urbanization, modernization on the structure of family.

**Conclusion:**

Family is the most important basic and universal social structure of human beings. Family as an institution existed for several centuries and is found in all societies around the world. Family caters to the needs of individuals and society. It performs functions which are essential for the continuity integration and change in the social system. However, historically the forms and functions of family have undergone changes to adopt with the changes in technology and economy of a society. Traditional agrarian Thai society had extended/joint type of families before industrialization. We found change in extended family structure to conjugal nuclear form of family due to impact of modernization and industrialization. In Bangkok nuclear family is the predominant form, still there are some joint or extended families. Bangkok Noi which is an urban area had a majority of nuclear families. People in business and trade prefer to have extended or joint families in order to have more man power. Talingchan has a considerable proportion of families which are extended/Joint even though majority of families are nuclear in the suburban area.

Bangkok society is in transition from extended family based society to nuclear family based society. This can be considered as a structural changes.
Role structure in family changed due to the changes brought about in social structure. In extended families hierarchical relations among three or four generations co-exist. The authority structure is based on age grade differentiation. The extended/joint families have patriarchal social organization, which emphasizes respect for elders in the family. Extended kinship relations are noticed in extended families (primary, secondary and tertiary). Nuclear families on the other hand have fewer role structures between parents and children. Egalitarian authority system prevails in nuclear families. Kinship relations are different in extended and nuclear families. Bangkok city which is in a transitory stage showed both the types of structural differentiation.

**Authoritarian Structure:**

Authoritarian structure in traditional societies was usually patrilocal and patriarchal and women in such families are in a subordinate position. The eldest male member is the head of the household and interpersonal relations are authoritarian. Family is a unit of economic cultural, religious and political activities. Individualism and personal freedom are not found in this type of extended family. Age grades are important which govern social status in peasant extended families. Knowledge about folk lore, mythologies, riddles and folk songs are passed by oral traditional form from one generation to other by elders. However, in urban areas the extended family changed to nuclear family there are equalitarian relations between husband and wife if both of them are working on economic activity. The socialization of children in the family takes a new direction. The children grow in small social universe, with not many kinsmen are there to share the socialization of the children. Children in nuclear families live in an adoptive society. In some
nuclear families they keep their elderly parents or some relative as an adherent in the family to look after the children.

The majority of the respondents showed shift towards nuclear family authoritarian structure. The authoritarian structure in Bangkok is in a transitory stage.

Thai society is embedded in traditionality culture and religion. There is potential for change in family structure due to urbanization and modernization. We analyse here the changes in the structure of Thai family.

Change can be defined as 'observable transformation of social relationships'. The transformation of social relation is more marked in the family system. Due to the inherent nature of the Thai society, the transformations occurring in the family are not uniform. Different families change due to their individualistic orientations and needs. One cannot deny that change in social structure and transformation occur in the Thai urban family system.

Earlier sociologists assumed that modernity and transition are radically contradictory, because they felt that traditional societies cannot be modern nor modern society cannot have transitional values. Developing societies in fact show a mixture of tradition and modernity. The concept of traditionality is used here for the understanding of changes taking place in the family system. The concept traditionality has two dimensions-retrospective and perspective dimensions. Retrospective dimension includes the traditional past of the family and the social system. While perspective dimension shows the direction in which changes takes place in the family system. Transitionality aims at discerning the emergent forms of family.
Our analysis is to understand the differences of change in family using transitionality concept. This can roughly be explained thus. An urban family cannot be totally traditional or modern, but will be a mixture of both.

Lakshminarayan and Odmen used the concept of transitionality in their analysis of rural urban families in India respectively. They opined that family mobility and the position of women in the family are the two crucial factors to understand the transitionality of the family system. The changes due to these led to emergence of new forms and types of family life.

Family is basically an economic unit of consumption and production. The production function of earning one's livelihood and the sources of income generation for the family is substantially different in rural and urban areas. Suburban areas are in the fringe of urban and rural areas. From our suburban data from Talingchan we found 44 per cent of the respondents are having agriculture as their occupation. Normally in rural areas the major occupation of the people is agriculture. However, Talingchan society is in a transitory stage because it is still having rural characteristics.

**Change in structure and functions of Family:**

The role of husband as a provider has changed because of the earning of the wife. Two members earning in nuclear families have become more in Bangkok. The sexual division of labour - husband outside the house work and wife in the house is changed to both working outside for economic remuneration and husband helping in the household chores. In Thai families preparation of food and cooking was done by the wives only and no change is noticed in this division of work. The wife's now do the purchase of household goods which used to be the male prerogative.
Disciplining of children became a joint responsibility of husband and wife in majority of families. Decision making regarding the place of stay after marriage of the couple, number of children the family wants choice of school, going on vacation, purchase of goods for the family, we noticed a great deal of change. In majority of families joint decisions are taken by the couple, however, there is a persistence of tradition because of which some men took the decision themselves. In some cases, the wives only decided these which was a radical change. Majority of families of the respondents had taken joint decision. However, nearly 1/4th of the families it was done by the husband and the remaining families it was the wife who took these decisions. We can conclude family decision making functions are in a state of transition and are becoming the joint responsibility of both the spouses. However, major purchases decision are still taken by men.

Providing affection and intimate response between husband and wife, parents and children are the main functions of family. A transition from institution to companionship has taken place in the family.

Equality between partners to an extent has taken place among the adult partners in the family.

The socializing and disciplining of the children was the joint responsibility of the husband and wife. Imparting education is taken by the educational institutions, since modern society needs education for an occupation which the family members cannot impart within the house. This function is shifted to the educational institutions.

Extended kinship obligations are reduced in Bangkok families. Kinship relations between the family members of the spouses are only maintained. District relatives no longer are important. Primary kinship relations are maintained.
Change in Religion:

Families now-a-days keep a corner in the house for the worship of gods and worship is generally done individually by the family members. Due to urbanization, visiting the temple often is reduced due to lack of time. Various other avenues for recreation are found outside the temple, so people prefer modern avenues of entertainment. Educational institutions have been established by government and majority of families are sending their children to those institutions. The socialization of children in these educational institutions is based on the needs of people to perform urban occupation. On some members the influence and impact of temple has decreased. Urbanization has reduced time for spending on religious activities. So visit to temples is reduced. Recreation and leisure time activities shifted to the house, where T.V. viewing and radio music listening had become more and more by the people.

The impact of urbanization on the Institution of marriage and dowry

Institution of marriage which used to be religious became secular. Religious functions of marriage is only is the family, but the social function has gained more importance. In urban Bangkok because of scarcity of space marriage receptions are held in hotels. The guests invited are not only the kinship group, but the friends from office of both bride and groom and friends from the neighbouring area.

After marriage in traditional Thai Society, the couple lived with the parents of the bride. Now-a-days, the traditional custom is maintained by the couple by staying with the parents, like matriarchal society, for a few days only. Majority of couples established their nuclear families after marriage. Due to urbanisation, accommodation
had become scarce, so the couple if they cannot find accommodation are now-a-day staying with the groom's family. The change is matrilocal to patrilocal residence after marriage.

In Bangkok giving of bride price and dowry are still prevalent. Due to urbanization and modernisation the boys and girls had self choice marriage. After their choice the boys informed their parents, who in turn negotiated with the girl's parents about bride price and fixing of the date of marriage etc. Normally the parents have no choice to refuse the alliance, even in the event of refusal, the boy and girl married as per their choice. The choice of partners was by self choice.

The bride price and the expenses for marriage were the entire responsibility of the groom only. It was noticed that the parents of the bride gave away part of the bride price to the couple, so that they could establish their own nuclear family. The parents of the boy also contributed some money for the marriage. All the people who were invited to the wedding, after receiving the invitation gave some cash to the boy. All the cash given before marriage was used for the wedding expenses is born by the boy. This is a change noticed in Thai urban society. Instead of the parents of boy or girl spending money for the wedding expenses. It was the responsibility of the boy to bear the wedding expenses. The girls parents also gave some dowry in the form of cash and some articles for the household. The late age of marriage of some boys was due to the fact that they had to earn and accumulate money for meeting expenses of payment of bride price and also wedding expenses.

In Traditional Thai society husbands could desert their spouses by joining the monastery. Registration of marriage became legal
necessity. So divorce had to be obtained by courts. This social change gave security to the wife.

The wife and husband became equal partners in marriage because of nuclear family system and earning money by both of them. The decision making in the family had become more and more joint. Position and status of women is improved particularly in the case of earning women.

There is scarcity of accommodation due to urbanization of Bangkok city. This lead to the formation of nuclear families. Some of the respondents who stayed in the joint families were due to scarcity of accommodation.

Due to industrialization and urbanization occupational structure was diversified. All the members of the family did not have to same type of occupation like rural society. Also due the different occupations of parents and children all the children preferred to have a individual nuclear family. So urbanization is a contributory factor for the nuclearization of the family.

In rural joint families all the members pursued the same occupation. So joint pooling of income and expenditure prevailed. However, due to industrialization and urbanization people pursued different occupations with variable incomes. Also income or earnings were dependents on the educational qualifications or the skill of the people. So people who earned more did not want to share their earnings with the lesser earning members of the joint family. This urban phenomenon contributed to the formation of nuclear families.

Greater opportunities for educated people are available in urban areas. So the younger generation opted for higher qualification so they could get better jobs. People with better educational
qualifications had better jobs and they preferred to have nuclear families.

Urbanization reduced extended kinship relations. In Bangkok primary relatives were only given importance. Inter-actions are limited to primary relatives. Nuclear family members maintained kinship relationship with their parents family.

**Functions of Family and Change**

One of the major functions of family is the socialization of children. The family performing the function of socializing the children for the family to enable it to live with the children in the family and for the society as a whole, because unsocialized individuals are a liability and threat to the society.

"Ogburn proposed a list of seven major activities that the family performs for individual members, the family as a group and or society, production of economic goods and services, status giving, education of the young, religious training of the young, recreation, protection and affection." (William F. Ogurn, 1938, The changing Family', p. 139)

**Functions for Individual members:**

When extended families changed into nuclear families due to urbanization, the function of socialization of children had taken a new dimension. In the extended families there were many kinsmen to look after and fondle the children of the nuclear family. While the nuclear family had only two adult members - father and mother, who had to perform the affectional and disciplinary roles to their children. Both the partners had to counsel with each other in family matters since there were no other member in the family. The husband, wife and children constitute a primary group and became an unit of interaction
with the society. Thus change is noticed in the socialization of children exclusively by the parents only.

Production of Economic Goods:

In joint families the division of work was demarcated; men produced economic goods, while women provided services. In the nuclear family of both partners working outside the house for remuneration, both of them had to perform economic wage earning and providing service in the family. Sexual division of labour in the family is changed.

Status:

In Joint families the men had superior status while women had subordinate status. Status of the partners in the family had become more equalitarian than authoritarian, because of the economic contribution of the wife.

Education of the Young:

In traditional societies women were mostly illiterate and could not teach their children. Since husband and wife are educated, the function of educating the young rests on both the partners.

Religious Training of the Young:

Grand parents in joint families trained the grand children in religious rituals. They transmitted the stories of mythologies to the children by oral tradition. This function also fell on the parents in nuclear families.

Recreation, Protection and Affection:

Joint family is an universe where there used to be a number of children to play with. However the nuclear families with small family norm, the parents had to take part in recreational activities of the children. The children did not get their age grade persons to interact
with. Protection and affection also had to be provided by the parents only in nuclear families.

So we can conclude when family structure changes, the function of both husband and wife undergoes transition and transformation. They had to adopt to the changing structure by changing the functional structure of family.

Urbanization produced a change in occupational structure of the society. In Bangkoknoi most of the respondents were involved in non-agricultural activities. Industrialization had provided employment in majority of the cases in public and private sector. However, in suburban Taloringhan traditional occupations of agriculture persisted. We found the continuation of tradition and change in society at the same time.

In urban Bangkok universalization of primary education was achieved is evident by the fact that majority of the respondents were literate.

Urbanization has brought change particularly in the possession of gadgets by the families. When husband and wife were employed outside the house for remuneration, they brought double income and this gave a comfortable economic position for the family. The families purchased labour saving gadgets, to reduce domestic drudgery. Electric Iron, Electric Fan sewing machine, Washing machine, Vacuum cleaners. Gas stove are some of the labour saving gadgets possessed by majority of the respondents. These gadgets are normally not used by rural people. Urbanization in fact brought these labour saving gadgets into the families.
Luxury items such as car, telephone, Air conditioners micro-ooven are status symbols of urban rich. They became popular with middle and higher income families.

Public transport systems are very congested, so the urban families purchased motorcycle or car for commuting to work. These vehicles are considered as a necessity for urban living. These luxury items are purchased by hire purchase schemes available in urban areas. The families had a double pay cheque so they could afford to pay the installments for the hire purchase scheme.

In modern families couples discussed the pros and cons in all matters and made joint decision. This syncratic pattern of decision making were followed by the urban nuclear families. Autonomic pattern of decision making by one spouse are generally of minor nature due to the interest and competence of the wife.

This syncratic pattern of decision making is a phenomenon of modernization and urbanization.

Taking family members out on holiday is a part of modern way of life, which is not found in traditional families. Majority of the respondents went on a holiday along with the family members.

In rural joint families male members had meals separately, while the women ate their food later on. In nuclear urban families all the members of the family ate their breakfast and dinner together. They also watched T.V. together. This showed that nuclear families have became companionship families.

Helping the spouse in household work is a phenomenon of both the partners who are employed and working outside.
Educated urban respondents realised the importance of registration of marriage and majority of respondents registered their marriage.

One can conclude that Bangkok society is in a transitory stage wherein tradition and modernity co-exists. The influence of religion provides for the continuity of tradition. Urbanization and modernization produced change in family and marriage institutions. The study showed that various dimensions of family system are neither affected completely intouched by the tremendous changes occurring in the society.

Suggestions

The present exploratory study is confined to two wards - urban metropolis and suburban Talingchan with a sample size of 300 heads of household. Comparing the magnitude of the metropolis, the same size is not adequate to make generalizations, pertaining to the entire city population. So it is suggested that an urban Bangkok study should be undertaken.

In the present study we studied family and marriage institutions due to urbanization and modernization. However we require to give adequate emphasis on the other institutions such as polity, economy, government, education and religious influence the life of individuals, so it is suggested that a study encompassing all the parameters should be undertaken.

Status and position of women should be undertaken since women are 50% of the population.

Youth are the future of any society, so a study of youth and their problems should be critically studied.
In Thailand 70 per cent of the population lives in rural areas. So a comparative study of change in Thai society in rural urban areas should be undertaken.

The present study used on exploratory design which can at best give trends of change, but a diagnostic descriptive, study of Bangkok city is very essential because of the tremendous changes taking place in society due to urbanization and modernization.

Thailand has 97 per cent of the population are Buddhists. As study dealing with Buddhism and its impact on rural urban people is an important study area.